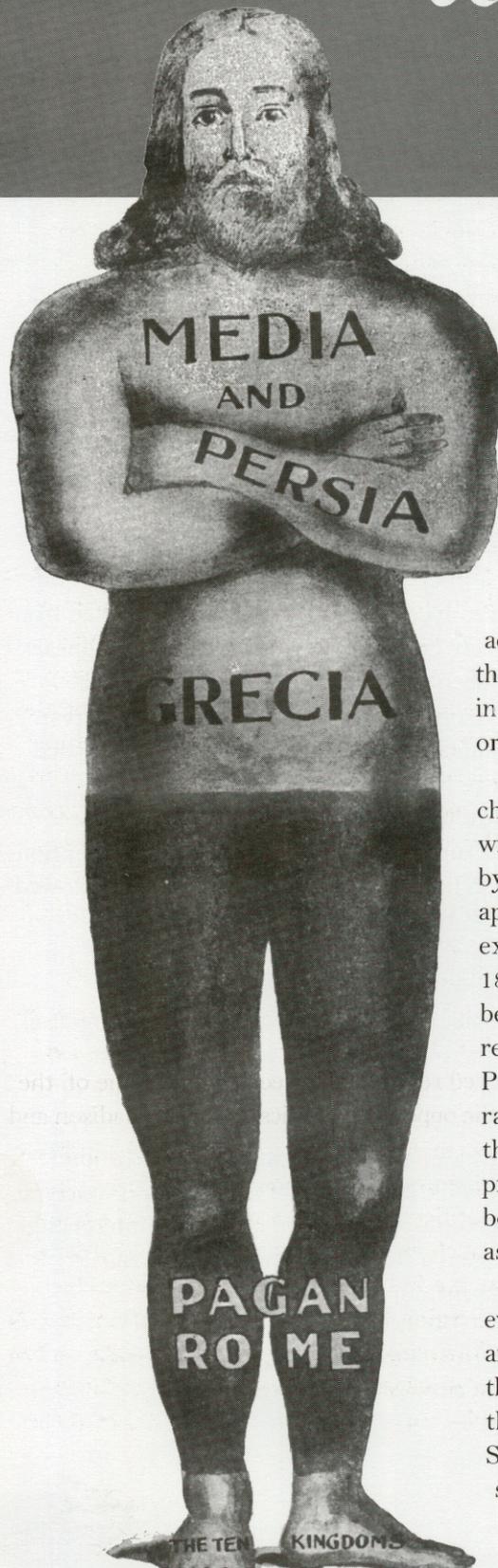


From Antifederalism to Seventh-day Adventism

By Keith Lockhart



Among the religious groups that emerged in the early Republic, Seventh-day Adventism was the only one to assign the United States a negative prophetic role. Adventists argued that the government of the United States was to be the final enemy of God's people and that, in alliance with the Papacy, it would impose a national Sunday law and persecute those like themselves who worshiped on Saturday. Theories as to how and why this doctrine came to be adopted will differ. But there is some evidence to suggest that it was not the innovation it appeared, but the culmination of a dissenting tradition in America that went all the way back to the Antifederalists and their original objections to the existence of the Republic.¹

The biblical locus of Adventist beliefs about America is the thirteenth chapter of Revelation, which describes a beast that rises from the earth with two horns "like a lamb" and speaks "as a dragon." It is distinguished by the fact that it imitates or "makes an image" to the first beast that appears in Revelation 13, a beast that comes out of the sea. A full explanation of these creatures was first given by J. N. Andrews in 1851. The beast from the sea was the Papacy, but the two-horned beast was America—its respective horns denoting "the civil and religious power of this nation—its Republican civil power, and its Protestant ecclesiastical power." Its rise from the earth signified the rapid expansion of the United States in the nineteenth century, and the "lamb-like character" of its republican horn was typified by the proclamation in the Declaration of Independence that "All men are born free and equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."²

Although this beast was in appearance "the mildest power that ever arose," Andrews argued that its capacity to speak "as a dragon" and govern tyrannically was revealed by the existence of slavery and by the expulsion of Millerites from their churches that had taken place in the 1840s.³ The mark of the beast was the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath, and its number, 666, was perhaps the "six hundred three score and six" Protestant sects (a view that had been in circulation among Saturday-worshipping Adventists since the mid-1840s).⁴

Andrews's interpretation quickly gained ground, and in an

article published in 1854 J. N. Loughborough supplied some of the evidence needed to sustain it. Statistics were supplied to show that the United States really was “coming up” and becoming a major power in the world, and a long and passionate denunciation of slavery’s incompatibility with the Declaration of Independence emphasized the discrepancy between the beast’s lamb-like appearance and dragon-like voice. As for the number of the beast, Loughborough argued that it applied to the “Anti-Christian church,” which was united until broken up by Luther and Calvin, and then divided and subdivided “until, according to the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, they now number about six hundred three score and six.”⁵

Loughborough acknowledged that some would “doubtless start at the idea” that the United States had the number of the beast and would persecute the saints. William Miller had held the common Protestant view that the two-horned beast was another manifestation of papal power, and other former Millerites, if they still looked to contemporary political developments for signs of the fulfillment of prophecy, focused on the great powers of Europe.⁶ However, the Seventh-day Adventist theory did not emerge fully formed. The monster was initially identified as a quasi-Catholic beast with papal and Protestant horns whose number was its 666 sects.⁷ Analysis of the articles that preceded Andrews indicates that its papal horn was then changed into a republican one before he re-identified it as the United States of America.⁸ This interpretation endured, and even survived the eventual abandonment of the theory that the number of the beast was the number of recognized sects.⁹

