



DIVIDED LOYALTIES

American and German Seventh-day Adventists and the Second World War

By Roland Blaich

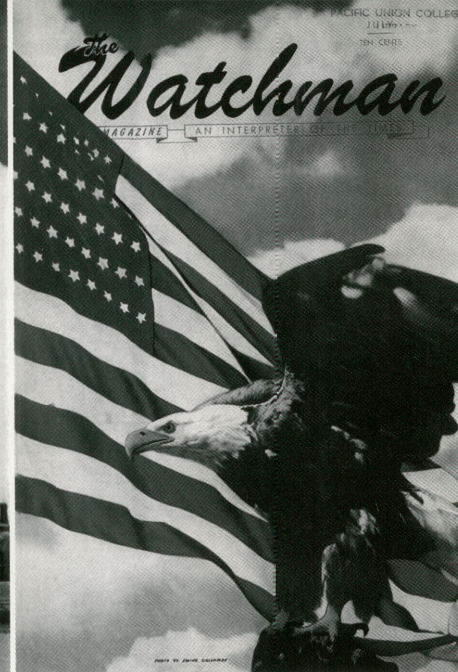
A denomination that embraces the principle of separation of church and state as one of its fundamentals, the Seventh-day Adventist world church has been characterized by remarkable uniformity in method and message, and by a sense of global solidarity of mission. One notable exception occurred during the Second World War, when nationalism and Nazi pressure changed the Church's relations with the state and disrupted the solidarity of mission between the American and the German Adventist Churches.¹

During the 1920s, Adventist publications in the United States and Germany read like mirror images of each other. Among the most recurrent themes was the looming threat of another world war, and with it the final battle in earth's history, Armageddon. Authors in both countries lay much of the blame on the Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I and in their view created more grievances than solutions. Some authors predicted that in the end controversy over the Polish Corridor would plunge the world into war. There seemed little hope of saving the peace; the only question was how long it could last. Neither the peace euphoria occasioned by the Locarno Treaty (1925), nor disarmament talks and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), which signaled cooperation and outlawed war, dissuaded Adventist authors from their prediction that a major war was coming.² German and American Adventists agreed: history was nearing its climactic end.

American Adventists Anticipate War

After the Nazi revolution, American public opinion in general turned increasingly against Germany. Remarkably, however, American Adventist publications remained largely impartial. Consistent with their earlier assessment of the legacy left by the Treaty of Versailles, American Adventist authors blamed Hitler's initial provocative moves on unrealistic Allied policies of the past. "A much more rational and merciful attitude toward Berlin at the conclusion of the World War," one author observed, "would not have presented us with the German fear we have today." In the spirit of solidarity, American Adventist leaders sought to avoid anything that might compromise German brethren. After several articles critical of Nazi policies caused trouble for Adventist leaders in Germany, the General Conference adopted and enforced a policy that prevented publication of commentaries overtly critical of the Nazi regime.³

More cautiously perhaps, yet nevertheless



The covers of *Watchman Magazine*, July 1944 and July 1945.

unmistakable, American Adventist authors continued to monitor the drift toward war. None placed hope in the 1938 Munich settlement. Rather than guaranteeing peace, they believed, it only postponed war. There would be "plenty of 'nexts' after Czechoslovakia," asserted the *Signs of the Times*, among them Silesia and the Polish Corridor.⁴ Consistently skeptical in outlook, American Adventist periodicals maintained that war would soon come to Europe.

Thus, war did not take American Adventists by surprise. The major question then became whether the United States should allow itself to be drawn into another European conflict. Joining Protestant leaders in other churches, Adventists at first advocated neutrality. As the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt prepared to reinstate conscription, one writer endorsed a "Declaration Against Conscription" by civic leaders who had argued that the draft was "undemocratic because it provides equality without liberty, making the equality that of 'galley slaves,' not free men," and because it "embraces the worst features of the totalitarian regime." The writer recalled a time when the "silver tongue" of early American statesman Daniel Webster had caused the young nation to reject a similar plan:

He insisted from a study of the rise and decline of democratic governments that many of their ills were traceable to conscription and to large armies, that it was not consonant with liberty to require compulsory military service, that such service constituted "involuntary servitude which is not a penalty for a crime," against which the Constitution of the United States guaranteed them.⁵

WHILE THE CHURCH THUS SOUGHT TO SERVE AMERICA'S INTERESTS, THE WAR ALSO OFFERED OPPORTUNITY TO PROMOTE THE CHURCH'S OWN AGENDA.

Opposition to conscription did not mean, however, that Adventists refused to serve in the military. Originally tending toward conscientious objection, Adventists assumed a position that they defined as "conscientious cooperation." Waging war was a legitimate function of the state as ordained by God, they believed, and it was the duty of the Christian to assist. Remembering the difficulties many Adventists had experienced during the First World War because they insisted on keeping the Sabbath while in the military, the Church sought to prepare its young men for the coming war by creating the Medical Cadet Corps (MCC).⁶

In effect, an Adventist ROTC program run in close cooperation with the military, the MCC prepared Adventists to serve their country in noncombatant roles, primarily as medics. The program was meant to help young men avoid problems of conscience and, as an internal memo of the Church states, at the same time place the Church "in a very favorable light before the government." The head of the Church's National Service Commission, Carlyle B. Haynes, stressed that Adventists did not oppose war and made "no protest against war," but were proud to serve. As one historian has stated, American Adventists had found a "unique solution by viewing the ethical problems raised by war in strictly individualistic terms": collaboration in the war machine by itself posed no problems "so long as the acts that they performed within that establishment were in themselves ethically proper."⁷

In the late 1930s, especially after Hitler launched the Second World War, Adventist journals in the United States became more openly critical of the Nazi regime. H. L. Rudy, for instance, examined Hitler's anti-Christian agenda as revealed in *Mein Kampf*. In a somewhat belated 1941 article Rudy quoted at length from a 1935 letter that the Provisional Administration of the German Evangelical Church had addressed to Hitler in which it protested coercion of conscience and the fact that Hitler was revered in a form due only to God.⁸

Although voicing sympathy for the victims of tyranny and aggression, Adventist authors still questioned the wisdom of American involvement. *Watchman Magazine* expressed cynicism about generations that had died in vain and would be compelled to do so again.⁹ Some authors reminded readers of the

Church's unique prophetic calling in times of conflict.

