

Edson's Cornfield "Vision:" Frisson or Fiction?¹

Adventist tradition credits Hiram Edson, a prosperous farmer of Ontario County, N.Y., with the insight that gave birth to the Seventh-day Adventist church.² His visionary experience on the morrow of the last Millerite disappointment (1844) is sometimes considered the wellspring of the "Sanctuary doctrine." It revealed that "our High Priest, instead of 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 the sanctuary." At the time, Edson was a steward of the Methodist church who had embraced the Millerite expectation of the Advent in the spring of 1843. His home in Port Gibson soon became a home church for the believers of the region. It was not far from Canandaigua, the home of Dr. F. B. Hahn and of O. R. L. Crosier, who wrote a few articles for Millerite periodicals before formulating a new explanation of sanctuary typology in the first issue of their paper, *The Day Dawn*, printed by the editor of the *Ontario Messenger* with the title "The Millerites, or Adventists—Their Delusions—Their Faith, &c." The article itself had a more inviting title "To All who are Waiting for Redemption, the Following is addressed." Crozier wrote out his major study of the sanctuary doctrine, titled "The Law of Moses" in a special issue of the *Day-Star Extra* on February 7, 1846. Some Adventist historians have expressed caution in the use of Edson's late autobiographical manuscript, either because it reflects later influences³ or because various accounts differ as to the very nature of the experience.⁴

The Manuscript:

It is a document casually handwritten on the leaves of a yellow notebook, not signed nor dated. Only six leaves of this document are known,⁵ those relating the contents of the experience and its circumstances. It was written decades after

¹ This is a revised version of an article that appeared in *Adventist Currents*, Vol. I, No. 1, July 1983, pp. 25-27, under the title "Edson's Cornfield Vision, Frisson or Figment?" It takes new documentation into account and adds six Appendices.

² In a recent article in *Spectrum*, vol. 33, No. 1 Winter 2005, Ross E Winkle expressed a certain nostalgia for the days when Edson's narrative was accepted without question, for as he correctly observe, it is becoming a "disappearing act" in contemporary Adventist literature

³ P. Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B Erdmans Publ. Co. 1977, p. 117, note 93.

⁴ Merwin Maxwell, *Tell it to the World, The Story of Seventh-day Adventists*, Mountain View, Cal.: Pacific Press Publ. Assn. 1976, pp.51-52. (Was it a vision, an impression, an audible voice, or a mere insight?)

⁵ The pages are numbered 5 and 5a to 10 and 10a.

the disappointment, some time before Edson's death in 1882 at 75 years of age.⁶ It did not surface until long after its composition.⁷ A first mention of the manuscript is found in an article of the *Youth's Instructor* in 1910.⁸ The text is partially quoted in print for the first time in Kelley's article in the *Review and Herald* of 1921, "The Spirit of 1844," 75 years after the event it relates. However, correspondence about it was exchanged with the historian A. W. Spalding in 1907.⁹ Although J. N. Loughborough alludes to Edson's experience in his two historical books,¹⁰ and in a manuscript accompanying the second volume,¹¹ he does not quote the Edson manuscript, but relates the experience in his own words. His version of the events differs substantially from Edson's narrative.

According to James Nix, Edson's gifted biographer,¹² the manuscript may be dated approximately between 1866 and 1873. The narrator, who was 38 at the time of the experience, set it in writing for the first time about 22 to 29 years later at age 60 to 67. The manuscript comes well identified. It was first lent to F. M. Kelley by Mrs. Via Ophelia Cross, Edson's daughter, in the spring of 1921. Kelley used it in his article, and received it again in 1936 from Miss Via Cross, Edson's granddaughter, to hand it finally to L. E. Froom in July of the same year. The transmission was duly certified and notarized by Cross and Kelley who affirmed its authenticity.¹³ Miss Cross vouched for the genuineness of her grandfather's handwriting on the document.

The original manuscript may have contained about 30 pages of reminiscences plus a large amount of speculative theology that was not to the taste of Adventist editors, since they refused to publish the whole manuscript, except the autobiographical section. Edson had had it copyrighted and insisted that it be published entirely. It remained with him

⁶ See obituary in the *Review and Herald*, Feb. 21, 1882, p. 126

⁷ See H. M. Kelley, "The Spirit of 1844," *R & H*, June 23, 1921. According to a letter of Arthur L. White to Professor L. E. Froom, dated April 8, 1937, the manuscript had just come into L. E. Froom's hands shortly before March 7 of the same year. The same letter reveals H. M. Kelley's memory that the manuscript was turned down by the *Review and Herald* "about the time the Adventists were urged to leave Battle Creek," that is to say about 1902-1903, but even that was considered uncertain.

⁸ A. W. Spalding, "Light on the Sanctuary," *The Youth's Instructor*, March 8, 1910

⁹ Letters of A. M. Lindsay to A. W. Spalding, from Enosburgh Falls, Vt., Feb. 24, 1907 and June 16, 1907. Cf. also J. N. Loughborough's letter to A. W. Spalding, August 1921, *Sanitarium Cal.* pp. 1, 2 and Spalding's letter to H. E. Rogers, July 1921, Nashville, Tenn. These letters are quoted in Professor Froom's *Manual for a course in "History of Prophetic Interpretation,"* given at the SDA Theological Seminary in 1951-52, (Period xvii: Decade following the Disappointment, p. 274.)

¹⁰ *Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, Battle Creek, Mich: General Conference Association of the SDA, 1892, p. 114 and *The Great Second Advent Movement*, Washington D. C.: Review and Herald Publ. Ass. 1905, p. 193.

¹¹ *Some Individual Experience*, A Companion to the Book, "The Great Second Advent Movement." Document File 230B, Ellen G. White Publications, 1908 (?)

¹² James Nix, *The Life and Work of Hiram Edson*, Term Paper for the course: Problems in Church History, SDA Theological Seminary, Andrews University, Fall 1971, pp. 88-92

¹³ James Nix, *op. cit.* Appendix B, "The Edson Manuscript and Letters of Affidavit, pp. 120-124

unpublished. This rejection and the debate that followed may explain the temporary withdrawal of Edson from the church in the 1870's.¹⁴

Other Sources relating the experience:

In addition to Edson's manuscript, the two historical volumes by Loughborough, and a manuscript by the same author, four more narrations written by the latter relate the experience in some further detail:

1. "The Second Advent Movement, No.11, *Review and Herald*, September 14, 1914.
2. Letter of J. N. Loughborough to H. M. Kelley, December 23, 1919, pp. 1-2
3. Letter of J. N. Loughborough to A. W Spalding, August 2, 1921, pp. 1-2.
4. "The Second Advent Movement, No. 8," *Review and Herald*, September 15, 1921, p. 5

A careful tabulation of all sources, including Edson's manuscript¹⁵ reveals an almost total lack of unanimity as to the nature of the experience, the place of its occurrence, the periodical in which the sanctuary doctrine was first launched and its date, the identity of the companion in the cornfield, the contents of the vision, the role of Edson and Dr. Hahn in the publication, and the strange experience of bibliomancy¹⁶ that led the believers to consult the book of Hebrews (8-9) in order to ascertain the meaning of the vision. James Nix concludes that in a few instances, it is utterly impossible to correlate Loughborough's accounts with Edson's.¹⁷

There is no *a priori* reason for giving precedence to any source over the others. Denominational writers usually put confidence in the Edson manuscript because it is supposed to reflect personal knowledge, but this takes no account of the age of the author and of the very late redaction of the experience. In 1892, Loughborough reports Edson's narration to him in the winter of 1852, when he was a young intern under Edson's tutelage. But this adds little weight to the authenticity of the experience, as both Edson and his intern were old men when they

¹⁴ James Nix, *op. cit.* p. 90, 91

¹⁵ Nix excluded Edson's manuscript from his tabulation, as well as Loughborough's manuscript see his Appendix D, "Elder Loughborough's accounts of October 22, 23, 1844" *op. cit.* pp. 146-157. See our Appendix A for a tabulation of all the sources.

¹⁶ A magical practice that consists in letting the Bible open randomly on a biblical passage, and consider that text a divine message. Loughborough reports Edson's claim that it opened between the 8th and 9th chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a text he had never understood as he did then.

¹⁷ James Nix, *op. cit.* p. 17

wrote, some 30 to 40 years after the fact. Moreover Loughborough's accounts do not match Edson's lengthy narrative in all particulars.

One noticeable feature of the various sources is the increasing detail given to the report of the experience as time passes, a typical feature of pious narratives (hagiographa). Loughborough first reported a mere "impression" in terse, oracular terms: "The sanctuary to be cleansed is in heaven." In his second account he added "and Jesus has gone in to cleanse it." He also added an "audible voice" that *seemed* to accompany the impression. The later sources relied on Loughborough's earlier reports. But when Edson finally related it after all the others, it had become a full-fledged vision unveiling panoramic scenes and reasoning logically about its contents.

The Text of the Vision:

"Heaven seemed open to my view, and I saw distinctly and clearly, that instead of our High Priest coming out of the Most Holy of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth on the tenth day of the seventh month, at the end of the 2300 days, that he for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary; and that he had a work to perform in the Most Holy before coming to this earth. That he came to the marriage at that time; in other words, to the Ancient of days to receive a kingdom, dominion, and glory; and we must wait for his return from the wedding; and my mind was directed to the tenth ch. of Rev. where I could see the vision had spoken and did not lie; the seventh angel had began [sic.] to sound; we had eaten the littl [sic.] book; it had been sweet in our mouth, and it had now become bitter in our belly, embittering our whole being. That we must prophesy again, &c., and that when the seventh angel began to sound, the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament, &c."¹⁸
(Emphasis original)

The Contents and Structure of the vision:

Edson's narrative shows a certain internal incoherence. Although introduced as a visual experience, "Heaven *seemed* open to my view," yet, the heavenly high-priest was not *seen* in the exercise of his new functions. Edson saw *distinctly and clearly*, and repeatedly *that* certain things happened, without seeing them happen. His mind was *directed* to specific scripture passages substantiating what happened. Concepts are introduced in indirect discourse without mention of the speaker. The style is highly discursive and didactic. It takes the form of a theologically reasoned argument and reflects several elaborations of the ideas advanced. The abundance of conjunctions of subordinations and coordination are earmarks of accumulated

¹⁸ The spelling and punctuation of the manuscript have been preserved

discussion, and suggest retrospective additions. These features do not fit the charismatic nature of the event.

The structure of the vision seems to illustrate the influence of later concepts. The four major events witnessed for the 1844 date are followed by their respective consequences for future times:

1. Entrance of the High Priest into the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary.
2. The wedding of the heavenly Bridegroom (seen as a coronation)
3. The explanation of the bitter disappointment in terms of Revelation 10 (a sweet book becoming bitter after ingestion)
4. Opening of the heavenly temple following the 7th angel of Rev. 11

Subsequent events:

- 1' A new work is to be performed in the Most Holy before the Advent.
- 2' The Bridegroom will return from the wedding later, crowned as a king.
- 3' A new prophetic mission is assigned to the waiting believers.
- 4' The inner shrine of the temple reveals its ark containing the Decalogue.