With its Protestant and republican horns and dragon voice, it was immediately apparent that the two-horned beast conveyed some sort of dark warning about the union of church and state in America. It may have been expressed more epigrammatically than was usual, but it was a fear that had been voiced by other dissenting groups ever since calls for closer cooperation between church and state were suggested when the Constitution was unveiled after the Philadelphia convention of 1787. The arch-Federalist John Jay saw in the new plan the opportunity, among other things, to unite “a people . . . professing the same religion.”¹⁰ Quoting Queen Anne, he made clear that the purpose of the union then being formed was, like that of the union between England and Scotland in 1707, to secure the people’s “religion, liberty and property.”¹¹

After the Constitution was ratified and the Federalists formed the Republic’s first government in 1789,

partnership between religion and politics was further encouraged. President George Washington proclaimed national religious thanksgiving days in 1789 and 1795, and his successor, John Adams, introduced humiliation and fast days in 1798 and 1799.¹² The first Congress reenacted in 1789 the Northwest Ordinance, a preexisting statute for incorporating new states. Clause three stated: “religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind . . . shall forever be encouraged.”¹³ Washington in his farewell address of 1796 declared that “Of all the dispositions and habits that lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports.”¹⁴ The effect of the decade of Federalist government was, as many authors have noted, to embed the notion of civil religion deeply within the culture of the early Republic.¹⁵

The Antifederalists were the first group to react against this national consensus. They argued that the greatest enemies to the liberties of the people were “those who have covered their ambitious designs under the garb of a fiery zeal for religious orthodoxy” and worried that the Federalist habit of mixing religion and politics made it quite likely that the tyranny that had “happened in other countries and in other ages may . . . happen in our own country.”¹⁶ Their preferred way of forestalling such a catastrophe was the rejection of the new centralizing Constitution altogether. But failing that they campaigned for a Bill of Rights in order to establish that “no authority can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner controul, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.”¹⁷

Although the Antifederalists lost the overall constitutional debate and were in a minority in the inaugural Congress of 1789, they secured nationwide commitment to a Bill of Rights. Their suspicion of state-sponsored religion also reemerged as one of the elements in the opposition politics of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. Madison took charge of the drafting of the amendments that comprised the Bill of Rights. These were ratified in 1791 and perhaps ought to be seen not so much as the last act of the constitutional settlement as the first statement of principles of Jefferson’s emerging Republican party. The first clauses of the First Amendment—“Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof”—directly contradicted the



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sentiments of clause three of the Northwest Ordinance. Jefferson himself allowed his own anticlerical views to be articulated by the Republican mouthpiece, the *Philadelphia National Gazette*, edited by Madison's friend, the poet Philip Freneau. In one editorial, the paper satirized the nation's clergy for their support for "one common religion."¹⁸

The Republican critique of the Federalists, however, also took on an apocalyptic tone. For it was during the administrations of Washington and Adams that the first connections between the infant republic and the two-horned beast were made. These began with Isaac Backus, who opposed the influence of Federalist clergy in his native New England, where the church was still established. In 1791, in commenting on the second beast in Revelation 13, he said it "hath carried blood and slavery around the world . . . as far as the first beast ever did. . . . Yet the *spiritual tyranny*, which came from Rome and England, is continued in several of the United States of America."¹⁹ In 1793, in the *Testimony of the Two Witnesses*, he expanded the thought: "The two horns are the officers of church and state, uniting their influence in schemes of power and gain, under the name of religion and government."²⁰ Backus's interpretation was then applied nationally by another anti-Federalist campaigner, John Bacon. In his *Conjectures on the Prophecies* written in 1799, he defined the beast's dragon voice as the Protestant intolerance he believed was taking hold in America: "With the 'Horns of a Lamb', do not some of them who call themselves *Protestants*, already begin to 'speak as the Dragon?'—to court his favor?— . . . to advocate with vehemence the cause of civil despotism, and to thunder out anathemas against all who oppose."²¹

Both Backus and Bacon had been Antifederalists who opposed the federal Constitution (although Backus eventually voted for it) and both were Jeffersonians who opposed Federalist rule throughout the 1790s. Backus was a prominent Baptist minister whose *Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* set out the need for the separation of church and state as early as 1773. Bacon was by turns a Presbyterian and Congregationalist minister, a judge and politician. He was described by

one opponent "as bitter an enemy, at heart, to the federal government and its measures, as any man in existence."²² He vehemently opposed the draconian Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, and may well have had these in mind when, in the following year, he claimed to hear Protestants in the land speaking "as the Dragon."²³

Prophetic interpretation might have developed further along these lines if Jefferson had not assumed power in 1800. But when the Virginian became president he carried out changes in the governance of the country that, for the time being, removed the reasons for any further association of the two-horned beast with America. He put the clergy in their place, built further upon the Antifederalist legacy by erecting his famous "wall of separation" between church and state, and dispensed with the religious practices of his predecessors.²⁴ Elias Smith, one of the founders of the Christian Connection, proclaimed in 1805 that "As the government of this country is loved, so *king* and *priest* religion, under the name of Federalism dies away."²⁵ As a consequence of this general feeling, Bacon in 1803 transferred the two-horned beast from America to France.²⁶

Although Jefferson came close to banishing the fear of church-state despotism in America altogether, that hope foundered on several developments that occurred after he left office. The first of these was the creation of a plethora of voluntary Sabbatarian associations that were set up by Federalist clergymen such as Lyman Beecher. They included the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath (1828), the American Home Missionary Society (1826), the American Tract Society (1814), and the American Temperance Society (1826). Whatever the primary objective of these associations, they all shared the aim of reversing the supposed desecration of Sunday in the early Republic, as their campaigning literature showed.