In 1940, Louis H. Christian, a vice president of the General Conference, quoted Bishop Theophil Wurm of Germany, who shortly after the outbreak of war had called his congregation to penance and renewed commitment "to Him who through his afflictions calls us to Himself;" and to Bishop George Bell of Chichester, England, who deemed it a calamity if the church, as well, went to war. Bell saw the church as "a universal society" that "binds its members in a unity which includes the members of the nation with which we are at war," and cautioned against "the insidious effect of propaganda." L. H. Christian called on believers to be "on guard lest they imbibe the spirit of hatred and revenge that is destroying mankind."¹⁰

Even though Hitler's early victories made him appear unstoppable, indeed, bound for world domination, Adventist writers in the United States were certain that he would ultimately fail. Biblical prophecy as found in the second chapter of Daniel, they argued, foretold that no one would be able to reunite Europe. "We are going to say exactly what we have said in the past," wrote Arthur S. Maxwell, editor of *Signs of the Times*. "We refuse to retract one jot or one tittle. We believe that the prophecy in question is not only the most remarkable and the most significant to be found in all the Scriptures, but that it is absolutely authentic and reliable. Furthermore, we believe that its interpretation will never be overthrown by any sequence of events that may occur."¹¹

American Adventists and America's Cause

After the war started, the scope of topics covered in the American Adventist press changed little, except that the war itself increasingly took center stage. However, whereas the coming war had often been cast in the 1930s as Armageddon, which would usher in the Second Coming, articles during the conflict tended to



focus on its more temporal meaning and purpose.¹² Some writers portrayed it as a new version of the age-old controversy between good and evil. None expressed this view more clearly than Charles S. Longacre, religious liberty secretary of the General Conference:

Never in the history of the world has the precious heritage of liberty been placed in greater jeopardy by its foes than at the present hour. The world struggle now in progress is a conflict between two philosophies of life, and these two philosophies are as opposite each other as night is to day. They are as irreconcilable as unrighteousness is to righteousness, and as injustice is to justice, and as tyranny is to liberty. This conflict is the age-long struggle between totalitarianism and individualism, between bondage and liberty.¹³

Longacre saw totalitarianism as a revival of the “ancient order of a few men ruling all men in all things.” It had a long tradition that throughout history had appeared in many forms, ranging from the authoritarian

state to the authoritarian church. Individualism, on the other hand, was “the new order of things as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution of the United States, limiting the powers and functions of the civil government, and making all public officials subject to the

sovereign will of the people.”¹⁴

According to Longacre, the American system guaranteed natural and God-given rights, and the conscience of the individual was “supreme above all governmental functions and authority.” These “inalienable rights of man no government on earth” had a right to abridge or invade. Unless Americans became active citizens, the “blood-bought liberties” were “destined to



Photo: Courtesy of General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics

Desmond Doss, a Seventh-day Adventist medical cadet who received the Congressional Medal of Honor for his service during World War II.

perish from the earth.” Analyzing the process that had led to erosion of the constitutional principle in Europe, Longacre warned fellow Americans what would happen if “the spirit of the constitution” was lost.¹⁵

The only security of a republic lies in the love and devotion its people have in their hearts for the constitution that preserves and safeguards their liberties and their right of sovereignty. Whenever a people are willing to surrender their constitutional liberties and right of sovereignty for governmental subsidies and patronage, and prefer to enjoy material comforts and a well-provisioned bread basket rather than to be freemen in a republic, they are writing Ichabod over the temple of their freedom, and resigning their sovereignty to dictators. That is what the oppressed people of Europe did when they chose to be slaves of dictators rather than sovereigns in their own right.¹⁶

Thus, American Adventists took their position on the war and in doing so joined the Protestant mainstream. Like other American Protestants, Adventist writers argued that Protestantism was the foundation of democracy, necessary to its survival. Protestantism affirmed the sacredness of the individual, liberty of conscience, individual responsibility, and public virtue.¹⁷ In short, it was the essence of Americanism. Thus, The

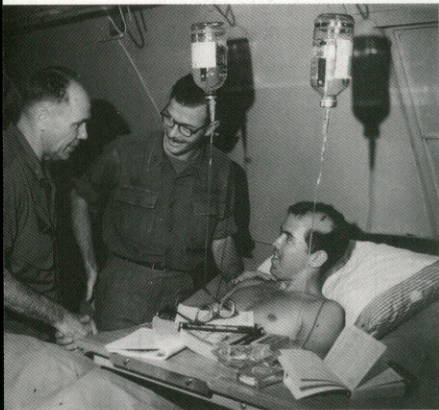


Photo: Courtesy of General Conference Office of Archives & Statistics

Adventist chaplains visit a patient.

READERS OF GERMAN ADVENTIST JOURNALS COULD TAKE COMFORT IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT IT WAS GOD HIMSELF WHO WAS LEADING IN THIS WAR.

Americanism became a synonym for Protestantism, democracy, freedom, and even civilization. To strengthen Protestantism and resist the temptations of totalitarianism and Catholicism was a patriotic duty.

As war started in Europe, Adventists found one more reason to warn against the perils of Rome. Recalling France's shameful collapse in 1940, L. H. Christian counseled:

It is well to give attention to the forces which undermine democracy. . . . A true democracy is possible only in countries with a strong Protestant Christianity. It cannot exist in a Roman Catholic country. We see how it failed in France. The great cause of the complete debacle of France in June a year ago was the insidious, undermining influence of the papacy. It was the priests, not the generals, that caused France to lose the war. Democracy cannot exist in an atheistic country, for atheism weakens individual character. Democracy cannot exist among a pagan people. This is evidenced by the very fact that in those parts of Europe where the totalitarian state is strongest, the state has, as its source, a new paganism. Democracy is the fruit of Protestantism; and when Protestantism decays, there will be a moral collapse which will pull down democratic government.¹⁸

Thus, America's cause in the Second World War was bound up with the cause of the Church. This war was a just war, a war to defend the refuge for the oppressed that God had raised up in the time of the Pilgrim fathers. The Church must join in the struggle and mobilize the power of prayer.¹⁹ Sounding a note later heard from the Christian Coalition, L. H. Christian argued,

The present challenge of democracy is really a challenge to the church. It is a challenge to Protestant preachers everywhere. It is the challenge of the world to the gospel. . . . The challenge of a failing democracy is the challenge to every true child of God to build a strong character for Christ, to stand for honesty and self-reliance. . . . Democracy cannot be saved merely by civil law. It has its

roots in the Protestant religion, that is, in the true gospel, and it will prosper only when and where the gospel is followed.²⁰

History, said Christian, "teaches that liberty has been the exception and intolerance the rule," and he called for commitment to "the divine principles of free government as set forth so forcefully in our American constitution."²¹

Adventists in the United States joined their country's war effort with conviction. J. L. McElhany, president of the General Conference, wrote to President Franklin D. Roosevelt pledging Adventist support. Adventists presented themselves as model citizens and bought liberty bonds. The Church adopted self-censorship and avoided alarming subjects such as apocalyptic prophecies, and journals displayed patriotic symbols and pictures of soldiers in uniform, of weapons, and of battle scenes.²²

Watchman Magazine in particular was noteworthy for its support of the American cause. After January 1941, it consistently displayed patriotic symbols on its covers. In 1942, it opened its pages to J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, who wrote a series on the subject of Americanism. In a rambling jingoistic style, Hoover's propaganda encouraged suspicion toward all except those whose "Americanism" was thoroughly established.²³

Hoover called for a patriotic "national wall which will encircle Americanism," for uniformity, and for intolerance toward anyone who questioned America's purpose.