Edson's description of circumstances surrounding the Vision:

1. On the 22nd of October, 1844, Edson and his disappointed friends *expected* enlightenment from on high.
2. He and some brethren entered Edson's "granary" to pray, at dawn after weeping all through the night of the disappointment.
3. Edson was stopped as he passed through a large field, and experienced the vision.
4. Edson's "comrade" went on beyond speaking distance before missing him, and then inquired about the length of his stopping.
5. Edson revealed the light received.
6. Edson talked about it to his "brethren."
7. Edson's friendly relations with Dr. Hahn and O. R. L. Crosier are related. The latter made his home with Edson when in town.
8. Hahn and Crosier were associated with Edson in the publication of the *Day Dawn*.
9. Hahn and Edson held a consultation on publishing the sanctuary light. They agreed to share the expense. They charged Crozier with the writing.
10. Publication of Sanctuary light in "another number of the *Day-Dawn*."¹⁹

¹⁹ See Appendix E for an outline of the history of the publication of the *Day-Dawn* from what is known today. Appendix F attempts to trace the development of Crozier's theology up to October 1845

11. The journal reached the eastern (Sabbatarian) brothers who endorsed it and brought the Sabbath to the west.

The vision and contemporary sources:

Professor Damsteegt claimed that Edson's narrative did not contradict 1845 source material.²⁰ Benefiting from hindsight, as it did, the manuscript should have avoided any contradictions. But the early sources recovered today were not available to Edson, nor was he sufficiently trained as a historian to compose a narrative that would avoid the anachronisms it exhibits:

1. In the immediate aftermath of the disappointment, the Millerite believers did not foresee any extension of the heavenly atonement. Their view of the atonement was quite traditional. The ministry of Christ had begun at his ascension to the most holy place whose antitype was "heaven itself."²¹ In 1844 the long intercession in heaven, (in the holiest) had been concluded on the 10th of the seventh month. Most of them persisted in the conviction that atonement was over, as S. S. Snow had proclaimed, and maintained it. If Edson, as he claimed, had entrusted the vision to a "comrade" as well as to a "group of brethren" there would be evidence of such a belief at least in Western New York in the last months of 1844. But no other contemporary source speaks of a continued atonement that early. The 1845 sources agree to emphasize the necessity of a one-day atonement based on the length of the Hebrew Day of Atonement.²² It is only in March 1845, five months after the vision, that Crosier ventured to extend the atonement to a full year.²³ The same writer would ultimately extend it to many years, to the millenium and beyond.

²⁰ P. G Damsteegt, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Dalton D. Baldwin, "William Miller's Use of the Word "Atonement," in Frank B. Holbrook, ed. *Doctrine of the Sanctuary, A Historical Survey(1845-1863)*, Silver Spring, Md: Biblical Research Institute, 1989, pp. 159-170.

²² The *Hope of Israel*, quoted Turner's message of a completed atonement on January 24, 1845, see Isaac Welcome, *History of the Second Advent Message and Mission*, p. 398. Both Appolos Hale and Joseph Turner believed that the atonement was over when Christ went to the wedding. Hale affirmed that the shutting of the door they both believed in must follow the completion of the day of atonement, and James White is the only Sabbatarian that really understood him. See *The Advent Review* of September 16 and October 7, 1851 for his comments on Hale's articles. The *Hope of Israel* contained an editorial republished in the *Day Star* of March 25, 1845 (Vol.5, No.6); its two-phased atonement comported a one-day Yom Kippur on the 22nd of October 1844. G. W. Peavy registered the same limitation of the Day of Atonement to a single day in the *Jubilee Standard* of April 24, 1845, pp. 113-115. James S. White, the Boston minister too often confused with the Maine Sabbatarian bearing the same name, spoke of a terminated atonement as late as September 20, 1845. See James White, "Watchman, What of the Night" in the *Day-Star*, Vol. 6, No 7. The text of this letter is given with comments in Appendix D.

²³ Letter to the *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845 (The source of Crosier new atonement theology is alluded to in this letter.) See Appendix B for the text of the article "To the Believers Scattered Abroad," originally published in the previous issue of the same periodical.

2. The most flagrant anachronism of the vision is the assignment of a new mission to the distraught believers. Immediately after the disappointment many Millerites, including some of the most prominent leaders, professed a belief in the “Shut-Door,” consistent with their understanding of the parable of the virgins, which they took to be prophetic of the whole Millerite revival. Its proclamation of the “Midnight Cry,” implied wise virgins that accepted the cry, and foolish ones that refused the warning. Miller himself had propounded a final rejection of those who ignored that warning.²⁴ The fundamental cause of the shutting of the door was the cessation of the mediatorial work of Christ. Moreover the disarray of the believers did not leave much zeal for continued evangelism. Not until the Albany conference, six months later did they plan new endeavors. They quoted Edson’s very text (Rev. 10) as their new marching orders in April 1845. The Sabbatarians denied the possibility of conversions “from the world” for seven more years and finally conceded that sinners could still be the objects of their solicitude. It is indeed paradoxical that Edson himself, whose 1849 pamphlet clearly taught the Shut-Door²⁵ was perhaps one of the first to allow children and a few special people into the inner sanctum in 1850. Edson could have used hindsight but his memory evidently failed to remind him that he had been a Shut-Door advocate for several years. Of course, we should not look for consistency in Edson’s writings. (In the very same Shut-Door period, he made an exception for the conversion of the Jews in 1850.)²⁶

3. The concept of the “Wedding of the Lamb,” also found in the vision did not surface in periodicals until January 1845. But we can be certain that Joseph Turner and Apollos Hale who framed this solution for the disappointment did not receive it from Edson’s vision. They never credited their theory to a vision. They may not even have known Edson who had not yet written anything in contemporary periodicals. They first voiced it as a real innovation in personal letters to William Miller,²⁷ and in several articles in the *Advent Herald*.²⁸ They even created a new periodical, *The Advent Mirror* to outline it.²⁹ No one had advanced this theory before them and they needed a whole new periodical to demonstrate its validity to contemporaries against merciless criticism.³⁰ It succeeded in winning the assent of the radical fringe and of Edson himself as is evident by his letter to the *Jubilee Standard* in the same year.³¹ William Miller seemed to approve, but Millerite leaders were not convinced. The framers of this solution

²⁴ See Boston General Conference, May 1842 in *Signs of the Times* June 1, 1842, p. 69 and William Miller, *Evidences from Scripture and History*, 1833, p. 54 and *ibid.* 1836, p. 97.

²⁵ Hiram Edson, *The Time of the End; its Beginning, Progressive Events, and Final Termination*, Auburn Henry Oliphant, 1849, p. 9

²⁶ Hiram Edson, *An Exposition of Scripture Prophecy Showing the Final Return of the Jews in 1850*, Canandaigua, N. Y. Office of the Ontario Messenger, 1849.

²⁷ Hiram Edson, *An Exposition of Scripture Prophecy Showing the Final Return of the Jews in 1850*, Canandaigua, N. Y. Office of the Ontario Messenger, 1849.

²⁸ Letters of Joseph Turner to William Miller, January 20, 1845 and February 7, 1845

²⁹ Apollos Hale, “Has the Bridegroom come,” *Advent Herald* March 5, 1845, p. 26

³⁰ Apollos Hale and Joseph Turner, “Has the Savior Come as the Bridegroom?” *Advent Mirror* January 1845.

³¹ Sylvester Bliss and his colleagues produced solid criticism of the new theory in the same *Advent Herald*. The critique followed Hale’s article. It was never reprinted or acknowledged by Sabbatarians.

³² See comments on this letter below, p. 8ff

themselves rejected it not long after they launched it.³² It was clearly tied to the Shut-Door since it was part of the original parable of the virgins. In fact, Turner may have resurrected this Millerite concept which spread into several Shut-Door periodicals.

4. The Edson manuscript goes so far as to imply that the vision opened the door to the knowledge of the Sabbath obligation for Adventists. The last paragraph of the text seems to establish a connection between the opening of the heavenly temple and the presence of the Decalogue in the ark. This line of reasoning was not adopted by the group until 1849. It was not the result of Edson's vision. He himself did not begin Sabbath observance until Joseph Bates, the Millerite sea captain, presented it to him late in 1846

5. As for the explanation of the disappointment in terms of Revelation 10, it first occurred in the literature of the Albany believers in May 1845, after their return to proselytism. They did not receive this idea from Edson, but from the Millerites themselves who used it after their 1843 disappointment, as a rallying cry.³³

Much later, Edson included in his vision almost all the established theological positions of his favored church without regard to historical perspective: heavenly sanctuary, extended atonement, open-door, Bridegroom's coming, and Sabbath observance. He telescoped into one moment a series of beliefs that arose gradually, through give and take, study, criticism and natural historical development.

Edson's Earliest known letter and the Vision:³⁴

On May 2, 1845 Edson sent a letter from Manchester, N.Y (where he was twice married) to the *Jubilee Standard*. It shed light on his thinking seven months after the disappointment. Of course, by then, Crosier, his occasional guest, had begun to extend the "day" of atonement to a year, and set a new date for the advent. Turner and Hale had launched the "Bridegroom-Come" theory five months before. Therefore it is not surprising to find statements confirming their position in such a letter. But we should have expected to find in it traces of his October vision and a spirit consonant with its sanctuary concerns and with its view of the future. Unfortunately, the contents of this primary source have remained largely neglected by denominational historians.³⁵

³² Apollos Hale, "Anniversary Week in Boston," *Advent Herald*, June 11, 1845, p. 138

³³ Isaac Welcome, *op. cit.* p.522; *The Morning Watch* May 15, 1845, p. 157, 158, May 8, 1845, p. 151; William Miller, *Signs of the Times*, May 1st, 1841, p. 20; Luther Boutelle, Sketch of the Life and Religious experience of Elder Luther Boutelle, in Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler, *The Disappointed*, Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press 1987, Appendix "The Disappointed Remembered," pp. 213-216.

³⁴ The full text of this letter appears in Appendix C of this study.