For instance, the American Bible Society came into being after an anonymous correspondent in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* argued that the "neglect

of the Sabbath,” among other vices, necessitated the formation of a nationwide Bible association.²⁷ The American Sunday School Union was organized “to strengthen the hands of the friends of pious instruction on the Lord’s day.”²⁸ The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whose self-styled task was the “mission to the heathen,” announced itself to the public by conjuring up a nightmarish future for “this favored land” should the Sabbath “become extinct.”²⁹

The General Union for the Promotion of the Christian Sabbath was even starker in its inaugural address to American citizens. “The liberties of your country, the welfare of the world, are at stake,” it declared. “If this nation fails in her vast experiment, the world’s last hope expires—and without the moral energies of the Sabbath it will fail.”³⁰ The Sabbatarian motif of the American Home Missionary Society was soon evident from the emphasis it placed on the network of “Sabbath Schools” it started running from its second year of operation.³¹ The American Tract Society specialized in publishing titles such as *Remember the Sabbath Day to Keep it Holy*, and the American Temperance Society’s publicizing of an 1825 study that showed that abstinence made men “more attentive at public worship on the Sabbath” indicated its Sabbatarian bias from the beginning.³²

With the Federalist party approaching final disintegration, these institutions were also planned to act as a focus of opposition to the Republicans who Beecher and others held primarily responsible for the abuse of the Lord’s Day. As the Unitarian William Ellery Channing said at the time, this “artful multiplication of societies, devoted apparently to different objects,” are “all swayed by the same leaders,” and are “all intended to bear against a hated party.”³³ Channing, though, thought they represented a new kind of “despotism” and in language reminiscent of the Antifederalists he said: “the associations for promoting the observance of the Sabbath, propose several objects,” which “are not susceptible of precise definition or regulation, and which, therefore, ought to be left, where Christianity has left them, to the consciences of individuals.”³⁴

The second event that took place after Jefferson’s retirement was the long campaign to halt the Sunday mail. This was sparked by the passage of the Act Regulating the Post Office Establishment in 1810. The key ninth section required postmasters on every day of the week, including Sundays, to deliver “any letter, paper or packet, to the person entitled to or authorized to receive the same.”³⁵ The law was designed so that communications in the rapidly expanding country could pass without hindrance. But on January 4, 1811,

the Presbyterian Synod of Pittsburg, fearing for the spiritual future of the nation, presented a memorial to Congress, “praying” that post offices be kept shut on Sundays.³⁶ There then followed an unprecedented petitioning effort that resulted in 150 such memorials being deposited at Congress by 1814, and 300 by 1817.³⁷

Masterminded again by the ubiquitous Beecher, the postal campaign drew support from a wide cross section of people that included the Boston lawyer Jeremiah Evarts and, from the business community, the brothers Lewis and Arthur Tappan. At heart, the crusade was an attempt to override the First Amendment clauses that kept the church out of the state. These Antifederalist addendums to the Constitution had never really been accepted by the Federalists, as one of their ministers, Thomas Robbins, admitted at the height of the postal dispute. “The great evil of our country,” he said “has been, that we have attempted to strike out a new path to national prosperity . . . without any national religion,” and as far as he was concerned that was the cause of all the nation’s ills. “When a people are generally remiss with regard to the duties of religion” and “when the holy sabbath is disregarded . . . God is forsaken, and those who forsake him are ripe for his judgements.”³⁸ The central government, still under the sway of Jeffersonianism, was immune to the argument, however. Different Postmasters General rebuffed the Sunday lobbyists in 1811, 1815, and 1817, as did House and Senate Committees on Post Offices and Post Roads in 1812 and 1815.³⁹ Indeed, when the postal regulations were overhauled in 1825, the offending clause was reinstated in full, provoking 467 further petitions to Congress by 1829.⁴⁰

The Sunday mail campaign aroused a more widespread fear of religious tyranny than perhaps at any time since the Constitution was first made public. A countermemorial sent to Congress accused the Sabbatarians of trying “to enslave the consciences of the free citizens of this great republic.”⁴¹ In 1828, a judge declared that the mail petitioners planned an “ecclesiastical hierarchy” as “oppressive and dangerous” as the Papacy, and in 1830 an engraver likened the Sabbatarians to the reactionary “Holy Alliance” that controlled much of Europe.⁴² The Jacksonians, fresh from their electoral triumph in 1828, were equally alarmed. Two reports by Richard Johnson, who was successively Democratic chairman of the Senate Committee on Post Office and Post Roads and chairman of



the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, demonstrated that they were just as fearful of the mail petitioners as their Jeffersonian forebears had been.

The first report, issued in 1829, which was to resonate later with the Seventh-day Adventists, claimed that the object of government was “not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another.”⁴³ The second, published in 1830, effectively brought the argument back to where it began:

Congress acts under a Constitution of delegated and limited powers. The committee look in vain to that instrument for a delegation of power authorising this body to inquire and determine what part of time, or whether any, has been set apart by the Almighty for religious exercises. On the contrary, among the few prohibitions which it contains is the one . . . that declares that Congress shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.⁴⁴

The Johnson reports were hailed by some as “a supplement to our Bill of Rights.”⁴⁵ Certainly they were the clearest statement of the separation of church and state since the case made out by the Antifederalists.

