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**Church, sect, and government control: A history of Seventh-Day
Adventists in Austria, 1890–1975**

Heinz, Daniel, Ph.D.

Andrews University, 1991

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Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

CHURCH, SECT, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL
A HISTORY OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS
IN AUSTRIA, 1890-1975

A Dissertation
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Daniel Heinz
March 1991

ABSTRACT

**CHURCH, SECT, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL
A HISTORY OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS
IN AUSTRIA, 1890-1975**

by

Daniel Heinz

Faculty Adviser: D. A. Augsburg

ABSTRACT

**Andrews University
Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary**

**Title: CHURCH, SECT, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL: A HISTORY OF
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS IN AUSTRIA, 1890-1975**

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Date completed: March 1991

Seventh-day Adventism, a young American-based denomination, encountered strenuous opposition when it first reached Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in Austria, where traditional allegiance to Roman Catholicism, linked with a strong emphasis on cultural continuity, constituted the tenor of social life.

Although the Adventist church has been present in Austria for almost a hundred years, its influence and size have remained insignificant. Baptists and Methodists have had the same disappointing experience. Austria is

certainly one of the most difficult countries for evangelical mission outreach in Europe.

This dissertation not only describes the history of Seventh-day Adventism in Austria but also examines the relationship of the denomination to its political and religious milieu. How did the Austrian Adventists conduct themselves under the shadow of the predominant Catholic Church? How did they relate to the different forms of government such as monarchy, fascism, and National Socialism? Which missionary methods were employed to counteract the influence of a largely hostile church and state and to adapt to the environment? These and related questions are explored with the anticipation that this study may furnish valuable insights to stimulate further discussion of church-state relationships and to provide a basis for continuing investigation of the dynamics involved in encounters of minority religions with hostile socio-cultural settings.

Chapter I sketches the origin and progress of the Adventist mission in Central Europe, dealing with the contributions of missionaries such as M. B. Czechowski, J. N. Andrews, and L. R. Conradi.

Chapter II treats the difficult beginnings of Adventist mission work in Austria-Hungary.

Chapter III describes Adventism during the inter-war period.

Chapter IV deals with Adventism in the corporative state and its adaptation during the Nazi period.

Chapter V discusses the post-war development of Adventism until 1975.

In overview, the Adventist church's adaptability from the outset of its existence in Austria facilitated denominational growth. The negative side of this approach was revealed during the Third Reich by the misuse of adaptability in making certain unwarranted concessions and compromises. Today flexibility still seems necessary to meet societal changes in Austria.

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CHURCH, SECT, AND GOVERNMENT CONTROL
A HISTORY OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
IN AUSTRIA, 1890-1975


A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy


by

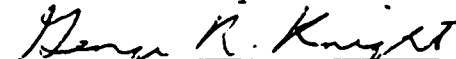
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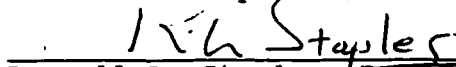
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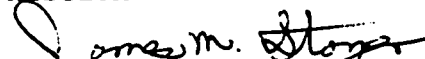

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To

those Seventh-day Adventist Christians
of the past and present in Europe whose
names will never appear in any earthly
record, but whose existence is grounded
in the love of Christ and in the hope of
His soon-coming kingdom. They are the
very core of the church.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Archiv der Advent-Mission
<u>AB</u>	<u>Adventbote</u>
<u>AD</u>	<u>Aller Diener</u>
<u>AE</u>	<u>Adventecho</u> ¹
AEA	Archiv für Europäische Adventgeschichte
<u>AH</u>	<u>Adventist Heritage</u>
AHC	Adventist Heritage Center
<u>BO</u>	<u>Botschafter</u>
<u>DA</u>	<u>Deutscher Arbeiter</u>
DF	Document File
EGWRC	Ellen G. White Research Center
GCA	General Conference Archives
<u>GCB</u>	<u>General Conference Bulletin</u>
<u>GF</u>	<u>Gewissen und Freiheit</u>
<u>HW</u>	<u>Herold der Wahrheit</u>
<u>JGPÖ</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich</u>
<u>MQR</u>	<u>Mennonite Quarterly Review</u>

¹The periodical assumed its current name in 1973. At its inception in 1895 the name was Zions-Wächter, which was changed to Adventbote in 1922.

<u>ÖAKR</u>	<u>Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht</u>
<u>PR</u>	<u>Der Protestant</u>
<u>RG</u>	Record Group
<u>RH</u>	<u>Review and Herald</u> ¹
<u>SDA</u>	Seventh-day Adventist ²
<u>SP</u>	<u>Spectrum</u>
<u>ThPO</u>	<u>Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift</u>
<u>ZW</u>	<u>Zions-Wächter</u>

¹The periodical has undergone several changes in nomenclature since its beginning in 1850. Its first name was Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald; in 1851 the name was changed to The Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald, in 1861, to Review and Herald; in 1971, it went back to Advent Review and Sabbath Herald. It assumed its current name, Adventist Review, in 1978. The name most widely used to identify the magazine is Review and Herald.

²In this dissertation the expressions "Seventh-day Adventist" and "Adventist" are used interchangeably, except as otherwise explained in the context. This applies also to the terms "Seventh-day Adventism" and "Adventism."

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In a time when traditional, established churches the world over are losing their power to attract modern society, one of the most interesting phenomena church historians deal with is the rise and development of a new Christian denomination. The Seventh-day Adventist Church, which was founded in 1863 in the United States of America, grew from its humble origins (3,500 church members) into a denomination of considerable size. With over five million members, it is now one of the most widespread single Protestant denominations, present in approximately 90 percent of all the countries of the world.¹

Today the Adventist church is most successful in its mission activity in countries of the Third World. In Western Europe, however, Adventism has to deal with stagnation and even decline in its membership for the first time. Modern Europe has once again become a mission field

¹Cf. Gottfried Oosterwal, "The Seventh-day Adventist Church in the World Today," in Servants for Christ: The Adventist Church Facing the '80s, ed. R. E. Firth (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1980), pp. 1, 2.

not only for Seventh-day Adventists but also for Christians in general.¹

In order to understand the current situation and to provide a basis for the development of future mission strategies, it is important to study the history of Adventism within the political, cultural, and religious context of the respective countries. In this study we go to Austria, the heart of Europe, with its fluctuating history and strong tradition of a state-supported church. When the first Adventist missionary programs were launched in Austria, opposition arose from two sides, church and state. This conflict has remained a dominant theme in the history of the Adventist church in Austria in spite of four radical changes in the Austrian political system since the beginning of the century. Both church and state formed an inseparable unity over centuries, thus retaining a strong ideological bond. As a result, oppression of, and discrimination against, religious minorities became a dark side of Austrian history.²

¹"Europe remains an enigma in missionary thinking. . . . The bastions of European Christendom that were responsible for the surge of missionary activity in the nineteenth century are themselves now being seen as mission fields. . . . Neither Europe's rich cultural heritage nor its high level of material prosperity disqualify it as a mission field, any more than similar factors disqualified Athens from Paul's work" (K. C. Harper, "Europe--A Look at the Past to Understand Conditions Now," Evangelical Missions Quarterly 11 [July 1975]:157, 163).

²Cf. E. Zöllner, ed., Wellen der Verfolgung in

In studying the history of Adventism in Austria, one cannot avoid addressing the critical interpretive questions arising from the relationship of the church to its political and religious milieu. How did the Adventist church conduct itself under the shadow of the all-present Roman Catholic Church? How did Austrian Adventism relate to the different forms of government such as monarchy, fascism, National Socialism, and democracy? Which missionary methods and activities were used to counteract the influence of a largely hostile church and state and to adapt to the environment? Why has the steady growth of the past given way to the stagnant situation of today? These and related questions are explored with the anticipation that this study will furnish valuable insights to stimulate further discussion of church-state relationships, and to provide a basis for continuing investigation of the dynamics involved in encounters of minority religions with hostile socio-cultural settings. The missiological, organizational, and legal aspects of the development of the Adventist church are considered in relationship to the political history of Austria, a history in which this development is embedded.

Historically, Catholicism has exerted immense power and influence in Austrian political, cultural, and

der österreichischen Geschichte (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986).

educational life. The Habsburg Empire, which ended with World War I, was a Catholic stronghold for centuries. Protestants and Jews were considered second-class citizens, and they had to fight a slow, lengthy struggle for basic religious liberties.

The political, social, and religious climate in Austria-Hungary was not conducive at all to the development of new religious movements. The declining Habsburg Monarchy was suspicious of new ideas and movements coming from outside, thinking that they would serve to weaken the conservative-minded government. The Catholic Church worked closely with the state in order to preserve the status quo. L. R. Conradi, a pioneer Adventist missionary, reached the conclusion that Catholic Austria was the nation with the least amount of religious freedom in Europe.¹ During this time the Adventist church had to work underground. Thus, the so-called "lecture societies" (Vereine) were founded in order to camouflage the church's mission activities.² But despite the hostile religious-political climate, the Adventist church continued to grow, especially in the cities.

¹"The German Conference," The Missionary Magazine, October 1898, p. 359.

²See J. Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," DA, 6 August 1908, pp. 148, 149; "In Austria," RH, 16 June 1910, pp. 4-6.

The First World War brought much sorrow and pain to the young Adventist community in Austria. The problem of military service even led to a split in the church and the expulsion of a minority opposed to bearing arms and performing duty on Saturday. On the other hand, it was through this war that the authoritarian reign of the Catholic Habsburg Monarchy came to an end. The rise of democracy proved a turning point in the evangelistic history of the Adventist church. The Treaty of St. Germain (1919) gave full religious freedom to all denominations, and the strong opposition of the Catholic clergy against new religious movements was broken at last.

The political difficulties that beset the First Austrian Republic were evident in the structure of its rival parties. From the beginning a fairly even balance existed between the two largest factions, the Marxist-oriented Social Democratic Party and the clericalist Christian Social Party. The Social Christians gradually gained more power, especially after the Roman Catholic priest Ignaz Seipel was elected chancellor of Austria in 1922. Seipel was a reactionary who aimed at establishing an authoritarian "corporative state" government based on Pope Pius XI's social doctrine.¹ The political tensions between the two major parties led to a civil war in 1934

¹See Charles A. Gulick, Austria: From Habsburg to Hitler, 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1948), 2:806-808, 1714, 1277.

and to the establishment of a "corporative state" (Ständestaat) under the leadership of Engelbert Dollfuss.

The situation for the Adventists did not improve when Austria became part of the German Reich in 1938. In order to survive Nazi totalitarianism, the Adventist church adjusted itself to the new political environment.¹ It is true that World War II put an end to the cruel Nazi regime, but Adventists in Austria and Germany alike suffered great losses.

Between 1946 and 1951, the Adventist church began to grow rapidly. Never before in the history of Adventism in Austria was the church able to experience such numerical growth. Eventually, it acquired a sound financial basis and stabilized the gain of the previous years.

Today, however, Adventist church growth is extremely slow, and the membership numbers 2,800. The culturally conditioned Catholic adherence to tradition, on one hand, and the rapidly growing secularization of vast parts of the population, on the other hand, have impeded present-day Adventist mission activity.² Even though full

¹Der Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, vol. 23 of Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. E. Träger (Darmstadt: Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis, 1986), pp. 66-192.

²William L. Wagner, writing from a Baptist perspective, states: "Today, it is largely recognized that evangelical work within the country has not been very successful. The situation has not changed significantly for over a century. . . . Although there have been some minor evangelical inroads into several cities, many are agreed that the Catholic monolithic loyalty of the people

religious liberty was decreed after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, religious suspicion and legal discrimination against members not belonging to the Roman Catholic or Lutheran-Reformed Church exist to this day. The Adventist mission experience demonstrates that the treatment of religious minorities continues to be a weak spot in Austria.

Purpose and Justification of the Study

Denominational history serves a double purpose. To the insiders of the denomination, such history explains and preserves the religious heritage. To outside readers, it invites comparison and contrast with their own heritage and gives insights applicable to the church at large.

As stated above, the present study traces the history of Adventism in Austria from its origins to the present time, and attempts to show how the church related to both the various political systems and the opposition of Roman Catholicism in order to provide a basis for the development of future mission strategies. The research was done from a Free-church perspective, which is uncommon insofar as Austrian church history is usually written from a Catholic or Lutheran viewpoint. Consequently, the Protestant Free churches that stand in the tradition of

has proven to be difficult to overcome" (New Move Forward in Europe: Growth Patterns of German-Speaking Baptists in Europe [South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978], p. 90).

Anabaptism, once so widespread in Austria, are almost completely ignored.

The story of Adventism in Austria represents a case study in the non-conformity of a small Protestant denomination seeking to survive the threats of a largely hostile church and state. Methodists, Baptists, and others had to go through the same conflicts as did Seventh-day Adventists in Austria.

Today there are other countries in which a similar religious situation exists. It should be helpful for Christians in those countries to learn from the Adventist mission experience in Austria.

The research was undertaken not only for the purpose of stating the mission history of Seventh-day Adventism in Austria but also to present a critical interpretation and evaluation of the missiological, organizational, and legal aspects underlying each step of church development within the broader stream of history. It is anticipated that the study may stimulate further discussion on the effectiveness of different styles of missionary outreach, the relationship of church and state, and the encounter of different religions within a specific political and cultural setting. Hence, this presentation may also be of value to those who are interested in inter-religious and minority studies.

Method of Research, Definitions, and Limitations

Since this study is the first one done on the topic, it is based mainly on primary sources that are represented in both published and unpublished materials.¹

¹Limited information about the history of Adventism in Austria can be found in the following books: Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., s.v. "Austria"; William A. Spicer, Our Story of Missions (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1921), pp. 143-52, 154-56; M. Ellsworth Olsen, A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1925), pp. 608-11; Emma Howell-Cooper, The Great Advent Movement (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1968), pp. 161-63; Robert Gerber, Le Mouvement Adventiste (Dammarié-les-Lys, France: Les Signes des Temps, [1950]), pp. 158-63; Outline of Mission Fields (Washington, DC: Mission Board of SDA, 1920), pp. 19-21.

For the study of Adventism in some of the territories of the former Habsburg Empire, see Jenő Szigeti, Fejezetek a H. N. Adventista Egyház Magyarországi Történetéből (Budapest: Kiadja-Adventista Egyház, 1985); idem, És emlékezzél meg az útról--Tanulmányok a Magyarországi Szabadegyházak Történetéből (Budapest: Szabadegyházak Tanácsa, 1981); Emanuel Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Dila v Československu" (research paper, 1972), AEA; Zachariasz Lyko, Adventyzm (Warsaw: Znaki Czasu, 1970); Alf Lohne, Adventists in Russia (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987); Dumitru Popa, ed., Die Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in der Sozialistischen Republik Rumänien (Bucharest: Cultul Crestin Adventist de Ziua a Saptea din R. S. R., 1983). Articles on the history of the Adventist church in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Russia which can be found in the Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1976 ed., also provide some information on the Habsburg period.

For a study of Adventism during the Third Reich, see Christine E. King, The Nazi State and the New Religions: Five Case Studies in Non-Conformity (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), pp. 89-119; Der Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, vol. 23 of Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. E. Träder (Darmstadt: Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis, 1986), pp. 66-192; Edward Th. Decker, "Weiss Juden: The Story of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Third Reich" (M.A. thesis, University of Denver, 1968); Johannes Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten

The unpublished sources consist especially of archival materials, and the published sources are principally articles from journals and periodicals. Paradoxically, sources for the early period of Austrian Adventism are more comprehensive than for those of later periods. Up to the beginning of World War I, at the time of the Adventist pioneer work in Europe, one can find lengthy articles in various church papers. Apparently, early reports about the progress of the work were more detailed than were those concerning later developments in Austria. For periods which are less exhaustively documented such as that of the corporative state and National Socialism I have made use of oral history through interviews. The perceptions of the persons interviewed were cross-checked with written documents whenever possible. While some oral material may not be verifiable by contemporary records, many facts can be substantiated through written reminiscences, local church chronicles, or published articles. A fuller discussion of the sources is given in the bibliography.

The research pursues two fundamental methodological steps. First, the sources, published and unpublished, are

in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus" (research paper, 1979), AEA; Jack M. Patt, "The History of the Advent Movement in Germany" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1958), pp. 369-95, published in almost unchanged form in SP 8 (March 1977):2-10; Erwin Sicher, "Seventh-day Adventist Publications and the Nazi Temptation," SP 8 (March 1977):11-24.

examined from a descriptive point of view. This process of objective description is then followed by interpretive insights into the particular developments of the church within its historical context. The final chapter presents an interpretive-evaluative assessment, focusing on the major aspects of Austrian Adventism, as they have occurred in history.

The origin of Adventism in Austria goes back to the time of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Habsburg Monarchy may be visualized as a multinational state organization uniting peoples who, while they preserved their own languages and cultural affinities, were bound together by the personal status of the sovereign, common political and economic interests, and similar social and legal structures. The different states of the Monarchy formed a single political entity, constituting the second largest empire on the continent. Historically, the term "Austria" is a dynamic concept, not a static one.¹ It cannot simply be equated with the re-defined state boundaries of the post-World War Republic of Austria. The term "Austria" is used in different ways. What it means in a specific place

¹". . . there never had been a clear political and geographic definition of Austria. . . . Indeed, Austria was much more an idea, a notion of many disparate lands bound together by common experiences in Central Europe, for most of the modern period subject to the House of Habsburg, the Casa d'Austria" (W. E. Wright, "World War I and Its Implication for Austria," in Austria Between Wars: Dream and Reality, ed. Walter Greinert [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, n.d.], p. 2).

can generally be understood within the context. The term can be a synonym for the Erblande, the non-Bohemian and non-Hungarian lands ruled by the Habsburgs in direct sovereignty. Today's Austrian republic covers substantially the same area which was but a small part of the Habsburg domains. "Austria" can also stand for the whole Monarchy or the Habsburg dynasty (Casa d'Austria), embracing territories far beyond the boundaries of the Alpine hereditary lands (Erblande). After the Compromise of 1867, which created a dual Austro-Hungarian empire, the term "Austria" came increasingly to refer to Cisleithanian Austria, including Bohemia and Moravia.¹ The Cisleithanian state was a constitutional monarchy under the rule of the emperor, who was at the same time king of Hungary. Both halves of the empire had their own bicameral parliamentary system.

To come to a better understanding of the roots of Seventh-day Adventism in present-day Austria, we must consider all the lands which were formerly part of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. It is not a mere coincidence that the Adventist church first gained a foothold in Hungary and Bohemia. Those areas had a more or less strong Protestant tradition that had been formed and maintained over centuries. From those lands the Adventist

¹The Leitha is the somewhat insignificant stream which then formed the frontier between the western and the eastern half of the Monarchy.

message spread to the Catholic-dominated territory of the present-day Austrian republic. The early Austrian Adventists were undoubtedly influenced by the cosmopolitan character of the old Habsburg realm. However, the beginnings of Adventism in the Habsburg lands are discussed only as they are of importance to the origin and early development of the Adventist church in German Austria.

In this study, place names during the Habsburg period are sometimes given in more than one language. The name used primarily within the territory under discussion is stated first, the other in parentheses. Otherwisc, the name most likely to be familiar to a western reader is used. Contemporary equivalents would represent an anachronism. Where any place has a name in common English usage, that form is used. For proper names, the form normally used by the people in question is taken except when a person is so familiar to English readers that a current English version of the name has been adopted. German citations are translated into English. The original citations--as far as important statements are concerned--are set in parentheses.

The main chapters of the dissertation follow the modern political history of Austria chronologically. Each chapter is characterized by a distinctive form of government. The chapter on the Habsburg period is naturally

longer than the other chapters of the dissertation, not only because it deals with a longer period of time but also because it must take the various lands of the Monarchy into consideration. The periods of the "corporative state" (Ständestaat) and of National Socialism are combined into one chapter. Although the two systems were different in nature, they had the common denominator of an authoritarian, fascist ideology.

The terminus of our study is the year 1975. This year represents a high point for the Austrian Adventist church, as it was the year when the first General Conference session outside of North America was held, in Vienna.

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS IN EUROPE

Development of Mission Awareness among Seventh-day Adventists

The Seventh-day Adventist denomination arose from a wave of revivals known as the "Second Great Awakening" which swept over North America during the first half of the nineteenth century. William Miller, a Baptist lay preacher, centered his message around the imminence of Christ's second coming and rejected the postmillennial "golden age" expectations of his time. His premillennial eschatology forms an important basis of the missionary consciousness of Seventh-day Adventism.¹

After establishing an organizational structure between 1860 and 1863, the Seventh-day Adventist Church gradually began to develop a universal understanding of

¹P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), p. 295; Konrad F. Mueller, Die Frühgeschichte der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten bis zur Gemeindegründung 1863 und ihre Bedeutung für die moderne Irenik (Marburg/Lahn: N. G. Elwert, 1969), p. 199.

mission.¹ According to G. Oosterwal, the development of Seventh-day Adventist mission awareness can conveniently be separated into three distinct phases.²

The first phase covers the period from 1844 to about 1851. The Millerites, on the basis of a mistaken interpretation of the end-time prophecy of Dan 8, had hoped that Christ would return in 1844. After the "Great Disappointment" when He did not return, Sabbatarian Adventists, coming out of the Millerite movement, believed that the door of salvation was shut for those Christians who had knowingly rejected the doctrine of Christ's soon return.³ They based this view on the belief that the bridegroom, according to the New Testament parable of the Ten Virgins, had indeed come, not to this earth, but to the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary. According to Sabbatarian Adventists, the cleansing of the heavenly

¹See Damsteegt, pp. 255-57; E. K. Vande Vere, "Years of Expansion 1865-1885," in Adventism in America, ed. Gary Land (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), pp. 66, 72-90.

²Mission Possible (Nashville, TN: Southern Pub. Assn., 1972), pp. 23-35; "A Movement Is Born," RH, 10 January 1974, pp. 1, 4, 5; "The Shut Door Opens," RH, 17 January 1974, pp. 6, 7; "Into All the World," RH, 24 January 1974, pp. 6-8; "Why Is the Task of Mission Not Completed?" RH, 31 January 1974, pp. 6-8.

³See Damsteegt, pp. 149-64. Joseph Bates was one of the most ardent supporters of this doctrine. He stated: "The present truth . . . is the Sabbath, and the shut door. It is impossible to keep one, and reject the other . . ." (A Seal of the Living God. A Hundred Forty-Four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed in 1849 [New Bedford, MA: By the Author, 1849], p. 65).

sanctuary, referred to in Dan 8:14, symbolized Christ's activity in expunging the sins of God's people from the heavenly records--in contrast to His earlier forgiving of them--that would precede His return to the earth. For the next few years, Sabbatarian Adventists dissociated themselves from other churches, determining that their sole purpose was to persuade former Millerite Adventists to accept the validity of the biblical Sabbath commandment in connection with Christ's high-priestly ministry in heaven. It was a period of relative seclusion in which the Sabbath-keeping Adventists through intensive Bible study created a doctrinal platform for an emerging theology of the heavenly sanctuary and an incipient mission emphasis.

The second phase of the development of Seventh-day Adventist mission awareness covers the period from 1851 to 1874. During this time, Seventh-day Adventists realized that many Christians in North America had not rejected the "three angels' messages" of Rev 14 pointing to the imminent Second Advent; they simply had never heard it. Instead of a "shut-door," Sabbatarian Adventists now began to preach an "open-door."¹ They made an effort to "call

¹[J. White], "The Shut Door," RH, 14 April 1853, p. 189. J. White's emphasis on an "open door" refers to the beginning of missionary work among non-Adventists. However, the shut-door view based on the rejection of the Advent message was retained. See Damsteegt, p. 278. Ten years later the picture had changed. Now White could write: "Ours is a world-wide message" ("The Light of the World," RH, 21 April 1863, p. 165).

out" individual Christians from the numerous denominations in North America. In their form as corporate bodies, these denominations continued to be looked upon as fallen Babylon because they had disregarded the eschatological proclamation of the "three angels' messages," thus also rejecting the doctrine of the imminent Second Advent.¹ At this time, some Seventh-day Adventists believed that the world-wide missionary message was confined to North America, where representatives of all peoples, nations, and tongues had settled.² Such a geographically limited view of mission, however, did not last long. The immigrants who came in contact with Adventism sent literature to their relatives in Europe. The founding of several companies of Sabbath-keeping Adventist believers in Switzerland by M. B. Czechowski finally led to a breakthrough in Adventist missionary thought.³ Czechowski,

¹[J. White], "Who May Hear the Truth?" RH, 17 February 1852, p. 94.

²[U. Smith], Editorial Remarks, RH, 3 February 1859, p. 87; [U. Smith], Editorial Remarks, RH, 1 January 1867, p. 48.

³J. N. Andrews said in writing about Czechowski's independently established missionary enterprise: ". . . [he] felt deeply for Europe. We do not doubt that the Spirit of God was impressing his mind. . . . We regard the circumstances of this case as a wonderful call to us from the Providence of God to send the present truth to Europe. We cannot refrain from acknowledging our backwardness in this work. But it is in our power to redeem the past, by discharging our duty for time to come" ("The Seventh-day Adventists of Europe," RH, 30 November 1869, p. 181).

however, had gone to Europe against the will of the church leaders, who thought he was not suitable for the task.

Finally, in 1874, J. N. Andrews was sent out as the first official overseas missionary, in response to the repeated urgent requests of the Sabbath-keeping Adventist believers in Switzerland, who had been converted by Czechowski. The third and last phase of the development of Seventh-day Adventist mission awareness, which began in 1874, is marked by an outreach of world-wide scope. Today the Seventh-day Adventist Church has developed into one of the largest and most widespread single Protestant world-missionary organizations.¹

Beginnings of the Seventh-day Adventist Mission to Europe

As mentioned earlier, Michael Belina Czechowski was the first Seventh-day Adventist missionary to travel to Europe, but much information about his service as a missionary was largely lost until a few years ago.²

¹Oosterwal, Mission Possible, p. 17; Martin H. Kobialka, Mehr als Brot--Wesen und Werk der Advent-mission (Frankfort/M.: By the Author, 1975), pp. 4, 5.

²His autobiography supplies information about his origins and work as a Roman Catholic priest in Poland: Thrilling and Instructive Developments: An Experience of Fifteen Years as Roman Catholic Clergyman and Priest (Boston: By the Author, 1862).

In the 1970s two books were published dealing in detail with the life of Czechowski: Alfred F. Vaucher, M. B. Czechowski (Collonges s. Salève, France: Fides, 1976); Rajmund L. Dabrowski and Bert B. Beach, eds., Michael Belina Czechowski 1813-1876 (Warsaw: Znaki Czasu, 1979). The book edited by Dabrowski and Beach is the result of a historical symposium on Czechowski's life and

For a considerable time, Adventist historiography neglected his life and work, perhaps because of the fact that he had returned to Europe without the consent of the church leaders.¹ Although he zealously spread the teachings of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe, he consciously concealed information regarding its existence in North America. He gave the name Mission Evangélique Européenne et Universelle de la Seconde Venue du Sauveur

work held in Warsaw, Poland, in 1976 to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of his death. Some twenty-four participants from Europe and America presented various research papers. Most of this material is included in the book. Although we know much more about Czechowski now, many questions remain. Certainly he is one of the most colorful and possibly one of the most problematic Adventist missionary personalities.

Czechowski was born in 1818 near Cracow, Poland. As a young man he became a Franciscan friar, staunchly advocating a monastic reform in Poland, even involving the Pope. At the same time, he was active in an underground movement for the political freedom of his country. He led the life of an impoverished idealist and itinerant preacher, full of adventure and initiative, constantly torn between his religious, social, and political interests.

After his break with the Catholic Church, he emigrated to the United States, where he became a Baptist preacher. In 1857 he was converted to Adventism at a camp meeting in Ohio. From then on, he worked as an Adventist preacher among the French-speaking population along the Canadian border and later among immigrants in New York City. The encounter with the city's multinational population strengthened his desire to return to Europe as an Adventist missionary. For a survey of Czechowski's missionary work in Europe, see R. L. Dabrowski, "M. B. Czechowski--Pioneer to Europe," AH 4 (Summer 1977):13-23.

¹B. B. Beach, "M. B. Czechowski--Trailblazer for the J. N. Andrews Central European Mission," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 406.

to his missionary undertaking,¹ receiving financial support from the Advent Christian Church and the American Millennial Association, later known as the Evangelical Adventists. These two non-Sabbatarian Adventist organizations had developed from the Millerite movement, with approximately ten times the membership of the Seventh-day Adventist Church at that time.²

There are a number of reasons why the Seventh-day Adventist leadership was reluctant to let Czechowski go to Europe as a missionary.³ Czechowski was a charismatic,

¹Vaucher, Czechowski, p. 52.

²C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1977), p. 161.

³Beach, "Czechowski--Trailblazer," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 408, 410. In addition, it seems that Czechowski did not fit into the socio-cultural setting of early Adventism which was influenced by the American frontier milieu. Even though the frontier phenomenon is evaluated differently among church historians, it represented an "important part" of the American religious experience (Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972], pp. 453, 454). Country life combined with hard physical labor was obviously more familiar to early Adventists than city life with its rich cultural resources. The spirit of philosophical inquiry instilled by a humanistic education such as Czechowski's theological training was alien to them.

Early Adventists had, therefore, made their "most significant progress . . . among the country people" of rural America (Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols. [Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1961], 1:262). See also Howard B. Weeks, Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1969), pp. 16, 17. For a demographic profile of nineteenth-century Adventism, see R. Graybill, "Millenarians and Money: Adventist Wealth and Adventist Beliefs," SP 10 (August 1979):31-41. In this article, Graybill writes about the Adventists of 1860 in Michigan:

strong-willed individualist, who, in spite of his talent

". . . perhaps the most striking fact . . . is their overwhelmingly rural character. Farmers made up 78 percent of the heads of Adventist households, while only 38 percent of the Michigan population was composed of farmers. . . . 96 percent [of the Adventists in Michigan] were scattered over the countryside" (ibid., p. 34). It was not until the late 1870s, when Adventist attention gradually turned to the large cities (A. L. White, "Adventist Responsibility to the Inner City," RH, 5 November 1970, pp. 1, 2). The rural outlook certainly influenced the missionary concept of the early Adventists. G. Oosterwal states: ". . . the ethos and values of the frontier shaped the mood and mentality of the church and the scope and direction of its mission. It was America-oriented, anti-city, highly pragmatic, little interested in culture, social development and learning, rather individualistic, with great emphasis on manual skills, the value of hardship, labor, simplicity, economy, and (material) success. These account for the particular strengths of the Seventh-day Adventist Church; they also prevented it, however, from seeing the wider scope of God's mission" ("M. B. Czechowski's Significance for the Growth and Development of Seventh-day Adventist Mission," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 172).

In any case, Czechowski with his Catholic background and cross-cultural experience must have seemed like an alien element in the circles of early Adventism in spite of his conversion. Perhaps the "mutual misunderstanding" mentioned by J. N. Andrews can at least partially be attributed to this factor ("The Seventh-day Adventists of Europe," p. 181).

Oosterwal continues: "The great significance of Czechowski to the Seventh-day Adventist mission is that God used that cultured, learned, refined and sensitive man with his cosmopolitan outlook and world vision as an instrument to lift His church beyond the limitations set by the frontier society and to point it to the much wider scope of its mission" ("Czechowski's Significance," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 172).

D. T. Taylor of the Advent Christian Church, who had known Czechowski for many years, wrote: "His thorough education, his wonderful mastership of languages, his romantic career, his gentle, loving spirit, his majesty and urbanity of demeanor, won our admiration and our hearts; and we sent him back to Europe with our money . . . a missionary at large for all the Adventists . . ." (quoted in A. Vaucher, "M. B. Czechowski--His Relationship with the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists and the First-day Adventists," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 142).

for leadership, lacked financial ability, self-management, and organizational skills--shortcomings that can be traced in part, perhaps, to his life in a monastery where every temporal need was supplied. Thus, he was considered incapable of organizing a missionary undertaking on a long-term basis and, indeed, later proved unable to do so.¹ The somewhat limited missionary vision of the church at that time and the scant financial resources of the General Conference, founded in 1863 while the Civil War was raging, seem to have been additional factors contributing to the rejection of his mission plans.

