

1 with “great intensity in an era when millennialism was at the center of Christian thought,”¹² the
2 Millerite movement reached its peak in October 1844,¹³ gaining influence in different parts of
3 the world¹⁴ and became, in the following years, “not only the root of Seventh-day Adventism,
4 but also its prototype. Urgent eschatology, supernaturalism, self-righteous, remnant
5 consciousness—all these would become the characteristics of emerging Sabbatarian
6 Adventists.”¹⁵

7 The first and the last statements of the Millerite and Sabbatarian Adventist movements,
8 made evident the development of the doctrine between 1831-1850. As early as May 31, 1831, in
9 a letter written by William Miller to J. Atwood, it is possible to see that Miller believed that the
10 premillennial reign of Christ with His saints was understood to be on earth rather than in
11 heaven,¹⁶ on the other hand Ellen White expressed in 1850 in *Early Writings*, “after the saints are
12 changed to immortality and caught up together with Jesus, after they receive their harps, their
13 robes, and their crowns, and enter the city, Jesus and the saints sit in judgment.”¹⁷ Satan and his
14 angels remain on earth for a thousand years and the resurrection of the wicked occurs at the end
15 of this period.¹⁸

16 Even though this shift of locus of the reign of Christ during the millennium is evident in a
17 comparison of statements, some questions arise: (1) Did Sabbatarian Adventists adopted the
18 premillennial teaching from the Millerite movement without question? (2) Is it possible to see
19 any notable development in the doctrine? (3) Did Ellen G. White play any significant role in the
20 development of this teaching? (4) What was the significance of the doctrine of the millennium
21 for the Sabbatarian Adventist in the 1850s?

22

23

1 Millennium Doctrine in the Millerite Movement (1831-1844)

2 The roots of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination can be traced back to the “great
3 intercontinental second-advent awakening of the first half of the nineteenth century,”¹⁹ therefore
4 it is considered to be the best place to begin searching for the development of this doctrine.²⁰

5 Postmillennialism was the dominant position regarding the doctrine of the millennium,
6 spanning the period from the fourth up to eighteen century.²¹ Premillennialism came back into
7 theological prominence²² through the Spanish Jesuit Manuel Lacunza (1731-1801), who was
8 known as a herald of the Second Advent, and the man who stirred up “the two continents”
9 (Europe and America) with this doctrine.²³

10 The work of Lacunza *La Venida del Mesías en Gloria y Majestad*²⁴ was translated into
11 English by Edward Irving (1792-1834) in Great Britain and together with James H. Frere’s book
12 *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoom*, influenced Irving to interpret the 1,260, 1,290, and 1,335
13 prophetic periods according to the historicist interpretation of Bible prophecy. It also led him to
14 believe that the Second Coming of Christ would occur in 1868.²⁵

15 William Miller later endorsed the historicist approach²⁶ of prophetic interpretation,²⁷
16 Yamagata emphasized that Joshua Spalding (1760-1825), a minister in Salem Massachusetts,
17 reached similar conclusions to those that the Millerite movement reached in the 1830s and
18 1840s, which can be considered another possible influence to Miller on his understanding of the
19 doctrine.²⁸

20 William Miller stated between 1816 and 1818 that his methodology for studying the
21 Bible involved a verse-by-verse analysis of the Scripture using only the Cruden concordance;²⁹
22 in his systematization of the divergent positions of premillennialism, Fromm comments that in the
23 early 1840s Millerism was already recognized as one of the most widely accepted theories,

1 fraternizing with the British literalists on the premillennial and personal Advent of Christ, and
2 the historicist interpretation, differing with them in the nature of the millennial kingdom.³⁰

3 Miller established a list of rules³¹ for interpreting the Scriptures, which led him to
4 conclude, “the only millennium taught in the word of God is the thousand years which are to
5 intervene between the first resurrection and that of the rest of the dead.” The “personal coming of
6 Christ and the regeneration of earth” will mark the commencement of the millennium.³² By 1822
7 Miller wrote a “compendium of his belief” in the millennium that he recognized was incomplete,
8 but knew that it could be corrected in the future. Twenty articles were written in total, of which
9 four related with the doctrine of the millennium.³³ In his articles, he explained that this world
10 will be cleansed by fire, and afterwards, the “regenerated, sanctified, justified and glorified,”³⁴
11 saints will abide forever. Two resurrections will occur at two separate times. The just will be
12 resurrected at the second coming, while the unjust will be resurrected at the end of the one
13 thousand years, “when the judgment of each will take place in their order, at their several
14 resurrections; when the just will receive everlasting life, and the unjust eternal condemnation.”³⁵

15 Some years later, in 1833 William Miller wrote a tract of 64 pages entitled *Evidences from*
16 *Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A. D. 1843, and of His*
17 *Personal Reign of 1000 Years*. This is one of his earliest publications³⁶ which speaks about of his
18 understanding on the doctrine of the millennium. In his commentary on Rev 20:4, Miller
19 connected the coming of Christ in Dan 7:22 with this verse concluding that it depicts the
20 commencement of the millennium. He also linked the literal resurrection of the saints to the same
21 event, according to 1 Thess 4:16 and 1 Cor 15:22. At the second coming of Christ, the earth is
22 cleansed by fire, Satan and his angels will be cast into the bottomless pit, which is the place
23 prepared for them where “there will be no end although they may be loosed for a little season.”