³⁵ James Nix unfortunately does not take this important source into account. Merlin Burt's more recent doctoral dissertation takes it in consideration in an objective way. (Merlin D. Burt, "The Historical Background, Interconnected Development, and Integration

Like most of Edson's productions, this letter is not unambiguous. In 1894, probably referring to his unpublished manuscript, Mrs. White herself did not have a very positive view of his literary or theological efforts.³⁶ Its symbolism and its chronology were far from clear. The general message seemed to be that the year 1844-45, ending in August, would usher the "Dispensation of the Fullness of Time," a time conceived as that of the restoration of all things, announced by Peter in Acts 3:19-21. Edson enumerated all the "signs of the times" discernible in that year. But his typology did not correspond to Miller's, or to Crosier's distinction of vernal and autumnal types, fulfilled in the first and Second Advent. For Edson, all the types were to be fulfilled in the last "great year of time". We must remember that Crosier himself characterized that year (1844-45) as such,³⁷ and in April, he renamed it the "Year of Atonement," incorporating all the features of the Day of Atonement.³⁸ Why Edson predicted the Advent for August of that year is not clear; perhaps because Crosier's time-setting for April 1845 had already been confuted. It is not surprising to discover that many of the peculiar positions taken in this letter correspond to similar theological preoccupations in Edson's articles from 1849 to 1857 in the church paper, the *Review and Herald*.³⁹

The letter does not confirm the central affirmations of the 1844 vision. It does not allude to a new interpretation of Daniel 8:14, to Leviticus 16 or Hebrews 8-9, which were supposed to be the major preoccupation of the western trio, Edson-Hahn-Crosier at this time⁴⁰. Edson's first letter only quotes Leviticus in reference to the Feast of Weeks. We find references to Hebrews 10 and 12:22 merely as the basis of a final exhortation. Sanctuary typology as pictured in that Epistle is not discussed.

If the vision proffered an answer to the confusion brought by the disappointment, announcing the beginning of a lasting, heavenly atonement, the letter outlined a short future and amassed proof from signs of the times perceivable in one year. The vision was to bring a final key to prophetic dissonance. But the letter set a new date for the advent and sought a solution in new "types" and "signs" of the times. The letter gave no evidence of cooperation with Crosier or Hahn, who had begun to open a new path. Yet its "dispensation of the fullness of times" is found in Crosier's eschatology in the 1846 *Extra*.

of the Doctrines of the Sanctuary, The Sabbath, and Ellen G. White's Role in Sabbatarian Adventism from 1844 to 1849," Ph.D. Dissertation, Andrews University, Dec. 2002, pp 250-53.

³⁶ See her *Letter to Elder Littlejohn*, August 3, 1894; 1-49-1894, Document File 588, E. G. White Estate. Her grandson, Arthur L. White, relates this letter to Edson's unpublished manuscript (Letter to L. E. Froom, April 8, 1937).

³⁷ Crosier, "Prophetic Day and Hour," *The Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, April 9, 1845, p. 16.

³⁸ Crosier, Letter to the *Hope of Israel*, April 17, 1845, p. 4.

³⁹ See James Nix, *op. cit.* pp. 95-115 for clear summaries of his theology. The time of the end, the Age-to-Come, the completion of the times of the Gentiles, Daniel standing in his lot, the sealing of the saints were all subjects of interest in these articles, just as they are in this letter.

⁴⁰ This, according to Loughborough's version of the events. Cf Letter to A. W. Spalding, Aug. 2, 1921

Since it was sent in May of 1845, it is not surprising to find in it the characterization of the revival as the “Midnight Cry”, the sounding of the trumpet of Jubilee of Rev. 9 as past, the marriage of the lamb in process, and the types of the seventh month already fulfilled including the final blotting out of sins associated with Acts 3:19

Two statements in the letter are in clear contradiction with the vision: the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled, and the servants of God have been *sealed*. The first suggests a final separation of Gentiles from Saints (*The cloud is between us and our enemies.*) It was their last lost chance of salvation. The second implies a completion of the atonement, without which a sealing could not take place. It harmonizes well with the position of most contemporary sources. Sins are already “blotted out.” The saints have been sealed. There is even a vague allusion to Emily Clemons’ theory of a “new covenant” just inaugurated.⁴¹ The letter does not encourage “prophesying again” as does the vision. It is consonant with the invitation to the wedding and the Shut-Door of the parable.

The use of a dispensational terminology, or of a form of periodization seems to be present in several of Edson’s writings⁴², as well as those of his friend Crosier. The Advent Christian historian, David Arthur observes the prevalence of such ideas among the western factions of the Millerites.⁴³ They stemmed from the influence of the British Millennialists on the Millerite movement. Dividing the divine economy into dispensations was not unknown to Millerism. No such tendency is discernible in the 1844 vision, for Adventism had long condemned and discarded it before the manuscript was written.⁴⁴

For obvious reasons, the letter is more or less in harmony with contemporary documents, but the vision is not. The general outlook of the letter is utterly different from the spirit of the vision. At best the manuscript narrative portrays the poignant emotions that accompanied the disappointment. Historians consider it as such.⁴⁵

A Deafening Silence:

In Adventist literature covering the years 1845 to 1852, Crosier alone is given credit for the framing of the Sanctuary Doctrine.⁴⁶ Except for his financial contribution to Crosier’s

⁴¹ Cf. Merlin D. Burt, “Emily C. Clemons and the Developing Sanctuary Doctrine during 1845,” Research Paper, Andrews University, May 1997, p.11

⁴² See “The Two Laws,” *Advent Review and Sabbath* October 7, 1851, pp. 36-40

⁴³ David T. Arthur, “Come out of Babylon, A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865,” Ph. D. Dissertation, 1970, pp 352 ff.

⁴⁴ Opposition to the “Age-to-Come” faction of the Millerites was particularly strong in 1854 (Cf. *SDA Encyclopedia*, under “Marion Party,” and “Messenger Party,”)

⁴⁵ See R. Numbers and Jonathan Butler, *loc. cit.*,

⁴⁶ The article in the first *Day-Dawn* was co-authored by F. B. Hahn and O. R. L. Crozier.

publication, Edson appears nowhere as the launching visionary. Moreover this deafening silence continues until 1892. Edson's vision is never mentioned in any periodical article. Edson himself, who published articles and pamphlets supporting that doctrine, nowhere alluded to it. He related several supernatural experiences in his letters to the *Present Truth* of December 1849 without reference to the most strategic one.⁴⁷ When Edson edited the *Advent Review Extra* of 1850, and tried to reassess the nature of the atonement, he did not mention such a vision. As a member of the editorial committee for the *Advent Review* of 1850, and for the *Review and Herald in 1852*, he did not see fit to print the experience he had just related to the new convert, J. N. Loughborough. Of the known letters written to the church paper or to other periodicals none contains a reference to the vision.

Edson's association with Methodism inclined him to religious enthusiasm, and to practices evident in the camp-meetings of that era.⁴⁸ He lived a life frequently touched by the supernatural. His writings relate miraculous healings, dream revelations, inspired "impressions," visions, auditions of the divine voice, apparitions of guiding angels, angelic restraint, physical manifestations of the Holy Spirit "smiting" him to the ground, or of the divine power "slaying" the believers. He was a witness to experiences of "glossolalia".⁴⁹ According to his young confidant, he practiced a form of bibliomancy to receive divine guidance.⁵⁰ His reputation had even reached the ears of his enemies, who used it to justify their distrust.⁵¹ His interest in visions is evident in the careful preservation of Mrs. White's visions in his own handwriting.⁵² Since Edson was never reticent to relate such experiences, his long silence about that Cornfield vision remains a truly puzzling phenomenon.

Equally surprising is the silence of many fellow workers who accompanied Edson in his early traveling ministry. James Nix lists quite a few of these colleagues, some of whom were occasional writers for Adventist periodicals. Neither Crosier nor Hahn, his closest associates credited him with any insight in that period of intense cooperation. Crosier was not reticent to acknowledge the part played by others in spurring his insight.⁵³ In the *Day-Dawn* of 1847, when Crosier was observing the Sabbath, and still in good terms with Sabbatarians, he never credited Edson for anything in his successive articles on "The Sanctuary and the Host." Only

⁴⁷ H. Edson, "Beloved Brethren scattered abroad," *Present Truth*, December 1849, pp. 34-36

⁴⁸ Rhodes Thompson, ed. *Voices from Cane Ridge*, St. Louis: Bethany Press 1954, pp 69-72, cited in Herbert Douglas, *Messenger of the Lord*, Appendix A, Camp Meetings in Early 19th Century.

⁴⁹ The term used to characterize the experience of speaking in tongues described in Hiram Edson, "Beloved Brethren, Scattered Abroad," *Present Truth*, Dec. 1849, pp. 34-36. These experiences are revealed in his manuscript and letters.

⁵⁰ J. N. Loughborough, Letter to Spalding cited above

⁵¹ Joseph Marsh, who knew that Edson had visions before 1847, mentioned an episode of brutality against Georges Edson by his Father Hiram, dictated by divine revelation. See the *Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, February 24, 1847, p. 70. The accuracy of the report may be questioned since a long standing feud existed between the *Day-Dawn* and Marsh's paper. But it illustrates Edson's reputation as a "seer."

⁵² See Manuscripts of the Sutton and Dorchester visions copied by Edson, Advent Source Collection, 1607, 1850/W58, General Conference of S.D.A., Washington, D.C.

⁵³ See Crosier's letter to the *Hope of Israel* of April 17, 1845

one letter of Edson, almost exclusively devoted to Sabbath theology, is found in that paper.⁵⁴ None of the contemporary articles about the sanctuary doctrine, whether by supporters or opponents, mentions Edson as the original contributor. The only connection between Edson and the publication of the new doctrine is a financial one. The writing is attributed to Crosier alone or to the duo Crozier-Hahn. Edson's memory was quite accurate about that. The financial benefactors and supporters, Edson and Hahn do not share the prestige of redactors of the *Extra*.

James White and his wife Ellen were among the first eastern Adventists to meet Edson as early as 1848. None of their early writings or letters refer to the vision. Crosier alone receives her visionary confirmation for his 1846 article. Joseph Bates, the Millerite sea captain was the first Sabbatarian to meet Edson in 1846. This was after Crosier had published his major study. Bates had praised its excellence in one of his pamphlets.⁵⁵ In his own sanctuary presentation, Bates was not aware of a vision,⁵⁶ nor did he mention it in any of his other pamphlets published between 1847 and 1850.⁵⁷ Evidently, Edson did not entrust his experience to Bates during their extensive travels in 1852. J. N. Andrews, who was to become the authorized theologian of the sanctuary after Crosier's defection, and took a 600-mile trip with Edson across several states in 1851, is mum about the vision. His responses to outside criticism of the doctrine claim no supernatural vision to substantiate his reasoning.⁵⁸

Among the letters sent to William Miller after the disappointment, none confirm Edson's experience or adopt his solution to make sense of this poignant episode.⁵⁹ The first letter To William Miller that suggests, among several other solutions, an entrance into the Most Holy in 1844 is that of I. E Jones dated February 1845. But it does not suggest a continued atonement, and must reflect the opinion of the *Hope of Israel* in early March, which limited the atonement to a single day.

A Hypothesis about the Purpose of the Vision:⁶⁰

Because of his proverbial devotion and generosity, Edson's name had been associated with Crosier's major study. His name and that of Hahn appeared at the conclusion of his article, as providers of financial contributions. They also made an appeal for funds to meet the expenses.

⁵⁴ H. Edson, Letter from Bro. H Edson, *Day Dawn*, April 2, 1847, Vol. II, No 2, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁵ Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens*, New Bedford: Benjamin Lindsey, 1846, p. 25

⁵⁶ Joseph Bates, *An Explanation of Typical and Anti-typical Sanctuary*, New Bedford, Benjamin Lindsey, 1850, 16 pp.