Czechowski began his evangelistic activity in the summer of 1864 among the French-speaking Waldensians living in the Piedmont valleys near Torre Pellice, Italy. He hoped to find special interest for his lectures among these biblically oriented Protestant congregations.² However, contrary to his expectations, the mistrust and opposition of the local clergy was so strong that he decided in 1865 to transfer his activity to the French part of Switzerland.³ Centers of his missionary work

¹J. N. Andrews characterized him as "a man with good intentions, but incapable of looking after his affairs properly" ("Adresse au Public," Les Signes des Temps, January 1880, p. 340).

²G. de Meo, "M. B. Czechowski--Pastor of Souls. A Study of His Life and Work in Italy," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 206, 208.

³Beach, "Czechowski--Trailblazer," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 414.

include Grandson, Tramelan, Fleurier, Le Locle, La Chaux-de-Fonds, and St. Blaise, where he began to establish small companies of Sabbath-keeping Advent believers. In 1867 he organized a congregation in Tramelan which later became known as the oldest Seventh-day Adventist church in Europe.¹ Between 1866 and 1868 Czechowski published a weekly religious magazine called L'Evangile Eternel et l'Accomplissement des Prophéties sur la Venue du Sauveur and published two small pamphlets and prophetic charts in French and German.² He also distributed Das Wesen des Sabbats, a German translation of a booklet written by J. H. Waggoner.³ In 1867 he opened his own printing press

¹J. Frei-Fyon, "M. B. Czechowski in Switzerland," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 250, 252; E. E. Frauchiger, "Aus dem kleinsten Lande der Reformation: Die Adventbotschaft in der Schweiz," AE, July 1930, pp. 52, 53.

²A. Vaucher, "Linguistic Talent and Publications of M. B. Czechowski," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 468, 470, 474, 476.

³Czechowski did not translate this booklet, as J. Frei-Fyon wrongly presumes ("Czechowski in Switzerland," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 244). It was the first Adventist pamphlet translated into German, commissioned by J. White as early as 1858 (J. White, Note on the German Tract, RH, 28 January 1858, p. 96; "Publications in Other Languages," RH, 6 May 1858, p. 200). The original title of the tract is The Nature and Obligation of the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment (Battle Creek, MI: Review and Herald Steam Press, 1857). The second German translation of an Adventist tract was done in 1876. Cf. U. Smith, Editorial Remarks, RH, 27 January 1876, p. 32. At the same time J. Erzberger in Europe began to translate several pamphlets into German. They were printed in Solingen (Ertzenberger, "Solingen--Germany," RH, 27 January 1876, p. 30). G. Padderatz, therefore, is wrong when he claims that there were no Adventist German language publications before 1878 (Conradi und Hamburg. Die Anfänge der deutschen Adventgemeinde [1889-1914] unter

in the village of Cornaux near St. Blaise, a press which two years later caused his financial ruin.¹

In 1868 the Swiss Sabbatarian Adventists, whose number had grown to approximately fifty, were finally able to contact the Seventh-day Adventist leadership in Battle Creek, Michigan. They found the address by accident in an issue of the church paper, Review and Herald, which Czechowski had left behind in Tramelan.² In order to strengthen the contact with the General Conference headquarters, Jakob Erzberger, a convert of Czechowski, was sent to Battle Creek.³ After Erzberger became acquainted with the Adventist church in America, he returned to Europe in 1870 as its first ordained minister.⁴

besonderer Berücksichtigung der organisatorischen, finanziellen und sozialen Aspekte [Hamburg: By the Author, 1978], p. 46). On the origin and development of early German-speaking Seventh-day Adventist congregations in North America, see D. Heinz, "Die Anfänge der Adventbotschaft unter den Deutschen in Nordamerika," AE, 15 October 1980, pp. 11, 12.

¹Beach, "Czechowski--Trailblazer," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 416.

²Frei-Fyon, "Czechowski in Switzerland," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 260, 262.

³For discrepancies in spelling Erzberger's name, see Damsteegt, p. 288.

⁴D. A. Delafield, Ellen G. White in Europe 1885-1887 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1975), p. 19.

Czechowski was offended and became bitter when he heard that the Swiss Sabbatarian Adventists had made contact behind his back with the Seventh-day Adventists in North America. The situation became more critical when the Advent Christian Church and the American Millennial Association ceased to support him financially. Realizing that the Swiss Sabbatarian Adventists were working toward an organized union with the Seventh-day Adventist Church in North America, Czechowski felt isolated.¹ Early in 1869 he suddenly left for Eastern Europe, abandoning the mission and his family.² Evidence of his work can be found in Hungary and Rumania.³ He even founded a small Sabbath-keeping congregation in the Rumanian town of Pitesti. Then in 1876 he unexpectedly appeared in Vienna, where, according to the coroner's report, he died of "exhaustion."⁴

¹Frei-Fyon, "Czechowski in Switzerland," in Czechowski 1818--1876, p. 260.

²Ibid., pp. 266, 268. Czechowski had planned to work as a missionary among the Polish people of Austria-Hungary.

³L. Erdelyi, "M. B. Czechowski in Hungary," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 320-24; J. Szigeti, "M. B. Czechowsky Munkája Magyarországon" (unpublished manuscript, 1976), VFM 1246, AHC; D. Popa, "M. B. Czechowski in Romania," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 326-50.

⁴O. Uebersax, "M. B. Czechowski--His Last Days and Death," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 352. The death certificate indicates that he was buried in Vienna's Central Cemetery (Zentralfriedhof); however, his name cannot be found in the carefully kept cemetery register. To the present day, his grave remains unfound.

As we look back to the beginnings of the Adventist mission in Europe, it is hard to form a clear picture of Czechowski's personality. His restless, sacrificial missionary spirit was certainly positive. He was the person who transplanted Adventism to Europe, thus substantially enlarging the church's concept of mission. In fact, his labors in Europe became the starting point of a whole new era in Adventist mission work.¹ He followed his conscience, placing it above the authority of church leadership, thus becoming the precursor of the concept of self-supporting ministry within Adventism.²

Czechowski also had some weaknesses. Among such, already briefly mentioned above, was his woeful lack of organizational skills that led to the financial breakdown of his mission enterprise, resulting in the loss of his converts' trust. His worst mistake along this line was the untimely acquisition of a printing press that overtaxed his budget. By the 1870s American Adventists were already masters at using the printing press to campaign for their point of view. In Europe, however, there was no organized sale of books, pamphlets, or magazines. Czechowski had too readily transferred the American Adventist model of literature distribution to the European

¹Oosterwal, "Czechowski's Significance," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 170.

²Ibid., p. 188.

scene. Even in America the publishing work proved so demanding that James White was twice tempted to give it up.¹ Though Czechowski was indeed successful in preaching and recruiting followers, the financial management of a press was simply beyond his resources and abilities.

Mission Advance in Central Europe

Czechowski prepared the way for John Nevins Andrews, who in 1874, as noted earlier, became the first missionary sent to Europe by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.² Ellen G. White, reforming thought leader among

¹R. W. Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1979), pp. 74-77; cf. also Baldur Ed. Pfeiffer, The European Seventh-day Adventist Mission in the Middle East 1879-1939 (Frankfort/M.: Peter Lang, 1981), p. 21.

²The following literature contains information on the life and work of Andrews: Gordon Balharrie, "A Study of the Contribution Made to the Seventh-day Adventist Movement by John Nevins Andrews" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949); Virgil Robinson, John Nevins Andrews: Flame for the Lord (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1975); J. G. Smoot, comp., "John Nevins Andrews Sesquicentennial Conferences, Andrews University," Berrien Springs, MI, 1979, (mimeographed); Harry Leonard, ed., J. N. Andrews: The Man and the Mission (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1985). The book edited by H. Leonard is a compilation of different papers presented at a symposium held in Collonges-sous-Salève, France, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of Andrews' death. Thirty scholars from North America and Europe participated. This compilation is the most detailed source of information on the life and work of Andrews so far. Some outstanding contributions presented at the symposium were also published in AH 9 (Spring 1984). As is the case with Czechowski, a definitive biography of Andrews must still be written. In addition, we also await a scholarly, comprehensive work dealing with the beginnings of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Europe.

Adventists, later reminded the Swiss Advent believers that "the ablest man in all our ranks" had been sent to them.¹ Andrews was not only a devoted church leader, but also a gifted scholar with an active interest in the original languages of the Bible. In the first few months of his stay in Switzerland, Andrews devoted himself to the study of the French language.² Departing from Neuchâtel, he

Andrews was one of the key figures in the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He was born in Poland, Maine, in 1829. An ardent supporter of the Millerite movement, he began keeping the biblical Sabbath as early as 1845. In 1849 he joined the small group of Sabbatarian Adventists that had formed around James White, Ellen G. White, and Joseph Bates. He became a member of the publishing committee of the Second Advent Review, and Sabbath Herald. From then on, for more than three decades, he strongly influenced the course of the Adventist church, working as an evangelist, author, editor, theologian, and administrator. He was instrumental in selecting the denomination's official name (1860), drawing up the plans for incorporating the first publishing house (1861), and in writing the first General Conference constitution (1863). Furthermore, he advocated a financial support program for the ministry called "systematic benevolence" which developed into the tithing system so important for denominational growth later on. During the American Civil War, Andrews secured the church's right to noncombatant status. He was one of the most outstanding Adventist expositors of biblical prophecy, being the first to identify the lamb-like beast of Rev 13 with the United States. He also wrote a standard work on the history of the Sabbath. Between 1867 and 1869, Andrews served as president of the General Conference.

¹E. G. White to "Dear Brethren in Switzerland," 29 August 1878, Letter 2a, 1878, EGWRC.

²"Our Arrival in Switzerland," RH, 17 November 1874, p. 166; "The Work in Europe," RH, 28 January 1875, p. 36. Andrews even went so far as to make a covenant with his children not to speak any more English at home: "We hereby covenant together that we will use only the French language in our conversation with one another. We will not depart from this arrangement except by mutual consent when there shall exist good reasons for doing so. We will

also visited the companies of Sabbath-keeping Adventists that Czechowski's missionary effort had brought forth.¹

In order to locate other Sabbath-keeping Christians, he began to advertise in popular European newspapers. In these advertisements he asked Sabbath-keepers to contact him immediately.² The first paper in

try in the fear of God to keep this covenant and we ask his help that we may fulfill it faithfully. But it shall be our privilege to use the German language whenever we can speak a word or sentence of it" (J. N. Andrews, "Covenant Concerning the French Language Made between Charles, Mary and Their Father, Dec. 24, 1876," quoted in Balharrie, "Study of the Contribution Made to the SDA Movement by John Nevins Andrews," p. 65b).

¹The individual groups were located in Tramelan, Le Locle, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Fleurier, Bienne, Bruckten, and Neuchâtel and totaled approximately seventy-five believers (Andrews, "Wants of the Cause in Europe," RH, 14 October 1875, p. 116; "General Business Meeting in Switzerland," RH, 27 January 1876, p. 30; "Meeting of Sabbath-keepers in Neuchâtel," RH, 24 November 1874, p. 172).

²Andrews was convinced "that there are Sabbath-keeping Christians in most of the countries in Europe" ("Sabbath-keepers in Prussia," RH, 24 November 1874, p. 172). He hoped, therefore, to reach the greatest possible number by means of advertisements "in the most widely circulated papers of Europe" ("The Work in Europe," p. 36). On his journey to Switzerland he had already made contact with the Seventh Day Baptists in England. See H. H. Leonard, "Andrews and the Mission to Britain," in Andrews: Man and Mission, pp. 225-60. Andrews pointed out that there were large numbers of Sabbath-keepers in Russia and stated that he wanted to contact them ("The Work in Europe," RH, 26 August 1875, p. 60; "The Malakani of Russia," RH, 1 January 1880, pp. 9, 10). He also learned of a "sect of Sabbath-keepers" in Bohemia whose last member died in 1875 at a very old age. This member "has been very highly honored by the last two Austrian emperors, and at their request has visited them both in their palaces" ("The Work in Europe," RH, 18 March 1875, p. 93). Andrews gives no further information about the origin of this sect.

which Andrews advertised in December 1874 was the Journal de Genève.¹ More advertisements in a German and a Dutch newspaper followed.² The first letters in response to his advertisements helped him realize that Adventist literature in the language of the respondees would probably be the best way to maintain contact. For this reason, he founded a "Tract and Missionary Society" in 1875.³

In the meantime, Andrews was able to make contact with an autonomous group of Sabbath-keeping Christians in Germany.⁴ This group, called Getaufte Christen-Gemeinde, had developed in the area of Elberfeld and Vohwinkel under the leadership of J. H. Lindermann, a weaver.⁵

¹ "The Work in Europe," RH, 28 January 1875, p. 36; "The Work in Europe," RH, 18 March 1875, p. 93. Cf. D. A. Augsburg, "The Adventist Colony at Basel during the Andrews Years," in Andrews: Man and Mission, p. 350.

² Andrews, "The Work in Europe," RH, 18 March 1875, p. 93.

³ See Historical Sketches of the Foreign Missions of the Seventh-day Adventists (Basle: Imprimerie Polyglotte, 1886), p. 21.

⁴ "Mission to Prussia," RH, 4 March 1875, pp. 76, 77; "Labor in Prussia," RH, 11 March 1875, pp. 84, 85; "The Work in Europe," RH, 18 March 1875, p. 93; "Further Labors in Prussia," RH, 1 April 1875, pp. 108, 109; "The Work in Prussia," RH, 8 April 1875, p. 116; "Return to Switzerland," RH, 29 April 1875, p. 140. See also B. Ed. Pfeiffer, "The Pioneer to Germany," in Andrews: Man and Mission, pp. 261-71.

⁵ See H. Osterburg, "Der Väter Weise," AB, 15 October 1958, pp. 310, 311; 1 November 1958, pp. 326, 327; 1 January 1959, pp. 8, 9; 15 January 1959, pp. 22, 23.

The Adventists in Switzerland learned of the Getaufte Christen-Gemeinde from a former mendicant monk who told Erzberger that he had met Sabbath-keepers in the Rhineland during his travels. Following a visit to this group by Andrews and Erzberger, the first Adventist church in Germany was organized in January 1876 from their ranks.¹ Historically, a certain autonomy in German Adventism may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the group founded by Lindermann had discovered the Sabbath commandment independently of the Seventh-day Adventists in North America, as had other small Pietist groups in Germany.²

Meanwhile, other pastors from the United States arrived to help Andrews. D. T. Bourdeau worked in France (1876), J. G. Matteson in Scandinavia (1877), and W. Ings in England (1878), followed later by J. N. Loughborough.

In 1876 Andrews moved to Basel, which became the center of the European Adventist work in the years to come. Missionary journeys to France and Italy followed.³

¹J. Ertzenberger, "Germany," RH, 2 March 1876, p. 70; see also Pfeiffer, "Pioneer to Germany," in Andrews: Man and Mission, p. 270. Regular missionary work in Germany did not begin until 1889 with L. R. Conradi working from Hamburg. See Padderatz, pp. 59, 60.

²Cf. Irmgard Simon, Die Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in volkskundlicher Sicht (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965), pp. 48, 49.

³Historical Sketches, pp. 27, 28; J. N. Andrews, "Visit to Naples, Italy," RH, 9 August 1877, p. 52; "Naples, Italy," RH, 13 September 1877, p. 92. In Naples, Andrews was able to baptize the Irish doctor H. P. Ribton.

The monthly publication of the missionary paper Les Signes des Temps, first issued in July 1876 at Basel, was one of Andrews' most important missionary activities. The magazine not only emphasized traditional Adventist doctrines such as Sabbath-keeping, but it also included special columns on temperance work and healthful living. Temperance work and healthful living were, as will be demonstrated later on, issues that definitely had a lesser impact on church members in Europe than on those in America.¹

The publishing work left Andrews little time for public evangelism. Almost all his energy was directed at publishing an outstanding religious paper free of printing errors and grammatical mistakes. He stated: "It is a very serious task to get out a paper in a language not your own. I commence work with the daylight and end it late in the evening or night."² Like Czechowski, Andrews

Ribton learned of the Adventist church through correspondence with Seventh Day Baptists in England. His zealous missionary work led to the foundation of an Adventist congregation in Naples with twenty-two members in 1878. See Giuseppe de Meo, Granel di Sale. Un Secolo di Storia della Chiesa Cristiana Avventista del 7. Giorno in Italia 1864-1964 (Turin: Claudiana, 1980), pp. 77-87; "The Italian Mission in the Time of J. N. Andrews," in Andrews: Man and Mission, pp. 272-84.

¹ See pp. 192, 193 in this dissertation.

²J. N. Andrews to Secretary of the Association, 1 May 1878 [?], DF 3008, EGWRC. The fact that the publication of the magazine caused him "the severest toil and drudgery" (J. N. Andrews to W. C. White, 2 January 1878, DF 3008, EGWRC) was partially due to his careful if not perfectionist method of working. In writing to

overemphasized the publishing work.¹ It was certainly premature to adopt the American Adventist model of literature distribution as early as he did. W. Ings was convinced that "at present there is no special demand for publications."² He went on to say that pastors with the

W. C. White, he stated: "The good printers [in Basel] are dishonest, and the honest printers are without taste, and careless. My position is therefore one of extreme anxiety and labor and care. . . . I think our third number is the most correct of any numbers, so far as the French is concerned, but the printing is not so good. I stood over the press a whole day to watch for the black marks which kept showing themselves, and I stopped the press perhaps fifty times" (J. N. Andrews to W. C. White, 11 September 1876, DF 3008, EGWRC).

¹E. Baumgartner, "Historical Reflections on Seventh-day Adventist Foreign Missions" (research paper, 1977), pp. 37-46, AHC.

Andrews considered the publication of the journal to be "the most important part of our work" ("Report from Bale," RH, 31 January 1882, p. 72). One reason for the slow church growth during the first decade of the European Adventist mission may have been the predominance of literature, which became obvious in his rather imbalanced emphasis on editorial missionary work. The American leadership was fully aware of this problem. In fact, the General Conference committee made the following statement: "We are pained to learn that Elder Andrews . . . [has] been kept from . . . the lecturing field, to do such work as folding papers, and making tracts, and next to nothing being done . . . in gathering numbers to the small membership, and strength to the feeble cause. . . . We are becoming terribly anxious about the mission in Europe. If it be true that preaching can do but little without publications, it is quite as true that publications will do little without preaching. . . . Elder Andrews must not be confined to his paper. . . . It would be better to have the translating and printing imperfectly done, rather than to have nearly the whole force of the European mission spent on a monthly sheet" ("Our European Missions," RH, 7 June 1877, pp. 180, 181). One must consider, however, that Andrews had no editorial help.

²W. Ings to W. C. White, 27 January 1878, DF 3008, EGWRC.

appropriate language skills were needed to begin immediately the work of public evangelism in Central Europe. Only then would the interest in literature increase.¹

One reason why Andrews spent most of his time in spreading Adventist literature was the difficulty he encountered "to get access to the public by preaching." Halls were "scarce" and it was possible for "enemies to close them any time."² "Under these circumstances," he explained, "it has seemed that we must open the way by our paper."³ This he did with great devotion and self-sacrifice, thus contributing to his early death in 1883.⁴

Notwithstanding the fact that Andrews did not achieve the necessary missionary breakthrough--his time

¹Ibid.

²J. N. Andrews to E. G. White, 23 May 1880, DF 3008, EGWRC.

³Ibid.

⁴See J. Vuilleumier, "The Last Days of Elder J. N. Andrews," RH, 18 September 1924, pp. 56-59.

Many factors hampered the missionary work of Andrews. One of the problems that Andrews had to deal with was financial need, for evidently he was not assigned a regular salary as a foreign missionary. ("To tell you the truth we have to struggle hard with poverty" [J. N. Andrews to W. C. White, 2 November 1877, DF 3008, EGWRC]). Some of the tension was due to the fact that the church leadership needed time to understand a non-American field. For this reason, it is quite understandable why he repeatedly invited American Adventist leaders to visit the European mission. However, he did not always receive the desired response. ("No one can feel greater interest in Eld. Andrew's [sic] mission to Europe than we do, and yet we have not found the time to write a single line to him in response to his many personal letters" [J. White, "In the Field," RH, 17 June 1875, p. 196]).

was too short and his area of work too restricted--he laid a foundation for the subsequent growth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Central Europe. His overall contributions as a church leader, pioneer missionary, and editor certainly added to enlarging the early Adventist worldview and helped the infant church to develop a stronger sense for overseas mission.

Following the death of Andrews, B. L. Whitney, former president of the New York and Pennsylvania Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, took charge of the European mission field. In 1884 a "Swiss Conference" was formed that included the scattered congregations in Germany, Italy, France, and Rumania.¹ This "conference" represents one of the first Adventist organizational units in Europe.² In addition, a publishing house, Imprimerie

¹Historical Sketches, pp. 43, 44.

²The first Adventist "conference" in Europe was organized in Denmark in 1880.

Since reference is constantly made to the organization of the Adventist church, it might be helpful to describe some of its basic structure. The SDA denomination developed different units of church organization. A "mission" or a "conference" is composed of local churches within a given area, such as a state or country. A "union conference" is made up of different "conferences." Several "union conferences" form a "division," the largest geographical and administrative unit of the General Conference. The form of church government has characteristics of several organizational systems; such as the congregational, with its emphasis on local church authority; the presbyterian, which provides for leadership through elected representatives; and to some extent the Methodist, with conferences as organizational units and the assignment of ministers to local churches by the conference.

Polyglotte, was built in Basel. Now a German journal, Herold der Wahrheit, could also be published.¹

One of the spiritual highlights for the Adventists in Europe was the visit of Ellen G. White, between September 1885 and August 1887.² Making her headquarters in Basel, White visited Scandinavia, England, Germany, Italy, France, and Switzerland. At this time, the Seventh-day Adventist membership in Europe numbered approximately one thousand and was divided among more than thirty congregations.³ On her journey to Germany she was accompanied by Ludwig Richard Conradi, who had been sent to Europe as a missionary in 1886.

Conradi's arrival opened a new chapter in European Adventist history, resulting in a far-reaching mission breakthrough. He played a decisive role during the next few decades in shaping the course of European Adventism. "Probably no other man . . . made as deep an impact on European Adventism as Conradi. . . . He had been a whirlwind of activity,"⁴ wrote R. W. Schwarz, in retrospect.

¹Historical Sketches, p. 42.

²See Delafield, Ellen G. White in Europe 1885-1887, pp. 318, 319; Arthur L. White, Ellen G. White: The Lonely Years, 1876-1891 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1984), pp. 287-373; cf. Ellen G. White and Europe--Symposium Papers 1987 (Bracknell, England: Newbold College--Ellen G. White Research Centre, 1987).

³Historical Sketches, pp. 114, 115.

⁴Light Bearers, p. 475.

Ellen G. White esteemed him as a church leader. In view of his missionary success, she said at the General Conference session in 1901: "Brother Conradi has carried a very heavy burden of work in Europe. . . . The work of several men. . . . He has opened doors for the angels, and they have entered."¹ In terms of mission strategy and number of baptisms, he seems to have been indeed the most successful missionary of the early Adventist church.²

¹Opening Address, GCB, 22 April 1901, p. 398.

²Cf. K. Bangert, "L. R. Conradi--Ein Stück Vergangenheitbewältigung," AE, 1 May 1982, p. 13.

The following pertinent literature gives information on the life and work of Conradi: L. R. Conradi: Sein Leben--Sein Werk--Seine Bedeutung, vol. 21 of Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. E. Träger (Darmstadt: Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis, 1984); Daniel Heinz, Ludwig Richard Conradi. Missionar der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Europa (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1986). The book by Gerhard Padderatz, Conradi und Hamburg, deals with the Adventist beginnings in Germany under Conradi's leadership from 1889 to 1914.

Conradi was born in 1856 in Karlsruhe, Germany, and was brought up as a Catholic. As a young man he emigrated to the United States where he became an Adventist in 1878. Following his theological studies at Battle Creek College, Michigan, he worked with great success as an evangelist among the German-speaking population of the Midwest and Pennsylvania.

For over four decades he formed and influenced the Adventist church in Europe, working as a pastor, evangelist, administrator, teacher, and author. At the end of his life, doctrinal differences and personal bitterness and alienation led to his break with Adventism. He joined the Seventh Day Baptists in 1932 and died in Hamburg in 1939.

For a brief biographical sketch on Conradi, see D. Heinz, "Ludwig Richard Conradi--Patriarch of European Adventism," AH 12 (Winter 1987):17-24.

Conradi possessed precisely those missionary talents that Czechowski and Andrews lacked in their work in Europe. He combined excellent organizational skills with an innate charisma as a preacher and public evangelist. Conradi was a pragmatist with an almost unstoppable drive for action and outreach, demonstrating, first of all, the compatibility of the Adventist faith with various Protestant traditions in Europe. By pointing out that the Advent movement is not merely a North American phenomenon but has roots that go back to the Reformation, he succeeded in strengthening the European Adventist identity.¹ The emphasis on a common Protestant heritage was used as a means of acculturation by which Adventists in Europe gradually adapted to the new mission situation. With this approach it was certainly easier for Conradi to communicate with other churches. Instead of using aggressive modes of campaigning such as revivalistic preaching, or public religious debate, he adopted the lecture format, which proved to fit better the more conservative European

¹Cf. Heinz, Conradi, pp. 56, 57. Theological affinities are generally traced to the 16th-century Reformation, to Anabaptism, Pietism, and the 19th-century European Advent Awakening. This emphasis was brought forth in L. R. Conradi's book Das Goldene Zeitalter (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, 1923), which strongly influenced L. E. Froom, who as a result published his four-volume set The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers (1946-1954).

The Adventist magazine, Der Protestant, published since 1910, also showed the intention of the European Adventists to strengthen their identity by emphasizing a common Protestant theological heritage. The paper even published articles by Lutheran pastors.

clerical image. In order to attract an audience, it was often necessary to begin with topics on fundamental doctrines held in common with other faiths. Consequently, Conradi attempted repeatedly to demonstrate the place of Adventist apocalypticism in the history of theology. In his public evangelization efforts he liked to show that long before the emergence of the Millerite movement, students of Scripture in Europe had preached the idea of an imminent Second Advent and that this concept had achieved great prominence with the Reformers.¹ Traditional Adventist doctrines were presented only after interest had been aroused. In some cases, however, Adventist speakers were not even allowed to use a Bible for reference.²

The religious situation in Europe was obviously totally different from the American setting. In America restraining forces caused by tradition, the presence of long-established churches, and civil officials did not exist. This left Americans open to new patterns of faith and piety, shaped by both dissenting individualism and interdenominational revivalism. Furthermore, the American setting produced an egalitarian religious culture with its own style of emotional worship, preaching, and music,

¹Das Goldene Zeitalter, pp. 16, 424-29.

²G. Dail to A. G. Daniells, 10 January 1909, RG 21: 1909-D, GCA.

reflecting the radical Republican values held by so many of the small farmers on the frontier.¹ Adventists in Europe, therefore, had to develop different styles of missionary outreach suitable in the context of European society.

Conradi regarded the main purpose of public evangelism in Europe as the reduction of prejudice; the actual recruitment of members took place through colporteur work and Bible study groups. Thus, the Bibelstunde of Pietism reached new heights as one of the primary Adventist missionary instruments.² Colporteurs were not sent out as gospel canvassers but as sales agents of a publishing house. They revealed themselves to be Adventist missionary workers only when they sensed genuine religious interest.³

Conradi promoted the colporteur work vigorously; and probably one reason was that it was self-supporting, requiring no financial obligations for the church. Furthermore, through the colporteur work, one could meet a large number of people who would perhaps not have been reached through public evangelism; and, of course, in the colporteur and publishing work Conradi saw to it that

¹Cf. Thomas A. Askew and Peter W. Spellman, The Churches and the American Experience (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1984), p. 51.

²Heinz, Conradi, pp. 56, 57.

³Padderatz, pp. 67-71.

Adventist literature had a distinctly European flavor in content, style, language, and layout. He repeatedly informed the American church leaders that "Europe is not America," and that "we must be very careful with our literature, and leave a hundred things unsaid that we would like to say or else say it in a manner that they cannot get hold of you."¹ All church literature sold by Adventist colporteurs first came from America, and was subsequently translated into various European languages. Little by little Adventists in Central Europe began to produce their own literature which was mostly written by Conradi.

From 1886 on, Conradi established the Adventist work in Germany, Holland, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, the Baltic lands, and in what is today known as Poland and Yugoslavia.² He also led out in the Adventist mission work in North Africa, East Africa, and the Middle East, calling for increased training of native workers in those countries. He was convinced that "the chief burden of spreading the truth must be carried by the

¹L. R. Conradi to A. G. Daniells, 23 February 1914, RG 11: 1914-C, GCA.

²L. R. Conradi, "Divine Providences in the European Division," RH, 25 May 1922, pp. 10, 11, 21; "Beginnings of Our Work in Europe," RH, 18 September 1924, pp. 14, 15; Heinz, Conradi, pp. 39-64.

natives themselves,"¹ arguing against any form of ethnocentricity in missionary work.

Under Conradi's leadership the Adventist church in Europe registered phenomenal growth between 1890 and 1914, achieving independence from the American church leadership in matters of finances and mission personnel.² The success of the European members, however, was dependent on significant financial sacrifices. Hence, it is not surprising that Adventist pastors and missionary workers

¹"School Work in Europe," RH, 17 December 1903, p. 21.

²In comparison to America, the Adventist church in Europe attained a proportionally much higher growth rate in the years between 1890 and 1914. See Padderatz, pp. 197, 198; cf. also Weeks, pp. 26, 61.

Conradi wrote: "In 1886 the membership of the European field had reached one thousand. . . . It required seventeen years after the visit of Brother Erzberger to America for us to secure the first thousand members in Europe, while seventeen years later it had reached ten thousand" ("General European Conference," RH, 18 May 1905, p. 25). The extension and size of the European Adventist missionary work reached its peak under Conradi's leadership in 1914. The area of the "European Division," managed from Hamburg, not only included one third of the world population at that time but also one third of the populated surface of the earth. Of the 42 million square kilometers that the European mission encompassed, only 8.5 million were organized under the six "unions," while 33 million were in the mission field. Cf. Heinz, Conradi, p. 78. Undoubtedly, Conradi's goal was eventually to equal, if not overtake, the number of American church members. How else could his remark made in 1914 be understood that "the North American and the European divisions will have to run a close race"? (L. R. Conradi to W. A. Spicer, 11 February 1914, RG 21: 1914-C, GCA). The negative side of Conradi's ambition became evident in an unfortunate power struggle between the General Conference in America and the Adventist church leadership in Europe. Cf. Padderatz, pp. 200-205; Heinz, Conradi, pp. 94-110.

in the German-speaking areas of Central Europe evidently received the lowest wages in the total mission work of the church.¹ The church-growth statistics in Germany were indeed impressive. In 1914 at the outbreak of the war, the German Adventist church had approximately 15,000 members, three times more than at the end of 1907, when there were only about 5,000.² The city of Hamburg, Germany, not only became the center of Conradi's activity but also the place where the headquarters of the "European General Conference" was established in 1901. The organization of a separate General Conference in Europe constituted a unique experiment in the history of the Adventist denomination. The growing autonomy of the European organization, however, led to its termination in 1907.³ Conradi, nevertheless, remained the president of the "European Division," as it was now called. He also served, from 1903 on, as the first vice president of the General Conference. A. G. Daniells, the General Conference president at that time, praised his missionary and organizational genius.⁴ L. H. Christian, who succeeded Conradi as president of the European Division in 1922,

¹Padderatz, p. 212.

²Ibid., p. 198.

³Ibid., p. 200.

⁴A. G. Daniells to L. R. Conradi, 5 June 1907, RG 11, Outgoing Letter Book 41, GCA.

summarized: "In Germany the Advent Movement began later, really not till Brother Conradi arrived in 1886, but there it has won its greatest triumphs. . . . Our German conferences did most of all in supporting the cause."¹

Conradi's evangelistic successes could also be traced back to his rather authoritarian style of leadership. In fact, the period in which Conradi lived was a time in German history when the public was favorably inclined toward authority and leadership. Such longing for authority corresponded precisely to the monarchistic and nationalistic traditions of the day. It especially filled the needs of the unsettled average citizen for security, order, and an idol. Conradi's authoritarian leadership model would probably be unacceptable to European church members today with their pluralistic, democratic predilections.²

Adventism and the European Environment

When the first Seventh-day Adventists came to Europe as missionaries, they faced a number of problems unknown in their work in North America. Apart from language barriers and cultural diversities, the greatest problem was undoubtedly the close alliance between the established churches and the state, an alliance which

¹"Our Work in Europe Today," RH, 18 September 1924, p. 15.