1 On the same event, the kingdom of Rome and all the wicked are destroyed.³⁷

2 At the end of the one thousand years, Satan is “loosed out of his prison” gathering “all the
3 spirits of the wicked dead” that lived on earth and who have been punished “during a long dark
4 night of dismal howling, [*and*] of dread despair and woe.” Satan brings them altogether in order
5 to try to attack the holy city, but fire descends “from God out of heaven,” and devours them, this
6 is called the second death.³⁸

7 In his commentary of Rev 20:13, Miller makes clear that the saints “enter into that rest
8 that remaineth [*sic*] for the people of God. This rest I suppose to be the Millennial blessedness.”
9 The New Jerusalem descending from heaven consummates this rest, gathering the people of God
10 from everywhere and every time and entering into the holy city to reign with Christ for one
11 thousand years on earth.³⁹

12 As a final note on his understanding of Rev 20, the scene that follows to verse 11 is
13 interpreted by Miller, as taking place after the one thousand years, on the second resurrection of
14 the wicked dead. The white throne judgment concludes with a final destruction of the wicked,
15 whereby they are cast into the lake of fire.⁴⁰

16 In comparing his initial understanding on the doctrine of the millennium, with his later
17 publication in 1842,⁴¹ it is possible to see his differences with the common positions on the
18 millennial reign of Christ as follows,

19 The ancients believed in a temporal and personal reign of Christ on earth. The
20 moderns believe in a temporal, spiritual reign as a millennium. Both views are wrong -
21 both are too gross and carnal. *I believe in a glorious, immortal and personal reign of*
22 *Jesus Christ with all his people on the purified earth forever.* I believe the millennium is
23 between the two resurrections and two judgments: the righteous and the wicked, the just
24 and the unjust.⁴²

25
26 In the same tenor, he continued to believe that the millennium will take place on earth,⁴³

1 and will be characterized by a “state of personal, and glorious, and immortal reign,” giving no
2 room to any kind of spiritualism as some had suggested during his time.⁴⁴

3 It is considered important to highlight the point that Miller believed that the great white
4 throne judgment of Rev 20 would occur in two phases, the first phase at the second coming,
5 connecting that passage with Dan 7:9, 10, and the second phase at the end of the millennium.
6 Both phases were depicted in the same verses of Revelation.⁴⁵ Some years later, the passages of
7 Daniel 7 will become determinant in the development of the pre-Advent judgment doctrine
8 among the Sabbatarian Adventists.

9 Another important Millerite was Henry Dana Ward (1797-1884). He was an Episcopalian
10 clergyman and scholar who graduated from Harvard and who joined the Millerite movement and
11 chaired the *First General Conference* of Second Advent believers held in Boston in October 14,
12 1840,⁴⁶ this was a significant reunion where Ward addressed one of four main lectures. His
13 lecture was entitled *History and Doctrine of the Millennium*. In Froom’s commentary of this
14 paper he stated that, “few men have made such a study of this theme. Century by century he
15 summons the testimony of the greatest expositors—giving exact citations, and carefully building
16 his case,”⁴⁷ in summary, this is “the most thorough and really exhaustive study on the millennial
17 issue to be presented in the entire movement.”⁴⁸

18 In this comprehensive treatment by Ward, the first and second part detailed a descriptive
19 history of the doctrine of the millennium throughout the centuries. It begins with the apostolic
20 era, and continued up to the eighteenth century. He referred to the doctrine as a “stumbling-block
21 to the curious, a sort of absurd quantity to the prophetic mathematicians; an enigma of mystery
22 like Melchisedec among kings, and divine like Elijah among prophets.”⁴⁹

23 The third section of Ward’s paper emphasized the literal, personal, and premillennial

1 reign of Christ, with a literal resurrection of the saints at the Second Coming, a new heavens and
2 new earth, with no presence of sin and in immortal state. Satan is bound up when “the beast and
3 the false prophet are slain,” and the holy city is “manifested on the earth: for it is in the earth the
4 saints reign;” interestingly Ward also did a connection between Dan 7 and Rev 19-20 but added
5 also 1 Thess 4, Isa 65-66, and Ezekiel.⁵⁰ In some sense, it is possible to conclude that this
6 became a consensus of the Millerite movement; the publication of this cited paper proved so.