There the issue might have rested were it not for a third development—the advent of the Whigs as a party of government. In contrast to the Jacksonians, the Whigs believed in a theocracy. Their creed was best summed by an anonymous article that appeared in the *American Review*. The state “must recognize those great truths of Christianity,” the author said. “It must recognize the Almighty God who holds in his hands the destinies of nations,” and “acknowledge an eternal, immutable, and religious morality.” The state must also “recognize that doctrine of penal sanctions and of a true retributive justice, both in divine and human law, without which government has no real foundation,” and it must have “its supernatural revelation . . . by means of an acknowledged written standard.” Lastly,

“it must have its *holy time*, set apart, not simply for rest or worship, but for the religious and moral instruction of the people.” It was these things, the author contended that “constitute a nation’s true life,” and not the “paper constitutions” of the kind, the reader was left in no doubt, that had been embodied in the First Amendment religion clauses.⁴⁶

With this philosophy of government, the Whigs won power in 1840. To no one’s surprise the Whig Postmaster General, Charles Wickliffe, promptly halted Sunday service on numerous postal routes, which caused new Sabbatarian associations like the American and Foreign Sabbath Union to rejoice.⁴⁷ In addition, Wickliffe started the United States City Despatch Post, which began initially in New York. The regulations, in keeping with the new administration’s reverence for the Christian Sabbath, ensured the network’s offices were open “every day except Sundays.”⁴⁸ The Whigs governed in this vein until they lost the presidential election of 1844. However, they returned to the White House in 1848 after running once more as the “Christian party.”⁴⁹

It was during this second Whig term that Andrews wrote his article on the two-horned beast. With his declaration that the two horns “denote the civil and religious power of this nation—its Republican civil power, and its Protestant ecclesiastical power,” he was essentially offering an opposition view of a “church and state” government, precisely as Backus and Bacon had done in the 1790s. Andrews’s uncle, Charles Andrews, whom he had once planned to follow into politics, had entered the House of Representatives as a Democrat two months before he wrote the piece, so the article may have reflected the family line on the Whig administration.⁵⁰ Andrews’s claim that the mark of the beast was Sunday observance seemed particularly aimed at the Whigs who had asserted the state’s need for “holy time” and had acted to curtail the Sunday mail. The same could even be said about the number of the beast—the 666 corrupt Protestant

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groups that presumably made up (or were about to make up) the Whig religious coalition—although in fact many denominations supported the Democrats.⁵¹

Andrews's overall purpose, however, was to dramatize the dangers of the union of church and state in Whig America. He considered the two-horned beast to be actually "a church clothed with civil power and authority" that would, like the Papacy's elimination of dissenters, inevitably "put the saints of God to death."⁵² A lot of this had to do with the Adventists' own fear of persecution and their attempt to substitute the Saturday Sabbath for its Sunday counterpart. However, in identifying the two-horned beast with America at a time when it had a Whig executive, Andrews was following the exact example of church-state separatists in the Federalist period. This was the only previous time, significantly, when the United States had a theocratic government, and the only other time when the two-horned beast was applied to the Republic.

John Loughborough's article, published three years later, was equally wedded to the principles of the First Amendment. However, Loughborough singled out the campaign to end the Sunday mail as the chief example of the tyranny that lay just below America's surface. He thought the massive petitionary campaign organized by Beecher and his friends demonstrated the ease with which the United States could be coerced into a union of church and state: "If a memorial should be sent into congress with 1,000,000 names signed to it, declaring their rights were infringed upon, and praying them to pass a solemn enactment that the first day should not be profaned by labor, how soon the result would be a law upon the point."⁵³ Loughborough also sided with the Jacksonians by quoting approvingly from Richard Johnson's congressional reports.⁵⁴ It is possible that Loughborough concentrated on this issue because he was writing at a time when the Democrats were back in the White House and, unlike Andrews, did not actually have a church and state administration to rail against. But he considered his approach equally valid. That America matched the description of the two-horned beast, he said, would not surprise the "observer of the movements of the United States for a few years past."⁵⁵

Loughborough was probably not only referring to the mail campaign. He may also have been thinking about the development of the voluntary associations, even though they often pursued activities Adventists themselves promoted. The American Temperance Society's prohibitionist crusade, for example, was totally in keeping with Adventist principles, as was, in these early days, the Board of Commissioners'

campaign for Native American rights.⁵⁶ But Adventists shunned both organizations because of their overt Sabbatarianism. Adventist support for abolitionism was similarly tempered by the fact that parts of the antislavery movement were linked to the Sunday mail campaign. The American Anti-Slavery Society, for example, was founded in 1833 by Lewis and Arthur Tappan, who were veterans of Beecher's petitioning operation and ex-officers of the General Union for the Promotion of the Christian Sabbath.⁵⁷

One of the pieces of evidence another Adventist pioneer, Merritt Cornell, adduced to show that Protestantism and republicanism were together making an image to the beast in the United States was that they "are united in measures and action in their anti-slavery, temperance and Sunday-keeping reform movements."⁵⁸ Adventists took their cue here from William Ellery Channing, who believed that "all associations aiming or tending to establish sway by numbers, ought to be opposed. They create tyrants as effectively as standing armies . . . whether the opinions which they intend to put down be true or false."⁵⁹ But it was the mail campaign on which Adventists remained fixed, in the belief it would be "the principal agent" that would bring about America's final descent into tyranny.⁶⁰