²Cf. Heinz, Conradi, pp. 54, 55.

provided protection for both of these and left hardly any room for the development of the Free churches.¹ Even today, Europe remains one of the most challenging mission fields for the Protestant denominations so widespread in North America.² After several years of missionary work in Europe, Andrews stated resignedly: "I have never at any time in America seen so great an accumulation of difficulties as we have had to meet in Europe."³

Many such difficulties can be listed. One problem was the cultural tie that identified nationality with religion. Europeans were innately suspicious of imported religions, and the traditional allegiance to the state churches was still very strong. Those who felt they should break with this tradition and join a foreign sect faced considerable social pressure to remain within the church and thus retain their cultural heritage. It was especially unlikely that people would join an American

¹For a definition of the term "Free church," which is used throughout the dissertation, see D. F. Durnbaugh, "Theories of Free Church Origins," MQR 41 (April 1968):83-95. The term is commonly used to describe non-conformist Protestant groups whose hallmarks are the separation of church and state and believers' baptism.

²See K. C. Harper, "Europe--A Look at the Past to Understand Conditions Now," pp. 157-63.

³"Report from Switzerland," RH, 1 January 1880, p. 13. The American church leaders wrote: "We know they [Adventist missionaries in Europe] must experience hardships and trials of peculiar difficulty, which we can little realize in America" ("Our Foreign Missions," RH, 11 December 1879, p. 189).

religion considering the European picture of America as "a second-rate country recently settled and of little account."¹ The European attitude toward American denominations must be viewed, therefore, in terms of the widespread anti-American bias which prevailed on the continent during the late nineteenth century.

Early Adventists in Europe were commonly perceived as "fanatics from America."² Repressive measures such as house searches and interrogation, public discrimination, fines, physical abuse, arrests, and imprisonment were used to stop their religious activity. A few Adventists were even murdered.³

For instance: L. R. Conradi was imprisoned in Russia in 1886 because he preached openly and held a baptismal service in the Crimea.⁴ The Russian state church strictly prohibited missionary work by non-Orthodox churches. H. P. Holser was arrested in Switzerland in 1894 because the Adventist publishing house in Basel had

¹L. H. Christian, "Report of the European Division," RH, 31 May 1926, p. 9. In comparing the European and American ways of life, J. N. Andrews said: "In America, the power of custom and of forms is comparatively weak. In Europe, custom and tradition are all-powerful" ("The Work in Europe," RH, 28 January 1875, p. 36).

²L. R. Conradi to A. G. Daniells, 23 February 1914, RG 11: 1914-C, GCA.

³For example, see F. Kessel, "Geschichte der Sabbatarier und Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Siebenbürgen," BO, 1 December 1951, pp. 190-92.

⁴Historical Sketches, pp. 256-65.

disturbed Sunday peace which was protected by law.¹

L. Mathe was almost beaten to death in a village near Pressburg (Pozsony), Austria-Hungary, for conducting Bible studies.² In Germany, Adventist colporteurs aroused the anger of church and state and were taken to court.³ In Italy H. P. Ribton was threatened with violence in 1878 for holding meetings in the center of Naples.⁴

Mandatory Saturday attendance in school and at work made Sabbath-keeping difficult and compulsory military service led to conflicts that European Adventists had to deal with then and, in some cases, are still struggling with today.

The intolerance of the established churches as well as government controls induced Adventists in Europe to

¹E. Frauchiger, "Aus dem kleinsten Lande der Reformation," AE, November 1933, pp. 85, 86.

²H. F. Schuberth, "Reisebericht," ZW, 16 March 1903, pp. 49, 50; L. Mathe, "Bericht aus Ungarn und Oesterreich," ZW, 7 March 1904, p. 51.

³L. R. Conradi, "European Canvassing Work," RH, 12 July 1906, pp. 12, 13; "Der Adventismus und der Katholizismus im Kampf um die Wahrheit," Kirche und Staat, October 1921, p. 37.

Conradi concluded: "I believe our leading brethren in America and our literature cannot be too careful in their statements and in the positions they take" (L. R. Conradi to W. C. White, 16 June 1912, quoted in Padderatz, p. 258).

⁴J.N. Andrews, "Our Work in Europe," RH, 18 April 1878, p. 124.

switch to a more subtle and veiled missionary approach.¹ For example, tent meetings, a characteristic of American revivalism, were not suitable for public missionary work in Central Europe, because people were simply not used to this open type of evangelism.² This is especially true in Catholic dominated areas such as Austria. The tent meetings that were held in certain parts of Europe were attended mostly by church members and did not serve evangelistic purposes. As the Adventist historian E. K. Vande Vere has said:

The Americans stoutly hoped they could rely on such frontier methods as holding tent meetings and sending 'gospel' colporteurs door-to-door like Yankee peddlers. But Continental conservatism and neighborhood cohesiveness were not receptive to these American modes. . . . Europeans were evidently not entirely open toward people whom they viewed as 'men with the bark on.'³

Adventism had incorporated a number of socio-cultural values from the American environment and needed time to adapt its evangelistic practices and styles of missionary outreach to local European conditions. The ethnocentric concept of the Adventist leaders in

¹"It seems that we have almost everything to learn in beginning labor of any kind in the Old World" (J. N. Andrews, "The Work in England and Switzerland," RH, 9 September 1880, p. 185).

²J. N. Andrews to W. C. White, 7 August 1878, DF 3008, EGWRC; W. C. White to E. G. White, 9 September 1887, EGWRC; cf. Andrews, "The Work in England and Switzerland," p. 185.

³"Years of Expansion 1865-1885," in Adventism in America, pp. 88, 89.

America, based on the idea that "the work in Europe, in order to prosper, must copy after the American model,"¹ did not prove correct. Also, Adventists in Central Europe began to dissociate themselves from the distinctly American tradition of revivalism by discovering their own spiritual ancestry which gave the missionary work a new impetus. Eventually, the rather hostile European environment came to realize that Seventh-day Adventism does indeed consider itself as part of the Christian church, standing in the tradition of the Protestant Reformation with its roots running back to the New Testament.² However, acceptance and recognition of Adventism by the European society represents a slow and lengthy process.

Conclusions

In the beginning, the Seventh-day Adventist Church had a limited concept of mission. The America-centeredness of the Adventist pioneers prevented the church from expanding its mission to areas outside of North-America for many years. American Seventh-day Adventism finally crossed the Atlantic upon the initiative of immigrants returning to Europe. The first

¹"Our European Missions," RH, 7 June 1877, p. 181.

²Cf. LeRoy Edwin Froom, Movement of Destiny (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1971), pp. 27, 28.

of these self-made missionaries was the former Roman Catholic priest from Poland, M. B. Czechowski. He helped the Adventist church to attain a more global missionary concept. Unfortunately, he was somewhat rash and unorganized in his missionary outreach. Following the example of Adventism in America, he bought a printing press to enable him to spread Adventist literature. The financial base for such an undertaking was too weak, causing his failure in this venture. His followers formed the nucleus for the expansion of Adventism in Central Europe.

J. N. Andrews, the first official overseas missionary of the Seventh-day Adventists, devoted much of his time to the distribution of Adventist literature, thus neglecting public evangelism. It was only when L. R. Conradi recruited enough members through a systematic, carefully directed approach that a missionary breakthrough in Europe was achieved. He strengthened public evangelism and organized the colporteur work, at the same time reducing the prejudice of the population. Thus, the foundation for the successful distribution of Adventist literature was laid. The emphasis on a common Protestant theological heritage was used as a means of acculturation, by which Adventism was implanted in the European soil with its own particular values, ethos, and religious traditions. The "Europeanization" of

Adventism was obviously one of Conradi's primary goals. However, the process of developing this has remained difficult because of the deep-rooted prejudice which European society in general has towards imported religions.

CHAPTER II

OPPOSITION AND OPPRESSION: SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS DURING THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY (1890-1918)

Political and Religious Backgrounds

The area covered by today's Austria once served as a northern frontier outpost of the old Roman Empire. Under the impact of the migrating Germanic tribes, Roman rule disintegrated.

Towards the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne established a border province on the Danube to defend his empire in the East. In 976 part of the region fell to the Babenberg dynasty, which was followed by Habsburg rulers in 1282. By dint of a shrewd policy of diplomatic and family alliances, the Habsburgs succeeded in broadly extending their territory. The Alpine hereditary lands (Erblande) formed the nucleus of the evolving empire. From 1438 until 1806, almost without interruption, Habsburg rulers were elected Holy Roman Emperors. In 1522 the Habsburg dynasty separated into two branches, one Spanish, the other Austrian--the latter acquiring Bohemia and Hungary in 1526. There was a time at the height of the

Habsburg influence when the sun never set on the empire. This was in the sixteenth century when Charles V from the family's Spanish branch ruled territories in the New World.

The political consolidation of the Habsburg Empire brought with it considerable cultural progress. The University of Vienna, the oldest surviving university in the German-speaking world, was established in 1365. With the repulsion of the Turkish invasions, Austria emerged as a major European power. Until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation in 1806 as a result of Napoleon's expansionism, the Austrian Habsburgs were concerned with internal German affairs, the defence of Roman Catholic supremacy against the Reformation, the rising power of France in the West, and the almost constant Turkish threat in the East.

In 1804, under Emperor Francis I (1792-1835), the Imperial State of Austria came into being. Through Francis's renunciation of the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, the ethos of a universal Christian state (Reichsidee) inaugurated by Charlemagne formally ended after a thousand years of existence. At the same time, nonetheless, the Imperial State of Austria took over the political and religious heritage of the former Holy Roman Empire.¹ Thus, the unitary imperial ideal lived on after

¹Gottfried F. Litschauer, Kleine Österreichische Geschichte (Vienna: Obelisk, 1961), p. 215. Litschauer

1806 in the Habsburg lands, now represented by the Austrian monarch, with Catholicism as the crucial binding force in spiritual and political life.¹ The concept of Catholicism as a universal social order retained its importance for Austria's history into the twentieth century, explaining the intolerance towards other religions.²

In 1867 the dualistic union, the Austria-Hungary of the Compromise, constituted the final form of the Monarchy. A German-directed centralism had yielded to a German-Magyar diarchy. But the rise of nationalism and the outbreak of World War I finally led to the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy.

also quotes Ignaz Seipel as saying that the Catholic Church, at least in its liturgy, still recognized the Austrian emperor as a sort of successor of the Roman emperor of the German nation, in spite of the downfall of the Roman empire (ibid.). See also Hugo Hantsch, Die Geschichte Österreichs, 2 vols. (Graz: Styria, 1951), 2:275.

L. R. Conradi writes: "Among the different nations which comprise papal Europe, Austro-Hungary once took the lead, while even today it still ranks among the very foremost powers, both as to influence and strict adherence to the papacy. Its monarchs, who for many centuries wore the Roman imperial and the German royal crowns together, still have the title 'His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty' . . ." ("Austro-Hungary," RH, 22 September 1891, p. 582).

¹Eduard Winter, Romantismus, Restauration und Frühliberalismus im österreichischen Vormärz (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1968), p. 57.

²K. Vocelka, "Thron und Altar im alten Österreich," in Religion und Kultur an Zeitenwenden. Auf Gottes Spuren in Österreich, ed. N. Leser (Vienna: Herold, 1984), pp. 202, 203, 211.

In order to get a better picture of the religious climate at the end of the nineteenth century--the time when the majority of the smaller denominations of British or American origin appeared in Austria--it is necessary to review church history briefly.

The Christianization of Austria began in Roman times, stretching over several centuries. During the Middle Ages church and state formed an inseparable unit that remained unshaken until the Reformation. In the sixteenth century, a large part of the Austrian population turned to Protestantism. Catholicism was saved from total extinction only by the Habsburg rulers, who identified Protestantism with disloyalty and political opposition. Eventually, in 1555 the Peace of Augsburg determined the principle of cuius regio, eius religio, an arrangement which solidified the territorial control of religion in the hands of the ruling dynasty. The concept of the Volkskirche based on this principle has been characteristic of Central Europe ever since. Accordingly, Ferdinand II (1619-1637) exerted cruel force to reconquer the Austrian heartland of the Habsburg Empire for the Catholic Church. He was helped by the Jesuits, who were especially active in restoring the territory to Catholicism.

The repressive measures taken by the Counter-Reformation included the burning of books, destruction of churches, expulsion of large parts of the population, and

even execution. To religious dissenters was conceded only the right to emigrate. For almost two hundred years, from approximately 1600 to 1781, the Lutheran Church in Austria was persecuted.¹ Only in remote Alpine regions was evangelical faith, later referred to as crypto-Protestantism, able to survive. Anabaptism, once widespread in Austria, was almost completely blotted out.² In Salzburg, Archbishop Firmian's Manifesto of October 31, 1731, forced 20,694 Lutherans into exile.³ Twenty-three migrations followed, principally to East Prussia, but also to the British colonies of Georgia and South Carolina in North America.⁴ In Bohemia and Moravia the situation became steadily more unfavorable for Protestantism until it was fully repressed as in the Austrian Alpine lands. Protestantism in Hungary was able to maintain its position somewhat better because large parts of the country were

¹O. Sakrausky, "Der österreichische Protestantismus," in Religion und Kirche in Österreich (Vienna: Ferdinand Hirt, 1972), p. 67.

²Cf. Grete Mecenseffy, Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich (Graz: Böhlau, 1956), pp. 35-43; George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 166.

³G. Reingrabner, "Die Verfolgung der österreichischen Protestanten während der Gegenreformation," in Wellen der Verfolgung in der österreichischen Geschichte, ed. E. Zöllner (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986), pp. 65, 66.

⁴Ibid., p. 66.

temporarily under the direct rule of the Ottoman Empire.¹ The Turks were generally tolerant of Christianity and did not encourage attempts to enforce unity of belief. The small province of Austrian Silesia along the German border also maintained strong Protestant traditions.

Because of the political predominance of the Habsburg Empire, Austro-Catholicism was at times stronger than Papal Catholicism, reaching its climax in the Baroque age. During that time, many new churches were erected in the triumphalistic Baroque style, the architectural celebration of the Roman Catholic victory over Protestantism. The most prominent feature of Austrian Baroque piety (Pietas Austriaca) was the devout worship of the Eucharist, the Holy Cross, and the Virgin Mary.² The cult of

¹See A. Molnár, "Geschichte des tschechischen Protestantismus," in Stimmen aus der Kirche der CSSR, ed. Bé Ruys and Josef Smolik (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1968), pp. 28-43; F. Spiegel-Schmidt, "Die evangelische Kirche in Südosteuropa," JGPÖ 85 (1969):3-5; B. K. Király, "The Sublime Porte, Vienna, Transylvania and the Dissemination of Protestant Reformation in Royal Hungary," in Tolerance and Movements of Religious Dissent in Eastern Europe, ed. B. K. Király (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 199-209.

²Anna Coreth, Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1982), p. 17; Josef Wodka, Kirche in Österreich (Vienna: Herder, 1959), pp. 242-44.

Conradi made the following observation: ". . . the Virgin Mary is found in every nook and corner, worshiped under every color and name . . . each neighborhood has its particular Mary; but it is the 'holy' Mary all the same. Any book with her picture and some story about her miraculous power is sold by the thousand; but the word of God is shut out, and . . . superstition reign[s] supreme" ("The Work in Austria," RH, 14 April 1896, p. 233).

the Virgin had great socio-political significance. Mary was celebrated everywhere as Austria's national patron and thus became a symbol of Austrian patriotism. The veneration of numerous local saints was also part of the overall identification of Catholicism with Austria.

Even though the Counter-Reformation succeeded in restoring Catholicism throughout most of the Habsburg lands, it did not achieve the desired feeling of political unity among the different peoples; the religious conflict was eventually transformed into a national one which could no longer be solved within the framework of the Monarchy.¹

Under the influence of the Enlightenment (Aufklärung) in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Counter-Reformation became a means for the state to increase its power by separating itself from the religious patronage of Rome. Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790) did not seek to dethrone Austrian Catholicism but to reorganize it as a state church (Staatskirche), turning it from a conservative-universalist hierarchy into an enlightened-absolutist one.² His ecclesiastical reforms culminated in the Toleration Patent of 1781, which assured, at last, the

¹Cf. R. A. Kann, "Die Frage der Einheit der östlichen Länder in der Habsburgischen Monarchie," Österreichische Osthefte 17 (1975):243.

²R. J. W. Evans, The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550-1700 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 449; cf. P. F. Barton, "Umstrittener 'Reformkatholizismus'--Modellfall Josephinismus," in Brücke zwischen Kirchen und Kulturen (Vienna: Böhlau, 1976), pp. 24-41.

right of free private worship to the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Greek Orthodox Churches.¹ But even though these churches were granted toleration, they were not given equal status. As an outward sign of the dominant position of the Roman Catholic Church, it was decreed that the Protestant churches should not have a steeple or an entrance from the street.² Furthermore, the Toleration Patent did not include the churches that had grown out of the Hussite movement and the small denominations of British origin such as the Quakers.³ Josephinian toleration was actually a politically inspired move, as only those religions deemed important to the state were accepted.⁴ Smaller denominations continued to be treated with extreme harshness.⁵ Toleration as a matter of principle as it existed in Prussia, where the Mennonites and the Bohemian Brethren had enjoyed religious freedom since the middle of the sixteenth century, was foreign to

¹See Gustav Reingrabner, Protestanten in Österreich (Vienna: Böhlau, 1981), pp. 176-84; Mecenseffy, pp. 208-10.

²Ibid., p. 209.

³P. F. Barton, "Toleranz und Toleranzpatente in der Donaumonarchie," Communio Viatorum 24 (1981):147.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

Austria.¹ In fact, oppression of smaller religious groups lasted until the breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The spirit of the Counter-Reformation was still present in 1837, when almost five hundred Lutherans were expelled from the Tyrolean Zillertal. This expulsion, leading to emigration, marked the last demonstration in Central Europe of intolerance based exclusively on religious grounds.²

Liberation from Austrian absolutism was not achieved until the revolution of 1848. The Pillersdorf Constitution of that year warranted religious liberty and freedom of conscience for the first time.³ However, the Concordat of 1855 brought about a reversal in this development, going beyond the previous concessions to the

¹K. Schwarz, "Die Toleranz im Religionsrecht des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation, in Brandenburg-Preussen und in Österreich," ÖAKR 35 (1985):278.

"Hence it was simply a limited toleration, not true and complete religious liberty, which he [Joseph II] established in his dominions, and he remained, therefore, a long way behind the great rival of his family, Frederick II of Prussia. But the latter was a freethinker; whereas Joseph II, on the contrary, was a believer and, moreover, a Catholic. The Prussian worked in a country which was already ripe for liberty; the Austrian, on the other hand, in a country in which, until then, liberty had been absolutely unknown" (Francesco Ruffini, Religious Liberty [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912], pp. 403, 404).

²Barton, "Toleranz und Toleranzpatente," p. 151; Reingrabner, "Verfolgung der Protestanten," in Wellen der Verfolgung, p. 66.

³Vocelka, "Thron und Altar," in Religion und Kultur, p. 207; H. Wagner, "Die Idee der Toleranz in Österreich," in Religion und Kirche, p. 123.

Catholic Church. Emperor Francis Joseph I (1848-1916) not only surrendered his right of placetum regium, which had given him control over church ordinances, but also the jurisdiction over marriage legislation and education.¹ Jurisdiction in matrimonial questions was transferred from secular to ecclesiastical courts. Civil marriages were declared unlawful, as were mixed marriages between Catholics and Protestants. The educational system was confessionally oriented and supervised by the church. The church also assumed the right of literary censorship. The Concordat, indeed, swept away all traces of ecclesiastical reforms instituted by Joseph II. However, the spirit of Liberalism which had spread throughout Europe prevailed. Thus, the Concordat was repealed in 1870, and civil marriage and secular control of education were restored.

Despite the favored position of Roman Catholicism, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches meanwhile achieved equality of rights through the Protestant Patent of 1861, the Magna Carta of Austrian Protestantism.² Furthermore,

¹Wodka, pp. 325-28.

²See Hans Eder, Die evangelische Kirche in Österreich (Berlin: Verlag des Ev. Bundes, 1940), pp. 148-50. Cf. E. C. Hellbling, "Staat und Kirche in Österreich aus evangelischer Sicht," in Kirche und Staat. Fritz Eckert zum 65. Geburtstag (Festschrift), ed. H. Schambeck (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1976), pp. 186-90.

The Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) Churches in Europe declared their unity in the Leuenberg Agreement of 1972. In Austria the two branches of the Reformation have a long common tradition stretching back to the early 1860s, when both churches developed their own constitution. Since that time the Oberkirchenrat as

the victory of Liberalism and the dualistic compromise with Hungary gave birth to the Constitutional Law of 1867 (Staatsgrundgesetz), which again proclaimed the right of religious liberty and freedom of conscience.¹ The principles of state supremacy laid down in the Staatsgrundgesetz succeeded in curbing the power of the Catholic Church as never before. However, only a complete separation of church and state such as the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century had demanded would have made full confessional equality possible. For example, the Constitutional Law secured the right of public worship to churches legally recognized by the state, but members of churches not legally recognized were granted only permission to hold private meetings in their homes on the basis of family devotions (häusliche Religionsübung).² Such services, usually limited to twenty participants, had to be compatible with public order and morals. In fact, unrecognized churches did not exist de jure, had no legal

administrative agency represents both Lutherans and Calvinists before the government. The official name of the Lutheran-Reformed Church in Austria is Evangelische Kirche A. u. H. B. (Augsburgischen und Helvetischen Bekenntnisses) in Österreich.

¹Karl Eder, Der Liberalismus in Altösterreich (Vienna: Herold, 1955), p. 163.

²See H. Bargmann, "Die Freikirchen in Österreich," in Die Evangelische Kirche in Österreich, vol. 4 of Ekklesia: Eine Sammlung von Selbstdarstellungen der christlichen Kirchen (Gotha: Leopold Klotz, 1935), p. 145.

corporate rights, and were not allowed to form private legal societies or associations.¹

In public life it became customary to stigmatize members of unrecognized churches as "non-believing" or "irreligious" (konfessionslos).² Theoretically, after 1874 state recognition could be obtained under certain circumstances. But in practice it remained a privilege granted almost exclusively to the established churches.³

¹On the status of the unrecognized denominations in Austria, see Felix Ermacora, Handbuch der Grundfreiheiten und der Menschenrechte: Ein Kommentar zu den österreichischen Grundrechtsbestimmungen (Vienna: Manz, 1963), pp. 435-61.

²Ibid., pp. 459, 460. The attribute "irreligious" made it more difficult to find employment and almost impossible to enter civil service. Moreover, children over the age of seven were not allowed to follow their parents in changing religions. They were forced to take part in the religious instruction of a church legally recognized by the state. Cf. Bargmann, "Freikirchen," in Evangelische Kirche in Österreich, p. 145. Similar problems developed in the area of matrimonial law. Marriages with members of churches not legally recognized were usually considered invalid. Cf. also Inge Gampl, "Staat-Kirche-Individuum," ÖAKR 30 (1979):545-46.

³R. Höslinger, "Die gesetzliche Anerkennung einer Religionsgesellschaft," ÖAKR 4 (1953):293; Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch: Handbuch des gesamten österreichischen öffentlichen Rechtes, 2nd ed., s.v. "Religionsgesellschaften," by C. Henner. The Recognition Law of 1874 (Anerkennungsgesetz) was created primarily in order to grant recognition to Old Catholics who had rejected the decree of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1870. The legal recognition was dependent upon the following conditions: teachings, church services, and church constitutions had to be compatible with public order and morals; the name of the denomination was not to be offensive to other churches; new members were to be reported to the government authorities; the church leader had to be an Austrian citizen. Cf. Inge Gampl, Österreichisches Staatskirchenrecht (Vienna: Springer, 1971), pp. 127-32; Ermacora, pp. 389-92.

Legal claims to recognition, therefore, could not be made.¹

The differentiation of recognized and unrecognized religions had its roots in the Pillersdorf Constitution of 1848, which aimed at equality for the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Greek Orthodox Churches as well as for the Jewish congregations.² While the legal differences between the historically dominant Catholic Church and the tolerated churches gradually lessened, a gulf formed between them and the new denominations which began to appear in Austria-Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century as a reaction to theological rationalism. Public missionary work was extremely difficult for these groups since they were defined as unrecognized churches.³

The British and Foreign Bible Society began mission work in 1851.⁴ As a result of its persistent efforts, a

Gampl writes about the Recognition Law: "Legal recognition of a church or religious denomination is a pseudonym for the subordination of their affairs to state interference and control" ("Staat-Kirche-Individuum," p. 544).

¹Höslinger, "Die gesetzliche Anerkennung," pp. 293, 294; Gampl, Staatskirchenrecht, p. 46.

²Ermacora, p. 437; Gampl, Staatskirchenrecht, pp. 127, 128.

³Bargmann, "Freikirchen," in Evangelische Kirche in Österreich, pp. 144, 145.

⁴Wagner, p. 91; see also H. Mayr, "130 Jahre Bibelgesellschaft in Österreich," Bibel und Liturgie 54(1981):107-111; James Moulton Roe, A History of the

Baptist church was organized in Vienna in 1869.¹ A few years later, in 1874, a colporteur of the Society, Carl Rauch, was murdered in the Tyrol.² The situation did not improve in the following years, and in 1879 all meetings of the Baptists were specifically forbidden by order of the government. The Baptist preacher J. Rottmayer, Jr., was taken to court.³ After his release a few months later, the Baptists were again allowed to meet in their homes. However, they were kept under close police surveillance.⁴ The Methodists, who had been active in Austria since 1870, also experienced repression.⁵ Their

British and Foreign Bible Society 1905-1954 (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1965), pp. 76, 77; cf. [H. F. Schuberth], Editorial Remarks, PR, June 1913, p. 48.

¹Wagner, p. 92; James H. Rushbrooke, The Baptist Movement in the Continent of Europe (London: Carey Press, 1923), p. 51.

²Rudolf Donat, Das wachsende Werk: Ausbreitung der deutschen Baptistengemeinden durch sechzig Jahre, 1849-1909 (Kassel: Oncken, 1960), pp. 381-83.

³Wagner, p. 93.

⁴Ibid. The religious intolerance in Austria was even denounced in the American press at that time. See F. H. Foster, "The Austrian Problem," RH, 22 January 1880, p. 59.

⁵See Karl Steckel and Ernst C. Sommer, eds., Geschichte der Evangelisch-Methodistischen Kirche (Stuttgart: Christliches Verlagshaus, 1982), pp. 131, 132; cf. [M. E. Kellogg], "Persecution in Austria and America," RH, 21 February 1893, p. 119. The Mormons faced the same difficulties in Austria. See S. B. Kimball, "The Mormons in the Habsburg Lands, 1841-1914," in Austrian History Yearbook (Houston: Rice University, 1973-74), pp. 143-65.

religious services were repeatedly broken up by the police. The oppression of new religious movements, a relic of the Counter-Reformation, continued until the end of World War I.

Adventist Beginnings in Austria-Hungary

The early Adventists also found Austria a most difficult mission field. Apart from Russia, they viewed Catholic Austria as the country most intolerant of new religions in Europe.¹ Adventists never tired of condemning "the iron grasp of Romanism" in the Habsburg Empire, "which has ever tried to crush Protestantism and religious liberty out of its dominion."²

As a matter of fact, Adventists at first paid very little heed to Austria-Hungary, even though the Habsburg lands constituted the largest European state after

¹H. F. Schubert, "A Trip through Hungary," RH, 3 November 1904, p. 12; L. R. Conradi, "The German and the Russian Fields," RH, 4 April 1893, p. 214.

In retrospect, G. Dail stated: ". . . Austria seemed quite a European Tibet, so far as our work was concerned; for it was very hard to obtain a foothold there. We would send laborers . . . only to have them deported. Religious meetings, such as we may hold in Germany, were forbidden. It seemed impossible for us to secure permission to sell our publications" ("The Work in Austria," RH, 11 February 1909, p. 13).

²L. R. Conradi, "The Hungarian Kingdom," RH, 24 April 1894, p. 266; "Along the Danube," RH, 31 May 1898, p. 352. W. Prillwitz commented: ". . . even today, the entire country suffers under the ruthless fist of the papists, and indulgences can still be found on the doors of the old churches, showing how many florins the forgiveness for one or the other sin will cost" ("Oesterreich," HW, 18 November 1907, p. 174).

Russia.¹ Apparently, they were inexperienced with missionary work among Catholics and did not expect significant results in Austria.² The first Adventist to venture into Austria was M. B. Czechowski.³ Departing from Switzerland in the beginning of 1869, he traveled through Vienna and Budapest to Transylvania, finally reaching Rumania. For a number of years he remained in the city of Pitesti, approximately seventy-five kilometers south of the Austro-Hungarian border, where he was able to

¹J. N. Andrews and E. G. White are only two examples. Both of them visited many countries in Europe but did not go to Austria. Andrews contented himself with sending missionary magazines over the border. See "Bâle, Switzerland," RH, 20 May 1880, p. 332.

²H. P. Holser, "An Untouched Field," RH, 27 September 1892, p. 614.

³Having been a Catholic priest working for Polish independence, Czechowski was familiar with Austria-Hungary through his own travels. He hated the Habsburg Empire for political reasons. His home-town, Cracow (Krakau), had been under Austrian rule since 1846. Time and again he condemned "wicked Catholic Hapsburg" for suppressing Poland (Thrilling and Instructive Developments, p. 185).

Czechowski gave a thrilling account of his illegal border crossing between Poland and Austria-Hungary in 1843. He wanted to travel to Rome via Hungary. On the way to Kassa (Kaschau) he managed to cross the border near Koniecznu by hiding in a hay wagon after the guards had searched all the other wagon loads with a sword (*ibid.*, pp. 67-71). However, he was forced to return later because of political unrest. This time he crawled past a sleeping guard during the night at another border crossing (*ibid.*, p. 83). In 1844 he finally succeeded in traveling to Rome via Troppau, Brünn (Brno), Vienna, and Trieste by train and stage-coach. He found the countryside along the Semmering pass south of Vienna so pleasing that he decided to continue his journey from the city of Bruck/Mur via Graz and Laibach (Ljubljana) to Trieste on foot (*ibid.*, pp. 92-98).

organize a small congregation.¹ Little is known about Czechowski's journey into Austria-Hungary and Rumania. At one time, Czechowski planned to do missionary work among the Polish population, especially in Galicia. He spoke of a family in Lwów (Lemberg) that was awaiting baptism.² He did not mention how this family came in contact with Adventism. In any case, it is certain that, contrary to his original plans, he stayed in Austria-Hungary only for a short time, without establishing firm missionary contacts. He died in Vienna in 1876.³

Other Adventists followed Czechowski in traveling to Austria-Hungary, but without intending to do missionary work there. In 1883 Dr. J. H. Kellogg, who became well known in the United States as director of Battle Creek Sanitarium, came to Vienna, the capital of medical science at that time. He worked as a resident physician in the Polyclinic under the famed surgeon, Anton Billroth.⁴ In 1884 the Adventist General Conference president, George I. Butler, traveled from Venice through Hungary to Rumania to visit the small congregation founded by Czechowski in

¹D. Popa, "Czechowski in Romania," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 340.

²L. Erdelyi, "Czechowski in Hungary," in Czechowski 1818-1876, p. 320.

³O. Uebersax, "Czechowski--His Last Days and Death," in Czechowski 1818-1876, pp. 352-58.

⁴Richard W. Schwarz, John Harvey Kellogg, M. D. (Nashville, TN: Southern Pub. Assn., 1970), p. 34.

Pitesti.¹ This congregation, the only Adventist church in Eastern Europe at the time, was isolated and had little contact with the church leadership in Switzerland. At one time, the Baptist superintendent, who was probably A. Meereis, even made the journey from Vienna to persuade the Adventist members in Pitesti to work for the Baptist church.² In 1886 Conradi traveled from Switzerland through Austria-Hungary for the first time.³ He was on his adventuresome journey to Russia, which was to end with his spending more than forty days in prison.⁴ Before visiting the Adventist group in Pitesti, Rumania, Conradi searched unsuccessfully in Hungary for Sabbath-keepers who might have come out of the Unitarian movement.⁵

In 1894 Uriah Smith, long-time editor of the church paper Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, traveled through Austria-Hungary on his way to the Holy Land. He visited Prague, Vienna, and Budapest but did not mention any

¹G. I. Butler, "Visit to Roumania," RH, 20 May 1884, pp. 328, 329; cf. Lewis H. Christian, Pioneers and Builders of the Advent Cause in Europe (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press Pub. Assn., 1937), pp. 70, 71; Emmett K. Vande Vere, Rugged Heart. The Story of George I. Butler (Nashville, TN: Southern Pub. Assn., 1979), pp. 69-75.