Today is the time for an intensification of the teachings of Americanism to the rising generations. We have neglected too long the thrilling lessons found in the histories of Washington, of Jefferson, and of Lincoln, while we have a disgustingly large number of propaganda-purveyors who would educate our youth along dictatorial or communistic lines. Too many of these are today in our schools and colleges, maintained by public funds, while they attempt to pervert the teachings of democracy.²⁴



A special “freedom number” of *Watchman Magazine* in July 1944 showed Old Glory, the U.S. flag, on its front cover with the Statue of Liberty and a uniformed officer with his family against the backdrop of a church. An inset poem, entitled “My Country’s Flag,” by George Clarence Hoskin, proclaimed: “long may it wave, Bathed in the lifeblood of our hallowed dead, In glory made, the ensign of the brave”

While the Church thus sought to serve America’s interests, the war also offered it an opportunity to promote the Church’s own agenda. *Watchman Magazine* of August 1942 argued that Pearl Harbor, where “the boys in blue” were caught napping, should serve as a warning not to be unprepared for the Second Coming. Other articles promoted vegetarianism and justified a patriotic call for temperance by citing America’s need for healthy youth to serve their country. America could ill afford addiction to alcohol and tobacco while nations like Nazi Germany worked to eschew both.²⁵

What would be the war’s outcome? American Adventists never left any doubt that they believed in the eventual triumph of America and democracy. In November 1940, well before America had entered the war, the editor of *Signs of the Times*, Arthur S. Maxwell, published an article entitled, “America’s Amazing Future.” Summarizing recent tumultuous events in Europe, the author turned to the ongoing arming of the United States, which, he contended, “may be of greater significance than them all.” Given its resources and production capacity, “none can doubt that it will soon outbuild all possible rivals on land and sea.” Maxwell believed America was launched “upon the highway to world power and a destiny it never dreamed.”²⁶

Maxwell’s article reveals tension between traditional Adventist interpretation of prophecy and American patriotism. According to the Adventist reading of Revelation 13, America will play a leading role in the persecution of God’s remnant church. Maxwell predicted that “When all the armament plans have come to fruition . . . [America] will speak with all the fierceness and authority of imperial Rome.”

President Roosevelt’s appointment in December 1939 of Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican also gave the November 1940 issue of the *Signs of the Times* occasion to harp on fears that the

Photo: John E. Auman © 2001, Donna Auman



Hospital staff stationed on New Caledonia, May 1945.

“United States and political Protestantism are to play a prominent part in the restoration of the papacy to its former possessions and power.” The same issue also published a letter of protest to President Roosevelt.²⁷ America’s rise to world power and growing ties to the papacy appeared once again to be signs of the impending fulfillment of prophecy and the Second Coming.

Still, American Adventists served their country with undivided commitment during the Second World War. *Watchman Magazine* of July 1945 proudly summed up the Church’s policy: “On this broad platform of twofold allegiance—to God and to country—Seventh-day Adventists have gone to all the battlefronts of earth. . . . They are soldiers, soldiers of mercy, soldiers of humanity, soldiers of Christ.” Some 12,000 American Adventists served as noncombatants in the armed forces.²⁸

Many won recognition for their bravery under fire. Among them was Duane Kinman, who made national headlines as the “foxhole surgeon” and was thrice recipient of the purple heart medal. A few volunteered for combat service. Although some of these servicemen resigned their church membership, convinced that their personal commitment to unrestricted service conflicted with the traditional Adventist stance on military service, the Church proudly compiled records of patriotic service among its members and used it to promote its own cause for decades after the war.²⁹

Adventists in Nazi Germany

In Germany, the Nazi Revolution placed Seventh-day Adventists in a perilous predicament. A foreign sect that in many ways resembled Judaism, Adventists could expect little tolerance in a society based on racist-cultural nationalist principles. On November 26, 1933, the Gestapo banned the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Though the ban was rescinded two weeks later, on December 6, the Church continued to exist on the edge of legality for the duration of the Nazi regime.³⁰

German Adventist leaders took great pains to

FROM THE START, GERMAN ADVENTISTS ECHOED THE NAZI LINE THAT THE WAR HAD BEEN FORCED ON GERMANY BY JEALOUS NEIGHBORS

convince authorities of their loyalty, understanding that the new regime demanded a clear decision for or against it. Borrowing a phrase from the Nazi party platform, church leaders called on their members to manifest “positive Christianity,” which was interpreted as support for the Nazi state. Church leaders at all levels, including lay members, were expected to demonstrate the “correct” stance toward the state before they were allowed to serve. Likewise, before a candidate could be received into church membership his or her position on the Nazi state had to be “clearly established.” Although Adventists as a rule had previously abstained from political involvement, leaders now called on church members to vote for Hitler.³¹

The new course was also evident in the German Adventist press. Adventist writers openly endorsed the National Socialist state and praised its many achievements. An article entitled “*Volk and State*,” which appeared in the December 1933 issue of *Gegenwartsfragen* (Contemporary Issues, the German equivalent of *Signs of the Times*), described the *völkisch* racial state as in keeping with biblical principles.³²

In marked contrast to American Adventist journals, which portrayed a continuing drift toward war, the German Adventist press described Hitler’s foreign policy as one of peace and reconciliation to which he devoted himself “with all his strength and with genuine passion.” No matter how controversial Hitler’s foreign policy moves appeared abroad or how much they threatened to provoke international conflict, German Adventists endorsed every major one. Germany’s withdrawal from the League of Nations and from disarmament talks, the invasion of the Rhineland, the Anschluss of Austria, the Sudeten Crisis, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia—all met with Adventist applause.³³

When Germany introduced the draft on March 16, 1935, Adventist leaders called on their young men to serve, “as genuine Christians and loyal citizens” ought to do. Perhaps the most radical endorsement of military service came from Hulda Jost, head of Adventist welfare: “He who refuses to render this

service to the state acts dishonorably and places himself outside the community of his people.”³⁴

The Church compiled a number of authoritative statements that ranged from Ellen G. White to the historic Gland Resolution of 1920, which had sought to settle a denominational dispute on military service by leaving the decision up to the individual’s conscience. The resolution differentiated between military service in time of peace and in wartime without clarifying the difference.³⁵ Later, this resolution would allow for flexibility in applying the Ten Commandments during war, especially regarding Sabbath keeping.

Although it recognized the conscience of the individual, the statement was only intended for use by denominational officers and was never placed in the hands of pastors or church members, where it might have served as a basis for discussion and helped



Photo: John E. Auman © 2001 Donna Auman

Medical cadets line up in Monterey, California.

individuals make up their own minds. Such discussion might have only exposed divergent views, which could have endangered the Church. Thus, a card that the denomination issued to its draftees made no reference to the conscience clause and they were deprived of the Church’s support in matters of conscience.