⁵⁷ Four pamphlets were published by Bates during this period

⁵⁸ J. N. Andrews, "Sanctuary", *Review and Herald*, Dec. 23, 1852 pp. 122-125, and "The Cleansing of the Sanctuary," *Review and Herald*, May 12, 1853. A succession of articles on the same subject follows through 1853, in 1855 and 1856. (Of course in this case mention of the vision might not be good apologetics since visions had been stigmatized).

⁵⁹ The letter of T. Greer Clayton to Miller on October 26, 1844 is not a confirmation in any sense and was not aware of Edson's existence, "out west."

⁶⁰ This hypothesis was suggested by the late J. B. Goodner, a lay historian whose insights were always perspicacious, in an unpublished study written in 1986 in reaction to Jim Nix's term-paper.

But when Crosier joined Joseph Marsh as associate editor of the *Advent Harbinger*,⁶¹ a post he occupied from 1847 to 1853, he was linked with all the other “defectors” who had left the Shut-Door camp. Marsh had waged a long feud with the western trio, not only about their “Bridegroom Come-Door-Shut-Atonement Made” but about an accusation of financial dishonesty they had made against him.⁶² During Crosier’s tenure, the paper engaged in heated controversy with J. N. Andrews over the sabbath and the sanctuary. In 1853, Crosier accused the Sabbatarians of insincerity for republishing his article in their paper, from September 2 to October 14, 1852. At this juncture, he claimed that the purpose of his article was to support the Shut-Door position that Sabbatarians had repudiated a year before.⁶³

Weary of controversy, James White, the editor of the church paper hesitated to continue the use of Crosier’s theology. In September 1852, when reprinting Crosier for the last time, he called for “someone soon” to bring out the sanctuary truth for the benefit of his readers. Moreover the Sabbatarians had never reprinted the “Age to Come” eschatology of the article, whose “dispensationalism” was not to their liking. The promising brilliant young J. N. Andrews was given a new entrance into the theological arena to become the champion of the sanctuary doctrine. His controversies with the *Advent Herald* over that doctrine are not greatly innovative or examples of original exegesis, but they reveal his subtle ability to conduct an argument.

It may be that Edson, at this point was not entirely pleased with the choice of the newcomer who had no part in the original framing. Did he wish to keep intact his early association with the beginning of the doctrine by entrusting his “vision” to his young intern, J. N. Loughborough, who had just come from the Adventist open-door camp? In December 1852 the new convert had joined Sabbatarians who had more or less abandoned the Shut-Door the year before. He did not know that the sanctuary “door” to the holy place of the Sanctuary had

⁶¹ Marsh’s *Voice of Truth* changed its name to *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*.

⁶² That same controversy is continued in the letter of Harry Marsh in the *Day Dawn*, Vol. II, No 1, March 19, 1847, pp. 3-4

⁶³ In addition to Crosier’s contemporary and subsequent affirmations, evidence that Crosier remained firmly in the Shut-Door camp until he suspended the *Day-Dawn* in September 1847 is available in the letter to the *Day-Star* that followed his article in the *Extra*, as well as in several articles in the few known issues of the *Day-Dawn* for 1847. In the *Extra*, Crosier provided no “forgiveness” on atonement day, but only a “blotting out” of sins for those who had been forgiven during the daily services of the sanctuary. In this he was no different from his contemporary Shut-Door believers. Yet, his eschatology prolonged by seven years the full advent of the “dispensation of the fullness of time,” for the evident reason that the advent did not take place in 1844. He therefore postulated a “transition period” during which features of both dispensations “mingled like the twilight mingling of light and darkness.” The Gospel dispensation, limited during the twilight, would continue only for those who had accepted the last call of mercy in 1843-44. He confirmed this interpretation in his letter to the *Day-Star* of April 3, 1846 by suggesting that the Jubilee Trumpet that usually sounded on the Day of Atonement would interest “only those who were to be benefited by the release; hence would be sounded to Israel only.” This terminology was applied to Adventists only. He added: “Our shut-door position since the 10th of the 7th month ’44 has been peculiarly adapted to the Jubilee trumpet.” Unless we posit a total contradiction in the same document, we must agree with his affirmations about the purpose of the *Extra*. This document must not be studied in isolation, but placed in the context of all his writings for these years. It is true that by 1846 enough stinging criticism of the Shut-Door had appeared to make Crosier more circumspect about this position. Hence he merely implied it in his *Extra*, and stressed the availability of mercy for the saints in the “Most Holy” of the Heavenly Sanctuary.

been associated with the door of the wedding hall, in excluding the foolish virgins. Loughborough's books provide clear evidence that he did not know much about the earliest history of the Sabbatarian branch of Adventism. Moreover, he was only 13 when Edson's "experience" occurred. At 20, in his first post, he was not likely to ask inquisitive questions about Edson's part in the Sanctuary doctrine. If we consider the earliest report in his first book, it merely located the sanctuary in heaven. If this was Edson's "revelation," it was nothing too sensational for the Millerites who had witnessed the seventh month movement. S. S. Snow had already announced the end of Christ's mediatorial work *in Heaven* on the 22nd of October. Edson's "revelation" only became more impressive through his own late embellishment.

As for Edson's detailed amplification of the event, it may have arisen for more personal reasons. He had shown throughout his life an inclination to write obscurely on esoteric topics. His contemporaries were never fascinated with his ideas. Was this manuscript, with its important historical datum, an attempt at gaining recognition from his fellow believers? Was he seeking the dignity and respect he had been denied earlier? Whatever the contents of his manuscript, the Church had ignored it up to that time. Only when rediscovered in abbreviated form did the document gain the assent of Adventist Editors. It brought the Adventist church a timely, supernatural confirmation of its central theology. It was an ideal Adventist "midrash."⁶⁴

Any attempt at finding confirmation of Edson's vision in early Adventist literature is fruitless. His late manuscript is not a valid historical source. Its omnipresence in some recent literature may strengthen the Seventh-day Adventist "self-image." But its continued acceptance hampers the objective search for the origins of the sanctuary doctrine. Like any other concept, it took shape through the gradual development and exchange of ideas. It was immediately affected by contemporary responses, and widespread criticism. The quality of this criticism has remained unexplored. Nothing but a return to primary sources, and a careful weighing of the arguments used by its first advocates and critics will enable historians to understand and evaluate this doctrine, the very *raison d'être* of the Adventist church.

Fernand Fisel

ffisel@auxmail.iup.edu

⁶⁴ A Jewish form of homiletics which reinterprets sacred scripture in the light of new circumstances and according to new hermeneutics

APPENDIX A

THE EDSON EXPERIENCE: A COMPARISON OF DATA IN ALL THE SOURCES

Subject-Matter	1892-1905 Rise & Pro GSAM	1908 (?) S.I.E.	1914 Review & Herald	1919 Letter to H. M. Kelley	1921 Letter to Spalding	1921 Review & Herald	1870 (?) First printing 1910 Edson Manuscript
Edson's home	-	Port-Gibson	Port Byron	One mile from Centerport	Port Gibson	One mile from Port Gibson	
Place of meeting	-	Country Schoolhouse	(prayer meetin	District Schoolhouse	Schoolhouse	Schoolhouse	Barn/Granary of Edson's home
Location of Meeting	-	One mile from Port-Gibson	-	One mile up the Canal from Centerport	Two miles from Edson' Home	One mile up the Canal	Edson's Home (?)
Nature of the Experience	"Impression	As distinct as if spoken with audible voice	As distinct as if spoken with audible voice ("impression")	Not in an Audible Voice	"impression, Almost as distinct as though spoken in an audible voice	"impression, almost as distinct as though spoken in an audible voice	Vision and Enlightenment (Description and Exegesis of texts)
Contents of the Vision	Sanctuary is in Heaven	Sanctuary is In Heaven	Sanctuary is in Heaven	Sanctuary is In Heaven	Sanctuary in Heaven. Jesus has Gone into it to cleanse it.	Sanctuary in Heaven Jesus has gone into it.	14 new elements added to the previous reports
Edson's partner	Mr Crozier	Crozier	Crozier	Crozier	-	Crozier	Edson,s "comrade"
Source of interest In Hebrews 8-9	-	Edson's Bibliomancy	Human choice	Edson's Bibliomancy	Edson's Bibliomancy	Edson's Bibliomancy	Crozier's initiative
Role of Hahn, Edson, Crozier In study	Crozier Edson	Crozier Alone	Crozier Edson	-	Crozier Edson	Crozier Edson	Crozier alone
Name of the paper that printed the article	<u>Day Star</u>	<u>Day-Dawn</u> Corrected to <u>Day Star</u>	<u>Day Star</u>	<u>Day Star</u>	<u>Day Dawn</u>	<u>Day Dawn</u>	<u>Day Dawn</u>
Place of Publication	Canandaigu	Canandaigua	Canandaigua	-	Canandaigua	Canandaigua	-
Date of the first Printing	Early part of 1846	-	-	About the first Of Jan. 1846	About the first of Jan. 1856 (1846?)	About the first of January 1846	(Not the first No. of The Day Dawn)
Description of the First Printing	Elaborate Exposition, Lengthy ess	First ever published by Adventists on true sanctuary In heaven	Clear written article	First Article	First printed in <u>The Day Dawn</u>	First ever published by Adventists on Sanctuary question	The light on the Subject of the Sanctuary
Financing of the Article	-	-	-	Lack of means delayed publication till January 1846	Sister Edson sold her silver spoons to finance it.	-	Hahn and Edson agree to share the expense of publication (confirmed by <u>Day Star</u>

THE DAY-STAR
Vol. 5, No. 6, Tuesday March 25, 1845, pp. 21-24

FROM THE HOPE OF ISRAEL

To the Believers Scattered Abroad

[This article begins with an interpretation of the parable of the ten virgins that corresponds in most points to the "Bridegroom's coming" advocated by Turner and Hale in the Advent Mirror and the Advent Herald about two months before. But after this, a concept of the atonement never found before in any Millerite literature is introduced for the first time on page 23, first column:]

If we occupy the solemn, yet interesting position as presented above, we are led to inquire, by what reason the door has been shut. Some suppose, that the world, and Laodicean church, as a whole are rejected, merely on the ground of their having shut their eyes to the truth. And some portions of the world may be rejected, and not the whole, because say they, all have not had the same light as some have. But this is not the fact in either case. If the door is shut, it is done by finishing the atonement, on the 10th day of the 7th month, and if the atonement is not finished, then the door is not shut, and all who come to Christ, in any land, may yet be saved.

The argument from the types showing that the atonement would be finished on the 10th day of the 7th month, was perfect, save in one point; and that the argument may be before the mind in all its strength, just give it now a careful reading. The point of error alluded to above, was as follows. We supposed the atonement began with the crucifixion. We overlooked a TITTLE of the Law, of which Jesus says, Matt. 5:-18, "For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled."