²Butler, "Visit to Roumania," p. 329.

³L. R. Conradi, "Entering Russia," RH, 3 August 1886, p. 489; cf. Historical Sketches, p. 251.

⁴Ibid., pp. 257-65.

⁵Ibid., 251; cf. John N. Andrews, History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, 2nd ed. (Battle Creek, MI: Steam Press of the SDA Pub. Assn., 1873), pp. 460-63.

Adventists in these cities.¹ Smith noted that in Hungary, tolerance and religious freedom were more prevalent than in German-speaking Austria.²

Meanwhile, Conradi had succeeded in establishing the first permanent missionary contacts in Austria-Hungary.³ In 1890 he went to the Royal Library in Berlin to find new source material on the history of the Sabbath. He intended to revise and improve J. N. Andrews' History of the Sabbath and First Day of the Week, first published in 1861.⁴ In the process, his attention was drawn to an article in the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung that

¹"Editorial Correspondence," RH, 30 October 1894, pp. 680, 681. Uriah Smith's son, who accompanied his father, kept an account of his impressions in his diary. We learn, for example, that they stayed in the Hotel Continental in Vienna: "Our room has movable electric lamps, the first I have ever seen. . . . The wagons and cabs rattling over the stone pavement make a good deal of noise and when they let up for a moment the stillness is very noticeable, so much so that father says he can hear his hair grow. He wishes it would be one thing or the other!" (U. Wilton Smith, Diary Notes, p. 70, AAM).

Vienna with its rich cultural resources impressed both of them. ("Father was very anxious to go into a palace where a real live King now lives . . ." [ibid., p. 73]). The "blue Danube" glorified in waltzes, however, was a great disappointment for them. (" . . . It is so muddy, of a whitish clayey color . . ." [ibid., p. 76]).

²"Such persecution as the Methodists have suffered in Vienna, could hardly take place in Hungary" ("Editorial Correspondence," RH, 6 November 1894, p. 696).

³L. R. Conradi, "A Visit to Austria," RH, 24 June 1890, p. 395; "Ein Besuch in Oesterreich," Herold der Wahrheit und prophetischer Erklärer, 1 July 1890, p. 84.

⁴Cf. J. Heinz, "The Author of the History of the Sabbath," in Andrews: Man and Mission, pp. 132-34, 143.

had been published in 1876 in Leipzig, containing precise information on the history of the Sabbatarian movement in Transylvania.¹ The adherents of this movement, whose Unitarian roots can be traced to the late sixteenth century, had under Habsburg pressure linked up with Jewish congregations.² Conradi wanted to find out whether Christian Sabbath-keepers still lived there. For this reason he traveled to Klausenburg (Kolozsvár), the principal city of Transylvania, in May of 1890. With the aid of J. Kovács, a history professor at the Unitarian Theological Seminary, Conradi actually succeeded in finding the last adherents of the Transylvanian Sabbath movement who had continued to remain true to Christianity. They lived in the village of Bözöd-Ujfalú under the spiritual leadership of the village judge, J. Sallós.³

¹Conradi, "Visit to Austria," p. 395; cf. F. Kessel, "Eine Skizze der Geschichte von Sabbatariern und Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Siebenbürgen," AB, 1 October 1932, p. 292; J. F. Huenergardt, "Wie das Werk in Ungarn seinen Anfang nahm," ZW, 21 October 1918, pp. 185, 186.

²Ladislaus M. Pákozdy, Der Siebenbürgische Sabbatismus (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973), pp. 52-54.

³Conradi, "Besuch in Oesterreich," p. 84; "A Visit to Austria," RH, 1 July 1890, p. 409; idem, Die Geschichte des Sabbats und des ersten Wochentages (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1912), pp. 630-32; Kessel, "Skizze der Geschichte von Sabbatariern," p. 293; "Geschichte der Sabbatarier und Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Siebenbürgen," BO, 15 August 1951, pp. 124-27; cf. Samuel Kohn, Die Sabbatharier in Siebenbürgen: Ihre Geschichte, Literatur und Dogmatik (Budapest: Singer & Wolfner, 1894), p. 296.

The Sabbath-keeping group under J. Sallós was visited again in 1908 by the Adventist pastor,

J. Kovács also introduced Conradi to Johann Rottmayer and his family.¹ Rottmayer had joined the Baptist church in 1844, after having been baptized by Johann G. Oncken in Hamburg. He was one of the first Baptists to reside in the Habsburg lands.

Conradi describes the incident as follows:

Hearing that I lived in Hamburg, he [J. Kovács] invited me to visit a German-Hungarian friend of his, J. Rottmeyer by name, who was in charge of the Bible depository, and who as the first Baptist in Hungary had been baptized by Oncken from Hamburg. After introducing me, he said a few words in Hungarian, and I noticed how the aged gentleman looked at me full of pity.

The Baptist brother invited me to dine with him the next day, and I accepted his invitation. As we began to talk about the Scriptures and I pointed him to some of the glorious truths concerning the sanctuary on high, his eyes lighted up, and he said, 'The professor told me yesterday that you had come all the way from Hamburg to become a Unitarian, and in pity I invited you here to warn you. But the Lord in His mercy has turned the tables on the Unitarian professor, and made him unwillingly the agent to bring the full light of present truth to my home.'²

J. F. Huenergardt. Although Sallós did not join the Adventist church, he followed its spread in Transylvania with great interest. After his death in 1916 the last traces of the more than three-hundred-year-old Sabbath movement in Transylvania disappeared. Cf. Huenergardt, "Early Sabbath Witnesses in Hungary and the Balkans," RH, 21 November 1935, pp. 20, 21; "Aus Ungarn," ZW, 20 July 1908, p. 264; J. Murbach, "Die Sabbatarianer," HW, 1 January 1912, pp. 5, 6.

¹Conradi, "A Visit to Austria," RH, 24 June 1890, p. 395; "The German Mission Field," RH, 13 December 1892, p. 773.

²Conradi, "Divine Providences in the European Division," RH, 25 May 1922, p. 21; "Gottes Vorsehung in der Europäischen Abteilung unsres Werkes," AB, 15 June 1922, p. 185. Rottmayer's name is spelled in different ways. I use the spelling of F. Kessel, who as a relative was close to the Rottmayer family.

Rottmayer and his family joined the Adventist church. Thus, some of the first Baptists in the Habsburg Monarchy became the first Adventists there.¹ It is not surprising that Adventism first gained a foothold in the Magyar lands, where political opposition to the Habsburg rulers restricted the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. The comparatively free religious climate in Hungary has its roots in the system of receptae religiones, developed in Transylvania around the middle of the sixteenth century. It secured full religious autonomy for the historic churches, making Transylvania the most tolerant country of its time.

Here, as in many other Eastern European countries, colonists of German origin became the agents of new

Johann Rottmayer was born in Budapest in 1818. He was brought up as a Catholic and left his home at the age of twenty to work as a craftsman in Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg. In Germany Rottmayer came in contact with the Baptist church. In 1846 he returned to the Austrian Empire together with four other Baptists. Because of the religious intolerance towards the Free churches there, Rottmayer wanted to emigrate to the United States. From 1867 on he was in charge of the Bible depository of the Scottish National Bible Society in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár). See F. Kessel, "Skizze der Geschichte von Sabbatariern," pp. 293, 294; "Geschichte der Sabbatarier und der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Siebenbürgen," BO, 1 September 1951, pp. 132-34. Cf. Wagner, pp. 90-92.

¹On the beginnings of the Adventist church in Hungary, see also J. Pechtöl and J. Szigeti, "Megjegyzések 'Az erdélyi és alföldi Baptista misszió kezdeti korszakai' című cikkhez," Theológiai Szemle 9 (March-April 1966):99-101; J. Bányai, "Válasz Pechtöl János és Szigeti Jenő megjegyzéseire," Theológiai Szemle 9 (July-August 1966):230-32.

religious beliefs.¹ Because of their Protestant heritage and sociologically conditioned openness towards religious ideas from the West, it was easier for them than for the native population to join the Free churches. Adventism fell on fertile soil especially in areas where culturally isolated German ethnic groups had remained true to the Pietist traditions of their ancestors. The Adventist church founded in 1895 in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) consisted, at first, mostly of German-speaking members, providing the nucleus for the future expansion of Adventism in Hungary and Rumania.² However, with the changing tides of World War II and the decline of the Third Reich, German troops were driven back to their homeland in 1944 and the ethnic German congregations were forced out with them. This brought an end to the German-speaking Adventist groups and their mission in Eastern Europe.

As early as 1890, Maria, the daughter of the Rottmayer family, went to Hamburg, where the new base of European Adventist mission work recently had been established, to serve as a correspondent and mission

¹Cf. Pfeiffer, Adventist Mission in the Middle East, pp. 26, 27; D. Heinz, "Origin and Growth of the Adventists in Russia: A Historical Survey," Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia 10 (Winter 1987):39-43.

²Cf. Heinz, Conradi, pp. 50-53.

secretary for Austria-Hungary.¹ She sent Adventist literature to Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary.² At that time, her brother, Johann Rottmayer, Jr., lived in Vienna. As mentioned earlier, he worked there as a Baptist preacher and was also employed by the Bible society. Conradi visited him occasionally on his way to Eastern Europe.³ Although J. Rottmayer, Jr., never joined the Adventist church as had his parents in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár), he willingly distributed Adventist literature sent to him from Hamburg by his sister.⁴

One issue of Herold der Wahrheit sent off by Maria Rottmayer fell into the hands of W. J. Tentesch, a baker in Kronstadt (Brassó), who as a result became a Seventh-day Adventist. Having completed some mission training in Hamburg, Tentesch began working as the first Adventist book colporteur in Austria-Hungary as early as 1894. His main area of work was among the German population of

¹L. R. Conradi, "The Demands of the German and Russian Mission Fields," RH, 22 December 1891, p. 790; "The German Mission Field," p. 773; "The Work in Russia and Southeastern Europe," The Home Missionary, February 1891, p. 33.

²L. R. Conradi, "The Work of the Hamburg Secretaries," RH, 13 October 1891, p. 630; "Report of the Hamburg Mission Secretaries," RH, 17 May 1892, p. 310; "The German Missions," RH, 27 June 1893, p. 407. See also Padderatz, pp. 103-105.

³L. R. Conradi, "Rumania and Austria," RH, 26 January 1892, p. 58; idem, "The Work in Austria," RH, 14 April 1896, pp. 232, 233.

⁴Conradi, "Report of the Hamburg Mission Secretaries," p. 310.

Transylvania.¹ In 1895 Conradi conducted the first Adventist baptismal service in Austria-Hungary. The rite was performed in a river near Klausenburg (Kolozsvár).² Christine Pauline Rottmayer, the daughter of Johann Rottmayer, Jr., joined the Adventist church on this occasion.³ Upon her return to Vienna, Miss Rottmayer remained the only Adventist church member within the borders of present-day Austria until 1903.⁴

Within a short time, it was possible to translate Adventist literature into Hungarian.⁵ In 1893 Conradi sent a copy of E. G. White's book Steps to Christ (1892)

¹W. J. Tentesch, "Wie das Werk unter den Siebenbürger Sachsen seinen Anfang nahm," AB, 15 March 1931, p. 95; cf. H. Meyer-Bärtschy, "Das Adventmissionswerk in Ungarn und Rumänien," AE, October 1937, pp. 77, 78.

²L. R. Conradi, "Our First Baptism in Hungary," RH, 9 July 1895, pp. 441, 442; cf. "The Hungarian Kingdom," RH, 24 April 1894, p. 266.

³Conradi, "Our First Baptism in Hungary," p. 442.

⁴Cf. L. R. Conradi, "The Work in Austria," RH, 14 April 1896, pp. 232, 233; "Notes from the European Field," RH, 4 February 1896, p. 73. Christine Pauline Rottmayer was born in 1885 in Vienna. She moved to Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) at the turn of the century and married the Adventist pastor F. Kessel in 1908. From 1905 on, Kessel had played a significant role in spreading Adventism in Hungary. Until the outbreak of World War I, he worked successively in Budapest, Arad, Klausenburg (Kolozsvár), Kronstadt (Brassó), Gyula, and Kassa (Kaschau). See Gerhard Schuster to D. Heinz, 30 June 1980.

⁵John N. Loughborough, Entstehung und Fortschritt der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1897), p. 305; L. R. Conradi, "Austro-Hungary," RH, 22 September 1891, pp. 582, 583.

to J. Szalay, the editor of Keresztyén, a Presbyterian monthly printed in Budapest.¹ Szalay liked the book and notified Conradi of his plans to translate it into Hungarian. However, he indicated that he would probably have to make some changes and add a few explanations. In recounting the experience, Conradi reported: "I asked him then to mark a chapter with his notes and send it on."²

After Szalay had translated the first chapter, however, he was convinced that the book needed no changes.³ When his translation of Steps to Christ was completed in 1894, Szalay warmly recommended the book to the readers of his journal. He wrote:

I can say that I never read any piece of writing which is better; one which discusses spiritual life, practical Christianity, more thoroughly and clearly, than this. I recommend it to everybody, really, to everybody. My fellow Christian believers, if you cannot afford to buy it any other way, sell your coats in order to buy this book; it is worthy of such sacrifice. If anyone does not even have a coat, but has a strong desire to own this book, for him I will send it free, paying for it out of the missionary fund.⁴

¹Jenő Szigeti, és emlékezzél meg az útról, pp. 134, 135; idem, "Steps to Christ in Hungary" (research paper, [1982]), pp. 4-6, AHC.

²"The Truth in Foreign Tongues," RH, 9 January 1894, p. 21.

³He stated: "Regarding the book, I began to translate it; one chapter is ready, but I cannot change it, it is so good, so accurate, one line flows from another so that men cannot change [it], not a word. At first I thought to change [it] because here in Hungaria very few are converted, but the Lord can use this work very much to the edification of the saints" (ibid.).

⁴Keresztyén, 1 June 1894, p. 48, quoted in Jenő

This example shows again that the religious climate in Hungary differed considerably from that of the other lands in the Monarchy. Regular Adventist missionary work began in 1898 when John F. Huenergardt, a dynamic and linguistically talented Russian-German, was called to Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) by Conradi. Huenergardt had been converted to Adventism in Kansas under Conradi's preaching there.¹

In the first year of his service in Transylvania, Huenergardt was able to gain fifty new members for the Adventist church.² Between 1898 and 1904 he organized churches in Fogaras, Arad, Kronstadt (Brassó), Schässburg, Békés-Csaba and Budapest.³ The steady growth of the

Szigeti, És emlékezzél meg az útról, p. 140; cf. idem, "Steps to Christ in Hungary," p. 7. The first edition was sold out by the summer of 1896. Since then, at least eleven more editions of Steps to Christ have been printed in Hungary.

¹John F. Huenergardt was the pioneer figure of Hungarian Adventism. His missionary zeal and strong leadership certainly contributed to the fact that Adventism spread more quickly in Hungary than anywhere else in the Habsburg Empire.

Huenergardt was born in 1875 in the Volga-German settlement of Wiesenmüller, South Russia. Following emigration to the United States with his parents, he came in contact with the Adventist church in 1884. After his graduation from Union College in Lincoln, Nebraska, he was sent to Europe as a missionary in 1897. Until 1918 he was the superintendent of the Adventist mission in Hungary and the Balkans. For a biographical survey, see D. Eppler, "John F. Huenergardt--A Historical Sketch of the Man and His Work" (research paper, 1974), AHC.

²P. H. Hermann, "Vom Adventwerk in Rumänien," AE, January 1936, p. 5.

³Regarding the spread of the Adventist message in

churches led to the formation of a "Hungarian Mission" of Seventh-day Adventists in Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) in 1902.¹ The establishment of this Mission became the basis for the further development of Adventism in the Habsburg Monarchy as far as church organization was concerned.²

Hungary, see L. R. Conradi, "The Work in Hungary," RH, 28 April 1896, pp. 265, 266; J. F. Huenergardt and W. Tentesch, "Aus Ungarn," ZW, October 1898, pp. 94, 95; January 1899, pp. 4, 5; J. F. Huenergardt, "Aus Ungarn und dem Balkan," ZW, 7 April 1902, pp. 60, 61; F. Adomeit, "Hermannstadt-Siebenbürgen," ZW, 21 December 1903, p. 227; J. F. Huenergardt, "Aus Ungarn," ZW, 4 January 1904, pp. 2, 3; "Vierteljahrsbericht--Ung. Missionsfeld," ZW, 20 October 1902, p. 195; G. Dail, "Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans," RH, 14 July 1903, p. 18; H. Meyer-Bärtl, "Das Adventmissionswerk in Ungarn und Rumänien," AE, September 1937, pp. 70, 71; F. Kessel, "Geschichte der Sabbatarier und Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Siebenbürgen," BO, 15 September 1951, pp. 139-41.

The oldest Adventist church in present-day Hungary was founded in Békés-Csaba in 1904. An elder of the local Slovak Nazarene church was sent to nearby Arad to rebuke some members, who had begun to keep the Sabbath through the preaching of Huenergardt. During this visit the elder himself became convinced of the Sabbath message. Back in Békés-Csaba, he raised a Sabbath-keeping group among the Nazarenes. See J. F. Huenergardt, "Aus Ungarn," ZW, 4 July 1904, pp. 135, 136; "Beginning of the Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," RH, 5 June 1922, p. 10; "Beginnings of Our Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," RH, 28 November 1935, p. 20.

¹F. Adomeit, "Bericht der ersten allgemeinen Versammlung in Balkan und Ungarn," ZW, 21 April 1902, pp. 70, 71; L. R. Conradi, "Reiseerfahrungen," ZW, 21 April 1902, pp. 67, 68; O. Lüpke, "Unsere Unionskonferenz," ZW, 18 August 1902, p. 148.

An "Austrian Mission" and a "Balkan Mission" were organized in the same year. Cf. G. Dail, "Other Conferences in Europe," RH, 25 November 1902, pp. 15, 16; "Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans," p. 18.

²Cf. R. Gerber, "Die Ungarische Union," AE, June 1965, p. 4.

Let us now take a look at Bohemia, where the Adventist church gained a foothold in 1892. In this year, Anton Simon, a Baptist, became a Seventh-day Adventist. Simon had come in contact with Adventism in Germany. After his return to Bohemia in 1890, he first settled near Roudnice (Raudnitz) on the Elbe river, where he began to translate Adventist literature into Czech and was able to gather a small group of Sabbath-keeping Advent believers around him.¹ In 1895 the first Adventist communion service in Bohemia was conducted there by Conradi.²

Meanwhile, a printing press was found in Pardubice (Pardubitz) which helped to increase the circulation of Adventist literature. The owner of the press was also the mayor of the city. He persuaded the local Reformed pastor to translate the book Steps to Christ into Czech. The translation was completed as early as 1894.³

In 1895 Adventist missionary work began in Prague, and once again the Baptist church contributed the first members to Seventh-day Adventism.⁴ Conradi describes a typical incident from his work in Prague which epitomizes the restrictions imposed on new religious movements in

¹L. R. Conradi, "Notes by the Way," RH, 12 March 1895, p. 170.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴L. R. Conradi, "Field," RH, 3 December 1895, p. 777; "The German Mission," RH, 15 October 1895, p. 664.

Catholic Austria, and was felt whenever Adventists or members of other Protestant Free churches attempted to hold religious meetings:

. . . We were fairly startled when some one knocked at the door, and a policeman entered, asking us to show the permission of the magistrate to hold this gathering. Brother Simon had written to a friend to secure it, but it had been neglected. Names were taken of all present, also my passport, and the officer carefully looked at the books which we occupied ourselves with. We continued quietly, but in ten minutes he returned from the near police station, called the meeting dissolved, and ordered us to appear at five o'clock. As I desired to depart that night, the friends went with me to the police court, and took the blame upon them, and my passport was returned. . . .

. . . The judge enquired to what denomination I belonged, and when I said 'Adventist,' this was something new, and he said he had no knowledge of such a sect's being tolerated in Bohemia.¹

At the turn of the century, Simon moved to Prague. In 1902, unnoticed by the Austrian government authorities, he was able to organize a twenty-member church in that city. Simon was helped by the Russian-German pastor, J. P. Lorenz, who had come from the United States.² The Los-von-Rom-Bewegung ("Away From Rome Movement"), very

¹L. R. Conradi, "The Work in Austria," RH, 14 April 1896, p. 232.

²G. Dail, "The European General Conference," RH, 3 September 1901, p. 576; "Word from Austria," The Missionary Magazine, February 1902, pp. 81, 82; J. F. Huenergardt, "Our Work in the Austrian-Hungarian and Balkan States Mission Field," RH, 24 June 1902, pp. 13, 14; L. R. Conradi, "The German Union Conference," RH, 24 June 1902, p. 16; Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Díla v Československu," p. 16.

For more on J. P. Lorenz, see Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, s.v. "Lorenz, John P."

widespread in Bohemia at the time, was conducive to Protestant missionary endeavor, including Adventist work.¹ The name of the movement referred to the falling away of Austrian Catholics from the church. These were the Catholics who wanted to consolidate the leadership role of the Germans in the Habsburg Monarchy. Thus, they opposed the growing Slavic influence supported by the church through a new government language regulation. General Conference president, A. G. Daniells, who visited the Adventist converts in Prague, reported on the favorable conditions created by the Los-von-Rom-Bewegung.²

The year 1902 also marks the beginning of Adventist missionary work in Vienna by H. Kokolsky,³ a well-known sculptor at the turn of the century who had been baptized by G. Perk in Leipzig.⁴ On one occasion, Kokolsky

¹Cf. J. P. Lorenz, "Austria," RH, 27 May 1902, p. 14. Approximately sixteen thousand German-Bohemian Catholics became Protestants between 1898 and 1907, more for reasons of political protest than for religious conviction. The tension between nationalism and Catholicism on the Czech side culminated in the creation of a schismatic Hussite church after the founding of the Republic in 1918. See Barbara Schmid-Egger, Klerus und Politik in Böhmen um 1900 (Munich: Robert Lerche, 1974), pp. 235, 236, 239-41.

²"Open Doors in Europe," RH, 2 December 1902, pp. 6, 7.

³L. R. Conradi, "The German Union Conference," RH, 2 December 1902, p. 16; "Reiseerfahrungen," ZW, 5 January 1903, p. 1; "European General Conference," GCE, 6 April 1903, p. 95; Hermann Kokolsky obituary, AB, 15 April 1933, p. 128.

⁴For more on G. Perk, see Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, s.v. "Perk, Gerhard;" D. Heinz, "Gerhard

traveled to several villages in the Austrian Alps. He probably visited the offices of Lutheran clergymen and school authorities in Carinthia who had received the Adventist missionary magazine Christlicher Hausfreund from the United States. The addresses were provided by a retired post-office clerk from Carinthia, who had come across this magazine by mere accident.¹ Also, in 1902, the German-American pastor Leopold Mathe, who was born in East Prussia, was sent to Pressburg (Pozsony).² Interest in the Adventist message had developed in Ratzersdorf (Rac), a village near Pressburg (Pozsony), through a relative's visit from America.³ In 1903 Mathe succeeded in organizing a small Adventist congregation in Ratzersdorf (Rac), which is close to the present-day Austrian border.⁴ Because his life was threatened on several

Perk und die Anfänge der Adventgemeinde in Russland," AE, 1 January 1983, p. 9.

¹See [Th. Valentiner], "Erfreuliches aus Oesterreich," DA, October 1901, p. 28; "Mehr gute Nachrichten aus Kärnten, Österreich-Ungarn," DA, November 1901, pp. 36, 37; "Der 'Hausfreund' in Oesterreich," DA, June 1902, p. 92.

²Conradi, "The German Union Conference," p. 16; "European General Conference," p. 95; G. Dail, "The Annual Meeting in Hungary," RH, 10 March 1904, p. 16.

³"Zum 25jährigen Jubiläum der S.T.A. Gemeinde Pressburg," [1936], AAM; Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Dila v Československu," p. 30.

⁴L. Mathe, "Bericht aus Ungarn und Oesterreich," ZW, 7 March 1904, pp. 50-52. The church members in Ratzersdorf emigrated to America almost as a body because of "terrible persecution" (ibid).

occasions, Mathe quickly transferred his missionary activity to nearby Vienna, where, on July 1, 1903, he was able to perform the first Adventist baptism within the borders of present-day Austria.¹ At that time the distrustful if not hostile mentality of the rural population could be easily avoided in the cities where underground work was possible. The focus on urban missionary work had developed into a practice, typical for Austrian Adventism, which is still primarily city-oriented.

The Underground Church

The foundation for the future work of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Austria-Hungary had been laid in countries with a more or less strong Protestant heritage. Adventist attention finally turned to German-speaking Austria, the Catholic heartland of the Habsburg Empire. As noted above, in 1902 missionary work began in Vienna, the cultural, economic, and political center of the Empire.² At that time, the city was one of Europe's

See also H. F. Schuberth, "Reisebericht," ZW, 16 March 1903, pp. 49, 50; [L. Mathe], "Bericht aus Österreich-Ungarn," DA, April 1904, p. 29.

¹M. Rollett, "Siebzig Jahre Adventgemeinde Wien," AE, 1 May 1974, p. 17.

²On Vienna in Habsburg times, see G. B. Cohen, "Society and Culture in Prague, Vienna, and Budapest in the Late Nineteenth Century," East European Quarterly 20 (1986):467-84.

largest melting-pots. The early Adventists disdainfully called Vienna "Rome's chosen maidservant" because of the city's role as capital of the last major European power claiming Catholicism as its state religion.¹ As a matter of fact, only two Protestant parishes existed in Vienna at the turn of the century.² It took all of five years, from 1902 to 1907, to convert five people to Adventism in this city.³

The situation was little different in Graz, the second largest city in German-speaking Austria, where permanent missionary work began in 1905.⁴ At first, no Adventist missionary work was begun in the western provinces, which were even more conservatively Catholic than the eastern part of the country.⁵ Unrecognized

¹[J. Wolfgarten], "Fieber an der Tiber," PR, March 1912, p. 55; cf. idem, "Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt," PR, January 1911, p. 15.

²H. F. Schuberth, "Wien und Graz," ZW, 16 November 1908, p. 402.

³Ibid. See also J. Wolfgarten, "Lichtstrahlen in Oesterreich," ZW, 6 January 1908, p. 14.

⁴M. H. Wentland writes from Graz: "I thought at first that missionary work in Germany was difficult, but now I realize that there is still much freedom there" ("Von Deutschland nach Oesterreich," DA, June 1905, p. 46). Cf. Wentland, "Graz-Oesterreich," ZW, 5 June 1905, p. 141, 142; "Aus Steiermark," ZW, 19 March 1906, p. 88, 89; [E. Schütt], "Graz," ZW, 19 November 1906, p. 374; W. Prillwitz, "Oesterreich," ZW, 15 July 1907, p. 219.

⁵No Protestant parishes existed in the territories of Vorarlberg, Tyrol, and Salzburg prior to 1861.

churches, such as denominations of British or American origin, were not allowed to engage in public missionary work. They were granted only the private, family exercise of religion--and neither guests nor acquaintances were permitted to participate in these family worships. The Criminal Code, for instance, mandated up to three years imprisonment as the penalty for public sectarian propagan-da.¹ In one case, Adventist colporteur work was penalized with fourteen days detention and a fine of three hundred kronen.²

In 1913 A. G. Daniells, Seventh-day Adventist General Conference president, visited Austria a second time. He was well aware of the problems Adventists were facing in this country. He reported:

. . . Austria is said to be the most intensely Catholic country in all Europe, and possibly in all the world. . . .
 . . . we have not been permitted to take a religious name, or to hold a regular public religious service. The law forbids religious teaching, baptizing, and the forming of churches. It forbids the distribution of religious literature by selling, lending, and giving. In fact, it aims to make it impossible for any religious body, save the Catholic Church, to exist in Austria.³

¹J. Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," DA, 22 February 1912, p. 36.

²R. Rühling, "Die Adventbotschaft in Böhmen," AB, 1 March 1929, p. 73.

³"Our European Division Meetings," RH, 27 November 1913, pp. 1145, 1146. See also H. F. Schuberth, "Oesterreich," ZW, 4 July 1904, p. 133.

This situation forced the Adventist church in Austria to work underground until the collapse of the Monarchy.¹

Nonetheless, a breakthrough in missionary work was achieved in 1907. This year marked a major step in the long process of indigenization, when the Adventist church took root in Austria by adapting missionary practices to local conditions. The breakthrough in missionary work is credited to the efforts of Johann Wolfgarten, who had come to Austria from Germany in 1906. He was the first to start regular and systematic missionary work in German Austria, searching for a way to make public evangelism possible.² Wolfgarten was extremely skillful in adapting

¹See D. Heinz, "Adventisten hatten es im Land der Kirchen und Klöster schwer," *AE*, 15 August 1984, pp. 10, 11.

²Under the leadership of L. Mathe (1903-1906) and W. Prillwitz (1907-1908), missionary work advanced primarily in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. Until 1911 these countries, together with German-speaking Austria, constituted a single mission field. After Prillwitz was expelled from Gablonz (Jablonec), Bohemia, for disturbing the peace by holding public meetings, Wolfgarten assumed the leadership of the "Austrian Mission," a position he held from 1909 to 1918.

Wolfgarten was born in 1874 in Cologne, Germany. He came in contact with the Adventist church in America and began missionary work among the German-American population of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In 1899 he was transferred to Germany, where he worked successfully as an evangelist in Hamburg, Kassel, Erfurt, Essen, and Cologne. In the autumn of 1906 he moved to Vienna, posing as a "Protestant author" in order to conceal his missionary intentions from the municipal authorities. Financial problems forced him to occasionally work as a carpet dealer in Vienna. The church members gave him the nickname "Iwo," which was changed to "Wolf-im-Garten" after his break with Adventism. In 1920 Wolfgarten was to take over the leadership of the "Levant Union Mission" with headquarters in Constantinople. It never came to be.

to the difficult local conditions of the country. Moreover, as a former Catholic, he was well acquainted with the teachings of that church. In addition, Wolfgarten communicated with important personalities from the liberal political camp. He was also familiar with Austrian legislation and had a way of expertly camouflaging Adventist missionary work. The fact that the Adventist church in neighboring Bavaria attained state recognition in 1907 motivated Adventists in Austria to attempt to advance their own standing as well.¹ Thus

Wolfgarten's seemingly successful role as superintendent during the formative stage of the Adventist church in Austria is disputed. Upon close examination, he appears to have been a dubious character. For example, he invented a vision by E. G. White in which she saw him saved in paradise, his motive apparently being to impress the new church members with his own spirituality. In the late 1920s he finally left the Adventist church after moral failure and returned to America without his family. In New York he worked rather unsuccessfully as a commercial representative and at times visited the local German Adventist church, without rejoining the movement. Nothing is known about his later life. Source material on Wolfgarten's biography is scarce. The following documents can be referred to: H. F. Schuberth to L. R. Conradi, 26 May 1918 [?], AAM; L. R. Conradi to G. W. Schubert, 30 May 1918, AAM; L. R. Conradi to H. F. Schuberth, 4 June 1918, AAM; C. F. Randolph to L. R. Conradi, 27 July 1933, AAM; A. G. Daniells to Spicer and Knox, 11 June 1920, RG 21: 1920-D, General Files, GCA; L. R. Conradi to W. A. Spicer, 13 March 1920, RG 21: 1920-C, General Files, GCA; J. Wolfgarten to J. B. Penner, 22 February 1929, J. B. Penner Coll., AHC; J. B. Penner to E. Kotz, 19 August 1928, J. B. Penner Coll., AHC; E. Kotz to J. B. Penner, 6 September 1928, J. B. Penner Coll., AHC; J. B. Penner to J. T. Boettcher, 8 October 1928, J. B. Penner Coll., AHC; Statement of L. R. Conradi, 25 September 1932, RG 21, Conradi Case--Special File, p. 11, GCA.

¹J. Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," DA, 6 August 1908, p. 149.