Instead, Adventist leaders gave draftees advice on how to obtain permission to attend church services on the Sabbath and counsel to join the Red Cross as preparation to serve as medics. Some local congregations offered training courses in first aid. After President Paul von Hindenburg's death in 1934, German soldiers were required to take the loyalty oath to Adolf Hitler. A circular to Adventist draftees sought to remove any apprehensions about this oath by arguing that it was "constituted such that it does not bind our conscience regarding our duties toward God, and refers only to the duties within the armed forces." The circular ignored the possibility that such duties might contradict God's commandments.³⁶

Church leaders were mindful of controversy over military service during the First World War that had led to schism and creation of the Reformed Adventist Church in 1923, and they took pains to prevent a recurrence. "Be on guard against extremist elements and fanatics," a circular to ministers cautioned, "so that they can do no damage among us. Do not let them speak in the churches, but try to persuade them to a reasonable biblically based attitude toward the authorities." Church leaders understood that the Nazi state would not tolerate draft evasion and carefully distanced themselves from the reformers, who refused conscription. After Reform Adventists were banned on April 29, 1936, Adventist leaders issued directives to prevent the reformers from joining the Adventist Church.³⁷

German Adventists and the Second World War

On September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland and the Second World War began. From the start of the war the German Adventist press supported its nation's cause. "The dice have been cast," began one editorial by Kurt Sinz in *Der Adventbote* of November 15, 1939. God had "caused his world clock to strike," and with it "the end of the order representing the past age," the "age of the spirit," had come. Germany had been given an opportunity to prove itself.³⁸

Sinz, who evidently thought he understood the dialectical processes of history according to Hegel, explained that the "old and outdated must leave the

stage of history. Rejuvenated nations storm ahead and create a new order. It all goes according to eternal laws to fulfill the will of Providence, which is guiding history to the highest good and to a state of perfection." God had not forgotten "His Germans," as it had seemed to many in the dark years after the Treaty of Versailles and during the Weimar Republic. Now it was evident that the German God, the Lord of history, had been at work all along.³⁹

Referring to Hitler's revolution, Sinz wrote: "It was precisely in the darkest hour that the glow of dawn announced the coming of a glorious day. . . . And today, while the sun has not yet reached its zenith, we grasp the meaning of the dark times that we then could scarcely understand."⁴⁰ The reader of this article may well conclude that it was not Scripture, but war; not prophecy, but Hegel or Darwin, that revealed God's Providence. In any case, Sinz seemed certain that "it was the will of the Lord of history" that the German people be saved from the abyss; thus he had sent "a redeemer," "chosen" to lead the German people through their most difficult test.⁴¹

Readers of German Adventist journals could take comfort in knowledge that God himself was leading in this war. God had sent German forces "always just at the right time to protect and liberate" fellow Germans in foreign lands. While the war revealed God's Providence, it also revealed the character and the "genius" of the German people. Reporting on Polish atrocities against Germans, one writer, noting that these had been committed against a defenseless people, observed: "This trait is entirely alien to our own national character. If we were to wage war like this we would have to deny everything that is German by definition."⁴² Never was there any hint that Germans might have also committed excesses.

After the quick and spectacular victories in Poland, Scandinavia, and the West, German Adventist writers were elated. "We shall never forget the hour when the armistice with France was announced," wrote Sinz in July of 1940.

And who would not have been thankful with all his heart in the face of a victory the likes of which has never been recorded in our history! We have exerted ourselves, we have labored and, when it became necessity, have fought like never before. . . . And God has inclined the scales of good fortune toward us. . . . That's how it will be in the final phase of the struggle which will bring us peace with victory over our last opponent.

How beautiful is the hour of victory! We who

IN MEETING THE TOTALITARIAN DEMANDS OF THE STATE, GERMAN ADVENTISTS NOT ONLY COLLABORATED WITH THE STATE, BUT ALSO SACRIFICED CRITICAL ELEMENTS OF THE ADVENTIST MESSAGE, MOST NOTABLY THE SECOND COMING.

once were cheated out of victory and a just peace have now tasted it in calm and profound joy without excess. . . . We have yet to fight and sacrifice. . . . We are in the world to labor and to fight. And those [among us] who know of the struggle of faith know that our faith is our victory.⁴³

Sinz's dubious linkage of war with Christian faith in this allusion to 1 John 5:4, where faith is "the victory that has overcome the world," is found in other articles, as well.

Adolf Hitler, the German warlord, appeared in German Adventist journals as a man of true humanity and generosity, in contrast to leaders in other countries, especially those in "Christian" countries like Britain and America. "This is not how a dictator looks who is greedy for conquests, as the Jewish controlled world press would like to present him," argued Sinz. Hitler's compassion, he wrote, extended even to the women and children of the enemy. "We know this man well, and not for one moment can we doubt his intentions, because we are of the same soul."⁴⁴

Another writer, as he reviewed the amazing German victories over Poland, Norway, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and especially the "incomparable victory over France," claimed to "sense the footfalls of God across the world. In quiet adulation we thank God who in his wise providence has given us the *Führer*."⁴⁵

In spite of their loyal support for the Nazis, German Adventists witnessed a continuous erosion of their religious liberty. The war brought further difficulties for the Church as some members followed their own consciences and elected not to serve in the military or work on the Sabbath. Although Adventists had succeeded remarkably in winning Sabbath privileges during the early years of Nazi rule, with the coming of war the Gestapo took a very dim view of anyone unwilling to serve unconditionally, and it took the initiative to investigate.

Gestapo agents questioned pastors, conference presidents, and local elders to see if the Church censured or expelled members for working on the Sabbath. If that had been the case, such discipline would have been compelling grounds for action against the Church. In March 1940, Adolf Minck was called to Gestapo headquarters and told "in unmistakable terms

that such conduct will not be tolerated, and that the leaders of the churches, the conferences, and unions will be held accountable."⁴⁶

As a result, Church leaders instructed all pastors that "in total war there can only be total commitment and sacrifice." Alluding to problems that certain members had caused the Church, a circular of April 30, 1940, stressed the need for all ministers to "instruct our members in the duties we owe according to the Scriptures, to our nation and fatherland, as well as to the authorities." The document affirmed "on Biblical grounds" the legitimacy of service in the armed forces, and included instructions "that we perform all duties associated with it," as God had commanded. "Submit yourselves, for the Lord's sake, to every authority," it quoted from 2 Peter. The more loyally Adventists performed their duty during war, the circular argued, the more they could expect respect for conscience afterward.⁴⁷

After June 1941, when authorities banned the Church in several districts of the eastern territories, Minck sought to reassure authorities of unreserved support for the Nazis among Adventists. Church leaders, he wrote, consistently encouraged members in this basic attitude, and "church leadership deems this to be one of its most prominent duties."⁴⁸

In 1943, German forces suffered their first major reversals in Russia. Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels issued his proclamation of total war, and the Church's leadership came forth with another circular. Performing one's duty on the Sabbath, it said, did not represent disobedience to God's law, but was actually a virtue. "Christian faith must be proven by Christian deed," it asserted. The circular argued that Sabbath service was not apostasy because under the circumstances it represented an exigency, and only total investment—even on the Sabbath—could assure victory. "Adapt yourself to the times," it quoted from Romans 12:11, a phrase from the Luther Bible not found in English versions. Church leaders sent copies of the document to Gestapo headquarters and the German Church Ministry "as proof that the [Adventist] leadership, pastors, and



members stand in loyalty by *Führer* and Reich.”⁴⁹

Although early hopes of a short war were dashed, Adventist writers continued to express confidence in the final victory, in Providence, and in the Führer. Sinz wrote that whenever the Führer spoke of his faith in Providence and the task ordained for him it was “as if the veil that surrounds current events is drawn aside and we see the mighty arm of God who governs the destiny of nations.” Already Europe’s destiny was being shaped by “rejuvenated nations” who were building a more just new order.⁵⁰