The shadow of which we speak, is the daily offering of the lambs in the Holy Place, or first tabernacle, and not in the Holy of holies. See Numbers 28: 1-10, and parallel passages, where it will be seen, that the second Lamb was constantly offered at the hour of the Passover. Heb.10:11; 6: 67 [sic]. This offering was made daily throughout the same year, on the 10th day of the 7th month, or day of atonement, but this was not part of the atonement offering; Lev. 23:26-32. Particularly the 16th chapter. The live goat is the atonement offering; the slaughtered one, is for a sin offering; but no lamb is killed on this day! The cry in the sacrifice of the lamb, has been the whole year for mercy, mercy, but on the day of atonement, that kind of pleading ceases, the children were absolved from all their sins, and the live goat bears them into a land of forgetfulness. This atonement was made complete, on the 10th day of the 7th month, and no more blood can be obtained until another lamb is slain.

The type of the daily offering of the lamb must find its antitype in the continued pleading of the Prince and Saviour, while sitting at the right hand of God, where he was to sit, "until his enemies are made his footstool." See Heb.10: 12, 13. As advocate, He sits at the right hand of the Father, until the day of atonement; which atonement, in order that the type may be fulfilled, must be on the 10th day of the 7th month. Mark, it must be within the day. See Lev. 23: 27-29. For if it be not accomplished within the 10th day, the type is not fulfilled. -- This then, is the view of the subject. The Saviour, from his crucifixion, to the first day of the 7th month; was the antitype of the Jewish high priest, while ministering daily in the first tabernacle; -- He then rose up, and the virgins trimmed their lamps. On the 10th day He was at once the antitype of the dead and living goat. He entered the Holy place, or inner court (according to the 3d chapter of Zechariah) and shut the door. Then, the atonement being finished, as it must be on that day: He leaves on the clouds, to obtain the throne as we have before shown. -- The great objection raised against the argument of the 10th day, is then without weight, for He must go in, and come out, on the same day, and we have given abundant evidence that he has so done. Hence no more blood can be obtained, for Jesus dies no more.

One point more deserves our thought. When the Jewish High priest entered the inner court with the blood of sprinkling, the congregation stood without in almost breathless silence. This too, must have its antitype. This, the Kingdom of God must fulfil in their experience, at the time of the atonement. The word presents this silence in connection with the closing of the Gospel age. Read the following Scriptures in the order in which they are quoted: Rev. 8: 1; Isa. 41: 1, 2; Zech. 2: 13; Luke 13: 25-27; Dan. 12: 1, 2, and 8-10, Rev. 22: 10-19. This silence was felt and witnessed in the 7th month, and it is to all who love God's power, a sealing evidence that what we write is truth.

TYPICAL DAY OF HIS COMING AS KING

In consequence of the mistake in the typical arguments before referred to, we lost sight of another important "tittle" of the Law: -- We mean the type of the Passover. -- While supposing that the atonement began at the crucifixion, it was very natural to infer that the crucifixion was the final fulfilment of that type; but this was not correct. The Passover was designed, not only in the offering of the lamb to point to Christ, -- "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," but to commemorate the destruction of the Egyptians; both by the destroying angel, and in the sea, as a type of the destruction of the wicked, in the last act of cleansing the sanctuary. Our Lord did not fulfil the type of the passover, when he was crucified, for his enemies was [sic] not then destroyed; but then, as was shown in the Cry which was made, He did become the antitype of the Lamb, both as it regards manner and time. And this was done how? Why by becoming himself the Lamb, in connection with the eating of the passover feast. Luke 23: 15,16, "And he said unto them, with desire have I desired to eat this passover with you, before I suffer: For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be FULFILLED in the kingdom of God." After eating the passover with the disciples, he gives the sacrament of bread and wine; not to commemorate the passover, but in remembrance of Himself, see ver. 17-20. In the type the lamb was a part of the feast. Now, as He was to become that Lamb, He eats the passover on that day; thus connecting it with Himself, hence his desire to eat it before He suffered. It will be seen that the feast, and the Lamb which is the SUBSTANCE of the feast must go together; hence, as He becomes from the crucifixion, to the day of atonement, the daily offering for sin, the antitype of the passover lamb, it becomes necessary that He bear away the ceremony with him -- not fulfilled, but to be fulfilled in the coming of the Kingdom of God. Having connected the passover with himself, He institutes the Lord's Supper (so called) in remembrance of Himself, and as a pledge that the passover shall be fulfilled, when He shall come in his Kingdom.

Now dear Brother, as not one part, or tittle, of the law shall pass, until all be fulfilled, THIS TITTLE must be fulfilled. This shadow must certainly have a substance. And we have the word of Christ Jesus himself, not only that it was not fulfilled in his death, but that it shall be fulfilled in the KINGDOM of God.

The antitype will be realized, when the stone cut out without hands, shall smite the image of earthly governments, and become a great mountain and fill the whole earth. It will not only be fulfilled as to the manner, agreeably to the type, but also in TIME, and circumstance, for so has every succeeding type been fulfilled and so it must be, to some the jots and tittles [sic]. There is strong evidence then, that the King will be revealed, with the armies of heaven, as in Rev. 19, on some passover day, between the two evenings at Jerusalem. Now as the atonement must be accomplished on the 10th day of some 7th month, and the Bridegroom go for his Kingdom, and return as King on the following passover, so it is true, that from the 7th month to the passover, there is no mediator, only of the new covenant. Heb. 12: 24 and 10: 15-19, and no High priest, only over the house of God. Heb 10: 21. Whose house are we, if we hold fast the confidence and the rejoicing of the hope firm unto the end. Heb. 3: 6. And his priesthood is after the order of Melchizedek, which is first, King of righteousness, or judgments, 2d, King of Salem, or peace, and 3d Priest of the Most High God. Heb, 7: 1-2.

Again, as the Bible picture of the last days will not be fulfilled but once, and as we have had the time, the tarrying time, the Cry, the 10th day of the 7th month, with all its attendant evidences, together with the holy power, and heartfelt joys of God's salvation, consequent on the passing of the atonement; we feel justified in cherishing a strong expectation that our King will come in all his glory on the 11th day of the first month of the next Jewish year, at 3 o'clock, P. M. at Jerusalem.

[The text found in the periodical as well as its exact original punctuation has been reproduced. The article, which is not signed, ends with the assurance that the advent will occur in a "little while."]

Summary of the innovations in this article:

1. Completion of the antitypical Day of Atonement in one day (10th day of the 7th month) [The Millerite atonement began at the ascension and was to last till 1844]
2. Heavenly Atonement in two phases:
 - a) first ministration symbolized by daily offerings (lasting 1810 years)
 - a) second corresponding to the annual Day of Atonement (On October 22, 1844) [The Millerite atonement had only one phase]
2. Mediation for the world ceased after the Day of Atonement: hence "the door was shut," except for the "House of God." [Completion of the atonement on the same date meant the end of mediation and the close of probation]
3. Very precise date and place for the expected Advent : Passover 1845 in Jerusalem.

Appendix C

THE JUBILEE STANDARD

Volume I, No 13, 5/29/1845, p. 90-91

LETTER FROM BRO. EDSON

Dear Bro. Snow : -- THE LORD COMETH ! so says the law and the testimony. I believe it is a point generally conceded, that the lot in which Daniel is to stand, at the end of the 1335 days, will be the redeemed 'purchased possession,' the land which the righteous shall inherit and dwell therein forever. Therefore the Lord may come, raise the dead and change the living saints, cut off the wicked, root out the transgressors, before or by the ending of the days; see Isa. xxxiv. 1-10, especially the 8th verse; also lxiii. 4. And we believe we have good evidence that the 1335 days end this year, and I cannot extend them beyond August next.

Our Lord swore to the time, and that when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished. Has not that come? Is not our power gone? Deut. xxxii. 35, 36. Have we not gone 'even to Babylon?' Knowledge shall be increased, the wise shall understand, and the path of the just is to shine more and more unto the perfect day.

I need not pause to present evidences that the year of God's redeemed is come, and the year of recompense for the controversy of Zion. Has not the trumpet of alarm been sounded in God's holy mountain, and given a *certain* sound? Have not the inhabitants of the land trembled in consequence of the evidence presented, showing the day of the Lord is at hand? Have we not had the midnight cry, the antitype of the Jubilee trumpet in the 49th year? There have been voices saying 'the kingdoms of this world have become,' &c. 'And the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that reward should be given,' &c. Also the marriage of the Lamb is come, and it has been written, -- 'Blessed are they that are called to the MARRIAGE SUPPER of the Lamb.' And He says, these are the true sayings of God; hath He said and will he not do it? Hath He promised and will not He make it good? We have had all these in chronological order, perfectly

agreeing with the Word; and the Lord has nowhere warned us of a *counterfeit currency* of this kind. And as these voices were to be heard under the seventh trumpet, does it not follow of necessity, that the seventh trumpet has sounded? And the Lord has condescended to mark out the signs of the times of these last days with so much exactness, that his people might know their whereabouts, when they were nearing the haven of eternal rest.

The '*times of the Gentiles*' are fulfilled; we have come to '*the dispensation of the fullness of times,*' ---'the times of restitution of all things,' and the time of blotting out of sins, when the 'refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord,' and the time of the Covenant, when He 'shall take away their sins;' Rom. viii, 23; xi. 25,27; Eph. I. 14; iv.30; Acts iii. 19-21.

We came up to the types of the 7th month, and was not the Lord in it? Is not the cloud between us and our enemies? We came upon the types of the passover in the first month, and was not the Lord in it? Was not the passover the day-dawn, and is not the day-star arising? Are we not in the morning watch? The Lord has been looking through the pillar and troubling our enemies, taking off their chariot-wheels, 'that they drave [sic] them heavily, burning their cities and land. Have not the servants of God been sealed in their forehead? The destroying angel has commenced hurting the earth. The four winds are being loosed, and speedy preparations, are being made for the slaughter, and soon the Lord shall raise up a *great whirlwind* from the coasts of the earth. On rushes the time of trouble, but the Lord will be the hope of his people, and deliver them out of it.

We come *next*, in chronological order, not to mount Sinai, to receive the law on tables of stone, but to the anniversary of the Lord's descent thereon, I believe, to receive the law written on our hearts and in our minds, no more to teach our neighbor or brother, saying, Knowing the Lord, for then all shall know him from the least to the greatest.

The third, and next, order of types, claims our present attention. Please examine with care the following scriptures: Ex. xxxiv. 22-24; xxii, 16,17; Deut. xvi, 9-12; Num. xxviii. 26; Matt. Xiii. 39. Lev. xxiii. 15-21; Isa. xviii.7, and make the application. The first fruits are a very prominent feature in the quotation on types. Paul says, 'Christ the FIRST FRUITS, afterwards they are Christ's AT HIS COMING.' It was on this anniversary that the Holy Ghost descended and sat upon the Apostles like unto cloven-tongues of fire, and they spoke 'with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.' This is the anniversary of the Lord's descent on Mount Sinai, 'whose voice', Paul says, 'then shook the earth, but now hath he promised, saying, Yet once more I shake not the earth only, but also heaven,' thus connecting the second shaking, and the removing of those things that are shaken with that anniversary. And I think we have not had the antitype of the two-wave loaves baked with leaven, which are the first fruits unto the Lord. If so, where and when? 'Till heaven and earth pass, not one *jot* or *tittle* of the law shall pass till all be fulfilled.' 'Thou shalt number from the morrow after the sabbath,' (in the *passover week*,) 'from the day ye brought the first fruits of the wave offering, seven sabbaths shall be complete.' The number *seven* is an *important number* in the Bible, and brings us to *important points*. And in this case it is expressly said to be '*complete*,' at the end of which the two wave loaves [Jews and Gentiles, both houses of Israel,] are to be brought *out of their habitations*, baked with leaven. These are expressly declared to be the first fruits unto the Lord.