Wolfgarten contacted various liberal members of parliament and joined their society Freie Schule. He also received an audience with the minister of public worship and education, Count Karl Stürgkh, in Baden near Vienna, from whom he attempted personally to obtain legal recognition for the Adventist church in Austria.¹ Wolfgarten quickly abandoned this plan, however, when he came to realize that he could not rely on the minister's support. Besides, he perceived that legal recognition would mean that the state could meddle with internal church affairs.²

In order to camouflage the public propaganda work of the Adventists, Baron von Hock, the president of the Verein Freie Schule, counseled Wolfgarten to form a legal society or association. Dr. Ofner, a co-founder of the Verein Freie Schule and a member of parliament, encouraged

¹J. Wolfgarten, "Lichtstrahlen in Oesterreich," ZW, 6 January 1908, p. 14; "Lichtstrahlen in Österreich," DA, 23 January 1908, p. 13; "Aus Österreich," DA, 3 October 1907, p. 162; cf. W. Prillwitz, "The Austrian Mission," RH, 28 November 1907, p. 16.

The society Freie Schule was founded in 1905 with the goal of achieving total separation of the educational system from the church. Above all, it fought against mandatory religious instruction and church activities in school. The influence of the society reached its zenith under the leadership of Otto Glöckel. See Paul M. Zulehner, Kirche und Austromarxismus (Vienna: Herder, 1967), pp. 25, 26, 44-79.

²J. Wolfgarten, "Lichtstrahlen in Oesterreich," ZW, 6 January 1908, p. 14.

him to arrange for public lectures of a neutral, scientific character within the framework of this association.¹

The general law recognized the principle of freedom of association. Therefore, the formation of a legal corporation to spread new ideas was nothing unusual at the time.² In fact, people were very active in forming societies or associations in Austria during the second half of the nineteenth century. The major political parties were originally organized as societies.³ Churches, however, were not allowed to organize as associations, a peculiarity of the Austrian legislation which exists to this day.⁴ They could attain legal status only through the Recognition Law of 1874, as mentioned earlier.

¹Ibid.

²Regarding the legal recognition of a society, see I. Ingwer and I. Rosner, eds., Volksthümlisches Handbuch des Oesterreichischen Rechtes, vol. 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung Ignaz Brand, 1902), pp. 52-53, 68-71.

³After the suppression of the revolution in 1848, all political and social organizations were forbidden. The government did not grant the right to hold public meetings or form legal societies until 1867. At that time the Erste Allgemeine Wiener Arbeiter-Bildungsverein was established. The Social Democratic Party developed from this association. The Christian Social Party grew out of the Christlichsozialer Verein. An almost immeasurable number of larger and smaller associations were founded in the years that followed, contributing each in its own way to the formation of free public opinion in the Monarchy.

⁴See R. Höslinger, "Die Rechtsstellung der 'Sekten' in Österreich," Österreichische Juristen-Zeitung 3 (May 1948):219.

In the late fall of 1907, Wolfgarten succeeded in establishing a regional association of a general, humanitarian nature, thus concealing forbidden religious activity. Its official name was Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen ("Society of Christian Men and Women"). The statutes of the society were taken from an analogous Baptist association in Vienna and adapted to the needs of the Adventists.¹ A statement on the practice of prayer in the statutes was crossed out by the government authorities. For the time being, the association was limited legally to Lower Austria.² Wolfgarten summarized the objectives of his newly established society as follows:

The object is the fostering and promotion of humanity, of Christian life, and education in general; the promulgation and advocacy of the knowledge of acquiring and preserving physical strength and spiritual life, thus leading humanity upon a way that is in harmony with God and beneficial to mankind.

The method of accomplishment is by lectures and instruction on scientific and profitable subjects, according to the needs and desires of the members, and by public meetings, lecture tours, etc. with practise in singing and music.³

The founding of a similar association in Vienna was considerably more difficult than in Lower Austria. An

¹J. Wolfgarten, "Lichtstrahlen in Oesterreich," p. 14; "Beginning of Our Work in Austria," RH, 19 May 1921, p. 17; "Anfang und Fortschritt unsers Werkes in Österreich," DA, 29 July 1921, p. 229.

²J. Wolfgarten, "In Austria," RH, 16 June 1910, p. 4.

³"Rays of Light and Liberty from Austria," RH, 3 September 1908, pp. 12, 13.

attempt in 1908 to form an association with the name Advent failed.¹ The Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen was also denied recognition in Vienna.² Government officials justifiably suspected that the society would lead to the establishment of a new Christian sect.³

In the meantime, however, lecture societies with the name Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen were founded in Bohemia (1908), Styria, Austrian Silesia, and Moravia (1910).⁴ Towards the end of 1909 permission was finally granted to establish a society in Vienna.⁵ It was called Österreichischer Leseverein Mehr Licht ("The Austrian More-Light Reading Society"), dedicated to "caring for and maintaining physical and mental health."⁶

¹K. k. Ministerium des Innern, Nr. 36780/1908, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv.

²K. k. Ministerium des Innern, Nr. 4102/1909, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv.

³In a note from the Ministry of Public Worship and Education we read: "The proposed statutes allow one to infer that [the state] is dealing here with the establishment of a Christian sect in the form of a legal society. The purpose of the society has no connection with choir practices, singing or other social activities, which can take the character of cultic exercises. Besides, it seems that the leaders of the society are assigned the same functions as clergymen" (k. k. Ministerium des Innern, Nr. 4102/1909, Z. 2384, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv).

⁴Wolfgarten, "In Austria," p. 4.

⁵Ibid.

⁶J. Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," DA, 22 February 1912, p. 36; "In Austria," p. 6; k. k. Ministerium des

Although this society was legally permitted, the authorities in Vienna were again suspicious. But this time they suspected "agitational activity in the area of so-called naturopathy" and did not discern that a religious denomination was at work.¹ Eventually, this society was recognized throughout all the Habsburg lands.² Its formation proved notably advantageous, when the Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen was dissolved by the police in Vienna shortly before the outbreak of World War I. At this point, the Adventist church was able to continue public missionary work under the guise of the Leseverein Mehr Licht.³

The public lectures presented by the societies were kept under close surveillance.⁴ Government authorities and police had to be notified in advance of the time and place of every assemblage. A policeman attended each one for inspection. The lectures were not allowed to bear any religious character. No hymn could be sung, no prayer

Innern, Nr. 37619/1909, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv.

¹Ibid. See also D. Heinz, "Ein kaiserliches Bittgesuch," AE, 1 November 1982, p. 11.

²Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," p. 36.

³Wolfgarten, "Beginning of Our Work in Austria," p. 17; "Anfang und Fortschritt unsers Werkes in Österreich," pp. 229, 230.

⁴Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch, 2nd ed., s.v. "Versammlungsrecht," by F. Tezner.

offered, and no benediction pronounced, not even the word "amen" at the close of a lecture.¹ The content of the lectures had to be carefully chosen. Thus, Adventists in Austria "learned to present the truth without offending the ruling church."² The lectures could only be opened by a native Austrian, who vouched for the lawful arrangement of the meetings before the local authorities.³ This rule became a predicament--and an opportunity as well--in places where no Adventists were yet living. For example, in Graz, J. Wolfgarten, who was not an Austrian citizen, was obliged to ask a non-Adventist to take over the official responsibility for the lectures. Wolfgarten recounts:

¹A. G. Daniells, "Our European Division Meetings," p. 1145; C. K. Meyers, "Into All the World," RH, 23 March 1922, p. 20. The Adventist pastor R. Lange recalls: "During the Monarchy, everyone who did not listen to Rome was under special government surveillance. Whenever public meetings were held in Vienna, the speaker had to announce each lecture at the municipal offices. A uniformed district commissioner attended each meeting and sat to the right of the speaker. The chairman of the Verein opened the proceedings and gave the floor to the speaker. One could not sing, pray, or say 'amen.' Plain-clothes men also sat among the audience. When I first came to Vienna in 1912 I was told right away: 'You should not identify yourself as a preacher, but as a book salesman or itinerant teacher. Religion: nondenominational.' Now I understood the situation" (quoted in D. Heinz, "Ein kai-serliches Bittgesuch," p. 11).

²Wolfgarten, "Beginning of Our Work in Austria," p. 17; cf. J. Wolfgarten to W. A. Spicer, 7 September 1908, AAM; "Reports from the German Union-Austrian Mission," GCB, 18 May 1909, p. 49.

³Cf. G. Dail to W. A. Spicer, 12 December 1909, RG 21: 1909-D, Foreign, GCA.

The police demanded that an Austrian should open the meeting. . . . But I was a stranger in the city. Two years previously I had visited Graz, and had become acquainted with an official at the city hall. I reasoned that if I could recall this gentleman's name, he might be able to help me. After a short time, I remembered his name, at least part of it, and as the names of all the officials are on their doors at the city hall, I sought out the gentleman in question. . . . I told him my difficulty. With tears in his eyes, he said to me: 'Two days ago I prayed to God to give me an opportunity to do something for your mission. . . .' The gentleman went with me to the police headquarters, and he became responsible for the lectures. Since then I have baptized fourteen believers in that city, and we now have a church of sixteen members there.

Church services and conference sessions did not have to be reported to the authorities. They were held as so-called "paragraph 2 meetings," which constituted the beginning of the right of free assembly in Austria. The meetings were private gatherings in which only invited guests could participate.² The invitation was given by card, the card containing the name of the person invited, the address of the place of meeting, and the name of the one extending the invitation. A sign posted on the door of the meeting hall stated, "For invited guests only." A

¹"In Austria," p. 5; see also Wolfgarten, "Reports from the German Union-Austrian Mission," p. 49; "Austria," *RH*, 14 January 1909, p. 17; "Bericht des österreichischen Missionsfeldes für die Zeit vom 1. Juli 1908 bis zum 30. Juni 1909," *AAM*.

²See Ingwer and Rosner, pp. 98, 99; cf. G. Dail, "The Austrian Mission," *RH*, 19 December 1912, p. 14; Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," p. 36; Daniells, "Our European Division Meetings," p. 1146.

The "paragraph 2 meeting" was also called Ver-
sammlung mit Beschränkung auf geladene Gäste.

policeman regularly inspected the invitation cards. Anyone who did not have a card had to leave the meeting. While singing and prayer were strictly forbidden in connection with the public lectures, these acts of worship were permissible in "paragraph 2 meetings." But before the singing began, all windows were closed so as "not to attract the attention of passers-by, and so possibly create a riot."¹ Baptisms and communion services had to be conducted in even greater secrecy.² In spite of attempts to keep these activities secret, sometimes they were discovered by the police³ and church members were taken to court for participating in the activities of a "secret society" or "forbidden religious sect."⁴ Pastors and colporteurs were temporarily detained.⁵

¹Daniells, "Our European Division Meetings," p. 1146.

²Wolfgarten, "Aus Österreich," p. 36. At times the police did not understand the meaning of baptism and thus allowed it to happen. Wolfgarten mentions such an occasion: "I recently baptized four persons in Styria. As I stood in the water, a police officer came and started talking with the church members who were present. The members said that he turned his face every time I spoke the baptismal formula and raised my hand. Finally, he asked whether this ceremony was for health purposes, which the church members affirmed. He then left satisfied" (ibid., p. 37).

³See "Feldbericht," [1913?], AAM.

⁴See "Beschuldigtenladung," k. k. Bezirksgericht Dornbirn, Z. 113/1917, AAM.

⁵Daniells, "Our European Division Meetings," p. 1146; G. W. Schubert, "Deliverances during the War," RH, 20 January 1921, p. 11.

In spite of the oppression by church and state, the missionary work of the early Adventists in Austria was conducted quite successfully by means of the lecture societies. Church membership doubled to approximately 120 between 1906 and 1908.¹

Organization and Spread of Adventists in the Habsburg Lands

Despite the fact that the Adventist churches in the Habsburg Monarchy did not constitute a single organizational unit, they shared spiritual and personal links.² Ministers and other church personnel were often transferred among the different congregations of the Monarchy. Whenever a major church conference was held, Adventists from various lands of the Empire came together for worship. No doubt the multinational character of the Monarchy placed a distinctive stamp upon the church members, allowing them to look beyond linguistic and cultural barriers. Adventist growth in the Habsburg

¹J. Wolfgarten to W. A. Spicer, 7 September 1908, AAM. The number of church members given above is that of the "Austrian Mission," which at that time included Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia as well as German Austria.

²The fall of the Habsburg Empire created a political vacuum which, after World War II, led to the rise of Communism in all areas except German Austria and the Italian parts of the Monarchy. The result was that the Adventist churches in the succession states of the Habsburg Monarchy were strongly isolated from each other.

realm, therefore, cannot be separated from the development of the church in Austria proper.

The Adventist congregations in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy formed an organizational unit from the very beginning. Here, the country's religious pluralism helped Adventist missionary work, and law enforcement was less rigid than in Cisleithanian Austria.¹ In 1908 a "Hungarian Conference" of Seventh-day Adventists, with headquarters in Budapest, was formed by Conradi.² More than half of the seven hundred members of this conference lived in Transylvania, where the Adventist church had

¹In 1895 limited religious freedom was guaranteed to everyone, and in 1905 the Baptist church received official recognition from the government. On the status of the Protestant Free churches in Hungary at the turn of the century, see Andor Csizmadia, Rechtliche Beziehungen von Staat und Kirche in Ungarn vor 1944 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), pp. 22, 35, 36; Mihály Bucsay, Der Protestantismus in Ungarn 1521-1978, 2 vols. (Vienna: Böhlau, 1979), 2:96-98; J. Szigeti, "Die Gemeinschaften der Freikirchen in der ungarischen Gesellschaft," GF 13 (Spring 1985):52-55; Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch, eds., Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Verwaltung und Rechtswesen, vol. 2 (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), p. 418.

²J. Hörcher, "Bericht der 7. allgem. Versammlung des Ungarischen Missionsfeldes," ZW, 3 February 1908, p. 43; W. Ising, "Siebente Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Union," ZW, 19 August 1907, p. 266. The Hungarian churches belonged to the "German Union Conference" that was formed in 1901 with headquarters in Hamburg. When the German Union Conference was divided into a "West German Union Conference" and an "East German Union Conference" in 1909, the Hungarian Conference was assigned to the latter with headquarters in Berlin.

first taken root.¹ Beginning in 1904, a magazine, Az Arató, was published in Hungarian.² It was printed by the Adventist Internationale Traktatgesellschaft in Hamburg until the establishment of a small publishing company in Budapest in 1910.³ In the meantime, the Adventist church gained a foothold in present-day northeastern Yugoslavia which, at the time, was under Hungarian administration.

Between 1904 and 1906, J. F. Huenergardt organized two small congregations in the Serbian villages of Mokrin, east of Zenta, and Kumane, north of Belgrade. In Mokrin interest in Adventism developed through the witness of a watchmaker who traveled from village to village plying his trade. In Kumane a Serbian peasant, Sava Eremic, read in the newspaper about a baker in Germany who joined a peculiar religion which prohibited his baking bread on Saturdays. Upon his request, the British and Foreign Bible Society informed him of Sabbath-keeping Christians

¹L. R. Conradi, "The Levant and Austria-Hungary," RH, 8 December 1910, p. 10.

²The name of the magazine was later changed to Az Utolsó Üzenet. Beginning in 1908, the magazine Evangeliumi Munkás was also published. See [W. A. Spicer], "A New Paper," RH, 29 December 1904, p. 12; L. R. Conradi, "In Austria-Hungary," RH, 15 February 1906, p. 13. From 1908 on, a magazine was also published in Rumanian, Semnele Timpului. The publication of the magazine Poslednja Objava for Serbian Adventists began in 1910.

³In 1914 more than sixty colporteurs were distributing Adventist literature in Hungary. See J. F. Huenergardt, "Allgemeine Arbeiterversammlung der Abteilung Ungarn in Budapest," ZW, 2 September 1918, p. 145.

living in Hamburg. Since he could not obtain a full address, he simply wrote a letter to "The Sabbath-keepers in Hamburg," and it safely reached its destination. Eremic together with others readily accepted Adventism upon the visit of Huenergardt.¹

The strongest Adventist penetration took place in and around the ethnic German, Slovak, and Hungarian villages of the region, commonly called Bácska and Bánát. The church founded in Novi Sad (Uj Vidék, Neusatz) in 1912 became the base for early Adventist outreach in Yugoslavia.² Missionary work among the Slovaks and Ruthenians of northern Hungary, which is today part of Czechoslovakia,

¹See Huenergardt, "Beginning of the Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," p. 10; "Beginnings of Our Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," p. 20; Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, s.v. "Yugoslavia."

²A. Mocnik, "50 Jahre Arbeit in Jugoslawien," AB, 1 October 1958, p. 297.

R. Schillinger, A. Mocnik, and M. Ludewig took up Adventist missionary work in the following cities: Zagreb (Agram), Croatia, in 1908; Osijek (Esseg), Slavonia, and Spalato (Split), Dalmatia, in 1909; Sarajevo, Bosnia, in 1911. In 1909 the "Adriatic Mission" was founded. It included Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. See W. Schaefer, "Das Adriatische Missionsfeld," ZW, 17 February 1913, pp. 100, 101. A "Tisza-Sava Conference" was organized in Novi Sad (Uj Vidék, Neusatz) in 1912 as part of the "Danube Union."

It is interesting to note that even after the fall of the Habsburg Empire the Adventist churches of the Bácska and Bánát region continued to organize itself according to the old Austrian Verein law. For example, in Novi Sad the Adventists formed a local society with the name "Samaritan," and the government authorities referred to the Adventists as the "Born-Again Society." See Mocnik, "50 Jahre Arbeit in Jugoslawien," p. 299.

began in 1909 in Kassa (Kaschau).¹ Undoubtedly, the formation of the "Danube Union" in 1912 represented a climax in the development of Adventism in East Central Europe.² This Adventist organization, headquartered in Budapest, included all of Hungary and most of the Balkan states. In 1918 it had a membership of more than three thousand and a corps of about sixty pastors and missionary workers.³

The Adventists of Cisleithanian Austria, scattered widely across Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Galicia, Bukovina, and the territories south of the German-Austrian Alpine lands along the northeastern shore of the Adriatic, belonged to the "Austrian Mission," headquartered in Vienna.⁴ This Mission included principally all countries

¹Huenergardt, "Beginning of the Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," p. 10; Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Dila v Ceskoslovensku," pp. 30-36. The church in Pressburg (Pozsony) was already founded in 1911. See F. A. Dörner, "West-Ungarn," ZW, 3 July 1911, p. 257.

²See F. A. Dörner, "Die Neugründung einer Donau-Union," ZW, 2 September 1912, pp. 337-41.

³Huenergardt, "Beginning of the Work in Hungary and the Balkan States," p. 10. The Union had to be dissolved after World War I.

⁴After the formation of the church in Prague in 1902, other churches were organized: Bielsko (Bielitz) in 1906; Reichenberg (Liberec) in 1907; Teschen (Tesin/Cieszyn), Gablonz (Jablonec), Aussig, and Luze in 1908; Troppau (Opava) in 1911; Brünn (Brno) in 1912. On the spread of Adventism in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, see [L. Mathe], "Aus Oesterreich," ZW, 5 June 1905, p. 136; Mathe, "Von Prag," DA, August 1905, p. 60; "Bericht aus Oesterreich," ZW, 21 May 1906, pp. 179-81; 1 October 1906, pp. 321, 322; H. F. Schuberth, "Böhmen," ZW, 2 November 1908, pp. 377, 378; W. Prillwitz,

that did not belong to the Hungarian half of the Monarchy.¹ In 1909 only approximately 180 Adventists lived in that area, which had a population of 28.5 million, a third of the United States' population at the time, with more than eight different languages spoken. In 1914 over one thousand Adventist church members were living there. Beginning in 1903, a missionary magazine, Hlasatel Pravdy, was intermittently published in Czech.² The first two conference meetings in 1907 and 1908 were held in Prague because of the steadily growing church

"Österreich," ZW, 21 December 1908, pp. 438-40; F. Scior, "Böhmen," ZW, 21 June 1909, pp. 216, 217; G. Dail, "The Austrian Mission," RH, 27 January 1910, p. 10; A. G. Daniells, "Our European Division Meetings," RH, 27 November 1913, pp. 1145, 1146; N. Z. Town, "Experiences of Colporteurs in Moravia," The Youth's Instructor, 13 October 1914, p. 3; Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Díla v Československu," pp. 14-36.

There was no Adventist missionary worker in the territories south of the German-Austrian Alpine lands prior to 1909. The first Adventist baptismal service in Trieste was held in 1912. Missionary work in Gorizia (Görz) began in the same year. See J. Wolfgarten to W. A. Spicer, 28 December 1911, RG 21: 1911-W, GCA; G. Werner, "Bayern-Österreich. Küstenland," ZW, 1 July 1912, pp. 260, 261; J. Wolfgarten, "Von Hüben und Drüben," DA, 16 December 1909, p. 229.

¹Cf. Dörner, "Neugründung einer Donau-Union," pp. 337-41

²See [J. Wolfgarten], "Unsere böhmische Zeitschrift," ZW, 16 July 1906, p. 243; [W. A. Spicer], "A Bohemian Witness," RH, 20 September 1906, p. 4; L. R. Conradi, "Rumania and Austria-Hungary," RH, 4 October 1906, p. 13.

membership in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia.¹

From 1909 on, the annual meetings took place in Vienna.²

In the same year, 1909, the territories of Galicia and Bukovina were organized as separate mission fields and added to the East German Union Conference.³ In no other Austro-Hungarian land were religious denominations observed by the government as closely as in this region.⁴ The local authorities attempted to stop Adventist missionary work by using search warrants, jail terms, and deportations.⁵ Nevertheless, two lecture societies were founded, creating the possibility of public evangelism. In Lwów (Lemberg), Galicia, the name of the association was Lichtstrahl ("Ray of Light") and in Czernowitz, Bukovina, Rede und Leseverein Eintracht ("Lecture and Reading

¹L. R. Conradi, "Reise-Erfahrungen," ZW, 3 February 1908, p. 42; "Oesterreichisches Missionsfeld," ZW, 2 March 1908, pp. 97, 98; "Bericht über die erste Jahresversammlung des österreichischen Missionsfeldes in Prag," March 1908, AAM; H. F. Schuberth, "Prag," ZW, 21 December 1908, p. 433.

²See "Konferenzberichte-Österreichisches Missionsfeld 1909-1918," AAM; H. Walz, "Bericht der dritten Jahreskonferenz des Österreichischen Missionsfeldes," ZW, 3 January 1910, pp. 2-4.

³H. F. Schuberth, "Galizisches Missionsfeld," ZW, 1 November 1909, p. 345; "Ostdeutsche Union," ZW, 7 October 1912, p. 377; G. Dail, "The Austrian Mission," RH, 27 January 1910, p. 10.

⁴H. F. Schuberth, "Einige Missionserfahrungen in Galizien," DA, 20 March 1913, p. 66.

⁵Ibid.

Society Harmony").¹ Meetings were often broken up by the police, and ultimately the lecture society in Lwów (Lemberg) had to be dissolved.²

Rapid church growth in Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia led to a division of the Austrian Mission in 1911.³ A "Bohemian Mission" and a "Moravian-Silesian Mission" were separated from the Austrian Mission, where the members spoke mainly German.⁴ The European division committee decided to allocate all three mission fields to the newly established "Central European Union" of Seventh-day Adventists with headquarters in Basel, Switzerland, and,

¹Ibid. Adventist missionary work in Cracow (Krakau), Lwów (Lemberg), and Czernowitz began in 1909. Czernowitz was the only city to develop a stronger Adventist community before the end of World War I. The city has remained a center of Adventism until today. Cf. Alf Lohne, Adventists in Russia (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987), pp. 153, 154.

²For missionary work among the Jewish population of Galicia, a tract was published in Yiddish. [L. R. Conradi], "Zur Aufklärung über den jüdischen Traktat," ZW, 19 February 1906, p. 59. In addition, a Russian periodical, Maslina, was published in Hamburg from 1908 on, and a Polish one, Znaki Czasu, beginning in 1910.

³E. Ehinger, "5. Jahresversammlung des Oesterreichischen Missionsfeldes," ZW, 16 October 1911, p. 410; "Konferenzberichte-Österreichisches Missionsfeld 1909-1918," p. 33, AAM. At that time, the Austrian Mission had more than 420 members.

⁴Cf. O. Studeny, "Erste allgemeine Versammlung des Böhmisches Missionsfeldes," ZW, 7 October 1912, pp. 377-79; H. Aberle, "Bericht der ersten Jahresversammlung der Mährisch-Schlesischen Missionsfelder," ZW, 4 November 1912, pp. 409-11; G. Dail, "The Moravian-Silesian Mission," RH, 26 December 1912, pp. 18, 19.

later on, in Munich.¹ Prior to 1912 the Austrian Mission belonged to the West German Union Conference with headquarters in Hamburg.

In 1914 the Adventist church had approximately 2,800 members among the 51.5 million people of the Habsburg Empire. They were organized into one union, one conference, and four mission fields, namely, the "Danube Union," the "Moravian-Silesian Conference," and the "Austrian," "Bohemian," "East Galician," and "West Galician Mission."

Mission Progress in Austria Proper

As we have seen, public Adventist missionary work in present-day Austria began in 1907 with the formation of lecture societies (Vereine). Invitations to lectures and Sabbath services were ordinarily made on a personal basis, though in some cases, secretly coded newspaper advertisements helped to establish first contacts.² Bible studies, of course, could be given only in private homes.

¹See L. R. Conradi, "A New Union in Central Europe," RH, 19 September 1912, p. 13.

The church grew fastest among the German Protestant population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia. In 1913 no fewer than 300 out of the 335 members of the Moravian-Silesian mission field lived in Austrian Silesia and were organized into a separate conference. See L. R. Conradi, "The First Conference in Austria," RH, 27 November 1913, p. 13. With more than seventy members, the church in Teschen (Tesín/Cieszyn), Austrian Silesia, was the largest of the Austrian Mission until 1911.

²J. Wolfgarten, "Breaking Ground in Austria," RH, 6 June 1907, p. 15.

According to the government, no Seventh-day Adventists existed in Austria, only members of the Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen and of the Leseverein Mehr Licht.¹ Anyone agreeing to the objectives and goals of these legal associations could officially join them, but entrance into the Adventist church was possible only through baptism--which had to be performed in secret. The lectures were not permitted to have any religious character, as mentioned earlier. Their content had to remain basically neutral, an almost impossible task in the light of the Adventist interpretation of the Catholic Church as the Antichrist of Rev 13.²

On one occasion Wolfgarten lectured at length on Christian obedience to the government as stated in Rom 13. The police officer, who took the lecture down in shorthand, was so pleased he did not bother to attend the next meeting, and Wolfgarten took advantage of his absence to lecture on the Catholic Church as the Antichrist, as he had previously planned.³

¹J. Wolfgarten to W. A. Spicer, 7 September 1908, AAM.

²Ibid.

³J. Wolfgarten, "Austria," RH, 14 January 1909, p. 17; "Bericht des oesterreichischen Missionsfeldes für die Zeit vom 1. Juli 1908 bis 30. Juni 1909," AAM.

The Adventist church in Vienna, the first in present-day Austria, was founded in 1908.¹ Permanent missionary work began in the western part of the country in 1909 and in the southern part in 1911.² Wolfgarten was satisfied to state: "From 1898-1906 we baptized 60 souls while we have that number now in less than 6 months."³ The missionary work was limited to the larger cities, thus avoiding not only the strictly Catholic population of the rural areas but also government controls. Before World War I, eleven Adventist churches were organized in Austria proper with approximately 250 members.⁴ Most of these churches were founded by Wolfgarten. In 1909 the first native Austrian Adventist minister, Franz Gruber, was

¹Until 1919, the members of this church met at Mariahilfer Strasse 8/14. Public lectures also took place there. The meeting room was made available by the Theosophical Society. Another smaller congregation was organized in Vienna's Ninth District in 1913. Its meeting place is unknown. The church in Graz was founded in 1909.

²See J. Wolfgarten, "Wien, Graz, Linz," ZW, 20 July 1908, pp. 258, 259; "Österreich--Wien, Graz, Linz," DA, 12 November 1908, p. 215; "Austria," RH, 8 April 1909, p. 13; F. Bernart, "Vierte Jahresversammlung des Österreichischen Missionsfeldes," ZW, 7 November 1910, p. 354. Cf. H. F. Schuberth, "Wien und Graz," ZW, 16 November 1908, p. 403.

³J. Wolfgarten to W. A. Spicer, 3 October 1910, RG 21: 1910-W, GCA.

⁴The churches were organized in the following cities: Vienna in 1908 and 1913; Graz in 1909; Salzburg in 1910; Innsbruck and Klagenfurt in 1912; Linz, Bozen, and Neunkirchen in 1913; Wels and Bruck/Mur in 1914.

ordained in Vienna by L. R. Conradi.¹ The church at that time made a serious effort to train indigenous missionary workers, since foreign pastors were not allowed to open public meetings and were in constant danger of being deported for disturbing the peace.

The early Adventists in Austria, even though poor and mostly of the lower classes, were generous in their donations, prompting European church leaders to initiate an annual offering goal of twenty-three kronen per member (Hebopfer) in addition to tithes.² It was expected that Adventists in other countries would follow the Austrian example.³

Colporteur work was extremely difficult in the face of laws forbidding the circulation of religious literature by loan, sale, or gift.⁴ During his visit in 1913, A. G. Daniells gathered some first-hand information on the difficult situation facing the Austrian Adventist colporteurs. He reported:

¹G. Dail to W. A. Spicer, 12 December 1909, RG 21: 1909-D, GCA; G. Dail, "The Austrian Mission," RH, 27 January 1910, p. 10.

²E. Ehinger, "5. Jahresversammlung des Oesterreichischen Missionsfeldes," ZW, 16 October 1911, p. 410; "Konferenzberichte-Österreichisches Missionsfeld 1909-1918," pp. 34, 35, AAM.

³Ibid.

⁴L. R. Conradi to W. A. Spicer, 5 December 1905, RG 21: 1905-C, GCA.

In carrying on their work these canvassers are constantly subject to arrest and fine or imprisonment. In his report one of the canvassers told of being arrested, of all his publications being taken to police headquarters and burned, and of a fine imposed on him. On refusal to pay the fine he was sent to prison for three days. As he had the privilege of choosing the days of the week he would go to prison, he selected Friday afternoon. When released the following Monday he resumed his canvassing. He was again sent to prison, and he again selected Friday as the day to enter. After several repetitions of this, the jailer asked him how it happened that he always came on Friday. He replied that he did no work on Saturday, the Sabbath, and that he could not canvass on Sunday, so he chose these days for his imprisonment in order to have more time during the week for canvassing.¹

The door-to-door sale of books, which was permissible in Hungary, was considered a crime in Austria. Permits for colportage in Austria were eventually granted at the discretion of the provincial governors. In some provinces, like Upper Austria, Salzburg, the Tyrol, and Vorarlberg, permission was arbitrarily withheld for many years. During that time, the society Freie Schule attempted to gain the right of colporteuring through enactment of a general law.² Providentially, in 1909, the Adventist church in Vienna received permission for one of its nurses to take subscriptions for Gute Gesundheit, a monthly periodical on healthful living, and to canvass for In den Fusspuren des grossen Arztes, a translation of

¹"Our European Division Meetings," RH, 27 November 1913, p. 1145.

²W. Prillwitz, "Oesterreich," HW, 18 November 1907, p. 174.

E. G. White's The Ministry of Healing, published in 1905.¹ Permission for colporteur work was granted in 1910 in Salzburg, Styria, and Lower Austria also.² In spite of these privileges, Adventist colportage remained heavily handicapped and was able to develop only after World War I. Until then, all literature for the Adventists in German Austria had to be ordered directly from the Hamburg Publishing House, including the church paper, Zions-Wächter.

The steady mission progress of the young Adventist community in Austria was exposed to particular external pressures between 1913 and 1914. The general political unrest before the outbreak of the war led the government to maintain even stricter supervision and control. In the summer of 1913, a government spy infiltrated an Adventist missionary meeting in Vienna, where experiences "in connection with evading the vigilance of the police" were

¹J. Wolfgarten, "In Austria," RH, 16 June 1910, p. 6.

²F. Bernart, "Vierte Jahresversammlung des Österreichischen Missionsfeldes," p. 354; cf. also "Konferenzberichte-Österreichisches Missionsfeld 1909-1918," p. 18, AAM.