In their suspicion of theocratic governments and their antipathy to the Sabbatarian associations and Sunday mail campaigners, the Adventists revealed themselves to be fairly orthodox defenders of the separation of church and state. But their similarity to the original Antifederalists in this respect was perhaps even better illustrated by their claim that slavery was the real manifestation of the beast's dragon voice. The argument they put forward was that slavery contravened the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It was this that exposed the hypocrisy of "the boasted land of liberty."⁶¹

This theory, too, began with the Antifederalists and their opposition to the Constitution. On their analysis, the document of 1787 contained at least four clauses that gave immoral support to slavery.⁶² These were dealt with in the key Antifederalist text, the "Genuine Information" by the Maryland lawyer, Luther Martin, who concluded that America had taken an historic wrong turn. The Constitution should have provided for "the *gradual abolition of slavery*." Instead it propped up an institution that was "*inconsistent with the genius of republicanism*," and



that "habituates us to *tyranny* and *oppression*."⁶³ Martin believed the new Constitution ended the common rights philosophy that had motivated American legislators in the revolutionary period. The Continental Congress had produced the Declaration of Independence. By contrast, the delegates at Philadelphia had, as another outraged Antifederalist put it, reduced "the impious principle of slavery to a constitutional system."⁶⁴

The Antifederalist view that the Constitution was a proslavery document that breached the ethos of the Declaration of Independence was later picked up by the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. First signs of this came with the birth of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. Though largely the child of the Tappan brothers, Garrison authored the association's address to the public where he pointed out that "Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave states."⁶⁵ Soon, this national compact turned into Garrison's "covenant with death" and "agreement with hell."⁶⁶ He urged the North to secede from a union "founded in unrighteousness" and "cemented with blood," and his allies advised abolitionists, North and South, to withdraw from politics completely since "no-one can take office, or throw a vote for another to hold office under the United States Constitution, without violating his anti-slavery principles."⁶⁷

Garrison's contempt for the Constitution caused him to stand outside the idea of the Christian republic so favored by the old Federalist churchmen. "*My hope of the millennium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires*," he declared, "AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION."⁶⁸ In 1848, he organized an anti-Sunday convention where, in the year the Whigs reentered the White House on a program of religious reform, he attacked the nation's theocrats.⁶⁹ Garrison presented the United States as a doomed alliance of ecclesiastical, political, and slaveholding interests. In fact, just as the Adventist interpretation of the two-horned beast later did, he construed America as "a union of church and state in support of slavery."⁷⁰

The idea that the Constitution was a proslavery instrument was heavily contested and in 1844 the Garrisonians buttressed their arguments by publishing a book of the original Antifederalist writings on the subject, including a lengthy extract from Luther Martin's "Genuine Information" that emphasized the discontinuity between the revolutionary and constitutional phases in American history.⁷¹ The Adventist interpretation of the two-horned beast reflected this view. The animal's lamb-like horns in effect represented the country's revolutionary phase that had produced the egalitarian

Declaration of Independence. However, this lamb-like appearance was contradicted by the nation's constitutional voice, which had given authority to the "national executive body," as Loughborough put it, to "pass laws by which 3,500,000 slaves can be held in bondage."⁷² The law uppermost in Loughborough's mind was the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, for he attacked that infamous statute at length.⁷³

The Andrews and Loughborough articles established Adventists in the same dynastic line as the Antifederalists and Garrisonians as far as their attitudes to slavery and American politics were concerned. Merritt Cornell quoted the passage in Luther Martin's "Genuine Information" commenting on the inconsistency of slavery "with the genius of republicanism."⁷⁴ Adventists adopted a Garrisonian posture toward elections, refusing to use their "votes and influence" in the abolitionist cause because they were certain "things will not be bettered."⁷⁵ Their hope of the millennium, too, began with the overthrow of America, in their case by the establishment of the "eternal kingdom of the King of kings."⁷⁶ Interestingly, passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which finally abolished slavery, and whose necessity perhaps indicated there was indeed something defective about the Constitution, persuaded Garrison that America was redeemable after all.⁷⁷ But even though they had lost a key part of the evidence, Adventists continued to hold out: America was as doomed as ever.⁷⁸

Seventh-day Adventist apocalyptic developed from a distinct political tradition that provided the Church with the ingredients to put together its view of the United States. The Antifederalists provided the basic framework with their claim that the Constitution threatened the achievements of the Revolution and had opened the way for a tyrannical, slaveholding theocracy in America. The Republicans of the 1790s supplied the apocalyptic symbol, the two-horned beast, which, with its lamb-like horns and dragon voice, perfectly described a nation whose slogans of liberty disguised its actual tyranny. The opponents of the voluntary associations and mail petitioners originated the idea that the campaigns to establish Sunday as a national day of rest were acts of religious oppression. This provided Adventists with the basis for their argument that Sunday observance was the beast's mark and Sunday legislation would be the decisive issue in the final stages of human history. Garrisonianism, with its utter detestation of the Republic, established the notion that America would be overthrown at the arrival of the millennium.