From the start, German Adventists echoed the Nazi line that jealous neighbors had forced the war on Germany; its enemies had sown the fruit of hatred. Never did the Adventist journals ask whether Germany might be waging a war of aggression. At the onset of the war they had blamed England, France, and the Treaty of Versailles, while commending Hitler on generous offers of peace.⁵¹ As the war progressed, the journals depicted the war as a product of two ideologies: the old and corrupt order of the “moneybags,” which was based on materialism, against the new order, based on idealism. *Gute Gesundheit* (*Good Health*) echoed this line in December 1941:

Surely, every German has grasped the meaning of this conflict. . . . For this struggle is the wrestling of two world views to the bitter end. Idealism in the form of German socialism is opposed to the materialism of a world order which is about to fall. . . . It is not the English moneybags, nor is it Bolshevism, conceived as it was by the Jews; it is the German who in the future will determine what Europe will be like. . . . The English Shylocks and bourse jobbers have ignited the fires of war against our German socialism. And it is for this ideal that we will commit ourselves to toil a new every day. . . . Each sacrifice reminds us of the community of the German *Volk*, and binds us to it anew. Our faith in its mission makes us strong. And this faith will blaze a trail for the victorious flags of our soldiers.⁵²

In 1941, the denominational press closed down, allegedly to conserve resources, and Adventist journalism

all but came to an end in Germany. The two notable exceptions were *Gute Gesundheit* and *Gegenwartsfragen*, which by this time had actually ceased being religious journals. Two articles from *Gegenwartsfragen* illustrate its version of the Adventist Christian message.

One piece appeared in the August/September 1943 issue. Entitled, “Between the Nations,” it blamed “the Jew” for the sacrifices in property and blood brought about by the war. “Today no one can deny the controlling role that the Jew has played in the [First] World War, the revolt that followed it, and the economic woes of nations, all of which were designed to increase his wealth. The same goes for the corruption of our morals until the turnaround in 1933. Jewry and liberalism had united in a war against decency and peace.”

“The Jew” had also corrupted the German spirit. “Today almost everybody knows that the Jew has not only endangered external security, but has imperiled and harmed our soul, as well. While it happened it was hardly noticed, and yet we have suffered harm the longer the more.” Recalling the “corruption” of German culture during the Weimar Republic, the author observed:

What did those images look like that they called art! What did radio and film present us with; what strange concoctions did they serve us on stage; what screaming, distorted “music” was then adored! And what literature! The Jews, “the lords of culture,” were on their way to transform themselves from a *Volk* between nations into their masters. And the Jew, who is devoid of all morality, nearly succeeded in making world powers into Jewish strongholds. It was rather late when those who still had healthy [pure] blood were able to stop the pernicious Jewish flood.

The author called on readers “never to grow tired in the struggle against the enemy of our race who lives among the nations.”⁵³ This statement should not be taken as a measure of widespread anti-Semitism among German Adventists, yet it should be understood as arising from a climate in which the Church took steps to ensure banishment for Adventists of Jewish descent to guard against suspicions of disloyalty among Nazis. In some instances, church members were even forbidden from maintaining contact with those banished members. Although individual Adventists are known to have sheltered and assisted Jews, they acted as individuals who followed their own consciences against denominational policy.⁵⁴

The other example from *Gegenwartsfragen*, entitled

THE CHURCH'S COLLABORATION WITH THE STATE IN BOTH COUNTRIES RAISES QUESTIONS ABOUT THE INTEGRITY AND ADEQUACY OF THE CHURCH'S POLICY ON RELATIONS WITH THE STATE.

"Loving and Fighting," appeared in the August/September 1944 issue and discussed the proper motivation for war. The plutocrats, the writer argued, fought for wealth and power, whereas the Bolsheviks were "motivated by hatred for everything that is superior to their Asiatic ways." In contrast, Germans fought for love of their *Volk*, whose life depended on "blood and space."

In a peculiar dialectic, the writer sought to justify hatred of the enemy as a virtue. If, he argued, war was the father of all things, "then love shines as the mother of all things. Father and mother belong together for the sake of preservation and nurture of life. No life is imaginable without the eternal interaction between the masculine and the feminine, between war and love." Love, the writer reasoned, was tied to hatred, for true love hated the enemy of the object of his love. Thus, hatred functioned as defense of one's love. He who fought, yet "his fighting is not sustained by burning love, fights like a brute."

According to the author, the measure of one's love was the willingness to invest oneself to the point of self-sacrifice. In that case, a soldier's "bitter death" was nevertheless "great and beautiful since it is the crowning of his love." For the sake of love "the soldier must fight mercilessly and, yes, must be able to hate with abysmal hatred everything that wants to destroy the object of his love." Every German, the writer concluded, ought to find the very thought "unbearable that this *Volk*, deprived of its liberty, would be enslaved and destroyed by foreign tyrants, and its soil in the claws of Jewish exploiters and Asiatic brutes."⁵⁵

German Adventists served loyally in the armed forces. A report of January 1944 listed 6,687 in the armed forces, with 871 killed or missing in action.⁵⁶ Although some served as medics and doctors (31!), most served in other capacities and many held advanced ranks. The report noted that many had won awards for bravery, among them 567 with the Iron Cross Second Class (EK-II), 79 with Iron Cross First Class (EK-I), and 2 with the coveted oak leaves for the Iron Cross. One Adventist was a member of a special SS unit that rescued Italian dictator Benito Mussolini.

Church leaders claimed this record offered evidence "that the pastors and members of our Church stand loyally by their *Volk* and fatherland as well at its leader-

ship, ready to sacrifice life and possessions." Altogether, some 1,269 German Adventists lost their lives as a result of the war. As Adolf Minck wrote in a letter to the German Church Ministry, Adventists had "sacrificed husbands and sons on the altar of the fatherland. Resignedly and with pride they accept their lot."⁵⁷

Assessment

Adventists in America and Germany resembled each other by backing their respective national causes during the Second World War, but there were several notable differences that can be explained largely in terms of political environment.

In the United States, Adventists resembled other Christians who opted for "a cautious patriotism," one that transcended the conflict instead of yielding to hatred.⁵⁸ Their interpretation of the war as part of the age-old conflict between God-given liberty and authoritarian control was in keeping with their traditional view of America as a Protestant refuge. Departing from the pacifist principles, to which they had clung during the First World War, American Adventists became eager to prove their patriotism by active participation in the war effort.

The Church's collaboration with the state through the MCC and the military chaplaincy also marked a departure from its traditional policy of separation of church and state.⁵⁹ Ever since the Second World War, God-and-country patriotism has been a component of American Adventist culture—through the wars in Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, and Afghanistan.