Ferdinand Prauhart was the first Adventist colporteur in German Austria. He began distributing literature in northern Bohemia illegally as early as 1907. As a result, he was publicly denounced as a Hausierer einer Judengesellschaft. See F. Prauhart, "Kolportage in Oesterreich," ZW, 17 February 1908, p. 85; cf. idem, "Nieder-Österreich," ZW, 3 June 1912, pp. 234, 235.

recounted by church members.¹ As a result, all Adventist meetings were dissolved by the police. In the following months, church members secretly gathered for worship at five different locations in the city.² Not only in Vienna but in all of Austria, Adventists faced a "storm of persecution."³ In the Tyrol they were denounced by local newspapers as "hyenas of the battle field," and in the city of Salzburg, Catholic priests took advantage of a town meeting to warn people against Adventists as Reichs-gefahr.⁴ Eventually, the Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen in Vienna was dissolved by the police, its property confiscated, and the bookcases sealed.⁵

In addition to these external problems, internal tensions arose. About one-fourth of the Adventist membership in Vienna left the church between 1913 and 1914 under the influence of F. Segesser, a former Adventist from Switzerland, who since 1905 had been attacking E. G. White in a very personal and subjective way, calling her the

¹G. Dail to W. A. Spicer, 16 December 1913, RG 21: 1913-D, GCA; cf. G. Dail to T. E. Bowen, 13 December 1913, RG 21: 1913-D, GCA.

²Ibid. Cf. "Feldbericht," [1913?], AAM.

³G. Dail to W. A. Spicer, 16 December 1913, RG 21: 1913-D, GCA.

⁴"Feldbericht," [1913?], AAM.

⁵Ibid. J. Wolfgarten, "Beginning of Our Work in Austria," RH, 19 May 1921, p. 17.

"Adventist pope."¹ Conradi's pamphlet Vertrauen in Gottes Reichssache (1914), an answer to Segesser's criticism and accusations, helped to stop the disaffection.

Because of the increasing pressure from the outside, the church leaders sent a petition to Emperor Francis Joseph I, asking him to stop "systematic religious discrimination," to which Adventists in Austria were continually exposed as "defenceless and powerless subjects," and to finally grant them the "privilege of public worship."² In the petition, they also referred to the letter of appreciation written by Conradi in the name of the Russian Adventists to Czar Nicholas II.³ The reference was made to prove that Adventists already had received favorable attention from a monarch. But World War I broke out almost at once, and the petition of the Austrian Adventists remained unnoticed.⁴ The new

¹ G. Dail to W. A. Spicer, 16 December 1913, RG 21: 1913-D, GCA; Heinz, Conradi, p. 99. Regarding Segesser and his teaching, see F. Segesser, Der Geist der Weissagung in der Gemeinde der Endzeit (n.p.: By the Author, n.d.); H. Block, "Eine Antwort auf eine Beschuldigung von F. Segesser," DA, 24 January 1907, pp. 13, 14; 7 February 1907, pp. 22, 23; E. Frauchiger, "Noch einmal: Aus dem kleinsten Lande der Reformation," AB, 15 November 1931, p. 341.

²See D. Heinz, "Ein kaiserliches Bittgesuch," AE, 1 November 1982, p. 11. Extracts of the imperial petition, written on March 11, 1914, and signed by J. Wolfgarten and F. Gruber can be found in the archives of the church headquarters (AAM) in Vienna.

³Heinz, Conradi, p. 49.

⁴It is doubtful whether the petition ever reached the Emperor. So far, no records have been discovered

political order after the dissolution of the Monarchy made the petition unnecessary.

Serious Tensions and Tragic Schisms

At the sudden outbreak of World War I in August 1914, European Adventists were not prepared for the trials the war would bring to the church.¹ Conradi, president of

which would indicate a government reaction to the petition.

¹Seventh-day Adventists did not have to define their attitude toward military service until the summer of 1862, when the American Civil War broke out. See P. Brock, "The Problem of the Civil War," AH 1 (January 1974):23-27. For a good overview of the development of Adventist noncombatancy, see R. Graybill, "This Perplexing War: Why Adventists Avoided Military Service in the Civil War," Insight, October 1978, pp. 4-8. By a resolution of the newly organized General Conference, Seventh-day Adventists first officially declared themselves noncombatants on August 2, 1864, after the government had passed a draft law with special provisions for conscientious objectors. Meanwhile, the general privilege of avoiding military service through commutation had been abolished. J. N. Andrews went to Washington to plead the church's claim to noncombatant status, which was granted freely. Most of the Adventist draftees entering the army were guaranteed alternative service in hospitals or medical corps. No major conflict between Seventh-day Adventists and military authorities arose during the American Civil War. The Adventist church has never taken the position of total conscientious objection against any form of military service. The principle is to cooperate with the military authorities in every way possible until commands conflict with the law of God. Brock gives three main reasons why the Adventist church has adopted noncombatancy: 1. The belief that participation in war is contrary to the Christian faith, particularly the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." 2. The eschatological desire for nonconformity and otherworldliness. 3. An unwillingness to risk desecration of the Sabbath in the performance of military duties ("Problem of the Civil War," p. 27). The church's statement on noncombatancy is given in Francis M. Wilcox, Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War (Washington, DC: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1936), p. 58.

the European Division at the time, hastily returned from a church board meeting in London to find that the Adventist leaders in Germany had already yielded to government pressure for compulsory conscription. H. F. Schubert of the East German Union had made an official declaration on August 4, 1914, to the Prussian War Ministry in Berlin:

"In these times of stress, we have bound ourselves together in defense of the Fatherland, and under these

The uncompromising stand of noncombatancy taken by the church leaders in America was not recognized by most European states. Church officials on the continent normally left it to the individual's conscience to decide whether to bear arms or perform duty on Sabbath. It was not until 1923 that Adventists in Continental Europe took an official stand on noncombatancy. See W. A. Spicer, "Our European Brethren and Noncombatancy," *RH*, 6 March 1924, pp. 4, 5. Adventists in Central Europe performed military drills as conscripts before the war, and in most cases were able to secure Sabbath privileges in time of peace. Cf. L. R. Conradi, "The Sabbath and the Military Service," *RH*, 26 September 1907, pp. 12-15. However, when the war broke out, military authorities generally would not allow continued Sabbath observance, and universal military service became the rule. The Austrian government had never made firm provision for noncombatant service for persons other than the Mennonites in Galicia. Pacifist Nazarenes in Hungary who refused to take up arms were executed (G. Dail to O. A. Tait, 6 October 1914, DF 350b, EGWRC).

See also P. Brock, "The Nonresistance of the Hungarian Nazarenes to 1914," *MOR* 54 (January 1980):53-63; idem, "Some Materials on Nazarene Conscientious Objectors in Nineteenth-Century Hungary," *MOR* 57 (January 1983):64-72.

The pressure which the government brought to bear on the Adventist leaders in Central Europe led them to compromise the official position of the church, even sanctioning work and fighting on Sabbath. This compromise contributed to the rise of various Adventist "reform movements." The reformers maintained that the denominational leaders had apostatized. Efforts to reconcile the opposing groups after the war failed.

circumstances, we will also bear arms on Saturday. . . ."¹
 The pledge of Schuberth to the War Ministry was, of course, a rejection of the historic stand of the denomination on noncombatancy and contrary to the policy of the General Conference. The church leaders in Germany took this position on their own responsibility in a time of national emergency, sincerely thinking that they were doing what was best under the pressing circumstances. At the same time, a booklet was published by the Adventist minister, J. Wintzen, entitled Der Christ und der Krieg, which had been widely endorsed by the church leaders in Germany and Austria. This book was an attempt to justify the combatant position of the church by means of a

¹Wächter der Wahrheit (n.p., 1919), pp. 5-7, Kampfschriften der Abfallbewegung, AHC. In his declaration Schuberth was undoubtedly influenced by G. Dail, the only responsible Division leader present at the headquarters in Germany when the war broke out. Dail had made a similar decision at a special church meeting in Hamburg a few days earlier, pointing to Josh 6 where "the children of God have made use of military weapons and . . . performed military duties on the Sabbath" (J. M. Barbour, "World War I Military Crisis in the SDA Church: Did God Reject or Unite His People?" [unpublished manuscript, n.d.], p. 3, DF 320, EGWRC). The German and the Austrian governments continued to exert an almost unbearable pressure on Adventist church members. In the face of this pressure, Conradi, along with H. F. Schuberth and P. Drinhaus, issued a second combatant declaration on March 5, 1915. "At the outbreak of the war," it was stated therein, "the leaders of the Adventist organization in Germany, of their own accord, advised all of their members in military service throughout the country, under the pressing circumstances and need of the Fatherland, to do the duties required of them as citizens, according to Scripture, and earnestly do on Saturday as other soldiers do on Sunday" (Wächter der Wahrheit, pp. 6, 7). Cf. L. R. Conradi, "Um dieser Zeit willen," ZW, 21 September 1914, pp. 437, 438.

just-war-concept based on an Old Testament perspective. It portrayed God as a Schlachtenlenker, fighting for peace and justice.¹ The booklet made a strong impact on Adventists in Germany and Austria, finally leading many to pray for the victory of their army.

When dissent first arose in Adventist ranks in 1915, it did not address the question of military service. The "counterfeit reform movement," as it came to be known by the denomination, had its origin in alleged visions

¹J. Wintzen, Der Christ und der Krieg (Dresden: A. Hering, 1915), pp. 4, 5. A rather cryptic statement by Ellen G. White in May 1915, shortly before her death, was also thought to generally support the combatant position of Central European Adventists. In a conversation with her son W. C. White, she is supposed to have said: "I think they [European Adventists] ought to stand to their duty as long as time lasts." See A. L. White, "Ellen G. White and World War I" (unpublished manuscript, 1979), p. 2, DF 350b, EGWRC. The question is, what did Ellen G. White exactly mean by "they ought to stand to their duty as long as time lasts?" The reply was unclear, so much so that on January 4, 1962, the Board of Trustees of the White Estate declared that "the statement appears in a framework indicative of the fact that her mind passed readily from periods of clearness to periods of confusion" and therefore "should not be put into the category of testimonial material or that which has come to us from the inspired pen of Ellen G. White presented under the compelling influence of the Spirit of God" (J. M. Barbour, "World War I Military Crisis," p. 1). A. L. White explains: ". . . the ailing prophetess, while not wishing to see them [European Adventists] shot, had seemingly left the question of their duty up to their individual conscience, just as Conradi had done" ("Ellen G. White and World War I," p. 4). Although cryptic, the Adventist leaders in Central Europe felt God spoke through these words to justify their position. Cf. L. R. Conradi, "Zu allem guten Werk bereit," ZW, 2 December 1918, pp. 209, 210; "Reiseeindrücke," ZW, 17 January 1916, p. 18.

announcing the end of the world in the spring of 1915.¹ When date setting lost its appeal as an issue, the reformers began to base their charge of denominational apostasy on the question of military service. From then on, they maintained that the church had fallen and become "Babylon" and urged Adventist church members to leave it. Further, they claimed that they were the legitimate Seventh-day Adventist body, and that as such they were entitled to all church property, including offerings and tithes. The crisis reached its climax when the reformers, in the name of the Seventh-day Adventist organization, sent documents against militarism and war to the government authorities. When the police brought such anti-military documents to the denominational headquarters, it became necessary for

¹On the origin and development of the Reform Movement, see Ludwig R. Conradi, Kein Falsch in ihrem Munde (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1920); G. W. Schubert, Laodizea--Babylon? (Munich: By the Author, n.d.); idem, Reformer unter sich (Munich: By the Author, n.d.); D. E. Robinson, "The Beginnings of the 'Reform Movement' in Germany" (unpublished manuscript, [1946?]), DF 350b, EGWRC; L. H. Christian, "The Aftermath of Fanaticism or a Counterfeit Reformation" (unpublished manuscript, [1957?]), AHC; R. R. Rühling, "The So-Called German Reform Movement" (unpublished manuscript, 1957), DF 350b, EGWRC; W. Richter, "Eine kurze Chronik über die Entstehung und den Verlauf der Reformbewegung mit einigen Anmerkungen," Solingen, 1952, (mimeographed); G. Tobler, Gott gibt sein Volk nicht auf: Reformation oder Reformationsbewegung? (Zurich: Adventverlag, n.d.); H. Teubert, "Die sogenannte Reformationsbewegung" (research paper, 1981), AEA; Lowell Tarling, The Edges of Seventh-day Adventism (Bermagui South, Australia: By the Author, 1981), pp. 100-12; Helmut H. Kramer, The Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1988).

Adventist officials to expose the deception and repudiate the accusations of the reformers. Subsequently, the church leaders felt forced by the government to dissociate themselves from the dissidents. It seemed that if the leadership had not done so, the whole Adventist organization in Germany and Austria would be dissolved and all mission funds and church property confiscated.¹ In the following years, approximately one thousand Adventists, mainly in German-speaking Central Europe, were either disfellowshipped or, by their own decision, left the church and built up their own organization.² The Reform Movement

¹J. M. Barbour, "World War I Military Crisis," p. 9.

²In 1920 a meeting was held in Friedensau, Germany, to reconcile the opposing groups. See Protokoll der Verhandlung mit der Gegenbewegung vom 21. bis 23. Juli 1920 in Friedensau (Hamburg: Internationale Traktatgesellschaft, 1920); A. G. Daniells, "Die Stellungnahme der Generalkonferenz zur Gegenbewegung," ZW, August 1920, pp. 156, 157. Extensive opportunity was given to the members of the Reform Movement to present their views. A. G. Daniells, president of the General Conference, stated that the world church had always taken the stand of noncombatancy, still allowing individual members to follow their consciences. Daniells further declared his regret that documents violating the principles of noncombatancy were issued during the war. He indicated that those leaders who had notified the government of the church's willingness to take an active combatant role in the war had been in error. The reform leaders, however, did not reunite with the church.

Another attempt at reconciliation was made in 1923. In Gland, Switzerland, European Adventists for the first time adopted a declaration of principles on noncombatancy. In addition to this declaration, a special statement was made by the German church leaders expressing again the "regret that such documents had been issued" during the war. See Spicer, "Our European Brethren and Noncombatancy," p. 5.

remains the largest Seventh-day Adventist dissident group to this day.

The reformers did not cause as much unrest in Austria as in Germany,¹ and a number of the Austrian members who did join the movement were reintegrated into regular Adventist fellowship after the war.² The geographical center of the Austrian reformers was Klagenfurt, where the largest number of followers was located.³

Surprisingly, Adventist missionary work in Austria advanced well during the war, in spite of every difficulty.⁴ Notwithstanding apostasy and serious deprivation,

Most reformers continued to oppose the church. Since then they have split into many different smaller factions.

¹One of the most outspoken dissidents was Maria Graef from Klausenburg (Kolozsvár), who claimed to be a prophetess. See L. R. Conradi, "Prüfet die Geister, ob sie von Gott sind," ZW, 4 February 1918, p. 18.

²It is unknown how many Adventists in Austria joined the Reform Movement during the war. No statistical reports are extant. A few years ago it was estimated that only about thirty reformers existed in Austria. (Interview with K. Barath, Vienna, 19 August 1981). During World War II the otherwise dwindling Reform Movement gained a few members.

³Other small reformist groups exist in Vienna, Graz, and Linz.

⁴Passing through Vienna early in 1915, Conradi reported: ". . . it is very difficult to hold public lectures, and much of the work must be done by house-to-house effort. Our canvassing work also greatly suffers in Austria-Hungary . . . the parcel post and freight move very slowly and irregularly" ("A Visit to Constantinople," RH, 11 February 1915, pp. 10, 11). Living conditions during the war were catastrophic. Wolfgarten wrote: ". . . people stood before the food supply shops all night long. . . . Prices became exorbitant, and many things

Austrian Adventists doubled their membership to almost five hundred between 1914 and 1919.¹

Conclusions

Since Reformation times, Habsburg Austria was the principal guardian of Catholic orthodoxy in Central Europe. The Habsburg rulers, who identified Protestantism with political opposition, were the leaders of the Counter-Reformation. Confessional orthodoxy and political reliability constituted an integral unity in the Habsburg realm, and the Catholic Church reinforced dynastic loyalty and local conformity. Thus, Lutherans in Austria were persecuted and oppressed for almost two hundred years, from approximately 1600 to 1781. Anabaptism, which was once most strongly represented in Austria, was unable to

could be obtained only by underhand means. Persons who had no communication with the country suffered much. The women took their linen and their garments to the peasants in exchange for food. . . . Precious objects of the household . . . were exchanged for victuals. We ourselves parted with hundreds of our books for food. . . . But the work of the Lord went forward. Many were won to Christ . . ." ("Austria in War," RH, 21 October 1920, p. 20). The hardship during the war made people receptive to the Adventist message. Thus, forty-seven Russian prisoners of war were baptized in an Austrian labor camp (L. R. Conradi, "Gesegnete Konferenzen," ZW, 19 March 1919, p. 49).

¹New Adventist churches developed in the following cities: Wr. Neustadt in 1915; Voitsberg and Villach in 1918. In 1920 the church in Graz was the largest in Austria with over 130 members. In addition to baptism, Austrian Adventists gained members through immigration from the eastern succession states of the former Habsburg Monarchy.

survive. Non-Catholics were later given the choice of conversion or exile.

In 1781, Joseph II issued the Toleration Patent which assured religious liberty to the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Orthodox Churches, but not to the smaller evangelical sects or religious communities. The hostility towards the smaller denominations displayed by officials of both church and state until the breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy was but a continuation of Josephinian religious policy. To a certain extent, legal discrimination still exists today through the differentiation of recognized and unrecognized churches. Inequality between the two groups remains an unsolved problem in modern Austrian legislation.

Prior to 1848 the Austrian Erblande continued to represent the true, unmitigated heart of the old Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, conserving the universal imperial myth. Austria became a model in the preservation of the old order. A rigid code of political and clerical tenets left no room for religious dissent. The precepts of spiritual conformism, imperial traditionalism, and law-abiding respectability constituted the tenor of social life and created a comparatively closed society. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century with the rise of Liberalism that the Habsburg suppression of freedom of conscience was replaced

by new constitutional liberties. However, the close alliance of crown and altar continued to prevent the Protestant program of free missionary enterprise until the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918.

The character of the multinational Empire, however, was far from homogeneous, and religious conditions in Hungary differed considerably from those in Austria. Gaps between Austrian autocracy and Hungarian liberalism became obvious in the relatively rapid expansion of the Protestant Free churches in the Magyar lands. At first, German colonists played a major role in spreading evangelical faith in Eastern and East Central Europe. The Habsburg policy of resettlement encouraged the German-speaking population to migrate to the eastern non-German territories of the Empire. German Protestant missionaries traveled from such centers as Vienna and Budapest to the outlying provinces, developing organizational structures and methods of work. It was no different with the Adventist church which took root in 1890. Adventists came from Germany to establish the base for their growth in the Habsburg lands, particularly through missionary journeys by L. R. Conradi from Hamburg. The cradle of Adventism in Austria-Hungary is Transylvania, which has a long tradition of religious freedom.

The first Adventist converts in Austria-Hungary came from biblically oriented German Baptist circles.

Like J. Rottmayer in Transylvania and A. Simon in Bohemia, they became zealous lay preachers. As a result of their bilingual and bicultural background, they successfully bridged the national and cultural barriers that confronted them. Even though the German element was predominant among the early converts, serious effort was made to educate native missionary workers in the different countries. Rapid partition into smaller administrative units or "mission fields," according to linguistic, political, and cultural aspects, was intended to facilitate the establishment of indigenous churches. Soon, Adventist literature was published in the different languages. The content of the translated literature, such as Ellen G. White's Steps to Christ and The Ministry of Healing, was intended to reduce prejudice among the native population and supply points of contact. The optimistic anthropology of Steps to Christ marked by its Arminian emphasis on man's free will particularly attracted Reformed congregations in Hungary and Bohemia.

Adventism in the Habsburg lands, widespread and scattered as it was, represented a lay missionary movement at first. The church paper in the appropriate national language and the itinerant preacher served as unifying links for the dispersed mission. Since the mission work was not yet institutionalized, the message of Seventh-day

Adventism rather than any institution remained the center of attraction.

In 1902 missionary work began in present-day Austria, but it encountered problems that had been previously unknown in America or Germany. Unrecognized religions such as Adventism were not allowed to engage in public worship or evangelism. Permission was granted only to hold private religious meetings in the homes of members. Forced to work underground and facing constant opposition and oppression from church and state, Adventists began their missionary outreach in larger cities such as Vienna and Graz, where avoidance of government controls was easier than in rural areas.

The year 1907 marked an important step in the long process of indigenization when J. Wolfgarten formed so-called "lecture societies" (Vereine) under the guise of which Adventists could hold public meetings. Without the aid of the different Vereine, which were founded in most of the provincial capitals of the country, Adventist penetration of Austria would have been even more difficult.

In 1914 the Austrian Adventists sent a petition to the Emperor declaring their loyalty to the government, but the petition remained unnoticed. The problem of compulsory military service during the war led to a split in the church and the expulsion of a minority opposed to bearing arms and performing duty on Saturday. In spite of

internal tensions and external pressure, Adventists in German Austria succeeded in doubling their membership to five hundred between 1914 and 1919.

CHAPTER III

CHANGE AND CHALLENGE: SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS DURING THE FIRST AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC (1919-1934)

Political and Religious Backgrounds

The year 1918 marked the beginning of democracy in Austria. The imperial vision disappeared with the fall of the Habsburg Empire, and the centuries-old alliance between throne and altar broke apart. Austria became what has been referred to as the Austrian Republic, mainly the German-speaking kernel of the Monarchy that corresponds roughly to the original Austrian hereditary lands. The new Austria appeared, at first, as an unwanted byproduct of World War I after Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Italy had taken their share of the old Danubian Monarchy.¹ The division of the Habsburg Empire into a patchwork of succession states left German

¹After the peace conference of St. Germain had settled all territorial demands, the French Prime Minister Clemenceau is supposed to have said: "The remainder is Austria" (*l'Autriche c'est ce qui reste*). See Heinrich Benedikt, *Geschichte der Republik Österreich* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1954), p. 9. What emerged was a country too small to live and too big to die--as the Austrians maintained and as many foreign politicians feared.

Austria economically unbalanced and politically unstable. As a result, Pan-Germanic tendencies became a major political force. The Allied powers, however, forbade union with Germany (Anschluss).

The difficulties of inter-war Austrian politics were evident in the structure of the country's rival parties. The church had lost its state support after the disintegration of the Monarchy and found a substitute in alliance with one of the political parties. Moreover, ideological extremism contributed to political divisiveness. The Christian Socials were clericalist to the core and anti-Semitic. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, clung tenaciously to their Marxist program. The Christian Social Party gradually gained control, especially after the appointment of Ignaz Seipel, a Jesuit and former member of the last imperial cabinet, as chancellor of Austria in 1922. Seipel was a reactionary who aimed at establishing an authoritarian state government based on Pope Pius XI's social doctrine, as formulated in the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno. The encyclical recommended corporatism as the Christian alternative to class struggle: employees and employers in any given branch of the economy should form vocational groupings for cooperation.

The political tensions between Christian Socials and Social Democrats became so intense in the late 1920s and early 1930s that both parties developed their own

private armies. Serious doubts about the country's viability among the general population as well as the militant political self-interest of the rival parties of the First Republic finally led to the downfall of Austrian democracy and the Anschluss catastrophe.

The fall of the Habsburg Monarchy also changed the religious picture in Austria. The Lutheran-Reformed Church lost a large portion of its members to the succession states. The Treaty of St. Germain in 1919 gave Austria complete religious liberty,¹ and the principle of confessional parity (Paritätischer Staat) ultimately eliminated the Catholic clergy's suppression of new denominations. Public worship was no longer confined to members of churches legally recognized by the state. All Austrian citizens, regardless of religious affiliation, were considered equal before the law and enjoyed the same civil rights. Members of unrecognized churches were even allowed to establish social organizations and schools.² It is important to note, however, that the old regulations governing state recognition were still in effect. Thus, the differentiation of recognized and unrecognized churches remained valid. Unrecognized churches were not allowed to establish themselves as societies and continued

¹Hans Klecatsky and Leopold Werner, Das österreichische Bundesverfassungsrecht, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Manz, 1973), pp. 655, 706, 707; Ermacora, pp. 435-61.

²Ibid., p. 457.

to have no legal corporate rights. But since limitation of private religious practice had ceased, the unrecognized churches could very easily form so-called "substitutional societies under civil law" (Hilfsvereine) for certain religious purposes, which made possible the possession of property and the transaction of business.¹

Thus, two models of relationship between church and state evolved: (1) continued cooperation between the recognized religions and the government, and (2) dissociation of the government from the unrecognized religions, leaving them with no legal standing.²

Between Freedom of Faith and Public Discrimination

The new era of religious liberty and freedom of conscience during the First Republic gave the Adventist missionary work a strong impetus; however, some major obstacles remained.³ For example, in 1919, the Adventist pastor, Franz Gruber, was denied a residence permit in Salzburg and Innsbruck because of his association with an unrecognized church.⁴ The local newspaper

¹Ibid., p. 445.

²Ibid., p. 439.

³"Now in Austria all doors are open to the message. Only occasionally does this Middle Age spirit of intolerance flare up" (G. W. Schubert, "Deliverances During the War," RH, 20 January 1921, p. 12).

⁴See "An Herrn Franz Gruber, Werkdirektor," 29 October 1919, Landes-Präsidium Salzburg, Zl. 15452/R. B., AAM; "Erklärung des leitenden Beamten im

Salzburger Volksblatt reacted with indignation, publishing a reader's letter which proclaimed the denial of Gruber's residence permit as "unworthy of a republic."¹ Following this incident, the Adventist church in Austria renewed its effort to obtain state recognition. In the request, mention was made of the fact that Seventh-day Adventists in neighboring Bavaria, with its predominantly Catholic population, had been legally recognized since 1907.² In a letter written concurrently to chancellor Karl Renner, the Austrian Adventists declared: "We cannot assume that German Austria wishes to remain the only country on earth that denies her citizens religious freedom. . . . Our case will be discussed by senators of our denomination and their friends in the 'White House.'"³ No answer to the request was ever received.

A comparison of the submissive wording of the Adventist petition of 1914 to the Emperor with the straightforward request for state recognition mentioned

Staatsamte des Innern, Sektion Kultus und Unterricht, Sektionschef Hofrat Dr. Loewenstein," n.d., AAM.

¹"Abschrift aus Salzburger Volksblatt," 6 November 1919, AAM.

²See "An das hohe Staatsamt des Innern, Sektion für Kultus und Unterricht, Wien," [1920], AAM.

³"An Herrn Staatskanzler Dr. Renner," 27 November 1919, AAM. In those days Adventists had easy access to the White House since President Harding's sister was a Seventh-day Adventist.

above demonstrates the changing times. However, the government had done little beyond the general agreements of the Treaty of St. Germain to improve the status of religious minorities.¹ In one case, at least, the Adventist church was victorious. In Gmunden, Upper Austria, the local authorities attempted to forbid a child under seven years of age from leaving the Catholic Church after its parents, Leopold and Sofia Deixler, had become Adventists. The reason given by the authorities was that the Adventist church did not have state recognition. However, the administrative court in Vienna decided in favor of the Adventist parents. From then on, the authorities recognized entrance into the Adventist church as an official change of religion.²

In order to manage its property, the Adventist church formed so-called "substitutional societies" (Hilfsvereine) since only recognized churches had legal corporate rights. The societies were called Pflegestättenverein ("Building Association") and Verein Österreichische Adventmission ("Austrian Advent Mission

¹For example, the Anglican and Methodist Churches were also denied state recognition because their congregations did not have church leaders with Austrian citizenship as required by the Recognition Law of 1874 (Deutschösterreichisches Staatsamt für Unterricht, Z. I-481/1, 1919, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Neues Politisches Archiv).

²Verwaltungsgerichtshof, Zahl A 346/4 ex 1923, 18 January 1924, AAM.

Association").¹ The names of these societies have remained the same until today.

With the new freedom of assembly, public evangelism could usually be conducted without major problems. Still, the authorities had to be notified in advance of public assemblies and they could easily forbid them on grounds of public security, as was the case in the strongly Catholic province of Vorarlberg, where Adventists were forced to hold "paragraph 2 meetings" as late as 1929.² There, the Provincial Governor himself had prohibited the meetings, fearing that the people might become "rebellious."³ The Adventist tithing system, in particular, as well as Sunday desecration were considered potential dangers to the public welfare.⁴ The

¹See E. Ehinger, "Die Konferenz in Deutschösterreich," AB, 1 December 1922, p. 355.

²J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 1 January 1930, p. 2.

³J. Braun, "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," AB, 1 October 1927, p. 295; DA, 19 August 1927, p. 252; "Der Adventismus im Kampfe mit der österreichischen Klosterpolizei," Der Adventbote, (Moscow), January-February 1928, p. 2.

⁴See "Herrn F. Buchbauer," 3 May 1922, Vlbq. Landesregierung, Zl. II-344/4, AAM. In the letter to Buchbauer the following statement was made by a local government official: "The teachings of this sect appear dangerous to the public welfare. First of all, it siphons off many millions from the economy by demanding the tenth part of its members' yearly income. It also contradicts the business code by propagating the observance of Saturday instead of Sunday, even though the law states that all business activities must cease on Sunday."

province of Vorarlberg, therefore, was one of the most difficult mission fields for Adventists in Austria.

In other parts of the country, public Adventist meetings were not prohibited, but an amusement tax (Lustbarkeitssteuer) of 50 groschen per person had to be paid every evening in addition to rent if the lecture took place in a public hall.¹ If church facilities were used, no tax was collected. As a result of public prejudice, it was extremely difficult to find suitable lecture halls or assembly rooms. Often enough, Adventists were forced to meet in theaters or cinemas, inns or public school buildings. At times, these places were used simultaneously by other groups. Thus A. Weinert reported from Graz: "It was the fortune of the Adventists to meet two or three times a week in a theatre at the same time with the Jehovah's Witnesses, Theosophists, Spiritualists, followers of Tolstoi, the drama school, the business school, and the fencing club."² A more disparate assembly could hardly be imagined.

Adventist colporteurs also had to deal with public prejudice and discrimination, especially in rural

¹J. Braun, "The Message in Austria," Missions Quarterly, January-March 1929, p. 41; "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," AB, 1 October 1927, p. 296; J. Braun to "Liebe Brüder," 29 October 1928, AAM.

²"Ermutigendes aus Österreich," AB, 1 July 1925, p. 205.

areas. By now eighteen colporteurs were active,¹ and in 1921 a branch of the Hamburg Publishing House finally was established in Vienna.² In the following months, between 1922 and 1923, the largest number of German Adventist books were sold in Austria--21,556 in one year.³ The local authorities only reluctantly gave permission for the distribution of Adventist literature. Colporteurs needed a license (Legitimationskarte) for their work, which was arbitrarily granted by the authorities. Most Adventist colporteurs never obtained such a license. In addition, Austrian colporteurs were hardly able to take orders, as was possible in Germany and Switzerland. They had to sell their literature directly, which really was illegal; but the people distrusted any other sales method.⁴ Carrying a heavy backpack, Adventist colporteurs often hiked for days in order to reach the remote villages and farms in the

¹H. Böß, "God's Work Cannot Be Hindered," RH, 27 July 1922, p. 16.

²J. Zachhuber to E. Hatzinger, 13 December 1973, AAM; R. Grabner, "Wie die Buchevangelisation in Österreich ihren Anfang nahm," AE, 15 September 1973, pp. 14, 15.

³See E. Ehinger, "3. Österreichische Jahreskonferenz in Wien," AB, 1 October 1923, p. 293. Beginning in 1920, a missionary magazine, Zeichen der Zeit, was sporadically published in Vienna.

⁴F. Petr, "Erfahrungen aus Steiermark," ZW, August 1921, p. 139.

Alps.¹ Local newspapers and clergy regularly warned the population about Adventist sales techniques and the negative influence of their literature.² One Catholic priest even declared that all who were not willing to return books bought from Adventist colporteurs could not be buried in "consecrated ground."³ Book burnings took place after the villagers discovered they had bought sectarian literature.⁴ Usually, Catholic priests encouraged the people to examine closely the books and magazines offered to them. Alternatively, the priests told them to offer the colporteurs "bacon and brandy"--for it was well-known that Adventist colporteurs would refuse both.⁵

An incident that occurred in 1927 in the mountains near Lilienfeld, Lower Austria, demonstrated the intolerance of the Catholic Church towards non-conformity. An Adventist colporteur came upon a group of autonomous evangelical Christians led by a farmer

¹Ibid.