7 Finally, few months after the disappointment of 1844, one of the conferences held in
8 Albany on April 23, considered it appropriate to appoint a committee of twelve persons⁵¹ in
9 order to establish principles to be used with the purpose of maintaining the unity that was
10 severely affected among the Millerite movement. The outcome of the committee was a list of ten
11 “important truths;” the first and second emphasized the destruction of earth by fire at the literal
12 and personal Second Coming of Christ, the creation of new heavens and a new earth, as well as
13 the judgment that will occur at the parousia.⁵² The fifth “important truth” dealt with the
14 “resurrection of the bodies of all the dead, both of the just and the unjust . . . those who are
15 Christ’s will be raised at his coming . . . the rest of the dead will not live again until after a
16 thousand years. And that the saints shall not all sleep, but shall be changed in the twinkling of an
17 eye at the last trump;”⁵³ and the sixth important truth reads as such,

18 That the only millennium taught in the Word of God is the thousand years which are to
19 intervene between the first resurrection and that of the rest of the dead, as inculcated in
20 the 20th of Revelation. And that the various portions of Scripture which refer to the
21 millennial state are to have their fulfilment after the resurrection of all the saints who
22 sleep in Jesus.⁵⁴

23
24 With a series of recommendations for unity, encouragement, affirmation of beliefs,
25 among other resolutions to the believers of the Second Advent the session was closed.⁵⁵

1
2 **Millennium Doctrine in Sabbatarian Adventism (1844-1850)**

3 In order to compare the development of the doctrine of the millennium between the
4 Millerite Movement and the Sabbatarian Adventists, this section focuses on the development of
5 the doctrine in the Sabbatarian Adventist movement with special emphasis on their three major
6 proponents, namely Joseph Bates, James, and Ellen G. White.⁵⁶

7 Joseph Bates expressed in 1846 that at the Second Coming the holy city of God will
8 descend with Christ seated on his throne, this city will become the “capital of the kingdom”, and
9 the earth is renewed at the same event.⁵⁷

10 In both editions of the work *The Seventh-day Sabbath a Perpetual Sign*, Bates equated
11 the Millennium as the seventh sabbatical thousand year. Somehow he came to regard it as “the
12 antytype of rest or the great Sabbath” with eschatological significance.⁵⁸

13 The first expression of the doctrine of the millennium in any of James White’s writings⁵⁹
14 appeared in an article written in *The Advent Review* in 1850 entitled “The Day of Judgment.” It
15 revealed a significant development to the previous Millerite and Sabbatarian Adventists
16 publications.

17 In this article, the activity of the saints during the one thousand years, was first stated. He
18 describes the saints sitting on thrones of judgment with Christ, judging “not only the world, but
19 fallen angels” during the millennium.⁶⁰

20 Another important shift in the understanding of the millennium, is in relation to the locus
21 of that event. The Millerite movement, as considered in the previous section, located the one
22 thousand years on earth, but James White came to a different conclusion. He expressed in his
23 article that “it [*the millennium*] will be introduced by the second advent of the ‘Son of man, in

1 his glory,' and 'all the holy angels with him,' to gather the elect only—the righteous— both the
2 living and those who sleep. They will be 'caught up together' in 'the clouds to meet the Lord in
3 the air.'"⁶¹ At the conclusion of the millennium the wicked are resurrected and the great white
4 throne scene takes place. It is not a time of judgment, but a time "to hear a sentence" according
5 to the millennial judgment of the saints, and to "receive the reward."

6 Another shift in the development of the doctrine is the cosmic implication of this
7 annihilation of the wicked at the end of the millennium, James White pointed out that until that
8 moment "the universe is clean" and only then "the whole universe can join in one grand
9 jubilee."⁶² The article shows evidence of tension with those who taught a millennium on earth.
10 He wrote that the arguments for that teaching, "look very inconsistent," and only at the end of
11 the one thousand years the saints "will reign on earth."⁶³

12 Nevertheless, there is still one question that remains, and that is, when did the shift occur
13 regarding the locus of the millenium from the earth to heaven? Was the article that was printed in
14 the *Advent Review* a personal view of James White? To find an answer it will be necessary to
15 observe articles written among the Sabbatarian Adventists between 1847 (publication of the
16 Second Edition of Joseph Bates pamphlet) and September 1850 (James White's article) on this
17 subject.

18 A series of important events took place in the Sabbatarian Adventists after the great
19 disappointment. There was a group of people who gathered for six Sabbath Bible conferences in
20 order to unify, clarify, solidify, and fortify their positions. These series of six Sabbath
21 conferences molded and shaped the future of the emerging movement.⁶⁴

22 The second of these conferences was held in Volney, New York on August 18, 1848 at
23 David Arnold's barn, where approximately 35 persons were present.⁶⁵ Ellen White described this

1 reunion as one where “hardly two agreed.”⁶⁶ This Conference was considered to be significant
2 since it was the only one where a discussion on Revelation 20 is mentioned. Ellen White wrote,

3 Some were holding serious errors, and each strenuously urged his own views, declaring
4 that they were according to the Scriptures.

5 One brother held that the one thousand years of the twentieth chapter of Revelation were
6 in the past, and that the one hundred and forty-four thousand mentioned in the seventh
7 and fourteenth chapters of Revelation, were those raised at Christ’s resurrection.⁶⁷

8
9 The person who expressed this postmillennial view was David Arnold,⁶⁸ which disagreed
10 with the teaching that the saints would be resurrected at the Second Coming. These expressions
11 were clearly different to the understanding of the millennium.⁶⁹

12 The apparent new light on the millennium doctrine caused great trouble for Ellen White
13 because she stated, “that many errors were being presented as truth. It seemed to me that God
14 was dishonored. Great grief pressed upon my spirits, and I fainted under the burden. Some feared
15 that I was dying.”⁷⁰