While meeting the Nazi's totalitarian demands, German Adventists not only collaborated with the state, but also sacrificed critical elements of the Adventist message, most notably belief in the Second Coming. However, the chief difference between American and German Adventists lay in the extent to which German leaders lent their support and their press not only to their national cause, but also to a spirit of hatred and to the war itself. One year into the First World War, Adventist leaders in Germany had urged



caution lest nationalist hatred and war sentiments enter into the Church's ministry.⁶⁰ No such voice of caution was heard in German Adventism during the Second World War.

Lest we judge too harshly, let us remember that the Church in Germany faced a terrible choice. The question of disloyalty to the Third Reich jeopardized not only the Church's publishing work, but also most likely its existence as a corporate body. Moreover, Adventist support for the new regime was not entirely voluntary. Nazi editorial policy demanded that all issues with the potential to "disturb the peace" or undermine popular confidence in the government be avoided. Over time, Adventist publications in Germany became an extension of the Nazi press as editors were forced to accept articles from the Nazi press agency. In this way, the Adventist Church became an auxiliary to Nazi propaganda, deceiving its members about the true nature of one of the most demonic systems in history.

After the war, Adolf Minck defended his church against charges of collaboration and apostasy, protesting that only a policy of flexibility could have saved the Church. Rather than apostatizing, he argued, the German Church had merely "detoured" around an obstacle. He believed God had given the Church wisdom to steer the right course to preserve it intact and protect its members from persecution. "No widows and orphans accuse us today" because they lost husband or father, Minck asserted. "It would have not have been difficult to make martyrs of the 500 ministers and 43,000 members. . . . More than once, a mere shrug of the shoulder would have been enough and the entire denomination would have been outlawed and the work smashed."⁶¹

Nor were German Adventists unique. Other small denominations in Germany, among them Methodists and Baptists, followed a similar course.⁶² By contrast, at least some leaders of the established churches, both Catholic and Protestant, found the courage to sound a prophetic voice. To be sure, leaders of the established churches had the advantage of speaking from a position of strength with little fear of placing their members in jeopardy.

However, the need for survival does not fully explain the Church's endorsement of the Nazi state and Hitler's war. Adventist support for the war as

expressed in the press was no mere show to impress Nazi authorities, for internal church documents reflect a similar spirit among several church leaders. "For us at home it is an exhilarating feeling to know that God has granted victory to German arms on all fronts," wrote Michael Budnick, president of the East German Union and a member of the Nazi Party, to fellow gospel workers who served in the armed forces. "We are especially grateful to our *Führer*, but also to all combat soldiers and thus also to you, dear brethren."⁶³

The return of the Memel and other eastern territories to German jurisdiction caused jubilation among Adventist leaders in Berlin, who interrupted a committee meeting to celebrate. "By divine providence and the courageous acts of our *Führer* and Reich Chancellor an old wrong has been righted," wrote Budnick as he welcomed gospel workers in Posen and West Prussia and expressed appreciation for their past loyalty to Germany: "We thank you for your manly and loyal advocacy of German interests."⁶⁴

Adventist Church leaders voiced their support for German policy, prayed for German arms, and expressed pride in the contribution of Adventists in the armed forces. They systematically collected statistics on members and pastors who served in the armed forces, noting their ranks, promotions, awards for bravery, as well as war casualties. These statistics were "very valuable, especially in negotiations with authorities."⁶⁵ From outrage over the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles to the victories of Nazi armies in the Second World War, their nationalist sentiments persisted undiminished, even under a criminal government.

It is surprising that events caught German Adventists utterly unprepared given their preoccupation with interpretation of prophecy, signs of the times, and constant warnings to be ready for the time of troubles. How was it that leaders of a church that had roots in the United States could thus fall prey to German nationalism?

Like other denominations that went to Germany from America, members of the Adventist Church had suffered much discrimination and had to prove their Germanness in an increasingly nationalistic society. The father of German Adventism, Ludwig R. Conradi, a U.S. immigrant who returned to his native country, sought to give the Church a German image by stressing the German roots of Adventism while de-emphasizing the writings of the Church's prophet, Ellen G. White.⁶⁶ As their sense of German identity grew, so did their susceptibility to the normative forces of German society in general, and to nationalist sentiments in particular.

WHENEVER A PEOPLE ARE WILLING TO SURRENDER THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES AND RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY FOR GOVERNMENTAL SUBSIDIES AND PATRONAGE . . . THEY ARE WRITING ICHABOD OVER THE TEMPLE OF THEIR FREEDOM, AND RESIGNING THEIR SOVEREIGNTY TO DICTATORS.

effectiveness of these normative forces can be seen particularly in articles that express virulent anti-Semitism, discuss the meaning of the war as a conflict between German ideology and materialism, or explore the subject of war as a revelation of God's Providence in their nation's history. The latter are reminiscent of the worst perversions of the gospel in the time of the First World War and reflect the thought of fashionable German Protestant theologians of the early twentieth century.⁶⁷

"Christians in Germany will face the terrible alternative," Dietrich Bonhoeffer had written to Reinhold Niebuhr in 1939, "of either willing the defeat of their nation in order that Christian civilization may survive, or willing the victory of their nation and thereby destroying our civilization."⁶⁸ It seems that German Adventists knew of no such choice. Otherworldly, politically illiterate, and naive, they nevertheless had been shaped by the normative forces of German culture. Except for a few individuals who paid with their lives for following conscience, ultimate sacrifice of Germany's wartime Adventists was not for the heavenly kingdom, and not for the Church's unique prophetic mission of reconciliation.

The Church's collaboration with the state in Germany and the United States raises questions about the integrity and adequacy of the Church's policy on relations with the state. In Germany, at least, it seemed appropriate simply to quote Romans 13:1, "be subject to all authority," conclude that Hitler had been ordained of God, and abdicate all personal responsibility.

A recent survey of the Adventist Church's relations with governments around the world suggests that conformity and collaboration have since become policy.⁶⁹ A policy that simply commits the Church to conformity with whatever regime is in power is unlikely to permit it to raise its prophetic voice and inspire resistance to evil.

Notes and References

1. With some 43,000 members, the German Adventist Church was the largest outside North America.

2. Main topics of both presses included the rising power of the Papacy, the League of Nations, calendar reform, the yellow peril, resurgent Islam, and Bolshevism as milestones in the fulfillment of biblical prophecy. "For Germany to be cut off from East Prussia is like the U.S. being cut off from New England," argued one

American Adventist, noting the historic importance of Prussia in Germany's rebirth. Russell Quinn, "The Polish Corridor," *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 8, 1932, 13. See also, William G. Wirth, "Germany and Her Neighbors: A Review of the Present Political Situation in Europe," *Watchman Magazine*, May 1935, 3. On Germany's rearmament, see Frederick Lee, "Our Warlike World," *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 30, 1932, 9.

3. Merlin L. Neff, "We Learned Nothing from the War," *Signs of the Times*, Dec. 5, 1933, 3. In regard to church policy, see especially two documents in the General Conference Archives (hereafter GC), RG 21/1939: J. L. McElhany to J. H. Cochran, Mar. 10, 1938, which requested that articles in the *Signs of the Times* critical of Nazi Germany be withheld; and circular by McElhany, Mar. 14, 1938, which discusses *The New Caesars*, by Gwynne Dalrymple. Pacific Press had published the book in 1938 for missionary outreach in the United States, but withdrew and destroyed it although already printed.