Now we understand that Christ's resurrection is the antitype of the first fruits on the morrow after the sabbath, in the passover week; and from that point, when the passover is being fulfilled in the kingdom of God, I believe seven sabbaths will complete the first fruits unto God, even they which are Christ's at his coming.' 'Then shall the present be brought unto the Lord, Isa. xviii. 7. Paul, after exhorting to certain duties in Heb. X., assures us if we sin willfully after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful *looking for* of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. And exhorts not to cast away our confidence, for we have need of patience after we have done the will of God, that we might receive the promise, 'For yet a *little while*, and he shall come will come, and will not tarry.' Then in the 12th chapter, presents the example of Esau, to the intent we should not do as he did, for 'when he would have inherited the blessing he was rejected, for he found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins; 2 Esdras, vi.8,9 says, 'Esau is the end of the world, Jacob is the beginning of it that followeth.'

Paul after this admonition, goes on to tell us we 'are not come to the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire; and the voice of words,' &c.; but we 'are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly, and church of the first born, which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant,' and to the receiving the kingdom which 'CANNOT BE MOVED.' Paul connects the event with the anniversary of the Lord's descent on mount Sinai, and with the 'yet once more' shaking, not the earth only, but also heaven, and the removing of those things that are shaken, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.' And he has connected it with the receiving of the kingdom. And who can separate them? I dare not; see 26-28 verses. Now I think no one will contend that this event was arrived at in Paul's day, or any time in the Gospel dispensation, or in the times of the Gentiles. Examine with care the following quotations, and I think they will set the matter in its clear light; Dan ii. 44; vii.13, 14, 18; Rev. xxi.10 and onward; Isa. li, 11; lxiii. 4; Ps. Cii. 13-18; Isa. xxxiv.8; Rom. xi. 25-27; Eph. I.4; iv. 30; Acts iii. 19-21.

May the Lord help all his people to watch and be like men *waiting* for their Lord, girt about with truth, and their lights burning, that when he cometh and knocketh we may open to him immediately. Yours, waiting,

Manchester, May 22 (?)

HIRAM EDSON.

[The text and punctuation of the original have been preserved]

APPENDIX D

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

THE DAY-STAR, Vol 6, No 7, September 20, 1845

1. Introduction: The Authorship of this Letter:

There were two James White in the Millerite movement. Unfortunately both had the same middle initial. Neither of them used their middle initial with regularity.⁶⁵ In the years following the disappointment, the leader of the future Sabbatarian movement, James Springer White usually wrote to various periodicals from towns in Maine, Portland, Topsham, Gardner, or neighboring towns. He was in Portland on August 10 and 19, 1845,⁶⁶ when he wrote to the *Day-Star*, and in Topsham on September 27, 1845,⁶⁷ about the time this letter was written. We must of course remember that the believers in Maine were not yet Sabbath-keepers at this early date and had not yet united in common beliefs. The other James S. White wrote from Massachusetts, Boston, Worcester, Kinston, North Wrentham, or North Attleboro or from Connecticut, Hartford. He never was a Sabbath-keeper, but like most Millerites in September 1845, he believed in a Shut-Door. He agreed that the Bridegroom had come to the wedding, that the atonement ended in 1844, and that the last "watch" was at hand.

This letter, written from Boston, has been credited in Adventist historical literature to the future Sabbatarian leader.⁶⁸ This erroneous attribution creates certain anachronisms, without really serious consequences in the development

⁶⁵ Neither used their middle initial in their letters to the *Day-Star*

⁶⁶ *Day-Star*, August 11 and 20, 1845

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Most Adventist historical studies that quote this letter attribute it to the Sabbatarian leader.

of the Sanctuary doctrine, but the matter needs to be set straight to understand the position of the early leaders and the development of their thinking. In September 1845 Crozier's extension of the atonement had already been published in the first *Day-Dawn* of March 26. On February 15, if the dating is valid, Ellen Harmon had received the vision of the "Bridegroom's Coming" that implied continued atonement. Therefore, it would be surprising to see James White, here fiancé, speak of a completed atonement in September, unless he did not read the *Day-Star*, the *Day-Dawn*, or *The Hope of Israel*. Was he unaware that Crozier was already prolonging the atonement in April 1845 and subsequent months? We simply cannot ascertain what his position was because none of James White's earliest letters, before 1846, refer to the sanctuary. It is quite easy to see how the confusion between the two James Whites could have occurred. In September 1845, the Boston preacher expected the advent within the year ending October 1845, based upon the conviction that the Midnight Cry was the Jubilee trumpet inaugurating the Jubilee year. Crozier used the same logic but set the date for April 1845. We have evidence that the Boston minister did not retain all of these beliefs for long, but joined the ranks of the followers of the Albany Conference, becoming a leader in the Advent-Christian movement, one of the successors of the Millerite revival.

An analysis of the style of this letter reveals a more sophisticated expression, and a form of reasoning that is not a particularity of the Portland writer. Although typical of the times in its biblicism, it is organized with a certain logic. It is sequentially organized and not anecdotal as the letters from Maine. It does not deal with neighborhood problems in Massachusetts, but with a subject that was of interest throughout the Millerite population, as can be shown by the numerous articles on the "watches" in Adventist periodicals.⁶⁹ This letter was in fact written in response to a July article by a Brother Thayer on the same subject.⁷⁰ It is the work of an experienced pastor who had written in Millerite periodicals since the inception of the movement.

At this time James Springer White was more concerned with local problems in Maine, and with the defections of the Pearson brothers from the Shut-Door as well as the marriage of E. C. Clemmons to one of them. He was still waging his long fight against "spiritualizers" and Trinitarians. He began to launch the visions of Ellen Harmon on August 19, 1845, without identifying her in another way than as a "sister in Maine."⁷¹ Moreover his letters, unlike this one, are never given a title. The Boston letter happens to be sandwiched between two of those sent by the Maine leader to the *Day-Star*. The August 19 letter, coming from Portland, precedes it, with its relation of the vision of "a sister in Maine." While the brief Topsham letter, dated Sept 27, criticizing the upcoming marriage of the editor of the *Hope of Israel*, follows the Boston letter. This happy coincidence enables any reader to sense the total difference of style between the two Whites. Yet the general beliefs of both writers, are not too far apart, which should not surprise anyone, only one year after the disappointment. The writer from Maine concludes his brief September letter with a word of hope for redemption in the "Morning Watch,"⁷² evidently to approve the thesis of his Boston "homonym," which he had obviously read in the previous issue of the *Day-Star*. This phrase was by then an integral part of familiar millennial language. A supposition that the writer could have traveled from Portland to Boston (about 108 miles apart) during that week, and written his letter from there, is not likely in the light of traveling conditions in those early days.

Jonathan M. Butler, the author of many incisive studies about the history of Adventism had already noticed the prevalent confusion in his "Adventism and the American Experience."⁷³ In a footnote, he criticized Peter Brock, who studied the history of Pacifism in the United States, for confusing the two Whites.⁷⁴ During the civil war, the Advent Christian preacher wrote from Boston, and the Sabbatarian from Battle Creek, Michigan. There was no reason to confuse them, except for the coincidence of their name.

⁶⁹ Frederick A. Rew, "The Watches of the Night." *Advent Herald* Vol. VIII, No. 20, Dec. 25, 1844, p. 160

⁷⁰ "The Watches," *Day-Star* Vol. 6, No. 9, July 8, 1845, p. 34. Crozier may have written an article on this subject for the *Voice of Truth*, Vol. VII, No 10, Sept 3, 1845 but it was too long to be published.

⁷¹ Letter from Bro. White, Portland, A, 1845, in *The Day-Star* of September 6, 1845, Vol. 7, No 5, p. 17-18 August 19

⁷² Letter from Bro. White, Topsham, Sept. 27, 1845, in *The Day-Star* of October 11, 1845, page 47

⁷³ In *The Rise of Adventism*, Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1974, p. 173-206.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Note 65, p. 204

The following partial bibliography of the writings of the Boston minister mark his active written participation in the young movement from its earliest time

1. Letter from Kinston, Mass. on a work by Joshua Spaulding, *Signs of the Times*, Vol. II , No 2, March 22, 1841.
2. A letter to Rev. L. F Dimmick, a brief review of his discourse, "The end of the world not yet." Boston, Joshua V. Himes, 1842, 27pp.
3. Letter from North Wrentham, Mass. *Signs of the Times*, Vol. V, No. 7, April 19, 1843 (sent April 1st. 1843, signed J. S. White).
4. Letter from North Attleboro, Mass. *Advent Herald*, Vol. VIII No 3, August 21, 1844, p. 19 (sent Aug 8, 1844)
5. "Who are Literal Israel," *The Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, October 8, 1845, p. 479 (sent to Sylvester Bliss from North Attleboro, Mass, September 16, 1845).
6. "State of the Dead," *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*, August 4, 1849, p. 49. Cols. 1-2-3. (sent from Hartford , Ct. July 22, 1849).
7. "Paradise, State of the Dead, & c." *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*, Dec. 8, 1849, N.S. Vol. I, No. 25.
8. "Solomon, A Backslider," *Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate*, Dec. 15, 1849, N. S. Vol. I, No. 26
9. "The Wheat and the chaff," a discourse by J. S. White, pastor of the Second Advent Church, Worcester, Mass. Hartford, Conn., George D Jewett, 1852. 19pp.
10. Will the Wicked be raised from the Dead," Boston: Advent Christian Publication Society, 1864
11. Will the wicked be raised from the dead? Boston: Advent Christian Pub. Society, 1869, 24 pp

[This bibliography is not meant to be exhaustive. Several other articles may be found in the *Advent Herald*.]

2. The Text of the letter:

Dear Bro. Jacobs:

Since the 10th day of the 7th month we have been in the waiting, watching time. (Isa. 21: 11) This night, divided into four equal parts, are four watches, and we are in the fourth or morning watch. Yes, the watchmen now see, and can answer, "The morning cometh."

I will first give some of my strong objections to the view of the watches presented by our good brethren, and then humbly give my own view of them. The view of some is, that the first watch was the close of , '43, the 2d was the 10th, the 3d was the Passover, then commenced the fourth, being six months long.

First. A watch is not a point of time, if it is we have at least five; for the Advent people looked at April '43 with as much interest (10th day excepted) as at any point.