16 In a testimony of the events that occurred in Volney, one of the participants, Alexander
17 Ross stated that,

18 Sister White, while in vision, arose to her feet and took the family Bible upon her left
19 hand; the book was one of ordinary size. While holding it open, high up, without looking
20 toward it, with her right hand she would turn from text to text, and placing her finger on
21 the scripture, would repeat the same. I looked at many of the texts to see if she was
22 repeating the one to which she pointed. Myself or some of the company looked at them
23 all. In every case she not only repeated the text to which she pointed, but she did so while
24 her eyes were looking upward and in an opposite direction from the Bible. It was these
25 scriptures which she repeated that overthrew the false theories of the Sabbath-keepers
26 assembled at Volney, in August, 1848, and caused us to unite upon the truth.⁷¹

27
28 The Ellen White’s accompanying angel was displaying before her “some of the errors of
29 those present,” contrasting the truth with errors. She gladly reported that at the end of the
30 Conference all were united, and the meeting was “closed triumphantly.”⁷² She also commented
31 on her inability in understanding the Scriptures during that time, and the accuracy of the biblical

1 passages on specific matters was a tremendous witness for the group of brethren gathered there,
2 that the teaching was coming from above, and which they accepted “as light direct from heaven
3 the revelations given.”⁷³ But the meaning also clarified the preeminence of the Bible study in the
4 investigation of the Scripture, where they “spent many hours . . . sometimes the entire night” in a
5 deep research with fasting and prayer. Arthur White, commenting on the Sabbath conferences of
6 1848, clarified that “in the experience of the Seventh-day Adventists the visions were not given
7 to take the place of Bible study. They were, however, a definite aid in Bible study, correcting
8 erroneous interpretations and pointing to what was truth.”⁷⁴

9 After the Sabbath conferences ended, different views were adopted. Among the
10 resolutions accepted, was the doctrine of the millennium. The conferences had finally clarified
11 that it begins at the Second Coming, when the saints are translated into heaven. At the conclusion
12 of the millennium they return to earth and the wicked are resurrected to receive their punishment,
13 which is being destroyed together with Satan and his angels.⁷⁵

14 The first mention by Ellen White relating to events during the millennium appeared in an
15 article written for *The Present Truth* entitled “To the Little Flock” where she detailed a vision
16 that she had in January 26, 1850. In this article she pointed out that the saints will be in heaven
17 during the one thousand years and that the destruction of the wicked will occur at the end of this
18 period with Satan and his angels.⁷⁶

19 The following publication of Ellen White in relation to the doctrine of the millennium
20 was given in *Early Writings*, there she expressed that she had had another vision during the
21 general conference of believers held at Sutton, Vermont in September 1850. Interestingly, it is
22 was the same month that James White wrote his article “The Day of Judgment” in *The Advent*
23 *Review* as mentioned above.

1 The description of the events taking place at the Second Coming is detailed as follows,

2 After the saints are changed to immortality and caught up together with Jesus, after they
3 receive their harps, their robes, and their crowns, and enter the city, Jesus and the saints
4 sit in judgment. The books are opened--the book of life and the book of death. The book
5 of life contains the good deeds of the saints; and the book of death contains the evil deeds
6 of the wicked. These books are compared with the statute book, the Bible, and according
7 to that men are judged.⁷⁷

8
9 With reference to the activity of the saints during the millennium she stated the details as
10 follows,

11 The saints, in unison with Jesus, pass their judgment upon the wicked dead. "Behold ye,"
12 said the angel, "the saints, in unison with Jesus, sit in judgment, *and mete out to the*
13 *wicked according to the deeds done in the body*, and that which they must receive at the
14 execution of the judgment is set off against their names." *This, I saw, was the work of the*
15 *saints with Jesus through the one thousand years in the Holy City before it descends to*
16 *the earth.*⁷⁸

17
18 At the end of the millennium, the wicked are resurrected to receive the punishment that
19 has been meted out by the saints and Jesus; this is the time of the executive judgment, when fire
20 descends from heaven, and the earth is purified and eradicated from sin.

21 It is important to underline the phrase written in quotation marks, because she was not
22 using her own words, but specific words that were spoken by somebody else. The question that
23 can be asked is, who is this person that she is quoting? Ellen White later answered this question
24 by saying, "I would state that although I am as dependent upon the Spirit of the Lord in writing
25 my views as I am in receiving them, yet the words I employ in describing what I have seen are
26 my own, unless they be those spoken to me by an angel, which I always enclose in marks of
27 quotation."⁷⁹

28 The doctrine of the millennium was a distinctive teaching of the Sabbatarian Adventists,
29 although there are different nuances under the premillennialism umbrella, the Sabbatarian
30 Adventist understanding is totally different in various aspects. The vindication of God's

1 character before the universe, the great controversy metanarrative, the involvement of the
2 redeemed in the judgment determining the reward of the wicked, Satan and his angels, are all a
3 part of the distinctive differences.