An example of cautious reporting is F. Chester Carrier, "The Tragedy of the Jews," *Signs of the Times*, Aug. 29, 1939, 8. Although protesting the wave of anti-Semitic "outrages," such as the destruction of synagogues and Jewish businesses, the article does not mention Nazism or Germany by name. In part, the article seems intended to call on Jews to accept Christ, and thus end their curse. Only rarely was a voice of sympathy raised for European Jews. For an example, see Frederick Gilbert, "The First Jewish Congress," *Signs of the Times*, Nov. 24, 1936, 15.

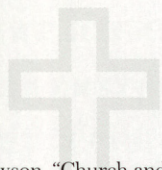
4. Reviewing the new phenomenon of European dictatorships, one writer concluded that aggression was inherent in such systems and made war necessary. He reasoned that since none of these dictators had historic roots, and since the legitimacy of dictatorship depended on popular enthusiasm, "each of them must justify itself by a continued series of popular and impressive achievements. To maintain their position, each must go on from triumph to triumph." "Catechism on Europe (II)," *Signs of the Times*, May 5, 1936, 3. See also, "War Postponed," *ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1938, 2; and Robert Pierson, "After Czechoslovakia, What?" *Watchman Magazine*, Jan. 1939.

5. "Shall We Have Conscripted?" *Watchman Magazine*, Sept. 1940.

6. *Ibid.*, 410. See also, Ronald Lawson, "Church and State at Home and Abroad: The Evolution of Seventh-day Adventist Relations with Governments," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (summer 1996), 290-91. Some 186 American Adventists were either court-martialed or served prison sentences during the First World War, and thirty-five were still imprisoned after the end of the war for either refusing to work on the Sabbath or turning down military service altogether. Douglas Morgan, "The Remnant and the Republic: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Public Order" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1992), 404-5.

7. F. G. Ashbaugh to H. T. Elliott, Feb. 23, 1937, GC, RG21/1937-A; Morgan, "Remnant and Republic," 411; Douglas Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic: The Public Involvement of a Major Apocalyptic Movement* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 94-95. Some members criticized the denomination for





becoming part of the war machine. Lawson, "Church and State," 291.

8. H. L. Rudy, "Will Totalitarianism Crush Christianity?" *Watchman Magazine*, Mar. 1941, 10.

9. Andrew West, "The Unknown Soldier," *ibid.*, Oct. 1, 1940, 5.

10. Louis H. Christian, "Christians and War," *Signs of the Times*, May 7, 1940, 4.

11. Arthur S. Maxwell, "Will One Power Rule the World?" *Signs of the Times*, special prophetic issue, July 2, 1940, 2. Circulation of this issue reached some 375,000 copies. See also *ibid.*, "Interest in Prophecy," Sept. 3, 1940, 13.

12. In response to inquiries by readers, *Watchman Magazine* explained that this war was probably not the final one, Armageddon. "Is This War Armageddon?" Apr. 1944. Also, see the editorial in *Review and Herald*, Apr. 4, 1943.

13. Charles S. Longacre, "The Peril to Liberty," *Signs of the Times*, Apr. 1, 1941, 2-3.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Gerald L. Sittser, *A Cautious Patriotism: The American Churches and the Second World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 100-109.

18. L. H. Christian, "The Challenge of the Hour," *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 20, 1942.

19. John van Ginhoven, "We Shall Not Fail," *Youth's Instructor*, July 1945, 3. "Why be satisfied with only one day?" was the response of one Adventist publication to Roosevelt's call for a day of prayer. George Baehr and W. W. Bauer, *If Bombs Fall* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1942), 94-95.

20. "The Challenge of the Hour: Waning Democracy Demands New Loyalty," *Signs of the Times*, Jan. 20, 1942, 2-3.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Morgan, "Remnant and Republic," 411-12.

23. "What is Americanism?" June 1942, 3; "The Test of Americanism," July 1942, 3; "The Fortress of Liberty," Aug. 1942, 5; "The Spy, the Saboteur, the Subverter," Sept. 1942, 3, 5; "America, Freedom's Bulwark Threatened!" Oct. 1942, 3, 12; "America, Freedom's Bulwark," Nov. 1942, 3, 11. The quote is taken from the Oct. issue.

24. Hoover, "America, Freedom's Bulwark Threatened!" 3.

25. On Pearl Harbor, see Roy F. Cottrell, "In Such an Hour," *Watchman Magazine*, Aug. 1942, 12. On temperance, see Daniel H. Kress, "Building Men for Defense," *ibid.*, 14. On vegetarianism, see "Wartime Foods—Is Meat Necessary?" *ibid.*, June 1941.

26. Pages 2-3.

27. Charles S. Longacre, "President, Pope, and Prophecy," *Signs of the Times*, Feb. 13, 1940, 3, 15.

28. *Ibid.*, 12; Lawson, "Church and State," 291.

29. Victor Armstrong, for example, became a combat pilot who served in the Second World War, in Korea, and in Vietnam. Armstrong, who eventually advanced to the rank of general, was the creator of Medevac, and he served as a helicopter pilot for President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Other notable servicemen include Desmond Doss, who received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1945. In regard to Kinman, see Terrie Aamodt, *Bold Venture: A History of Walla Walla College* (College Place, Wash.: Walla Walla College, 1992), 121. For an in depth study on the evolution of the Church's position on service in the military and on war, as well as on relations with the United States government, see Morgan, *Adventism and the American Republic*, 89-95.

30. For more information on events surrounding the ban, see

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Medical cadets uniforms included gas masks.

Roland Blaich, "Religion Under National Socialism: The Case of the German Adventist Church," *Central European History* 26 (1993), 259-62.

31. Circular, Rhenish Conference, Nov. 28, 1934, Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, RW 58/10820, no. 106.

32. *Der Adventbote* (hereafter AB), Aug. 15, 1933.

33. *Ibid.* Austrian Adventist leaders rejoiced that God in his providence had chosen Adolf Hitler to be the "liberator of Austria," exceeding their fondest hopes. *Der Adventbote* claimed that Sudetenland was "German to the bone," and the president of the East German Union Conference, Michael Budnick, welcomed the new church members in Bohemia with words of pride and gratitude for their "unwavering endurance and the sacrifices [they had] made for the cause of unification with the greater German Reich." Circular of East German Union, Nov. 21, 1938.

Bundesarchiv, Abteilungen Potsdam (hereafter BA Potsdam) RKM 51.01/23388, no. 00034. On Austrian reaction to the Anschluss, AB, Apr. 15, 1938, 126. On Sudetenland, *ibid.*, June 1, 1939, 162.

34. "Was tun die Adventisten in der Wohlfahrtspflege," Jahresbericht für 1935, 12.