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The Adventist two-horned beast is of historical importance because it is possible to read in its symbolism a synthesis of all the fears that had been raised about America during the period of the early Republic. It came right at the end of a well-worn path that led back to the Antifederalist critique of the Constitution. It is worth noting that it was also very similar to the Slave Power hypothesis that was being advanced more or less at the same time by the abolitionist Theodore Parker and others. The Slave Power was not identical to the United States, as the two-horned beast was, but was considered to be a diabolical third-party force that had taken control of America.⁷⁹ The advocates of the Slave Power thesis were also not Garrisonians in that they tended to believe the Constitution was an antislavery document that had been misused and misrepresented by the Slave Power.⁸⁰

But as David Brion Davis noted, the language used to describe the Slave Power was also apocalyptic: Parker called it an "Apocalyptic Dragon," and abolitionists of similar ilk referred to it as the "Angel of Death," a "Nebuchadnezzar," an "unclean spirit that must be cast out from the hearts of the people before they can be saved."⁸¹ According to Davis, such apocalyptic utterances are the keys to understanding the religious character of many of the dissenting movements of the period. "Only by arousing people to the menace of an absolute despotism," he observed, "could the inner sanctuary of individuality be breached and a cohesive community created."⁸² Davis did not have Adventists in mind, but his formulation may be applicable to the emergence of the Church. The two-horned beast alerted Adventists to the peril of an absolute despotism, and successfully forged a new community out of the individualism of the time.

Notes and References

1. The most recent general study of this theme is Saul Cornell's *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788-1828* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1999), which has refocused attention on the influence of the Antifederalists.

2. Quotations from J. N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation

XIII and XIV," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* (hereafter cited as *Review*), May 19, 1851, 83.

3. *Ibid.*, 84.

4. *Ibid.*, 85. The interpretation was probably derived from Theophilus R. Gates, *Truth Advocated, or the Apocalyptic Beast and Mystic Babylon Clearly Delineated* (Philadelphia, 1818), 249. Gates's work was being read by a correspondent to the *Review* as late as 1859. See Edwin C. Stiles, letter, *Review*, Mar. 3, 1859, 114.

5. J. N. Loughborough, "The Two-Horned Beast," *Review*, Mar. 21 and 28, 1854, 79; Loughborough is here quoting from an earlier article by J. M. Stephenson, "The Number of the Beast," *Review*, Nov. 29, 1853, 166.

6. William Miller, *Remarks on Revelations Thirteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth* (Boston, 1844), 10-11; P. Alling, *An exposition of the thirteenth ch. of Revelation, showing particularly what is meant by the beast and his image* (Cleveland, 1848), 38-40.

7. LeRoy Edwin Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1946-54), 4:1071-74.

8. See George W. Holt, letter, *ibid.*, Mar. 1850, 64, Hiram S. Case, letter dated Sept 15, 1850, *Present Truth*, Nov. 1850, 85, and Hiram Edson "An Appeal to the Laodecian Church," *Review*, Extra, Sept. 1850, 9.

9. The view that 666 was the number of sects seems to have been almost universal among the early Adventists in the 1850s, but the need to establish regular church organization and a legal name for the growing group, which would have added the Seventh-day Adventists themselves to the list of sects and thus to the number of the beast, prompted a reassessment. See James White, "Making Us A Name," *Review*, Apr. 26, 1860, 180-82. The abandonment of this position occasioned accusations that the group, and its prophetess, had changed their minds on an important aspect of prophetic interpretation, see Uriah Smith, *The Visions of Mrs. E. G. White* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1868), 100-102.

10. John Jay, "Federalist No. 2," in Clinton Rossiter, ed., *The Federalist Papers* (New York, 1961), 38.

11. Jay, "Federalist No. 5," in Rossiter, *Federalist Papers*, 50.

12. See the Congressional Information Service collection of *Presidential Executive Orders and Proclamations 1789-20-1, 1795-PR-6, 1798-PR-8, and 1799-20-1*.

13. Article 3, "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio," *Journals of the United States in Congress Assembled*, July 13, 1787, 12:90; cf., "An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio," *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, Aug. 7, 1789, 1st Cong., 1st Sess., 2:2215.

14. *Washington's Farewell Address*, facsimile ed. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1972), 18.