4 On the other hand, this doctrine was developed after a deep biblical analysis during the
5 Sabbath conferences, and Ellen White's visions confirmed, clarified and expanded some
6 important aspects. But as James White expressed in *The Review and Herald*, Oct. 16, 1855, no
7 teaching during the conference came as a result of a vision, but as a deep analysis and study of
8 the biblical passages, "it should be here understood that all these views as held by the body of
9 Sabbath-keepers, were brought out from the Scriptures before Mrs, W[*hite*]. had any view in
10 regard to them. These sentiments are founded upon the Scriptures as their only basis."⁸⁰

11

12

Conclusions

13 Based on the findings, it is possible to express the development of the doctrine of the
14 millennium in Adventism between 1831-1850 as follows:

15 First, social, political, intellectual, and religious aspects favored the development of the
16 doctrine of the millennium among Millerites during the nineteenth century, William Miller's
17 preaching found a receptive atmosphere to spread the premillennial reign of Christ;

18 Second, the development of the doctrine of the millennium among the Millerite
19 movement based its emphasis on the study of the Bible, and it reached its very different
20 conclusions, as compared to previous held beliefs. The teaching of a thousand years on earth had
21 no parallel among other premillennialists of the nineteenth century. The role of William Miller in
22 the development of the doctrine of the millennium became a determinant for the movement in
23 the following years, the historicist approach of prophetic interpretation was endorsed by Miller,

1 whereby he focused on a verse-by-verse analysis, and he used the principle of *Sola Scriptura*,
2 which became the foundation for the doctrinal development of the millennium teaching.

3 Third, the Millerite movement in the 1840s reached a general consensus on the doctrine
4 of the millennium, agreeing with Miller's understanding; the lecture presented by Henry Dana
5 Ward in the First General Conference of the movement, became the accepted teaching of the
6 Millerites. It is important to emphasize that there is no statement in relation to the activity of the
7 redeemed during the one thousand years in the Millerite publications.

8 Fourth, Sabbatarian Adventists leaders, such as Joseph Bates and James White were
9 involved in the process of this eschatological and distinctive teaching, during the Sabbatarian
10 Conferences, although Bates emphasis and sermons were focused on the Sabbath, glimpses of
11 the millennium teaching were observed in his publications. On the other hand, James White can
12 be considered as one of the first Sabbatarians to publishing a detailed description of the
13 millennium, including the activity of the saints during the one thousand years.

14 Fifth, the development of the doctrine evidenced a deep analysis of the biblical text, the
15 principle of the *Sola Scriptura* that the Millerite movement used, was later endorsed by the
16 Sabbatarians during the Conferences in 1848. No minor debate occurred in relation to this
17 doctrine, which is evidence that the Sabbatarian Adventists did not simply accept the Millerite
18 teaching without question, but compared their teaching thoroughly with Scripture.

19 Sixth, Ellen White played a passive role during the discussion of the doctrine, although
20 she was not comfortable with David Arnold's teaching, she remained silence on her position;
21 during that crucial moment of the early movement, the vision helped them to be able to clarify
22 some concepts and contrasting truth from error, until finally, unity reigned among them. Her

1 later publications show additional details on the activity of the saints during the millennium, with
2 specific words used by her accompanying angel.

3 Seventh, the doctrine of the millennium was not dependent nor did it hinge on the pre-
4 Advent judgment teaching, it was developed in a different time and manner. The millennium
5 doctrine included such as issues as, the vindication of God's character before the universe, the
6 great controversy metanarrative, and the involvement of the redeemed in the judgment
7 determining the punishment of the wicked, Satan and his angels, which are all a part of the
8 distinctive differences of the Sabbatarian Adventists in relation to the Millerite movement and
9 the premillennial evangelical umbrella of the nineteenth century teaching in America.

10 Eight, this teaching reached a significant development during the first years of the
11 Sabbatarian Adventist movement, some maturity that is not seen in relation to other distinctive
12 doctrines of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. It has resisted the analysis and revisions
13 during of the following decades that lead until the present time.

¹Robert G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1977), 7.

²This is defined as a system that "used to describe the view of those who do not look for a millennial reign of Christ either before or after the second coming. This way of interpreting Rev. 20 involves the principle of recapitulation." George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981), 260.

³This "rests on the belief that the preaching of the gospel will be so successful that the world will be converted. The reign of Christ, the locus of which is human hearts, will be complete and universal. The petition, 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven,' will be actualized. Peace will prevail and evil will be virtually banished. Then, when the gospel has fully taken effect, Christ will return. Basically, then, postmillennialism is an optimistic view." Millard J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998), 1206.

⁴This view "is committed to the concept of an earthly reign by Jesus Christ of approximately one thousand years." *Ibid.*, 1209. The resurrection of the saints and the binding of Satan will follow the literal coming of Christ. A variation of this view is the heavenly reign of Christ instead of an earthly. Erick Claude Webster, "The Millennium," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2000), 12:929-935.

⁵LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1954), 4:411-426; Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1970), 3-14.

⁶Sandeen, *The Roots*, 42.