Second. If the first three watches are points of time, in order to have uniformity in them, the fourth must be a point of time; when in fact we have none, but a space of six months.

Third. The reason our Lord gave why we should watch, was, "Lest coming suddenly, he find you sleeping." Mark 13: 36. Now if he had come between the first and second watch he would have found us all sleeping, whether we had watched or not; for while the Bridegroom tarried they all slumbered and slept. And if he had come at the second (on the 10th) he would not have found any sleeping; for when the cry was made, then all were aroused from their midnight slumbers, and there was no danger of his coming suddenly, and finding them sleeping.

The fourth, and as I think, unanswerable objection is, our Lord has fixed the chronology of the watches in Mark 14: 34. 'For the Son of man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house and gave authority to his servants, and every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch.' Compare this with Matt. 24: 14; Luke 19: 12; Dan. 7: 13, 14. As recorded by Mark and Matt., the Son of man is to go into a far country; and Luke tells what for; viz., to receive for himself a Kingdom and to return. Daniel saw in vision the same, after the fourth earthly kingdom had passed through all its changes. This was on the 10th day of the 7th month when he left his own house (the wise virgins) to watch and wait for the return of their Lord from the wedding. This watching time is one year. The Midnight Cry, we say, was the antitype of the trumpet blown in the 49th year. (Lev.25: 8,9.) So last year was the 49th, this is the 50th or Jubilee (verse 13). "In the year of this Jubilee ye shall return every man to his possession." Compare this with Isa. 34: 8; "For it is the Day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompenses for the controversy of Zion." Also Isa. 63: 4; "For the day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come." Now turn with me to Isa. 21: 6-16; "Go set a watchman." What for? "Let him declare what he seeth." Compare Hab. 2: 1-2. Also to write the vision, which was done in 1842 and '43. Next he sees a chariot with a couple of horsemen, (the Papal and Protestant churches, alike receiving approbation, borne up by earthly powers). And he answered, "Babylon is fallen; Babylon is fallen"!! The fall of Babylon commenced in the spring of '43 when the churches all around, began to fall into a cold state, and was complete on the 7th month '44, when the last faint ray of hope was taken up from a wicked world and church. (See Bro. Peavy's remark on this point in a communication headed, Jots and Tittles, in the "Jubilee Standard.") At that point began the watchman's night. (verse 11.) Now look at ver, 16. "Within a year (the watching time) and all the glory of Kedar shall fail." The glory of Kedar is the glory of this dark world. (See Psa. 120: 5.) It began to fail when the day of God's vengeance began, when the seventh trumpet began to sound, when the third woe began in the seventh month. (See Bro. Rutledge's stirring article on the third woe in the "Jubilee Standard," written last May.) Look at the floods, inundations, earthquakes, fires &c. Has not that glory began [sic] to fail? Well, "within a year and the heavens and the earth will shake, and all its glory fail. The year of his redeemed, or the year in which he will redeem his people commenced when the atonement ended, and will not close till the waiting sons of the morning shall plant their glad feet in the golden street of the city of God. Hallelujah!

Now we see the watches are 3 months each: The first commencing on the 10th, reached to January, when we got the light on the shut door. The second brought us to the Passover. (Midnight or midway in this watching night.) The third brought us to the supposed end of the 1335 days in July, since which we have been in the morning watch. You may inquire why did not Luke mention the first and fourth watches? Because there is a special blessing pronounced on those who watch through the second and third watches (from January to July,) but no special blessing for watching in the first, (from Oct. to January,) for in the first watch, all, with few exceptions, watched. The sweet heavenly anointing received in the 7th month, lasted all through the first watch; and our brethren of the Advent Herald, Morning Watch, and Voice of Truth, told us all through the first watch that we heard the Midnight Cry, and in the soul cheering language of Paul and James, told us to be patient, for Jesus was coming in a "little while." But in the second and third watches, they have given up the Midnight Cry, drawn back to indefinite time -- "safe position" -- made up a bed, and are gone to sleep. In this trying time it has been hard watching; hence a special blessing is ours for "so doing." The reason why he did not mention the fourth watch is given in Matt. 24: 43; "But know this, that if the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched." Do we know what watch the Lord is coming? Certainly. Three have passed, and there is but four. All who see this light will receive a certainty that before the 10th day of the 7th month 1845, our King will come, and we will watch, and like Noah, know the day. (Rev. 3: 3.) Awake, awake! awake!! ye heralds of the Jubilee, and tell the scattered flock, the morning cometh!

Boston, Mass, Sept., 1845.

JAMES WHITE.

[The text and punctuation of the letter have been preserved].

APPENDIX E

HISTORY OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE DAY-DAWN

		1845-1847			
Vol. No.	Date	Day	Source	Contents	
I	1	March 26, 1846	(Thursday)	The <u>Morning Watch</u> , April 3, 1845 The <u>Day Star</u> , April 15, 1845. The <u>Voice of Truth</u> , June 16, 1845 The <u>Ontario Messenger</u> , Marsh 26 Now available	"No inspired 'new messages.' Differs but little from the views of Appolos Hale," (<u>Advent Mirror</u> , Jan, 1845 and <u>Advent Herald</u> , Febr. 26 and March 5, 1845), or from those of the <u>Jubilee Standard</u> and the <u>Hope of Israel</u> .. (Yet, the article innovates in extending the atonement to April 1845 and developing a typology of the sanctuary
I	2	July 18, 1846	(Saturday)	The <u>Voice of Truth</u> , June 11, July and July 16, 1845	Advocated the shut-door
				Crozier to Pearson, <u>Hope of Israel</u> April 17, 1846	Crozier to Pearson, <u>Hope of Israel</u>
				The <u>Day Star</u> , August 8, 1846 Vol II, No 5-6, p. 18 <u>Day-Dawn</u> , July 18, 1849 page 1 (k	Poem by John Hobart (2 verses) "Letter to Bro. Jacobs," dated April 28, 1846 (reproaching him for unwillingness to publish letters about Shakerism). Discusses Jacobs' claim to have "received the Kingdom" in Cleveland, Ohio. "Visit to the Shakers," (Crozier's account of his visit to an Ohio Shaker settlement) reproduced in the <u>Day-Star</u> of August 8, with an introduction.
I	3	8 Oct. 1846	(Thursday)	Subsequent issues indicate regular Thursday publication every other (See below under Vol. 1, No 12) <u>Day Star</u> November 7, 1846 H. L. (Editor Enoch Jacobs settled in Sh Village in Ohio)	This issue and the next 2 probably continued criticism of the Shakers Accuses <u>Day Dawn</u> of duplicity for being on the "side of the flesh" In criticizing Shaker celibacy: (article on the "Principal Seat of Human depravity.")
I	4	22 Oct. 1846	(Thursday)		
I	5	5 Nov. 1846	(Thursday)		
I	6	19 Nov 1846	(Thursday)		
I	7	3 Dec. 1846	(Thursday)		
I	8	17 Dec. 1846	(Thursday)	Cf. <u>Review and Herald</u> May 6, 1851 <u>Review and Herald</u> Vol II, No.11, 19, 1851 quotes J. B. Cook from <u>Day-Dawn</u>	Defense of the Sabbath by Crozier Defense of the Sabbath by Cook
I	9	31 Dec. 1846	Thursday		
I	10	14 Jan. 1847		J. S.White, <u>A Word to the Little F</u> May 30, 1847, Letter of E. G. White To Eli Curtis, April 21, 1847, pp 1 Cf. <u>Day Dawn</u> vol. II, No 2 p. 7	Mrs. White seems to imply that No 11 and 12 were combined Into one issue. The contents of Curtis' communication in an <u>Extra</u> of the <u>Day-Dawn</u> is the object of comments by Crozier & Mrs. White
I	11	28 Jan. 1847	(Thursday)		Eli Curtis invites Mrs. White to answer his communications

I	12	11 Febr. 1847	(Thursday)	Joseph Marsh's editorial "Greatly Mistaken" <u>Voice of Truth</u> Febr 11. J. Weston in letter of Febr. 25, 1847. The <u>Day Dawn</u> of March 19, 1847. This issue determines the regular Thursday publication for previous Letter of E. S. Blakeslee alludes to Contents of this issue (<u>Day Dawn</u> April 2, 1847 Vol. II, No 2	Accusation of financial dishonesty in Marsh's publishing practices. The Day Dawn is still advocating the "wild delusions of the Doctrine of the shut-door and its kindred absurdities" (Marsh). Acknowledgment of receipt of this issue by Weston. "The Sanctuary and the Host" No 1 Reprinting of an article by Weston from the <u>Voice of Truth</u>
I	13	25 Febr. 1847	(Thursday)	Issue mentioned in J.F Wardwell's Letter to Crozier. In April 16,1847 <u>Day Dawn</u>	Letter of James White on the final Judgment, answering a Previous article by Wardwell on the same subject. "The Sanctuary and the Host, No 2" (summarized in the next issue (March 19,1847) (the Sanctuary is a sacred place belonging to Christians
II	1	19 March 1847	(Friday)	Copy available (Andrews Univ. Re Center)	M. L. Curtis, "Pilate said unto him, What is Truth?" J. Weston, Letter to Crozier, Febr. 25, 1847 Crozier's "Answer to Watson." Crozier, "The Sanctuary and the Host, No 3" Crozier, "Remarks on Rev. 20." (answering M. L. Curtis) Correspondence (including letter by Harry Marsh confirming the Validity of the financial accusation against Marsh) (See Vol. .1 No 12 above.
II	2	2 April 1847	(Friday)	Copy available (same source)	Aaron Ellis, "Calculation of the 2300 days." F. B. Hahn, "The Time is at Hand." (& Sabbath defense) Crozier, "The Advent this Spring>" p. 8, sanctuary article not continued (for want of room). Description of Eli Curtis' <u>Extra</u> (see Vol. 1 No 11 above) E.G. White, Letter to Eli Curtis, in <u>Word to the Little Flock</u> , pp. 11-12, April 21.1847 comments on the same <u>Extra</u> Correspondence (C. S. Minor, Hiram Edson, H. E. Carver, E. S. Blakeslee and J. B. Cook
II	3	16 April 1847	(Friday)	Copy available (same source) Apparently the last issue for some. According to James White who kn on May 30, it was not then published (<u>Word to the Little Flock</u> , page 1) <u>Day Star</u> , Oct. 11, 1845 <u>Day Dawn</u> , April 2, 1847	Eli Curtis, "Signs in the Heavens" March 30 1847 J. F. Wardwell, "The Mystery of God." (on the "daily.") H.H. Gross Letter to Crozier introducing the next: Reprint of H. H. Gross, "The Sanctuary." From the <u>Bible Advocate</u> Crozier's comment on the previous Letters from Elvira Hastings (New Ipswich, N. H.) and A. Pond Crozier's editorial, "Circumstances of the Second Advent." New summaries.
II	4 (?)	Sept. 1847	(Friday?)	<u>The Bible Advocate</u> , March 16, 1847 pp. 34, 35, Vol. IV, No.5	Article on the symbolism of the two goats of the Day of Atonement, answering an inquiry by Charles Beecher in a letter Dated March 4, 1848. This letter also announces the suspension of the <u>Day-dawn</u> with this issue