15. On this period the most useful study is still Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).



16. An Old Whig V, *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, Nov. 1, 1787, in Merrill Jensen, John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino, eds., *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976), 13:540.
17. Centinel II, *Philadelphia Freeman's Journal*, n.d., in Herbert J. Storing, ed., *The Complete Anti-Federalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 2:152. Despite its archaic language, this was clearly one of the forerunners of the First Amendment religion clause. See also Storing, *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 1:121, where the main Antifederalist discussions of the First Amendment have been helpfully cross-referenced. The Constitution did prohibit a religious test for holding public office (Article 6), but this was considered inadequate.
18. Encore, "Mad dogs! mad dogs! mad dogs! Enemies to the government! Mad dogs! mad dogs! mad dogs!" *Philadelphia National Gazette*, May 10, 1792, 223.
19. Isaac Backus, *The Infinite Importance of the Obedience of Faith, and of Separation from the World*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1791), 26. (Italics in original).
20. Isaac Backus, *The Testimony of the Two Witnesses*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1793), 22.
21. John Bacon, *Conjectures on the prophecies; written in the fore part of the year 1799* (Boston, 1805), 26. (Italics in original).
22. Loring Andrews to Theodore Sedgwick, quoted in the entry on John Bacon in John Sibley, *Harvard Graduates* (Cambridge, Mass.: C. W. Sever, 1873-1968), 16:124. Further biographical and bibliographical information on Bacon can be found in J. A. Garraty and M. C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1:847-48.
23. Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 1:848.
24. For "wall of separation" reference see letter to Messrs. Nehemiah Dodge, Ephraim Robbins, and Stephen S. Nelson, of the Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association in the State of Connecticut, Jan. 1, 1802, in Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York: Duel, Sloan and Pearce, 1943), 519.
25. Elias Smith, *The Whole World Governed by a Jew; or The Government of the Second Adam, as King and Priest; Described from the Scriptures* (Exeter, N.H., 1805), 57. (Italics in original).
26. Bacon, *Conjectures*, 27n. Bacon did not actually mention the country by name in this long footnote, but there was no doubt that France under Napoleon was the nation he was describing.
27. "General Bible Society," *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* 10.3 (1814):119; and W. P. Strickland, *History of the American Bible Society: From its Organisation to the Present Time* (New York, 1849), 24.
28. Preamble to the constitution of the American Sunday School Union in *The American Sunday School Magazine* 1.1 (1824): 28.
29. "Minutes to the First Annual Meeting," Sept. 5, 1810, and "Address to the Christian Public," Nov. 1811, in *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1834), 2 and 28.
30. "Address of the General Union to the people of the United States," in *Proceedings in Relation to the Formation of the Auxiliary Union of the City of Boston for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath* (Boston, 1828), 14.
31. See the table illustrating the progress, from 1827, of the American Home Missionary Society's Sabbath Schools, in the association's *Forty-Sixth Annual Report* (New York, 1872), 60.
32. See the list of tracts published at the inaugural meeting, in *First Ten Years of the American Tract Society, Instituted at Boston, 1814* (Boston, 1824), 24, and *Fourth Annual Report of the American Temperance Society* (Boston, 1831), 8.
33. William E. Channing, "Remarks on Associations," n.d., in *The Works of William E. Channing, D. D.*, 6th ed. (Boston, 1846), 1:306.
34. *Ibid.*, 324.
35. *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, April 30, 1810, 11th Cong., 2d Sess., 2:595.
36. *Annals of Congress*, Jan. 4, 1811, 11th Cong., 3d Sess., 22:487.
37. Richard R. John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 173. See also his "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously: The Postal System, The Sabbath, and the Transformation of American Political Culture," in the *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (1990): 517-67.
38. Thomas Robbins, *A Sermon preached at East-Windsor at the National Fast, January 12, 1815* (Middletown, 1815), 15-16, 18.
39. See Gideon Granger, Postmaster General, to House of Representatives, Jan. 31, 1811, 11th Cong., 3d Sess.; Return J. Meigs Jr., Postmaster General, to House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1815, 13th Cong., 3d Sess.; Meigs to House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, Feb. 20, 1817, 14th Cong., 2d Sess.; John Rhea, Chairman, House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, to House of Representatives, Jan. 3, 1812, 12th Cong., 1st Sess.; Rhea to House of Representatives, Jan. 20, 1815, 13th Cong., 3d Sess.; David Daggett, Chairman, Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to Senate, Jan. 27, 1815, 13th Cong., 3d Sess. All in *American State Papers: Post Office Department*, Class 7, 44-45, 46, 358, 45, 46, 47, respectively.
40. See Section 11 of "An Act to Reduce into One the Several Acts Establishing and Regulating the Post Office Department," *Statutes at Large*, Mar. 3, 1825, 18th Cong., 2d Sess., IV, 105 and John, *Spreading the News*, 186.
41. "The Memorial of the Subscribers, residing in Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania," *American State Papers*, 239.
42. References in John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously," 554, 553. (Italics in original).
43. Richard Johnson, Chairman, Senate Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, to Senate, Jan. 19, 1829, 20th Cong., 2d Sess., *American State Papers*, 211.
44. Richard Johnson, Chairman, House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, to House of Representatives, March 4 and 5, 1830, 21st Cong., 1st Sess., *American State Papers: Post Office Department*, 229.
45. Quoted in John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously," 560.
46. "Has the State a Religion?" *The American Review: A Whig Journal of Politics, Literature, Art and Science* 3.3 (1846): 288. (Italics in original). Although the author is not named, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., in his *Age of Jackson* (Boston: Little Brown, 1946), 353, attributes the article to the Greek professor, Tayler Lewis.
47. See C. A. Wickliffe, "Report of the Postmaster General," Dec. 3, 1842, 27th Cong., 3d Sess., House Document 2, I, 729, and S. R. Hobbie, First Assistant Postmaster General, to C. A. Wickliffe, Nov. 24, 1842, in the same report, 736. See also John's commentary in "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously," 562. Response of the American and Foreign Sabbath Union is also in John, "Taking Sabbatarianism Seriously," 562.
48. Wickliffe, "Report of the Postmaster General," 734, and John Lorimer Graham, Postmaster, New York, to C. A. Wickliffe, Nov. 24, 1842, in the same report, 766.
49. Quoted in Richard J. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics in Antebellum America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 96.
50. See the entry on Charles Andrews in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1971), 518; and Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, 4:1093-94.
51. Carwardine, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 96.
52. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation," 84, 85-86.
53. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast," 75.
54. *Ibid.*, 67. Loughborough's source on Johnson was the Seventh Day Baptists. In 1846, they published "An Appeal to the Friends of Equal Rights and Religious Freedom in the United States." It was reprinted in the *Review* of Oct. 10, 1854, 65-67.

Loughborough copied large sections of it, including the passages from the Johnson reports.

55. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast," 74.

56. On the Board of Commissioners' pioneering work among the American Indians see "Eighth Annual Report," 1817, in *First Ten Annual Reports*, 153–58. Jeremiah Evarts, the board's treasurer, was an outspoken defender of the Native-American cause. See his *Essays on the Present Crisis in the Condition of the American Indians* (Boston, 1829). On the Adventists' sympathy for the Indians, less well known than their involvement with temperance, see, for example, the comments on the "Red Man," in "You Will Vote at our Spring Election, Won't You?" *Review*, April 23, 1857, 198.