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- ⁷George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), 17.
- ⁸Gerard Damsteegt, *Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 13.
- ⁹William Miller, *William Miller's Apology and Defence* (Boston, MA: Joshua V. Himes, 1845), 6-7.
- ¹⁰Miller wrote, "in about twenty-five years from that time all the affairs of our present state would be wound up." *Ibid.*, 11-12.
- ¹¹Yoshio Murakami, "Ellen G. White's Views of the Sabbath in the Historical, Religious, and Social Context of Nineteenth-Century America" (PhD diss., Drew University, 1994), 11-20; Rolf J. Pöhler, *Continuity and Change in Adventist Teaching: A Case of Study in Doctrinal Development* (Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Peter Lang, 2000), 22; Alberto Ronald Timm, "The Sanctuary and the Three Angels' Messages, 1844-1863: Integrating Factors in the Development of Seventh-day Adventist Doctrines" (PhD, diss., Andrews University, 1995), 9-13.
- ¹²George R. Knight, *A Search for Identity: The Development of Seventh-day Adventist Beliefs* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2000), 39.
- ¹³Tommy L. Faris, "William Miller: A Common Sense Life" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2007), 223-266.
- ¹⁴Among the different countries are Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Norway, and Chile. Jeff Crocombe, "A Feast of Reason: The Roots of William Miller's Biblical Interpretation and Its Influence on the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (PhD diss., The University of Queensland, 2011), 25-27.
- ¹⁵Murakami, "Ellen G. White's," 19-20, 27-28.
- ¹⁶Miller wrote, "the dead saints or bodies will arise, those children of God who are alive then, will be changed, and caught up to meet the Lord in the air, where they will be married to him. The world and all the wicked will be burnt up (not annihilated [*sic*]) and then Christ will descend and reign personally with his Saints; and at the end of the 1000 Years the wicked will be raised, judged and sent to everlasting punishment." William Miller to J. Atwood and Family, May 31, 1831, quoted in George R. Knight, *William Miller and the Rise of Adventism* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2010), 15.
- ¹⁷Ellen G. White, *Early Writings of Ellen G. White* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1945), 52.
- ¹⁸*Ibid.*, 52-53. The same idea is later developed in Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1950), 657-661.
- ¹⁹C. Mervyn Maxwell, "Tell It to the World, Part I," *The Journal of Adventist Education* 43, no. 3 (1981): 18. This article is an abridged and adapted of the work of the same author. C. Mervyn Maxwell, *Tell It to the World: The Story of the Seventh-day Adventists* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1976).
- ²⁰Aecio Cairus, "Early Adventism: The Dawn of a Movement that Captivated the Christian World," 2006, Instructional Media Research Center, Adventist International Institute of Advanced Studies, Silang, Cavite, Philippines, 3.
- ²¹Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 1206-1207.
- ²²"The first three centuries of the church were probably dominated by what we would today call premillennialism." Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 1206.
- ²³Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 3:303-314. Cairus goes further in suggesting that Lacunza was not "merely a part of the Awakening, but one of its initiators . . . both Europe and the Americas, shows from the beginning the pervasive influence of the work of Lacunza." Cairus, "Early Adventism," 10.
- ²⁴The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty.
- ²⁵Ricardo A. Gonzalez, "British Roots in American Millennialism: Edward Irving and the Millerite Movement," *Journal of Asia Adventist Seminary* 10, no. 1 (2007): 58-61.
- ²⁶This approach considers the prophetic sections of the Bible as a "sequence of events" portraying the time of the Apostles until the "grand eschatological climax." Futurism and Preterism are different approaches. For more about the different categories of interpretations, see Kenneth A. Strand, "Foundational Principles of Interpretation," in *Symposium on Revelation-Book 1*, ed. Frank Holbrook (Silver Spring, MD: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 6:4-7.
- ²⁷The validity of this approach is expressed in his recognition of the biblical interpretation of Irving among others expositors of that century as follows, "one or two on every quarter of the globe have proclaimed the news, and agree in the time--Wolf, of Asia; Irwin, late of England; Mason, of Scotland; Davis, of South Carolina; and

quite a number in this region are, or have been giving the cry. And will not you all, my brethren, examine and see if these things are so, and trim your lamps and be found ready?" William Miller, *Miller's Work: Evidence From Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843* (Boston, MA: Joshua V. Himes, 1842), 2:238

²⁸Masao Yamagata, "Ellen G. White and American Premillennialism" (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1983), 30-31. Ricardo A. Gonzalez points out that the "same eschatological concerns" such as the personal Second Coming, a similar conclusion in prophetic periods of Daniel and Revelation, "the role of Ottomans in prophecy," the outpouring of the Holy Spirit prior to the Second Coming called "the latter rain," as well as the similar view on the concept of Babylon, and the death of Irvin in 1834 when Miller was commencing his preaching in America are possible connections of some kind of influence but it is not clear "to what extent the latter [Miller] borrowed from Irving's conclusions. . . . However it is difficult to believe that Miller's ideas were completely original. Gonzalez, "British Roots," 78-79. On the other hand it is important to highlight the argument of Knight on the different aspects that favored the development of the doctrine of the millennium in William Miller, he enlists: (a) the intellectual trends such as deism, rationalism, baconianism, that were present in America, (b) some political events such as the French Revolution, (c) "signs of the times" as the devastating earthquake in Lisbon, and (d) the revivalism with its "unprecedented interest" on the Bible prophecies. Knight, *Search for Identity*, 36-37. See also Francis D. Nichol, *The Midnight Cry* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1944), 27-42; Jeff Crocombe, "'A Feast of Reason': The Roots of William Miller's Biblical Interpretation and its Influence on the Seventh-day Adventist Church" (PhD diss., The University of Queensland, 2011), 86-172.