APPENDIX F

THE EVOLUTION OF CROZIER'S THEOLOGY

TO OCTOBER 1845

James Nix in his autobiography of Hiram Edson, as well as this writer, at first unaware of the availability of an article published in the *Ontario Messenger* on March 26, 1845 as the first issue of the *Day-Dawn*, had concluded that Crosier's major article on the Sanctuary had not appeared in its first issue. No other issue of the *Day-Dawn* was published before Crosier's major study in the *Day Star Extra* of February 7, 1846. Before March 26, Crosier was not studying the sanctuary as the Adventist tradition would have it, (See appendix A above) but speculating on the unknown "day" of Matt. 24:36 and Mark 13:32-35 which he regarded as "symbolic time." (one day representing a year). In his article "Prophetic Day and Hour," (written on March 8 but published in the *Voice of Truth* on April 9) he attempted to synchronize various phases of the parable of the ten virgins with the day, hour and watches of the night of the Olivet discourse. By applying the "year-day principle" to that "day", he concluded that the Jewish year 1844 -1845 was "the last year of time," concluding with the Advent in April 1845. Crosier seemed to continue his "time" speculations in "Esdras Explains the time in Daniel," in the *Voice of Truth* of March 19, 1845, finding in the apocryphal Esdras proofs of inspiration, and confirmation of the prophetic figures in Daniel. Crosier's letter to the *Hope of Israel*, dated April 4th 1845, and published on the 17th, called the atonement "a new chain of evidences in the Scripture full of assurance and comfort, which has never yet been published." Yet, his article in the first issue of the *Day-Dawn* did contain a first presentation of atonement typology. Perhaps Crosier discounted it as a text printed by a secular paper.

His April letter to the *Hope of Israel* acknowledges his acquaintance with some recent issues of this periodical brought to him by a brother Howell. Among these papers must have been found the extensive article that was the first ever among Adventists to propound the thesis of a two-phase atonement in the Heavenly Sanctuary. This unsigned article reprinted in the *Day-Star* of March 25, 1845 came from the editors of the *Hope of Israel*, C. H. Pearson, and Emily Clemmons, and was titled "To the Believers Scattered Abroad. (The pertinent sections of this address are found in Appendix B of this study) It must have first appeared at least 4 days before it was reprinted, as it took at least four days for letters from the east to reach Cincinnati. The *Hope of Israel* was a weekly periodical published every Friday. Hence this article must have been included in the issues of March 14 or 21, 1845.

Crosier, whose previous speculations had not involved sanctuary theology, was no doubt influenced by this article to write his first issue of the *Day Dawn* on March 26 as well as his letter to the *Hope* on April 4. Not only did it reflect the ideas present in his first article to the *Voice of Truth*, as well as in his letter to the *Hope of Israel*, but espoused the sequence and subject matter of the long address reprinted in the *Day-Star*. The innovative aspect of this address was to recognize an "error" in the traditional notion that the atonement began at the crucifixion. It emphasized two cultic types: the type of the daily offering, and the type of the Day of Atonement. The latter, they asserted must be completed "within the day" or else it cannot fulfill the type. Festival typology had been a favorite hermeneutic of the Millerites. In the following issue of the *Hope of Israel*, likewise reprinted in the *Day-Star* letters of G. F. Brown and Emily Clemons reemphasized the same typology.

There is a clear affinity between the first issue of the *Day Dawn* and the contents of the letter to the *Hope*. Still relying on his conclusions about the “day” of Matt. 24: 36 in spite of the meaningful criticism of Joseph Marsh that this was not symbolic, but literal time, (see the “Remarks on the Above” in his *Voice of Truth*) Crozier now concluded that this last year of time was to be the “atonement year.” This did mean that he extended the completed one-day atonement of the *Hope of Israel* to a year that began in April 1844, and would end in April 1845. It was not yet the open-ended atonement of Seventh-day Adventism, since that “Jewish” year was to end but a few days after he wrote. In that year of atonement he had to crowd in most of the features of the type: Sabbath restrictions, prayerful vigil, priestly preparation, trumpet of Jubilee, purification of the sanctuary etc. What complicated his task was to harmonize all of this with all the “prophetic” features of the parable of the virgins which had nurtured the Millerite movement. So the “Midnight Cry” became the trumpet of Jubilee, the tarrying of the Bridegroom became the priestly preparation for the great ceremonial, the marriage became the atonement. The changes in status from Bridegroom to King, sequential in the *Advent Mirror*, now became combined into one act with the priestly function. These transactions were considered changes in “office,” the very term used by Turner and Hale in the *Advent Mirror* and other publications. Ultimately coronation, marriage and priesthood were combined into one and the same event, the final eschatological Day of Atonement. This accumulation of symbols was another wonder of the religious imagination, not too preoccupied with logic, a veritable “tour de force.”

In the *Day-Dawn*, signed by Crozier and Hahn, it is the Master himself who shuts the door, not the foolish virgins by their negligence. When he becomes a High Priest for his saints only, he ceases mediation for the world. Any conversions after that are inauthentic (Hoseah 5:1-7 is the favored text of those who rejected new conversions). Acts 3:19-20 now justifies a distinctive separation in time between “forgiveness” and the “blotting out of sins,” without awareness of the inaccuracy of the King James’ translation of this verse. (see my “Blotting out the sins of Israel” in the “Jesus Forum Institute’s” website). Jesus had left his mediatorial throne and the “mystery of God” (the gospel Era) had ended. (later, in 1846, Crozier would lightly modify this conclusion). According to him, in the end, the righteous were to execute the heavenly judgment against the wicked using the sword!! When Crozier’s expectation was not fulfilled in April 1845, his friend Hiram Edson voted for next August. Continuous extensions of the atonement are nothing but the result of further confuted time predictions in which Crozier indulged generously before he became wise. If the first issue of the *Day-Dawn* was an adequate blueprint for later elaborations of the sanctuary doctrine, it is only because Crozier attempted to face reader criticism, which was abundant, as his ideas evolved.

In his second letter to the *Day-Star* of Sept 26, 1845, Crozier’s major concern was Emily Clemons’ recent defection from the Shut-Door camp and her plan to marry her co-Editor, C. H. Pearson. Crozier’s article on the Sanctuary, the second of two sent for publication to the *Hope of Israel*, was returned to the author half printed. Clemons rejected Turner’s view of the parable and labeled any attempt at placing Jesus in a new location in heaven a “spiritualizing” of the advent. “We have anticipated events,” she declared. Crozier’s solution of a new ministry in the holy of holies was nothing more than the “secret chamber” Jesus had warned against.⁷⁵ Crozier responded by emphasizing the concrete nature and tangibility of heavenly places. The heavenly city, the throne of David, the kingdom, its territory, subjects and laws were given a literal, external existence.

He stressed the continuation of the atonement: “it is not yet finished, but we are in the antitype of the tenth day Atonement.” He justified this position by reading the Epistle to the

⁷⁵ Matthew 24:26

Hebrews as an “Epistle to 1845 Adventists.” Citing Heb. 6:19, he argued that its author (Saint Paul for him) had *foreseen* the 19th century Adventist predicament and affirmed an entrance in the Most Holy for 1844. He failed to realize that instead of confirming his thesis this text made it totally invalid, since the epistle addressed its first century contemporaries to assure them that their hope had already entered “within the veil” in the first century. Such anachronisms are not rare in early Adventist literature.

Crozier’s apologetics failed to satisfy his critics. He could only emphasize the tangibility of future realities. Christ had not come visibly. His presence in the Most Holy was not the announced event nor was it the fulfillment of the parable in any sense. The Advent was still in the future. To Crozier, his solution was unassailable. Fortunately it was unverifiable. In this letter Crozier’s almost compulsive tendency to set new times for the Advent brought him to 1847, but only because his previous predictions had failed. It meant that the atonement would continue for two more years. When Crozier realized that setting new times for the Advent was no longer meaningful, he also extended the atonement beyond history to the end of the millennium.

On October 21, 1845 Crozier attempted to systematize the new doctrine of the sanctuary in a letter from Rochester to *The Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings* titled “The Springwater Affair.” It was meant to correct the wrong impression caused by Joseph Marsh’s criticisms of the “Bridegroom Come-Door Shut-Atonement made” theory. A list of ten statements, only eight of which were published by Marsh, contained Crozier’s new apologetics. Among these eight statements, were three innovations:

1. The atonement is not to be finished until after the Second Advent.
2. The scapegoat was not a type of Christ’s body but of Satan and the wicked, hence the sending away of the scapegoat was not a type of the disposal of his body.
3. The Sanctuary of the New Covenant to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days was not the church nor the earth, but the New Jerusalem. The “Sanctuary and the Host” are two. The *Host* is the temple of the *Holy Ghost*, but the *Sanctuary* the temple of Christ.
[Emphasis original]

Crozier’s letter of October 23, 1845 to *The Day-Star* acknowledged another disappointment for the fall 1845 expectation, which Otis Nichols, the Sabbatarian printer had also propounded. The bi- or tri-annual expectation went on in both camps of Adventism for several years. The same letter returns to Miller and Snow’s typology of vernal and autumnal festivals. Each festival must have its “fulfillment” in an antitype, the vernal types in the first advent and the autumnal in the Second. The fulfillment necessarily lasted longer than the type, hence the antitype of the tenth day of the seventh month is “not one literal day nor year, but must be *many* years.” He then included the Atonement process into the Millennium, for the “binding of Satan” and his demise into the bottomless pit were a part of the atonement process. If the scapegoat was a type of Satan, the bottomless pit was the land of separation to which he would be sent. To justify his extensions, Crozier insisted that full atonement was not over until the last two sin-offerings were burnt (Lev. 16:27).

Many of these innovations were further elaborated in Crozier’s major exposition of the doctrine in *The Day-Star Extra* of February 7, 1846 to which Ellen G. White gave the divine seal of approval. This document is not without ambiguities and misconceptions of which the author was not always aware. Although some studies of Crozier’s rationale have been written, the quality of his exegesis has not been evaluated on the basis of recent hermeneutics, linguistic analysis, and modern exegesis. This should be the burden of future investigations. In spite of his limited education, O. R. L. Crozier’s life is characterized by assiduous efforts to meet his critics,

by recognition of his early mistakes, and renunciation of the erroneous hypotheses of his youth. He produced a significant number of articles, studies, letters, and one pamphlet on conditional immortality. His life after Adventism was no less productive. His involvement in education, politics and social reform is documented.⁷⁶ My tentative bibliography for the decade from 1844 to 1854 alone amounts to about 60 items.

Fernand Fisel
Professor Emeritus
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
ffisel@auxmail.iup.edu

⁷⁶ For an extensive documentation on his life from 1869 to his demise, see Julia Crozier McCleary, *Owen and Maria Crozier, Victorian Settlers of Michigan*, n.d. Typewritten collection of letters, poems, articles and photographs