57. On this, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Prelude to Abolitionism: Sabbatarian Politics and the Rise of the Second Party System," *Journal of American History* 58 (1971): 338–39.

58. Merritt Cornell, *Facts for the Times* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1858), 68.

59. Channing, "Remarks on Associations," 306.

60. See "Sunday Mail," *Review*, Sept. 11, 1856, 151. Adventists held onto this view until well into the twentieth century. A. T. Jones cited it in *Civil Government and Religion, or, Christianity and the American Constitution* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1894), 152–56. The mail campaign featured prominently in the 1891, 1911, and 1943 editions of the church's collection of *American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation*, edited by William Addison Blakely. When the Sunday lobby finally persuaded Congress in 1912 to end Sunday service completely, the Church made its disquiet known. See "Sunday Closing of Post-Offices," *Review*, Aug. 22, 1912, 20–21; and "Sunday in the Post-Offices," *Review*, Sept. 5, 1912, 18.

61. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast," 75.

62. These were the provision that allowed the Southern states to count three-fifths of their slaves toward their representation in the national legislature (Art. 1, Sect. 2); the power given to Congress to suppress insurrections (Art. 1, Sect. 8); the legitimization of the slave trade until 1808 (Art. 1, Sect. 9); and the guarantee that the states would receive federal protection against domestic violence (Art. 4, Sect. 4). Cross-references to the Antifederalist examination of these clauses can be found in Storing, *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 1:110, 114, 119, respectively.

63. Luther Martin, "The Genuine Information Delivered to the Legislature of the State of Maryland Relative to the Proceedings of the General Convention Lately Held at Philadelphia," 1788, in Storing, *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 2:62. (Italics in original).

64. Republicus, *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, Mar. 1, 1788, in Storing, *Complete Anti-Federalist*, 5:170.

65. *Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Adopted at the Formation of Said Society, in Philadelphia, on the 4th Day of December, 1833* (Philadelphia, n.d.), 5. (Italics in original).

66. These famous phrases were borrowed from Isaiah 28:18. See "Repeal of the Union," *The Liberator*, May 6, 1842, 71.

67. "Repeal of the Union," 71, and the resolution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 1844, cited in Wendell Phillips, *Can Abolitionists Vote or Take Office Under the United States Constitution?* (New York, 1845), 3.

68. "Fourth of July in Providence," *The Liberator*, July 28, 1837, 123. (Italics and emphasis in original). John L. Thomas in *The Liberator William Lloyd Garrison: A Biography* (Boston, 1963), 231, shows that this statement was taken from Garrison's friend John Humphrey Noyes, later founder of the Oneida community.

69. Walter M. Merrill, *Against Wind and Tide: A Biography of Wm. Lloyd Garrison* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 243–47, and also John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812–1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954; Philadelphia, Porcupine Press, 1980), 43. See also Blakely, 1943 ed.,

American State Papers, 208–17.

70. "Fourth of July in Providence," 123. Interestingly, the Millerite Charles Fitch took a contrasting view. He criticized Garrison's attacks on the clergy and the Christian Sabbath. See Ronald D. Graybill, "The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection," in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 141.

71. *The Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact or Selections from the Madison Papers* (New York, 1844), 35–38. Opposition to this idea came mainly from other anti-slavery groups such as the Liberty Party, the Free Soilers, and the Tappans. For their arguments, see respectively, *Address of the Southern and Western Liberty Convention, held at Cincinnati, June 11 and 12, 1845 to the People of the United States, with Notes by a Citizen of Pennsylvania* (n.p., n.d.), 3; Oliver Cromwell Gardiner, *The Great Issue: Or The Three Presidential Candidates: Being a Brief Historical Sketch of the Free Soil Question in the United States, from the Congresses of 1774 and '87 to the Present Time* (New York, 1848), particularly 36; *Lewis Tappan, Address to the Non-Slaveholders of the South on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery* (New York, n.d.), 35–38. The issue has also divided historians. A summary of the debate can be found in Earl M. Maltz, "The Idea of the Proslavery Constitution," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 37–38, n. 1 and 2.

72. Loughborough, "Two-Horned Beast," 66.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Cornell, *Facts for the Times*, 33.

75. "Politics," *Review*, Sept. 11, 1856, 152.

76. *Ibid.*

77. See "Freedom Triumphant! Grand Jubilee Meeting in the Music Hall: To Rejoice over the Amendment prohibiting Human Slavery in the United States forever," *The Liberator*, Feb. 10, 1865, 22.

78. On the problems caused to Adventists by emancipation, see the discussion in Uriah Smith, *The United States in Prophecy* (Battle Creek, 1874), 83.

79. For definitions, see Theodore Parker, "Speech in Boston, May 29, 1850, on Slave Power in America" [also titled "Speech at New England Anti-Slavery Society Convention in Boston, May 29, 1850"], in *The Collected Works of Theodore Parker* (London, 1863), 5:103–33, and John Gorham Palfrey, *Five Years Progress of the Slave Power* (Boston, 1852), 3.

80. Theodore Parker, "A Sermon of the Dangers which Threaten the Rights of Man in America, Preached at the Music Hall, on Sunday, July 2, 1854," *Collected Works*, 6: 133; John Gorham Palfrey, *Papers on the Slave Power* (Boston, n.d.), 3–7; Charles D. Drake, *The War of Slavery upon the Constitution, Delivered in the City of Saint Louis*, Sept. 17, 1862 (n.p., n.d.), 1.

81. References taken from David Brion Davis, *The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 53, 74, 75, 83.

82. *Ibid.*, 84.

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