²⁹Miller depicted his study as follows: "I then devoted myself to prayer and to the reading of the word. I determined to lay aside all my prepossessions, to thoroughly compare Scripture with Scripture, and to pursue its study in a regular and methodical manner. I commenced with Genesis, and read verse by verse, proceeding no faster than the meaning of the several passages should be so unfolded, as to leave me free from embarrassment respecting any mysticism or contradictions. Whenever I found anything obscure, my practice was to compare it with all collateral passages; and by the help of CRUDEN, I examined all the texts of Scripture in which were found any of the prominent words contained in any obscure portion. Then by letting every word have its proper bearing on the subject of the text, if my view of it harmonized with every collateral passage in the Bible, it ceased to be a difficulty. In this way I pursued the study of the Bible, in my first perusal of it, for about two years, and was fully satisfied that it is its own interpreter. I found that by a comparison of Scripture with history, all the prophecies, as far as they have been fulfilled, had been fulfilled literally; that all the various figures, metaphors, parables, similitudes, etc. of the Bible, were either explained in their immediate connection, or the terms in which they were expressed were defined in other portions of the word, and when thus explained, are to be literally understood in accordance with such explanation. I was thus satisfied that the Bible is a system of revealed truths, so clearly and simply given, that the 'wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein.'" Miller, *Apology and Defence*, 6.

³⁰The list of theories included are (1) the Literalist Premillennialism of the British Advent Awakening; (2) the Millerite view; and (3) the Protestant theory, of postmillennialism, which emphasized a long period of gradual improvement and world conversion before the Advent. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:411-416.

³¹These rules are summarized as follows: (1) Every word must have its proper bearing on the subject presented in the Bible. (2) All Scripture is necessary, and may be understood by a diligent application and study. (3) Nothing revealed in Scriptures can or will be hid from those who ask in faith, not wavering. (4) To understand doctrine, bring all the Scriptures together on the subject you wish to know; then let every word have its proper influence; and if you can form your theory without any contradiction, you cannot be in error. (5) Scripture must be its own expositor, since it is a rule of itself. If I depend on a teacher to expound to me and he should guess at its meaning or desire to have it on account of his sectarian creed or to be thought wise; then, his guessing, desire, creed, or wisdom is my rule and not the Bible. (6) God has revealed things to come, by visions, in figures and parables and in this way the same things are often revealed again and again, by different visions, or in different figures and parables. (7) Visions are always mentioned as such. (8) Figures always have a figurative meaning and are used much in prophecy to represent future things, times, and events such as mountains and meaning governments. (9) Parables are used as comparisons to illustrate subjects, and must be explained in the same way as figures, by the subject and the Bible. (10) Figures sometimes have two or more different significations, as day is used in a figurative sense to represent three different periods of time: namely, first, indefinite; second, definite, a day for a year; and third, a day for a thousand years. The right construction will harmonize with the Bible and make good sense while other

constructions will not. (11) If a word makes good sense as it stands and does no violence to the simple laws of nature, it is to be understood literally; if not, figuratively. (12) To learn the meaning of a figure, trace the word through your Bible and when you find it explained, substitute the explanation for the word used; and if it makes good sense, you need not look further; if not, look again. (13) To know whether one has the true historical event for the fulfillment of a prophecy: If one finds every word of the prophecy (after the figures are understood) is literally fulfilled, then he/she may know that his/her history is the true event but if one word lacks fulfillment, then one must look for another event or wait its future development for God sees to it that history and prophecy shall agree so that the true believing children of God may never be ashamed. (14) The most important rule of all is that you must have faith. Sylvester Bliss, *Memoirs of William Miller*, sesquicentennial souvenir ed. (Boston, MA: Joshua V. Himes, 1853), 70-71.

³²Ibid., 73.

³³These articles are numbers XII, XIII, XIV, and XVII.

³⁴Ibid., 77, 79.

³⁵Ibid., 79.

³⁶His first publications were a series of articles for the *Vermont* in 1831. Most of those materials were printed later in the mentioned pamphlet as Miller detailed. Miller, *Apology and Defence*, 16-20. See also Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:500.

³⁷William Miller, *Evidences From Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year A. D. 1843, and of His Personal Reign of 1000 Years* (Brandon, VT: Vermont Telegraph Office, 1833), 54-56.

³⁸Ibid., 56.

³⁹Ibid., 59.

⁴⁰Ibid., 56-57.

⁴¹The series entitled "Miller's Works," which was composed of three volumes, was not the last written by Miller but it is the latest publication where it is possible to grasp his understanding on the millennium in an extensive manner. One year later, Silas Hawley, Millerite spokesman, delivered an address at the Boston Tabernacle dedication in May 4. This can be read in Nichol, *The Midnight Cry*, 520-522.

⁴²Miller, *Miller's Works*, 1:35. Emphasis supplied.

⁴³Ibid., 59.

⁴⁴Ibid., 2:30.

⁴⁵Ibid., 2:31.

⁴⁶This was held in order to coordinate efforts of the multiple ministers that joined the movement, see Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:299, 520.

⁴⁷Ibid., 567.

⁴⁸Ibid., 570.