²R. Grabner, "Die Kolportage in Österreich," Mitteilungsblatt für Kolporteurs, January 1925, p. 2; F. Hasel, "Können uns Warnungen schaden?" Der Bücher-sendbote, August 1931, p. 2; Petr, "Erfahrungen aus Steiermark," pp. 139, 140.

³Grabner, "Kolportage in Österreich," p. 2.

⁴Petr, "Erfahrungen aus Steiermark," p. 139.

⁵J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1932, p. 122.

named Steinherr.¹ The colporteur learned that through intensive Bible study, independently of Adventists, this group had discovered the importance of the biblical Sabbath. As a result, Steinherr had to appear in court, and the nearby Cistercian monastery had initiated an attempt to starve out the seventy members of the group through a boycott, hoping to force them to give up their new beliefs.²

Although the law of 1919 guaranteed complete religious freedom in Austria, animosity and suspicion among the general population towards new religious movements did not disappear.

Consolidating the Church

In 1920 the steadily growing Adventist congregations in Austria were organized into a "conference."³ Thus, the denomination in this country obtained a certain degree of administrative autonomy--a move which, it was hoped, would be conducive to further growth.⁴ The

¹J. Braun, "Aus der Kolportage in Österreich," Der Büchersendbote, August 1927, pp. 5, 6; cf. idem, "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," AB, 1 October 1927, pp. 297-99.

²Ibid.

³W. Edener, "Bericht der Jahreskonferenz der Deutsch-Österreichischen Missionsfelder in Graz vom 23. bis 26. Sept. 1920," ZW, December 1920, pp. 241, 242.

⁴As early as 1915 the congregations in German Austria had been separated into three different mission fields which were intended to form a "union" in 1919. Finally, only a "conference" was organized, as a

Austrian Conference of Seventh-day Adventists belonged to the "Central European Union," headquartered in Munich, a union which also included Southern Germany and German-speaking Switzerland.

L. R. Conradi, who visited congregations in different parts of the former Habsburg Empire shortly after the war, complained about the difficult travel conditions which hampered Adventist communication in Europe as never before. He wrote:

Formerly a trip from Northern Europe to Vienna or Budapest was an agreeable task, accomplished in about thirty hours and for about \$ 10. No passport nor visés were needed . . . but today all is changed. Weeks are necessary to secure permission to enter the different republics, and pass fees are constantly increasing. In Austria special permission and an additional fee are necessary to enter each of even the small states.¹

The economic depression in the succession states of the Monarchy was devastating,² and small German Austria was hardest hit, since most of the former industrial regions

consequence of the comparatively small Adventist membership in Austria. Cf. O. E. Schildhauer, "Sitzungen des Ausschusses der Mitteleuropäischen Abteilung," ZW, 19 March 1919, p. 50; A. Weinert, "Bericht der Konferenz der Österreichischen Abteilung in Wien vom 23. bis 26. Okt. 1919," ZW, 3 December 1919, pp. 218, 219.

¹"Traveling in Old Europe," RH, 17 June 1920, p. 13; cf. idem, "Reiseerfahrungen," ZW, 7 January 1920, pp. 2, 3.

²"The people in these countries need something to eat more than lectures about eating and drinking. The Quakers are doing a really charitable work in caring for thousands of children" (Conradi, "Traveling in Old Europe," p. 14).

were now outside of her borders.¹ Inflation was another painful legacy of the war. F. A. Prieser, the superintendent of the Adventist church in Austria at the time, reported that new salary lists had to be drawn up for the pastors at least four times a year.² Eventually, the president of the Central European Union, G. W. Schubert, stated: "All of our older missionary workers in Austria are now millionaires because they receive over a million kronen monthly salary."³ Also, it was almost impossible to keep the price list of the literature distributed by colporteurs up to date. The Austrian currency could not be stabilized until 1925, when the new schilling replaced the old kronen. After 1925, as a consequence of the monetary reform, the financial basis of the Adventist church began to improve.

During the inter-war period, Austrian Adventists remained dependent upon the church leaders in Germany. In fact, almost all pastors in Austria came from

¹"Vienna, once the most aristocratic city in Europe, is today a city in rags. It is impossible to describe the poverty, the haggard women, the thin, starving children. . . . To see Vienna reminds one of the old prophecies of Tyre or Nineveh" (L. H. Christian, "Conditions in Europe," RH, 2 November 1922, p. 16).

²"Das Werk in Österreich," AB, 15 July 1922, p. 220.

³"Aus der Mitteleuropäischen Union," AB, 1 December 1922, p. 355.

Germany. The predominance of the German pastors resulted in a weakened sense of responsibility among the local members. It was not until after World War II that Adventists in Austria succeeded in building up an indigenous church leadership. The German church leaders willingly sent pastors to Austria, but proved to be less generous in financial matters.¹ In 1929 J. Braun, the superintendent of the Austrian conference, complained: ". . . we do not yet have a single assembly room of our own in Vienna, the city of millions, but only rented ones."² Church-owned buildings in Austria were an unreachable goal in the eyes of the German leaders at that time. In fact, the first Adventist church building in Austria was not built until after World War II. The consolidation of Austrian Adventism during the inter-war period took place on the level of public evangelism, and economic distress and suffering caused by the war paved the way for an evangelistic breakthrough. Church-operated institutions were not yet envisioned.

New Efforts of Evangelism

The rise of democracy after 1918 proved a turning point in the mission history of the Adventist church in Austria, inaugurating the era of large-scale

¹Cf. "Hilfe für Wien," n.d., AAM.

²"Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1929, p. 123.

public evangelism. From now on, every pastor spent much of his time holding open lecture series on a variety of biblical topics.¹ Generally, the lecture themes revealed a strong eschatological emphasis, dealing largely with biblical prophecy and the impending end of the world.² Topics such as "A New World War?" "The Collapse of Civilization Predicted," "Will Russia Fight?" "The Battle of Armageddon," "Spiritualism Exposed," "The Mark of the Beast," "Who Is the Antichrist?" were presented.³ This kind of evangelistic appeal would have been regarded highly subversive in the time of the Monarchy. Criticism about the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, once uttered with great caution, was now proclaimed openly.⁴ In fact, Adventist evangelism surged as a protest against Catholic authority. Henceforth, Adventist members considered emphasis on distinctive beliefs justifying the separate existence of the movement to be an essential feature of the public presentation of the message, and doctrinal themes and

¹F. A. Prieser, "Das Werk in Österreich," AB, 15 July 1922, p. 220; "Bericht aus Österreich," DA, 1 September 1922, p. 260.

²Cf. J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 1 January 1930, p. 2.

³A few series of lecture topics, typical for the post-war period, are preserved in the archives of the church headquarters (AAM) in Vienna.

⁴J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1929, pp. 122, 123.

current political events were skillfully combined to attract attention.¹ Economic depression and widespread unemployment caused many Austrians to search for a deeper meaning in life, which Adventists promised to give. The social and political changes after the war were indeed conducive to Adventist growth.

The most successful Adventist evangelist in Austria during the inter-war period was Josef Braun from Germany, who became the superintendent of the Austrian Conference in 1926.² Before coming to Austria, he had held meetings in the Rhineland, attracting the highest attendance of any Adventist evangelist in Germany at the time.³ Braun was a brilliant orator, but his rather authoritarian style of church leadership did not always

¹See J. Mühlbacher, "Bezirksversammlung zu Villach in Kärnten, Österreich," AB, 15 March 1925, p. 90.

²Josef Braun was born in 1882 in Spaichingen (Württemberg). Formerly an organ builder, he was ordained as an Adventist pastor in 1914 in Cologne. As a successful evangelist, he commented on current events, using biblical prophecy, the "signs of the times," and Christ's second coming as center of his preaching. After 1934, Braun attempted to find a compromise with the Austro-Fascist regime, as he was strongly opposed to National Socialism. As a consequence of certain unfortunate personal circumstances, he was forced to terminate his work in Austria in 1935. Later, he pastored German-speaking congregations in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Jamestown, North Dakota; he died in Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1958. Cf. Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, s.v. "Braun, Josef."

³Cf. W. K. Ising, "In Rhineland," RH, 28 September 1922, p. 9; interview with E. Svrcek-Seiler, Vienna, 25 August 1981.

find the approval of his associates.¹ One of his goals in Austria was to free the Adventist church from its previous Hinterhofdasein or self-perceived role as a second-rate denomination confined to obscure localities. In order to further strengthen the outlook of the church, he invited influential leaders from overseas to visit the Austrian members. Thus, in 1927, General Conference president W. A. Spicer chaired a meeting of the European Division in Vienna;² and W. W. Prescott, a pioneer Adventist educator, came to Austria in 1930 to speak at a conference meeting.³

In his work, Braun was convinced that church leaders (Vorsteher) should primarily be evangelists,⁴ and he expected the same of local pastors.⁵ He made

¹Interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980; interview with F. Pfingstl, Vienna, 23 December 1981.

²The missionary efforts of European Adventism were the central point of this important meeting, and the funds appropriated to the mission fields outside of Europe were the largest ever voted to that time. A year later, in 1928, the European Adventist church was divided into four "divisions." See [W. K. Ising], "The Winter Council at Vienna," Quarterly Review of the European Division of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, October-December 1927, p. 3.

³E. Ehinger, "Österreichische Vereinigung," AB, 1 January 1931, p. 11.

⁴Braun's motto was, "to really lead out as a church leader in evangelism" (als Vorsteher wirklich vor-zu-stehen in der Seelenarbeit). J. Braun to "Liebe Brüder," 29 October 1928, AAM.

⁵Ibid.

public evangelism a top priority and gradually adapted evangelistic methods to the structure and needs of society.¹ Braun even developed an overall mission strategy for Vienna, where, after World War I, free thought and Socialism had weakened the influence of the Catholic Church.² Aside from public lectures, his strategy included three basic types of missionary outreach: (1) literature evangelism, (2) house visitation and Bible studies, and (3) welfare ministries.³ Braun realized that Adventist missionary work in Austria should no longer be confined to the larger cities, as was the case during the Monarchy.⁴ By strengthening the colporteur work, he initiated Adventist penetration of the rural areas.⁵ Braun further advocated that home visitations and Bible studies were not solely the responsibility of the pastor,⁶ pointing out that the

¹J. Braun, "Die beste Weise, Seelen zu gewinnen," AD, 1 October 1927, pp. 35-37.

²Ibid. J. Braun, "Die beste Art, Seelen zu gewinnen," AD, 1 January 1931, pp. 4-7.

³Braun, "Die beste Weise, Seelen zu gewinnen," pp. 36, 37; "Die beste Art, Seelen zu gewinnen," pp. 5, 6; "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1932, p. 122; "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," AB, 1 October 1927, p. 297.

⁴Ibid.

⁵J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1929, p. 123.

⁶J. Braun, "Weidet die Herde Christi!" AD, 1 October 1931, p. 66; "Die 'Gemeinschaft' der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," AD, 1 April 1929,

Adventist church should remain a missionary movement with every member a missionary.¹ For this reason, the training programs for lay missionary workers (Missionshelferkurse) within the local congregations that had been developed in 1923 were expanded.² The larger congregations began to establish welfare societies (Tabevereine) in 1927, distributing clothing and food to needy families. The welfare work led to numerous missionary contacts.³

In comparison to Germany, Adventist missionary work in Austria generally required more time and preparation.⁴ Former Catholics were often the most enthusiastic missionaries.⁵ By 1935, Adventist membership in Austria numbered more than 1,500.⁶ In a

pp. 37-39; "Lebendige oder tote Organisation?" AD, 1 January 1929, pp. 8, 9.

¹Ibid., p. 9; "Die 'Gemeinschaft' der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten," p. 38.

²Cf. E. Ehinger, "3. Österreichische Jahreskonferenz in Wien," p. 293.

³Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1932, p. 122; "Wohlfahrtspflege in Österreich," AB, 1 February 1930, p. 42; cf. H. Jost, "Wohlfahrtspflege," AB, 15 August 1930, p. 249.

⁴Braun, "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," AB, 1 October 1927, p. 297.

⁵G. W. Schubert, "Austrian Conditions," Missions Quarterly, July-September 1923, pp. 9-11.

⁶New churches were organized in the following places: Vienna VII (Wimbergergasse 46) and Dornbirn in 1919; Vienna XII (Koflergasse 3) and Vienna V (Stöbergasse 19) in 1922; Vienna IX (Nussdorfer Strasse 4a),

time of economic depression, the most difficult step in making converts was the presentation of Saturday observance; the average Austrian worker was afraid of losing employment as a consequence.

Public evangelism that began to prosper under Braun's leadership reached its zenith shortly after World War II. These three decades, with the exception of wartime restrictions, were the high-water mark of Adventist evangelism in Austria, and audiences sometimes outnumbered the local church membership a threefold.

Adventist Encounter with Catholicism

The missionary work of the Adventists in Austria elicited various reactions among the population. Strongly Catholic circles under the influence of the clergy inveighed sharply and vigorously against Adventist teachings. In some instances, Jesuit priests openly challenged Adventist pastors to a debate.¹ Adventist pastors in Austria, who were frequently not

Vienna IV (Grosse Neugasse 44), and Feld am See in 1924; Bregenz in 1926; Bad Ischl and Vienna III (Landstrasser Hauptstrasse 21) in 1927; Leibnitz in 1928; Hallein in 1930; Langenlois in 1931; Krems and Wolfsberg in 1932; St. Pölten and Vienna-Mauer in 1933; Knittelfeld in 1934; Vienna XV (Toldgasse 5) in 1935.

¹J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 1 January 1930, p. 2.

skilled in debate and rhetoric, feared the public attacks of the Jesuits who were highly trained.¹

On the other hand, Adventists often had greater success among the Catholic populace, especially among those who were alienated from the official church.² Those Catholics who had previously left the church and stood under the influence of the free-thinkers and Socialists found the Adventist message as repulsive as did conservative Catholics.³ Braun emphasized repeatedly that Adventists needed to approach Austrian Catholics in a manner different from the approach to German Lutherans.⁴ For example, to many Catholics in Austria the Bible was an unknown book. Braun reported:

Toward the end of a lecture, I informed the guests that they could purchase an inexpensive Bible. 'We want no Bible; we want the Holy Scriptures,' was the answer. Consequently, we had to exchange the 'Bibles,' and the visitors were satisfied the next time when they received a copy of the 'Holy Scriptures.'⁵

Initially, Adventist ministers had to acquaint Austrian Catholics with the use of the Scriptures, a task

¹Ibid.

²J. Braun, "Aus Österreich," AB, 15 April 1929, pp. 122, 123; J. Braun, "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," DA, 19 August 1927, p. 253.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. Cf. also Braun, "Die beste Weise, Seelen zu gewinnen," AD, 1 October 1927, p. 36.

requiring a great deal of time and effort.¹ The interest in studying the Bible was, nevertheless, strong. In addition, it gradually became clear that Catholics were more ready than were German Lutherans to submit to the authority of the Scriptures.² It seemed that Lutherans in Germany were in danger of placing reason above the Bible. Austrian Catholics both marveled at and feared the Adventists' familiarity with the Bible.³ The official church had neglected the study of the Holy Scriptures among the people, and this inadvertently worked to the advantage of the Adventists.

Conclusions

After World War I, the Habsburg Monarchy was abolished. The new Austria received a democratic constitution which allowed all citizens, even those who were not members of recognized churches, to exercise any religion freely and publicly. However, the regulations governing state recognition, a relic of the Habsburg era, were still in effect. Unrecognized churches continued to have no legal standing. The formation of so-called "substitutional societies" (Hilfsvereine) made it possible for Adventists to hold property and transact

¹Braun, "Die Adventbotschaft in Österreich," p. 254.

²Ibid., p. 253.

³Ibid., p. 254.

business. Although complete religious freedom was proclaimed during the First Republic, the deep-rooted mistrust of state authorities towards Adventists was not eliminated, and various discriminatory policies remained. A second Adventist attempt at state recognition failed in 1919.

In 1920 the "Austrian Mission" was reorganized as a "conference" with a membership of 550. With full religious liberty guaranteed under the new constitution, the way was opened for an effective mission outreach. All Adventist pastors began to conduct public lecture programs, taking advantage of the new political system to spread the message and to protest against clerical authority. Superintendent Josef Braun stressed the primacy of evangelism over any other church activity. He even developed an overall mission strategy for the penetration of cities and rural areas. Most of the Adventist lecture themes had a strong eschatological focus based on a timely interpretation of biblical prophecy. The evangelistic fervor of the pastors led to rapid church growth. Also, major emphasis was placed on the role of consecrated laymen in sharing the evangelistic mission. Austrian Adventism, now in its second generation, was still a missionary movement; organizational and institutional interests had not yet supplanted spiritual dynamism.

On the other hand, almost all Seventh-day Adventist pastors in Austria came from Germany at the cost of a weakened sense of administrative responsibility among the local members. It was not until after World War II that the Adventist church in Austria succeeded in building up an indigenous church leadership. Institutions such as local church buildings, a press, and a school, typical of European Adventism in the mid-1920s, were not established until after World War II, when the Austrian church organization separated from Germany. During the inter-war period Adventists in Austria remained under the patronage of the German church leaders.

CHAPTER IV

TRIALS AND TEMPTATIONS: SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS DURING THE CORPORATIVE STATE AND THE THIRD REICH (1934-1945)

Political and Religious Backgrounds

The deep-rooted animosity between the rival political parties in Austria eventually led to a short but bitter civil war in February 1934 in which the Social Democrats or "Austro-Marxists" were defeated. At this point, the radical wing of the Christian Socials or "Austro-Fascists" openly declared itself against democratic parliamentarism and for the seizure of power in an autocratic Catholic state. Under the leadership of the Christian Social chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss, an attempt was made to share authority with various socio-economic corporations through trade chambers (Berufsstände). The new constitution was based on the social theory of a "Christian corporative state," striving towards the harmonious integration of all the economic activities of the nation--as opposed to capitalistic liberalism or Marxist class struggle. In practice, however, it proved

to be the dictatorship of one party over the others.¹ In fact, the establishment of a one-party system became the ultimate political goal of the Dollfuss regime.

At the same time, political activity on the part of the National Socialists, who received generous support from the Hitler regime in Germany, increased, and in July 1934 Dollfuss was murdered in a Nazi putsch. His successor, Kurt Schuschnigg, sought to maintain Austrian independence--still on the basis of an authoritarian corporative state. Shortly before the assassination of Dollfuss, a concordat had been signed with the Holy See which ratified the control of the Roman Catholic Church over education and marriage legislation. Austrian Catholicism, which had been so strikingly damaged by the spirit of Liberalism in the nineteenth century, keenly felt the need for reconstruction, and Cardinal-Archbishop Theodor Innitzer proclaimed the church's full support of the authoritarian regime.²

¹I. Ackerl, "Unterdrückungsmassnahmen des autoritären Regimes in Österreich von 1933 bis 1938," in Wellen der Verfolgung in der österreichischen Geschichte, ed. E. Zöllner (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986), pp. 130-43.

²The constitution was based on the social principles of Quadragesimo Anno, the papal encyclical of 1931. The preamble of the constitution declared: "In the name of God, the Omnipotent, source of all law, the Austrian people received this Constitution, based on the corporative principle, for its federal, Christian and German State." ("Im Namen Gottes des Allmächtigen, von dem alles Recht ausgeht, erhält das österreichische Volk für seinen christlichen, deutschen Bundesstaat auf ständischer Grundlage diese Verfassung.") K. Aebi et al., Die

Even though religious freedom continued to exist, a period in some way reminiscent of the Counter-Reformation began for religious minorities in Austria.¹ The comparison with the Counter-Reformation was originally made by Cardinal-Archbishop Innitzer in describing his attempts at complete restoration of Austria to Catholicism.²

However, when Chancellor Schuschnigg passed a law declaring that every citizen had to belong to a church, many Roman Catholics and non-Christians (Konfessionslose) turned to the Lutheran-Reformed Church to escape clerical

Gegenreformation in Neu-Österreich: Ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom katholischen Ständestaat (Zurich: Nauck & Co., 1936), p. 17.

On church-state relations during the authoritarian era, see E. Hanisch, "Der Politische Katholizismus als ideologischer Träger des Austrofaschismus," in Austrofaschismus: Beiträge über Politik, Ökonomie und Kultur, 1934-1938, ed. E. Tálos and W. Neugebauer (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1984), pp. 53-69; M. Liebmann, "Die Kirche in Österreich, ihr Verhältnis zum Ständestaat, zur NS-Bewegung und ihre Rolle in der Anschlusszeit," in Österreich 1934-1984: Erfahrungen-Erkenntnisse-Besinnung, ed. J. F. Desput (Graz: Styria, 1984), pp. 104-34; idem, "Kirche und Politik in der Ersten Republik von 1918 bis 1938," Christliche Demokratie 2 (February 1984):20-41; Laura S. Gellott, The Catholic Church and the Authoritarian Regime in Austria, 1933-1938 (New York: Garland, 1987), pp. 23-112.

¹The Jehovah's Witnesses suffered the most from the constraints of the authoritarian regime. Eventually, the "Society" of the Witnesses was prohibited through a decision of the federal court on February 7, 1936. See "Wachstum-, Bibel- und Traktatgesellschaft (Zeugen Jehovas), 1933-1938," Kart. 287, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Neues Politisches Archiv. The legal reason given for the prohibition was the Jehovah's Witnesses' misuse of the Verein law through religious activity allowed only for recognized churches.

²Aebi et al., pp. 9, 48; cf. Mecenseffy, p. 220.

dictation.¹ The government authorities immediately imposed a psychiatric examination upon those leaving the Catholic Church as well as a waiting period of three months after the application for change of religion, so that social pressure might deter the applicants.² In the city of Salzburg, some people were even arrested for leaving the Catholic Church.³ Constant harassment and repression of evangelical church activities by the police intensified the sympathies of the Austrian Protestants for the German Reich. Meanwhile, the Austrian government frequently identified Protestantism with Germany and Germandom.⁴

Further, Nazi Germany continued to exert pressure on Austria. In order to gain public support from the Austrian Catholics, the Nazi party skillfully stressed the traditional values of Christian morality. Hitler's ultimate goal was the reunification of his homeland with the Reich. Then, in March 1938, German troops crossed the Austrian border. They were welcomed by most Austrians,

¹Aebi et al., pp. 108, 109; Gerhard May, ed., Die Evangelische Kirche in Österreich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 23, 24; Reingrabner, Protestanten in Österreich, pp. 255, 267.

²See K. Schwarz, "Eine Denkschrift zur Lage der Evangelischen Kirche im Ständestaat (1934-38)," JGPÖ 96 (1980):271-73.

³Aebi et al., pp. 134-38.

⁴Eder, Die evangelische Kirche in Österreich, pp. 154, 155.

not only by Pan-Germanic nationalists but also by those who wanted to partake in the economic revival of Germany. Within a few days the Anschluss was totally achieved, and occupied Austria became part of the German Reich. In order to remove the Republic completely from the political map of Europe, the name "Austria" was blotted out of official terminology and replaced by the term Ostmark. The Austrian territory was divided into seven districts (Reichsgaue), directly subordinated to the Führer and the central authorities in Berlin. From now on, all cultural and intellectual endeavors of Austrian society had to conform to the precepts of National Socialism. Hitler's policy of Gleichschaltung even succeeded in bringing organized Christianity under Nazi control. Thus Cardinal-Archbishop Innitzer and the Austrian episcopate issued a declaration of support for the new regime,¹ and the Lutheran-Reformed Church marked the Anschluss with a cordial telegram to Hitler, praising him as "Savior from five years of extreme misery."² Representatives of the

¹Alfred Läßle, Kirche und Nationalsozialismus in Deutschland und Österreich (Aschaffenburg: Pattloch, 1980), pp. 182, 183; cf. M. Liebmann, "Der Hl. Stuhl und der Anschluss Österreichs 1938," ThPQ 131 (1983):145-53; idem, "Die März-Erklärungen der österreichischen Bischöfe vom Jahr 1938 im Lichte neuer Quellen," ThPQ 128 (1980):3-26.

²Läßle, p. 180; cf. M. Liebmann, "Die Geheimverhandlungen zwischen NS und Kirche 1938 in Österreich," Geschichte und Gegenwart 1 (March 1982):43. The Lutheran-Reformed Church in Austria hoped that the Nazis would free them from Catholic suppression. Its connections with the Confessing Church (Bekennende Kirche) in Germany were

Protestant Free churches were equally enthusiastic about the incorporation of Austria into the German Reich.¹

Without doubt, the Catholics were puzzled by a situation unique in the history of the church in Austria--that of no longer possessing secular power through either the state or a political party. The bishops were anxious, therefore, to demonstrate their loyalty to the new regime. However, when protest arose against the anti-clerical measures of Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel in October 1938, an open conflict ensued between the Catholic Church and the Nazi authorities, culminating in the storming and burning of the Viennese Archbishop's Palace.² From then on, Nazi church policy in the Ostmark followed a distinctly harder line than was the case in Germany proper.³ The repressive measures took a variety of forms. The Austrian concordat was revoked, depriving the church of any legal standing. Marriage laws were altered by the introduction of civil

minimal. In fact, the Austrian Lutherans have never made any such confession, and it was not until 1965 that they issued a declaration on the subject of anti-Semitism.

¹Karl Zehrer, Evangelische Freikirchen und das Dritte Reich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), pp. 54, 55, 58.

²Läpple, pp. 196, 197; M. Liebmann, "Die kirchliche Hierarchie in Österreich und das Dritte Reich," in Religion und Kultur an Zeitenwenden. Auf Gottes Spuren in Österreich, ed. N. Leser (Vienna: Herold, 1984), pp. 285-88; R. Zinnhobler, "Die Kirche Österreichs zwischen Kreuz und Hakenkreuz," ThPO 136 (1988):49-50.

³Läpple, p. 195.

marriage. Catholic organizations and publishing houses were dissolved and their property confiscated. Almost all private as well as public theological schools ceased to exist. In 1939, the compulsory church tax was abolished, making all contributions voluntary.¹ A number of priests and Catholic laity suffered persecution, imprisonment, and even death rather than renounce their faith.² The Lutheran-Reformed Church experienced similar pressures,³ and Austria's Jewish community, which had played an important role in the country's cultural and economic life, especially in Vienna, was, over the next few years, almost totally annihilated.⁴ Among the smaller

¹J. S. Conway, The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933-1945 (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp. 224-28; Radomir Luza, Österreich und die grossdeutsche Idee in der NS-Zeit (Vienna: Böhlau, 1977), pp. 121-26; Zinnhobler, pp. 50-54.

²One example which has been widely publicized is the case of the Upper Austrian peasant Franz Jägerstätter. As a conscientious objector, he refused to serve in the German army and was guillotined in Brandenburg/Havel on August 9, 1943. Cf. E. Putz, "Franz Jägerstätter: Er folgte seinem Gewissen," Bogi--Aktuelles aus Bogenhofen, December 1987, pp. 2, 3. See also Radomir Luza, The Resistance in Austria, 1938-1945 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp. 69-71; E. Weinzierl, "Katholischer Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus in Österreich," in Religion und Kultur, pp. 294-307.

³Reingrabner, Protestanten in Österreich, pp. 270-74.

⁴More than 65,000 Austrian Jews were murdered or died in Nazi concentration camps. Cf. Walter B. Maas, Country without a Name: Austria under Nazi Rule 1938-1945 (New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co., 1979), pp. 41-50; Erika Weinzierl, Zu wenig Gerechte: Österreicher und Judenverfolgung 1938-1945 (Graz: Styria, 1969), pp. 90, 91; cf. also K. Stuhlpfarrer, "Nationalsozialistische

denominations, the Jehovah's Witnesses were bitterly persecuted for consistently refusing to offer allegiance to the Nazi state.¹

Church under Pressure

During the period of the corporative state, the Adventist church was kept under close police surveillance.² In 1934, J. Braun sent a memorandum to the Ministry of Education, summarizing the basic beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists. He stated his conviction that every Austrian Adventist would attempt to be a model citizen, basing his attitude toward the state on Bible texts such as Rom 13:1-7 and Luke 20:25.³ According to Braun, Austrian Adventism, by that time, represented an "indigenous movement, absolutely free of foreign political influence" and not to be confused with the Jehovah's Witnesses, an American sect, whose "agitation against the church" (Hetzarbeit gegen die Kirche) was alien to

Verfolgungspolitik 1938 bis 1945," in Wellen der Verfolgung, p. 153.

¹Luza, Resistance in Austria, pp. 62-65.

²Cf. V. Söllner to L. Schneebauer, 23 August 1935, AAM.

³"Denkschrift der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Österreich," [1934], AAM.

Adventists.¹ Braun's statement of loyalty did nothing to change the government's restrictive position, and discrimination in public life continued.

Children under seven years of age, for instance, were not allowed to join the Adventist church with their parents, since members of unrecognized churches were again considered konfessionslos, and children under seven were not permitted to be without a religious affiliation. In addition, such children were required to take part in the religious instruction of a church legally recognized by the state. Most Adventist children attended Lutheran classes.² If they failed to show up in school on Saturdays, high fines were imposed, followed by severe disciplinary actions.³ Adventist workers, not willing to give up Sabbath observance, often had great difficulties finding employment. Those already employed by the state as civil servants or school teachers were sooner or later dismissed because of their membership in a non-legal church.⁴ As mentioned earlier, people who wanted to become Adventists in those years were required to wait for

¹Ibid.

²Karl Fischbacher to D. Heinz, 7 January 1982; interview with E. Svrcek-Seiler, Vienna, 25 August 1981.

³Ibid. Interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980; interview with H. Prauhart, Vienna, 16 September 1989.

⁴Ibid. Cf. also O. Uebersax, "75 Jahre Adventgemeinde in Österreich," AAM.

a predetermined period of three months and, in some cases, undergo psychiatric treatment. The sale of Adventist books was prohibited, and colporteurs were temporarily detained.¹ In 1936, the Adventist leadership in Austria was officially informed that the "organization" of the church as well as its classification as a "denomination" were unacceptable. The ecclesiastical authorities gave the police orders to "obliterate all sectarian propaganda."² The idea was even circulated that the government had compiled a list of Adventist pastors who were to be sent to the detention camp at Wöllersdorf, south of Vienna, as suspected anti-state activists.³

Despite the difficult political circumstances, the Adventist church in Austria continued to grow steadily, and, in 1936, two "conferences" were established. The federal provinces of Steiermark, Carinthia, Salzburg, Tyrol, and Vorarlberg formed the "South Austrian Conference" of Seventh-day Adventists; the "North Austrian Conference" included Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Vienna,

¹Karl Fischbacher to D. Heinz, 7 January 1982; Franz Hasel to D. Heinz, 11 July 1984; cf. also "Bericht der österreichischen Vereinigung für die Herbstsitzung der Süd-Europäischen Division in Genf," 27 November 1946, p. 2, AAM.

²Ibid.

³Interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980; interview with G. Herrnstein, Vienna, 17 September 1989. So far, a copy of this list has not been found.

and the Burgenland. The membership of the two conferences numbered 1,635, with 33 local congregations.¹ The Adventist headquarters remained in Vienna, and Ludwig Schneebauer, a German who also considered public evangelism the church's prime function, became the new superintendent.²

The Nazi Pitfall

When German troops occupied Austria in March 1938, many Austrian Adventists responded with enthusiasm, hoping that National Socialism would put an end to Catholic suppression by the corporative state.³

A letter from the conference office in Vienna to the editor of the church paper, Der Adventbote, in Hamburg stated:

In the past years Austria had been falling back into medieval conditions. . . . A strong hand, an arm directed by God, has saved this miserable and enslaved

¹Five churches, with almost 600 members, were located in Vienna. Cf. G. W. Schubert, "Konferenz in Österreich," AB, 1 November 1936, p. 333.

²Ibid. Schneebauer was born in 1891 in Pinkofen (Bavaria). He was raised a Catholic and became a saddle maker. In 1915 he joined the Adventist church and, from 1926 on, worked as a pastor in Austria. After World War II, the first large church buildings (Adventhaus) were built in Vienna and Salzburg under his leadership as well as a school for the training of native pastors and missionary workers (Missionsseminar) in Bogenhofen, Upper Austria. Cf. also M. Fridlin, "Zum Gedenken an Bruder Ludwig Schneebauer 1891-1967," AE, July 1967, p. 15.

³D. Heinz, "Die Adventgemeinde in Österreich und das Schicksalsjahr 1938," Bogi--Aktuelles aus Bogenhofen, March 1988, p. 9.