35. Minutes, East German Union Committee, Mar. 12-15, 1935. Archives for European Adventist History (hereafter AEA), U1-2, no. 0195. English translation of statement in GC, RG21/1935—Central Europe. Adolf Minck, president of the German Adventist Church, felt that this statement was "confirmed by the thousands of men of our denomination who have served in the armed forces in war and peace." Minck to G. W. Schubert, Jan. 4, 1937. AEA, MED/Hanover. For a more detailed treatise on the draft issue, see Johannes Hartlapp, "Military Service," (master's thesis, Newbold College, 1994), 117-24.

36. Circular, Hanover Conference, Mar. 20, 1935, AEA, MED/Hanover Vereinigung. On the oath, see Emil Gugel, "An die zum Heeresdienst Einberufenen," circular of Oct. 25, 1935, AEA, U 1-2, no. 0114.

37. Circular of Hanover Conference, Mar. 20, 1935, AEA, MED/Hannover; Decision No. 454, Central European Division; circular to conference workers, Hanover Conference, July 23, 1936, AEA, ungeordnet 1933-39. Also see, Jost to Thomalla, Aug. 15, 1936, GC, RG21/1936—Central Europe. According to a Hanover Conference circular of July 2, 1936, Reform Adventists considered the Hitler salute and the swastika the "mark of the Beast." AEA, ungeordnet 1933-39.

38. Kurt Sinz, "Im Strom der Zeit," AB, Nov. 15, 1939.

39. *Ibid.*

40. "Nicht vergeblich!" *Gegenwartsfragen* (hereafter GF), Jan./Mar. 1940, 7.

41. "Im Strom der Zeit," AB, Apr. 15, 1940, 1.

42. AB, Mar. 15, 1940, 41; H. Ruff, "Eiserne Wirklichkeit: Ein Brief ins Feld," *ibid.*, 4.

43. "Im Strom der Zeit," AB, July 15, 1940, 1.

44. "Im Strom der Zeit," AB, Aug. 15, 1940, 1.

45. Otto Brozio, "Was tun die Adventisten in der Wohlfahrtspflege," Tätigkeitsbericht 1939/1940, 3. Brozio was director of Adventist Welfare.

46. G. W. Schubert to the General Conference Committee, Feb. 7, 1937. GC, RG 21/1937—Central Europe. For the Gestapo visit, see Circular to the Conference Presidents of the East German Union, Mar. 27, 1940, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0250.

47. Circular to the conference presidents of the East German Union, Mar. 27, 1940, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0250; circular, signed by Adolf Minck, in GC, RG 21/Documents: 1920s-1950s—Central and Northern Europe.

48. Minck to Gauleiter Danzig Westpreussen, June 24, 1941. Copies to Church Ministry and Reich Security Main Office, BA Potsdam, RKM 51.01/23388, no. 00268-69.

49. Circular of Feb. 19, 1943, BA Potsdam, RKM 51.01/23388, no. 00320. See also, Minck's May 2, 1943, letter to the Church Ministry (Haugg), BA Potsdam, RKM 51.01/23388, no. 00321. On the Sabbath question, a circular by the South German Union to conference presidents argued: "Since the warrior at the front does not have a Sabbath, the warrior on the home front should not demand one, either. Feb. 4, 1943. AEA, V 1-1, no. 0154.

50. "Im Strom der Zeit," *AB*, Jan. 15, 1941; July 1, 1940.

51. *AB*, Feb. 1, 1940, 13; Mar. 15, 1940, 41; "Im Strom der Zeit," *ibid*, Sept. 15, 1940, 1.

52. L. E., "The Soldier at the Front Looks for your Sacrifice." (Possibly supplied by the Propaganda Ministry.)

53. The quotation is taken from D. [Daniel, the editor?] of *GF*.

54. See Budnick to W. K. Ising, July 25, 1947, GC, RG 21/Documents: 1920s-1950s-Central and Northern Europe. The case of a member of the Berlin Conference who wanted to assist a Jewish family illustrates denominational policy. The Conference warned him not to expect any support if he got into trouble. Cited in Hartlapp, "Military Service," 75. For examples of Jewish Adventists in distress, see Daniel Heinz, "Schmerzliche Erinnerungen: Adventisten und Juden im Dritten Reich," *Adventecho*, Apr. 30, 2001, 15-17.

55. The quotations appear on page 27. The preceding issue of the journal featured a boxed quote: "For us Germans there is no greater example than that of those last soldiers who, out of love for their brothers in arms, have suffered the death of a soldier."

56. On loyalty and the statistics: Minck report to German Church Ministry, Apr. 7, 1944, BA Potsdam, RKM 51.01/23388, nos. 00354 and 00360.

57. Hartlapp, "Military Service," 132 n. 3. According to an initial postwar estimate, the number of Adventist military casualties exceeded 3,000, along with some 50 pastors. Eberhard Fischdick, *Helfende Hände: Die Geschichte des Advent-Wohlfahrtswerkes in Deutschland* (Darmstadt: Advent-Wohlfahrtswerk E.V., 1988), 71. Mink's letter, dated Nov. 5, 1943, can be found in BA Potsdam, RKM 51.01/23388, no. 00346.

58. See Sittser, *Cautious Patriotism*, 114-24.

59. Morgan, "Remnant and Republic," 417.

60. Protocol of Committee, East German Union, Friedensau, Aug. 19-20, 1915, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0001.

61. Blaich, "Religion Under National Socialism," 276.

62. On Methodists, see Roland Blaich, "A Tale of Two Leaders: German Methodists and the Nazi State," *Church History* (June 2001): 1-27. On Baptists, see Andrea Strübind, *Die unfreie Freikirche: Der Bund der Baptistengemeinden im "Dritten Reich"* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991).

63. Circular to gospel workers of the East German Union in the armed forces, June 24, 1940, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0251. Budnick wrote similarly to his gospel workers on the home front. Mitteilung für Evangeliumsarbeiter des ODV, no. 3, 1940, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0302.

64. Oct. 20, 1939, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0248.

65. An example is a circular from Budnick to conference presidents of the East German Union, Sept. 5, 1941, AEA, U/1-2, no. 0257.

66. On Conradi's concept of a German Adventism, see Daniel Heinz, *Ludwig Richard Conradi: Missionar der Siebenten-Tags-*

Photo: Courtesy of General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics



Chaplains at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, meet with Elder E.E. Cleveland.

Adventisten in Europa (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1987), 56. Conradi pursued his goal of building an indigenous church to the point of establishing a European General Conference in Hamburg in 1901. Daniel Heinz, *Church, State, and Religious Dissent* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993), 42-43.

67. Wilhelm Pressel, *Die Kriegspredigt 1914-1918 in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1967), 144-59. See also, the excellent survey of German war theology by John A. Moses, "Justifying War as the Will of God: German Theology On the Eve of the First World War," *Colloquium* 31 (1999), 3-20.

68. Eberhard Bethge, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer: Man of Vision, Man of Courage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 559.

69. The German church leaders' view of the state was naive and did not consider the possibility of a criminal government. When that possibility was indeed raised, they argued that when Paul wrote his injunction to submit to the authorities Rome was governed by a monster, Nero. How much more should they obey Hitler? "Seid untertan aller Obrigkeit," *AB*, Feb. 15, 1934. In regard to recent policy, see Lawson, "Church and State."

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