⁴⁹Henry Dana Ward, *History and Doctrine of the Millennium* (Boston, MA: Joshua V. Himes, 1841), 11.

⁵⁰Ibid., 56-73. It had been expressed that the spirit of the first General Conference was militantly premillenarian, "it was feeling its way, establishing a firm foundation on which to stand." Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:569.

⁵¹The twelve includes William Miller, Josiah Litch, N. N. Whiting, J. V. Himes, Sylvester Bliss, L. D. Fleming, Erastus Parker, H. Caswell, I. R. Gates, I. H. Shipmna, Prosper Powell, and Elon Galusha. Bliss, *Memoirs*, 300-301.

⁵²Ibid., 301-302.

⁵³Ibid., 302-303.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., 305-309.

⁵⁶George R. Knight, *Joseph Bates: The Real Founder of Seventh-day Adventism* (Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2004), ix. Other authors included in this list are Uriah Smith, J. N. Andrews, and John N. Loughborough. Eugene F. Durand, *Yours in the Blessed Hope, Uriah Smith* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1980), 11.

⁵⁷Joseph Bates, *The Opening Heavens* (New Bedford, MA: Press of Benjamin Lindsey, 1846), 22, 32.

⁵⁸Joseph Bates, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign* (New Bedford, MA: Press of Benjamin Lindsey), 24; idem, *The Seventh Day Sabbath: A Perpetual Sign*, 2nd ed. (New Bedford, MA: Press of Benjamin

Lindsey, 1847), 79.

⁵⁹In 1855, James White clarified that he believed in three characteristics of the millennium as early as 1845 as follows, "E. R. Pinney held as early as 1844, that the Kingdom of God would not be established on the earth till the close of the seventh millennium. The Editor of the REVIEW [*sic*] has taught the same since 1845, five years before Mrs. W. had a view of this subject - that the saints would go to heaven at Christ's second advent, (John vii,33; xiii,33,36; xiv,1-3,28; 1Pet.i,3-8; Rev.v,10,) that the 1000 years' reign of the saints in judgment (Rev.xx,4; Matt.xix,28) would be in the 'Father's house' above - New Jerusalem - which Jesus has gone to prepare for his followers, while the earth remained desolate, (Jer.iv,19-26; xxv,15-33; Isa.xxviii,21,22; Zeph.i,2-18; iii,6-8; Isa.xiii,9-11; xxiv,1-6; 2Thess.i,7-9; ii,8-12,) and that at the end of the 1000 years, Jesus would return to the earth with his SAINTS [*sic*], (Zech.xiv,5; Jude 14,15,) to execute judgment upon ALL [*sic*], from Cain to the latest ungodly sinner, which cannot be until the second resurrection, when all ungodly sinners will be raised." James White, "A Test," *The Advent Review*, October 16, 1855, 61.

⁶⁰James White, "The Day of Judgment," *The Advent Review*, September 1850, 49. It is important to highlight that this conclusion was given just after the following statement, "some have contended that the day of judgment was prior to the second advent. This view is certainly without foundation in the word of God." Ibid. In other words, the millennium doctrine revealed evidence of the Sabbatarian's doctrinal maturity that pre-dated the pre-Advent judgment doctrine that later would become one of the distinctive doctrines of the movement.

⁶¹Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

⁶²Ibid., 50.

⁶³Ibid., 51.

⁶⁴The dates and places are (1) Rocky Hill, CT, April 20-24, 1848; (2) Volney, NY, August 18, 1848; (3) Port Gibson, NY, August 27, 28, 1848; (4) Rocky Hill, CT, September 8, 9, 1848; (5) Topsham, ME, October 20-22, 1848; and (6) Dorchester, MA, November 18, 1848. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:1021-1026; Arthur L. White, *Ellen G. White: The Early Years 1827-1862* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1985), 1:139-151.

⁶⁵Among the participants to this conference are H. Edson, J. Bates, H. S. Gurney, E. L. H. Chamberlain, J. White, D. Arnold, A. Ross, E. G. White, and probably Otis Nichols and Pierce. This list is based on the reports of J. White, E. White, and John Loughborough.

⁶⁶Ellen G. White, *Life Sketches of Ellen G. White* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1915), 110.

⁶⁷Ibid., 110-111.

⁶⁸Ellen G. White, *Spiritual Gifts* (Battle Creek, MI: James White, 1860), 2:98.

⁶⁹Among the different views was also the understanding on the Lord's Supper. E. G. White, *Life Sketches*, 111.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹John N. Loughborough, *The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress* (Nashville, TN: Southern Pub. Assn., 1905), 269.

⁷²E. White, *Life Sketches*, 111.

⁷³Ellen G. White, *Selected Messages* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1958), 1:207.

⁷⁴A. White, *Early Years*, 146.

⁷⁵Froom, *The Prophetic Faith*, 4:1030-1048.

⁷⁶Ellen G. White, "To the Little Flock," *The Present Truth*, April 1850, 72.

⁷⁷E. White, *Early Writings*, 52.

⁷⁸Ibid., 52-53. Emphasis Supplied.

⁷⁹Ellen G. White, "Questions and Answers," *The Advent Review*, October 8, 1867, 260.

⁸⁰J. White, "A Test," 61.