German land in the last hour from the abyss. . . . Through God's choice and through God's assistance our capable Führer Adolf Hitler has become the liberator of Austria. No one else should or could have fulfilled this great task.¹

The early enthusiasm of the Austrian Adventists soon died, giving way to a critical attitude regarding Hitler's proclamation of a millennial empire. The attitude was based on the eschatological statements of Dan 2 which, as understood by Adventists, forbade Hitler's plan of uniting Europe.² However, the traditional eschatological views of the church were hardly mentioned publicly, especially after the outbreak of the war. From today's viewpoint, it is hard to understand why many Austrian Adventists apparently did not recognize the anti-Christian nature of Nazism at the time of the Anschluss, especially since the events occurring in Austria in 1938 had been preceded by five years of Nazi tyranny in Germany. Adventists in Germany had already suffered considerably under Hitler's totalitarian rule, a fact that had not been concealed from

¹[K. Sinz], Editorial Remarks, AB, 15 April 1938, p. 128. ("Österreich ist in den letzten Jahren systematisch in die Verhältnisse des Mittelalters zurückgedrückt worden. . . . In letzter Stunde hat eine starke Hand und ein gottgeführter Arm dieses verelendete und geknechtete deutsche Land vom Rande des Abgrunds zurückgerissen. . . . Unser tatkräftiger Führer Adolf Hitler wurde nach Gottes Auswahl und durch Gottes Beistand der Befreier Österreichs. Niemand anders sollte und konnte dieses grosse Werk vollbringen.")

²Cf. Heinz, "Adventgemeinde in Österreich und das Schicksalsjahr 1938," p. 9; interview with H. Schnöttinger, Wr. Neustadt, 9 December 1981.

the Adventists in Austria. They knew, for instance, that the Adventist organization in Prussia, Hesse, and other parts of Germany was temporarily dissolved on November 26, 1933, by order of the government, and all church property confiscated. The reasons for this drastic measure have not been sufficiently researched yet. There is no doubt, however, that the Nazi authorities attempted, by means of a decree of dissolution, to intimidate the Adventists and at the same time enforce political loyalty.¹ As a result, Adventists in Germany had adjusted to the Nazi regime.²

¹J. Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," (research paper, 1979), pp. 14-20, AEA.

Most Adventists in Germany had initially welcomed Hitler and his rise to power in January 1933. The decree of dissolution, repealed on December 6, 1933, was therefore a real shock for the Adventist leaders, prompting them to submit a memorandum to the Ministry of Interior in a deliberate attempt to appease the government. See E. Gugel, "Denkschrift der Religionsgemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Deutschland," Berlin, 20 December 1933, AEA. The memorandum expressed the desire of Adventists to work with the government in the area of public welfare. Cf. Hulda Jost, Unser Dienst am Volk (Hamburg: Advent Verlag, n.d.), pp. 10-24. The memorandum also implied that the recent ban against the Adventist church was due to a case of mistaken identity. It was pointed out that the government had more cause to suspect secessionist groups such as the Seventh-day Adventist Reform Movement, which were by no means part of the official church body. Furthermore, any connections with Judaism were denied. As a result, the Jewish word "Sabbath" was replaced by the German word Ruhetag.

²See R. Junek, "Die Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," in Der Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, vol. 23 of Der Adventglaube in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. L. E. Träder (Darmstadt: Adventistischer Wissenschaftlicher Arbeitskreis, 1986), pp. 75-77.

It seems that one of the main reasons for the submissive attitude of German Adventists toward the Nazi regime was the denomination's general belief that all government is established by God. Seventh-day Adventism was very apolitical in its outlook, encouraging members to concentrate on the church's gospel commission rather than on political issues.¹ So as not to endanger the institutional base of the denomination, German Adventists were willing, therefore, to compromise with the government. To them the survival of church organization was of paramount importance, and their religious duty to obey the authorities apparently overrode many other duties.²

However, the pro-Nazi declarations put forward by the Adventist leaders in Germany had not ultimately satisfied the government, and further local bans against the church followed.³ In the face of constant Nazi pressure,

¹A. Minck, "Central European Division," *RH*, 14 June 1946, p. 181; cf. E. Sicher, "Seventh-day Adventist Publications and the Nazi Temptation," *SP* 8 (March 1977):11-12; T. Dybdahl, "We Should Be Involved in Politics," *SP* 8 (March 1977):33-37; J. Butler, "The Seventh-day Adventist American Dream," *AH* 3 (Summer 1976):3-10; D. Heinz, "Adventisten und Politik im Spiegel der Geschichte," *AE*, July 1988, pp. 14, 15.

²See Christine E. King, The Nazi State and the New Religions: Five Case Studies in Non-Conformity (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1982), p. 93. The ground-breaking study by King seems to be one of the first of its kind available in English on that particular topic.

³"... the sword of Damocles, of dissolution, hung over the denomination all these years" (Minck, "Central European Division," p. 181).

German Adventists continued to negotiate for their survival. It was this ultimate concern for survival rather than genuine political views which dictated the responses of many Adventists to the regime. The survival tactics of the church, however, opened the way for a number of pragmatic compromises made under special circumstances. These compromises included central issues such as warfare and Sabbath observance and led, in part, to the integration and assimilation of various areas of Nazi ideology into the Adventist system of belief. The traditional eschatological interpretations of the church were hardly proclaimed openly. Rather, the social and national responsibility of the German Adventists were stressed since history was being "reinterpreted according to racial and folkish concepts."¹

¹[K. Sinz], "Biblische Gedanken über den Streit um Kaiser Karl und Sachsenherzog Wittekind," AB, 1 March 1935, p. 80. The Adventist leaders maintained that the churches must be national churches in order to best serve the social needs of the German people. This Christian responsibility to serve the Volk, in some cases, even justified anti-Semitism, the eugenics movement as well as euthanasia and sterilization laws. Some German Adventists were apparently carried away on a wave of nationalism which amounted to an apology for the Nazi state. A discussion on the limits to obedience and support for the state was carefully avoided. Cf. also Hartlapp, pp. 10-14, 23-27; Junek, "Die Gemeinschaft in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 77-98; W. Allweiss, "Die Adventgemeinde und der Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 110-20, 123-31; Sicher, pp. 15-22. The fact that mainstream Adventism was not totally banned during the Third Reich is mainly due to the church's willingness to submit to Nazi totalitarianism. Hitler also may have received a coincidental, yet positive impression of Adventism after the unsuccessful Nazi putsch

With the introduction of compulsory conscription in 1935, German Adventists faced a new series of moral problems, which led to military collaboration even on Sabbath.¹ In addition, Adventist youth work was severely limited since young people were strongly encouraged by the government to join the Nazi organization Hitler Youth.² Adventist schooling as well as colporteur work were also restricted.³ The Adventist Theological Seminary at Neanderthal, for example, was closed in 1934, and religious books were forbidden to be sold after 1935.

When one considers the repressive socio-political conditions to which Adventists in Germany were exposed from 1933 onward, it is truly puzzling that the Austrian Adventists welcomed the Anschluss with such enthusiasm in 1938. Apparently, their desire for the removal of the

of 1923 in Munich. It is said that the injured Hitler was found in front of a Gasthaus by two elderly Adventist women who then cared for him. They allegedly gave him E. G. White's book The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan. Many Adventists at the time were convinced that the November 26, 1933, banning of the denomination was lifted in such a short time because Hitler had intervened, remembering his positive experience with Adventists ten years earlier. See W. Beyer, "Was hat Holocaust mit E. G. White zu tun?" Glaube und Wahrheit--Mitteilungsblatt für Freie Christen, March 1979, p. 2.

¹Cf. Allweiss, "Adventgemeinde und Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 170, 171, 185. Most Adventist draftees bore arms, though some were allowed to undertake non-combatant duties.

²Hartlapp, pp. 41-46, 125.

³Ibid., pp. 37, 41, 43.

Catholic corporative state did not take into consideration the possible consequences of National Socialist rule. Whether the Adventists in Austria maintained illusions about the true nature of Nazism or whether they were simply opportunists, hoping to come to terms with their new masters, is a question that probably will remain unanswered. In any case, the situation of the Adventist church in Austria actually did improve for a few months prior to the outbreak of World War II, mainly as a result of the separation of church and state brought about by the Nazis.

The improvement, of course, did not apply to the small group of Adventists of Jewish descent in Vienna. Wilhelm Jokel, a member of the group, said in a letter to F. C. Gilbert: "We are here like frightened deer who are seeking refuge."¹ At that time, Vienna had the largest Jewish community of any city in the German-speaking world. As shown by the case of Jokel, Adventists of Jewish descent generally felt deserted by the Adventist church leaders in Austria. Jokel, who had been an Adventist for thirty-three years, received financial support from the Jewish Kultusgemeinde, but not from the Adventist church which "pretends opposition to the Jews as a signboard."²

¹W. Jokel to F. C. Gilbert, 10 August 1938, RG 21: 1939-J, General File, GCA.

²Ibid. Whether Jokel was able to leave Austria in time or fell into the hands of the Nazis is unknown.

Adventist church services in Austria, including Sabbath school, could be held without any major problems before the war. Adventist pastors were afraid, however, to bring up eschatological topics such as the soon coming of Christ in their sermons because these themes did not correspond with the millennial expectations of the Nazis. The preferred topics of the pastors were of an ethical nature such as Christian charity and the social responsibilities of the Christian toward the state. Evangelistic lectures concerned themselves with similar themes and were regularly observed by the police. Topics such as the obedience of the Christian toward the state as described in Rom 13 were, of course, repeatedly stressed. On the other hand, darker views of government, such as those found in Daniel and Revelation were given, according to K. Fischbacher, scant attention.¹ In those books the persecuting aspect of government is emphasized, in contrast to the protective role of government in Rom 13.

¹Interview with K. Fischbacher, Innsbruck, 10 May 1981; cf. also Allweiss, "Adventgemeinde und Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 113-20; 126-31. The Austrian pastor Karl Fischbacher lived in Switzerland during the Nazi era and could accordingly evaluate events from a more neutral perspective. Pastors working during those years in Austria, such as Th. Erbes, F. Pflingstl, and H. Schnötzingler, expressed themselves very cautiously even four decades after the end of the war. They unanimously referred to the enormous pressure exerted by the Nazis on the Austrian Adventist church. According to their reports, this pressure would justify some adaptability as a survival tactic, such as that illustrated in the restricted selection of topics for preaching.

From the narrowly selected biblical topics one can clearly see that Adventist pastors in Austria valued co-operation with the government.¹

Not only the public proclamation, but also the financial transactions of the church were carefully scrutinized by the Nazi authorities. As a result, offerings for foreign missions were discontinued since the state prohibited the exportation of money and international currency exchange.²

Many of the Adventists in Austria were of the opinion that every government is instituted by God and, therefore, worthy of respect and obedience. Austrian Adventists, as indicated above, followed exactly the same path of adaptation and submission to the Nazi regime that had been taken by the Adventists in Germany. Under no circumstances did they want to risk the dissolution of church organization in Austria through a repetition of the ban of November 1933 and, therefore, they adjusted themselves quickly to the new regime. Political

¹Ibid. Interview with Ch. Lesovsky, Semmering, 18 December 1989. Lesovsky, a prominent lay member from Austria, pointed out that many members found this one-sided gospel presentation quite acceptable and that they were prepared to identify themselves solidly on the side of the church leaders. They stood, of course, just as did the church leaders, under considerable pressure from the authorities.

²Interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980; interview with K. Fischbacher, Innsbruck, 10 May 1981.

accommodation, however, was merely a survival tactic and did not happen out of conviction. That can be seen from the fact that no Austrian Adventist minister and hardly any church members joined the Nazi party.¹

War, Conscience, and Dissent

With the outbreak of World War II in September 1939, a time of great tribulation began for the Adventists in the Reich.² Church services were infiltrated by police spies and sometimes even disbanded. Public missionary work had to be discontinued. Providing pastoral care for the churches became a problem, since almost all Adventist ministers had been drafted. Their place was taken by qualified lay men who also delivered the sermons. In contrast to World War I, Adventists in Germany and Austria now suffered not only from the constraints of a totalitarian regime but also from the consequences of a war which was partially fought in their own territory, resulting in the destruction of many church buildings and the death of more than 1,300 church members.³

¹Ibid.

²"During the past . . . years things have happened that we would not have considered possible except in a nightmare" (Minck, "Central European Division," p. 181).

³W. Mueller, ed., Gesegnetes Wachstum in kümmerlicher Zeit (Hamburg: Advent-Verlag, n.d.), p. 10; "Bericht der österreichischen Vereinigung für die Herbstsitzung der Süd-Europäischen Division in Genf," pp. 3, 4. In addition, 7,646 church members in Germany and Austria lost their homes through flight or deportation.

The problem of military service was a formidable challenge to the denomination. As during World War I, the government had made no provision for noncombatant service, and Catholic priests alone were officially exempted from bearing arms. Adventist soldiers were permitted to attend church on Sabbath, but often their being allowed to do so was dependent on the good-will of the commanding officer.¹

As the war progressed, Adventist leaders usually advised church members to comply with the demands of the Nazi officials and to perform military duties or other war-related work even on Sabbath.² The church leaders cited several reasons for their advice. First, they emphasized that obedience to the state is a biblical command. A. Minck, president of the Central European Division, explained further in a circular letter to the local pastors: "The affirmation of military service on the basis of the Bible includes meeting the obligations resulting from such service."³ Among these obligations was Sabbath work in defense and other essential operations. G. Seng, president of the South German Union

¹Hartlapp, pp. 34, 35.

²The statements of Minck and Seng on military and Sabbath observance in the original German are recorded in Appendix B.

³A. Minck to "Liebe Mitarbeiter im Evangeliumsdienst," Rundschreiben, 30 April 1940, AEA.

Conference, including the Adventist churches in Austria, expressed it even more clearly:

Total mobilization in this total war demands a total acceptance from us. We must adapt as comrades of the people to these conditions at a time in which the needs of the country and those of the front force government officials to engage all the powers at their disposal. It is also our understanding that if the front knows no day of rest, then the soldier who occupies a position in the work force at home raises no special claims but rather takes his place willingly.¹

The pronouncements of Minck and Seng speak clearly. Nevertheless, they ought not be evaluated as official statements of the German Adventist leadership, as was the case with the statements of Schuberth, Conradi, and Drinhaus during World War I. The documents of Minck and Seng were labeled "Not for Publication" and "Highly Confidential" and were intended merely as orientation for the local Adventist pastors.

No doubt the question of bearing arms and performing duty, even on Sabbath, continued to be a personal decision dependent upon the individual member. Despite the compromising advice of Minck and Seng, many Adventist draftees attempted, on an individual basis, to serve in the medical corps or in some other noncombatant branch of the army.² In some cases, this made it possible to

¹G. Seng to "Liebe Brüder im Herrn," 4 February 1943, AEA.

²J. M. Patzkowski to "Dear Folks," 18 December 1945, J. B. Penner Coll., AHC.

worship on Sabbath and to refrain from bearing arms.¹ The efforts of Adventist draftees to find alternative service in the army were consistent with the noncombatant principles that had been officially advocated by the German and Austrian church leaders in 1935. As a general rule, Adventist leaders had pointed out that any decision regarding compulsory conscription "must remain a personal matter of the individual."² However, during the war, it was often very difficult to obtain positions in medical units. The popular assumption that most Adventist men served as medical personnel in the war does not correspond to the facts. Only 14 percent of the 3,735 German and Austrian Adventists drafted by April 1942 were assigned to medical units.³ Some Adventists openly refused to bear arms or work on Saturday, like J. A. Gratz, a pastor from Salzburg, who was sentenced to a jail term by a military

¹H. Likar, "Meine Erfahrung mit Gott: 'Zivildienst' 1938-1945," Bogi--Aktuelles aus Bogenhofen, September 1987, p. 10; King, p. 98.

²The Adventist noncombatant principles were laid down in the document "Unsere Stellung zum Staat und der allgemeinen Wehrpflicht," 7 August 1935, AEA. See also Hartlapp, pp. 34, 35, 139, 140; Edward Th. Decker, "Weiss Juden: The Story of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Third Reich" (M.A. thesis, University of Denver, 1968), pp. 157, 158.

³Allweiss, "Adventgemeinde und Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 121, 122. While four of the six pastors drafted for service before January 1941 in Austria served in a medical unit, only six church members of the seventy-one drafted at the same time had this privilege (ibid., p. 168).

tribunal.¹ A few members in Germany ended up in concentration camps where they died for their faith.²

It is true, however, that members of various Adventist Reform groups which had separated from the church during World War I, largely over the issue of military service, were normally more willing to oppose Nazi conscription than mainstream Adventists. The Reform Adventists, as mentioned above, adhered to a stance of strict noncombatancy, and any compromise would have denied their own reason for existence. As was the case with the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Reform Movement was totally banned and went underground.³ A number of Reform Adventists were sent to prison or concentration camps for refusing to bear arms or work on Saturdays and some died willingly for their convictions.⁴ Anton Brugger from Kaprun, Salzburg, serves as a striking example. After Brugger refused to bear arms in 1940, the military court

¹Likar, p. 10.

²Allweiss, "Adventgemeinde und Nationalsozialismus," in Nationalsozialismus und die Adventgemeinde, pp. 131-35, 146, 147; Hartlapp, pp. 65-68; D. Heinz, "Adventistische Märtyrer in dunkler Zeit," AE, 1 April 1985, p. 7.

³King, pp. 110-19; Ernst Ch. Helmreich, The German Churches under Hitler (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), pp. 383, 384.

⁴See Hans Fleschutz, ed., Und folget ihrem Glauben nach! Gedenkbuch für die Blutzegen der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten Reformationsbewegung (Jagsthausen/Heilbronn: Internationale Missionsgesellschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten, n.d.), pp. 11-53.

in Salzburg sentenced him to two years of imprisonment. Shortly before his prison term ended, he received another draft call. Refusing again to take up arms, he was finally condemned to death for contributing to the "deterioration of the defense forces" (Zersetzung der Wehrkraft). On February 3, 1943, at the age of thirty-two, he was guillotined in Brandenburg/Havel, a few months before the Catholic conscientious objector, Franz Jägerstätter, was executed in the same prison.¹

The leaders of mainstream Adventism in Germany and Austria hoped to spare the church members from a fate such as Brugger's.² Thus, they strongly opposed the resistance

¹ Ibid., pp. 41-52. On the persecution of the Reform Movement in Austria during the Nazi period, see also Widerstand und Verfolgung in Wien 1934-1945, vol. 3, ed. Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1987), p. 278.

²"To understand properly and to judge the behavior of German-speaking Adventists during the Nazi regime and especially during the war, would require living through this difficult time and feeling the responsibility for the souls of the members and the entire church. It would really have been a small matter to make the 500 Adventist pastors and 43,000 church members of the Central European Division into martyrs, not only in Germany but also in countries occupied by German troops." ("Um unser Verhalten während der Naziregierung und besonders während der Kriegszeit recht verstehen und beurteilen zu können, müsste jemand mit uns diese schwere und anfechtungsreiche Zeit durchlebt . . . [und] Verantwortung für die Seelen wie für das ganze Werk gefühlt haben. . . . Es wäre wirklich eine Kleinigkeit gewesen, die 500 Prediger und 43,000 Gemeindeglieder in der damaligen Mitteleuropäischen Division zu Märtyrern zu machen, nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern auch in den von deutschen Truppen besetzten Ländern.") A. Minck to J. L. McElhany, 17 September 1947, AAM.

of the Reform Adventists to the state authorities which had caused the dissolution of their denomination. Instead, the church leaders pleaded for adjustments and concessions in order to ensure the survival of church organization. This process of accommodation ultimately led to military collaboration and the abandonment of certain Adventist principles of faith.¹ Nevertheless, compulsion to bear arms and to work on Sabbath remained a heavy burden on the consciences of the Adventists during the Third Reich.

Conclusions

After the political animosities between the two leading parties had led to the civil war of February 1934, the Christian Socials set up a corporative state under authoritarian Catholic rule. Even though religious freedom continued to exist, Protestant missionary activities were severely restricted. During that time Seventh-day Adventists were kept under close police surveillance and suffered public discrimination. In 1936 Adventists were informed that their organization and classification as a denomination were no longer acceptable. Under the

¹ Today many Adventists face similar problems, especially those under totalitarian governments in Eastern Europe. They are advised by world church leaders to refrain from agitating against Communism. Cf. Is There Faith in God in Russia? (Hagerstown, MD: Review and Herald Pub. Assn., 1987), pp. 4, 6, 8.

influence of the ecclesiastical authorities, the government sought to eliminate all sectarian activities.

In March 1938, Austria was occupied by Nazi Germany. Most Austrians welcomed the annexation of Austria for Pan-Germanic as well as economic reasons. At first, the established churches assured the Nazi regime of their support. Adventists in Austria also welcomed Nazism, mainly as a relief from the Catholic suppression of the corporative state. The attacks on the Adventist church in Germany after 1933 were not taken seriously enough, and the characteristic Adventist readiness to accept any political system as God-given for the maintenance of order, contributed to the church's compliance in Austria.

For the Adventists during the Nazi era, the survival of church organization seemed essential, and political accommodation proved to be an irresistible temptation. Some members courageously attempted public condemnation of Hitler's totalitarian rule even at the expense of their lives, but the majority adopted a stance of acquiescence and obedience. Under pressure from Nazi authorities, compromises were made on matters of arms-bearing and Sabbath observance, especially as World War II progressed. However, not wishing to repeat the painful schism that had occurred during World War I, largely over the issue of military service, the Adventist leaders left it to the conscience of the individual church member to

make a decision. This time, in contrast to World War I, no official combatant declarations were issued by church leaders. Adventist men usually attempted to obtain positions in medical units or some other noncombatant branch of the army--a difficult process, since only Catholic priests were officially exempt from bearing arms. Reform Adventists were normally more willing to oppose military authorities than mainstream Adventists.

Today Adventist historians generally agree with the non-Adventist scholar Elizabeth King, conceding that Adventists took adaptability too far during the Third Reich. Adventist witnesses of that time find this acknowledgement somewhat offensive, objecting that the enormous pressure brought to bear on church members justified an adaptation.

CHAPTER V

RENEWAL AND REORIENTATION: SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS DURING THE SECOND AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC (1945-1975)

Political and Religious Backgrounds

When Nazi Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allied powers in May 1945, World War II was almost over. When it ended, most of Europe was a shambles. After the war, Austria was divided into four occupational zones, and travel from one zone to another became difficult. Vienna, deep inside the Soviet zone of occupation, was jointly administered by the four occupying powers. No major city in Austria was intact. Most of the housing had been demolished, and people suffered from hunger and unemployment. Furthermore, thousands of refugees from Eastern Europe were streaming into the country.

After seven years of Nazi rule, Austria was re-established as an independent state and officially designated a liberated country. Nonetheless, it remained under four-power occupation for another ten years. Political parties, dormant under the Third Reich, reemerged under the Allied occupation and the country's democratic

constitution was quickly restored. The Nazi terror of the previous years led to a growing solidarity between the conservatives and Socialists in Austria. As a result, political reconstruction following World War II was carried out in a completely new spirit, characterized by cooperation and compromise among the leading political groups.¹ The two main forces in Austrian politics, which had fought each other bitterly during the inter-war period, now formed a coalition lasting more than two decades. A new sense of national consciousness and the long-absent belief in the viability of Austria as a separate nation gave additional strength to the Second Republic.² The country received complete sovereignty through the State Treaty of 1955 and subsequently participated, as a politically neutral country, in the general economic growth of Western Europe. The State Treaty reaffirmed the principal goals of the Treaty of St. Germain, including among other things universal human rights as well as the specific rights of religious minorities.

One of the main lessons the Catholic Church in Austria learned from the past was to withdraw from

¹K. R. Stadler, "Die österreichische Linke," in Österreichs Erste und Zweite Republik, ed. Erich Zöllner (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1985), pp. 51, 52; V. Reimann, "Das nationale und liberale Lager in Österreich," in Erste und Zweite Republik, p. 93.

²Ibid.

partisan politics; hence, it adopted the principle of being free and open, denying links to any political party.¹ Nevertheless, the basic ideological struggle of the Catholic-oriented People's Party, representing the former Christian Social camp, and the Socialists over their respective Weltanschauung continued.

In 1957, the federal government recognized much of the Concordat of 1933 as valid, thus confirming parochial and other state-supported privileges for the Catholic Church.² Through the regulations of the concordat, the Catholic Church still maintained its favored position over other recognized churches. As mentioned earlier, the relationship between the recognized churches and the government is characterized by coordination and cooperation. A complete separation of church and state does not exist in Austria. For example, a person planning to leave

¹Erika Weinzierl and Kurt Skalnik, eds., Das Neue Österreich: Geschichte der Zweiten Republik (Graz: Styria, 1975), pp. 242-44; cf. also Weinzierl, "Kirche und Staat in Österreich 1945-1980," Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift 9 (1980):455; Hans Magenschab, Die 2. Republik zwischen Kirche und Parteien (Vienna: Herold, 1968), pp. 11-15; W. Mantl, "Die Entwicklung des österreichischen Katholizismus in der Zweiten Republik," in Religion und Kultur, pp. 315, 316, 318.

²See A. Kosteletzky, "Anerkennung der Rechtsgültigkeit des österreichischen Konkordates vom 5. Juni 1933 durch die Zusatzverträge mit dem Hl. Stuhl in den Jahren 1960 bis 1976," in Kirche und Staat. Fritz Eckert zum 65. Geburtstag (Festschrift), ed. H. Schambeck (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1976), pp. 215-39; W. M. Plöchl, "Wesen und Funktion der Konkordate am Beispiel des österreichischen Konkordats," in Kirche und Staat, pp. 209-14.

a recognized church must notify the state authorities. Furthermore, recognized churches have the right to take advantage of state assistance, such as prosecution when enforcing claims on members. They have certain tax privileges and, above all, the fundamental right to religious instruction in schools. Unlike the United States, religious education for members of recognized religious bodies is an integral part of the Austrian school system. The state maintains the right of intervention in external affairs of any recognized church.

Through the Protestant Law of 1961, the Lutheran-Reformed Church was also granted privileged, state-subsidized autonomy, and all earlier forms of state control were removed from it.¹

During the post-war period, the government did give religious minorities more favorable attention than before. Even though the Recognition Law of 1874 was still in effect, it was now less rigidly applied than during the Monarchy and the First Republic. Thus, with the help of American military officials, the Methodists and Mormons obtained state recognition shortly after the war.² The status of the unrecognized religions, however, remains

¹E. C. Hellbling, "Staat und Kirche in Österreich aus evangelischer Sicht," in Kirche und Staat, pp. 191-93; cf. also Mecenseffy, pp. 222, 223.

²Cf. Inge Gampl, Österreichisches Staatskirchenrecht (Vienna: Springer, 1971), pp. 369, 370.

unclear to this day. Legally, no differentiation is made between members of unrecognized churches and non-religious people (Konfessionslose) or atheists. Nevertheless, after 1945, a period of unhindered missionary endeavor for the smaller Protestant churches in Austria began,¹ and ecumenical relations among the established churches improved.²

At present, increasing secularization, especially in urban areas, poses great problems for all churches and religious denominations in Austria. The contemporary phenomenon of secularization has taken on the form of religious indifferentism which is characterized by a universal decline of religion and its influence in public life, as expressed in sharply reduced church attendance. In 1970, less than 10 percent of the Catholic population in Vienna attended mass regularly, and church attendance continued to decrease because of the secularizing trend.³

¹For example, pioneer mission work was started with increasing success by Baptist and Mennonite groups. See Wagner, pp. 99-105; John A. Toews, A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church (Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Pub. House, 1982), pp. 434-36.

²See Christine Gleixner, Ökumene heute (Vienna: Herold, 1980), pp. 69-88; H. Nausner, "The Ecumenical Situation in Austria," Journal of Ecumenical Studies 25 (1988):322.

³See Paul M. Zulehner, Verfällt die Kirchlichkeit in Österreich? (Graz: Styria, 1971), pp. 9-20, 25-45; I. Zangerle, "Zur Situation der Kirche in Österreich," Internationale Katholische Zeitschrift 17 (1988):467-69. Since the late eighteenth century, five successive waves of secularization have been evident in Austria: (1) Josephinism, (2) Liberalism, (3) Socialism, (4) Nazism, and (5) Modern Indifferentism.

On the other hand, institutional religion as a socio-cultural entity (Volksfrömmigkeit) remains important, as indicated by the country's high percentage of nominal church membership. In 1975, 88 percent of Austrians were Roman Catholic.¹ Religion, if it persists at all, is relegated to different societal functions such as the performance of baptisms, wedding ceremonies, and funerals. The fact that Austria today is becoming a "post-Christian" country confronts evangelical mission outreach with a tremendous challenge.

Church Activities, Public Evangelism, and Rapid Growth

With the end of World War II, Adventist evangelism surged anew in Austria, and never before had the church been able to experience such numerical growth. Between 1945 and 1950, more than 1,000 people joined Adventism, bringing total church membership to approximately 2,600.² Vienna alone counted 1,000 church members in 1950.³ Thus

¹According to the statistics of 1988, 84.64 percent of Austrians are Roman Catholic, and 4.87 percent are Protestant. Cf. Nausner, "Ecumenical Situation," p. 322.

Cf. also I. Mörth, "Zwischen Aberglauben und Ideologie. Aspekte von Alltagsreligiosität am Beispiel Österreich," in Volksfrömmigkeit in Europa, ed. M. N. Ebertz and F. Schultheis (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1986), pp. 88-98.

²Cf. L. Schneebauer, "Anfang und Fortschritt des Werkes in Österreich," AE, February 1958, p. 4.

³L. Schneebauer, "Vorträge in Wien," BO, 15 April 1951, p. 62.

approximately 38 percent, or more than a third of the total Adventist membership in Austria lived in the capital.¹ Since 1950, Adventist pastors attempted to raise the church membership to 3,000.

Post-war economic distress affected the lives of many Adventists in Austria. Thousands of Care Packages arrived from North America, Scandinavia, and Switzerland to alleviate the hardship of the Austrian members.² D. G. Rose, an Adventist relief agent, reported:

Brother Grabner, the colporteur leader, was so weak before the food arrived that he could not speak in public. . . . Sister Rollett, the treasurer, fainted in the office and remained unconscious for a time because of undernourishment. . . . Many of our people lay at the point of death and assert that they would have died like flies if the food had not arrived in time.³

Suffering and social disruption did not impede denominational growth. On the contrary, the destructive results of World War II caused many Austrians to look for new values in life, thus creating a specific receptiveness

¹Statistics have changed little since that time. The Adventist church in Austria had approximately 2,800 members in 1988, with 1,000 of them still living in Vienna, where about 22 percent of the total Austrian population is concentrated.

²W. K. Ising, "Worte des Dankes von unsern Geschwistern in Österreich," BO, 1 September 1946, p. 129; L. Schneebeuer, "Years of Trouble in Austria," RH, 11 June 1946, p. 105.

³"Food Saves Lives in Austria," RH, 21 November 1946, p. 24.

to the Adventist message among the general population.¹ The pastors continued to place much emphasis on doctrinal and prophetic themes. Armageddon, war, the atomic bomb, world-wide catastrophe, the second coming of Christ, and the rise of Communism were the most common topics of the lecture programs following World War II. Current political events, frequently of a threatening nature, were intentionally chosen by the pastors to attract attention, sometimes exploiting public fear in a rather sensational fashion.² Christ-centered evangelism also gained new ground among Adventist pastors in the post-war decade. Th. Erbes, a native of Germany, attracted the largest audiences of any Adventist evangelist in Austria during that time. He held up to three extended lecture series per year. Every Adventist minister was expected to present at least two public lectures every week in addition to his pastoral duties. Church members were encouraged to do door-to-door missionary work for at least

¹As a result of post-war evangelism, new churches were organized in the following places: Steyr in 1946; Vienna IX (Nussdorfer Strasse 5) in 1948; Braunau, Leoben, Hainfeld, and Vienna VII (Neubaugasse 5) in 1949; Baden and Stadl-Paura in 1950; Vienna XXI (Werndlgasse 2) in 1953; Vienna X (Hasengasse 28) in 1959; Weiz in 1964; Deutschlandsberg in 1966; Attnang-Vöcklabruck in 1967; Vienna-Yugoslav (Nussdorfer Strasse 4a) in 1968.

²A few samples of lecture programs from this time are preserved in the archives of the church headquarters (AAM) in Vienna.

one hour every week.¹ The fact that some larger Adventist congregations began to use church buildings and meeting halls attractive enough to appeal to the general public seems to have additionally contributed to post-war church growth.² The buildings were constructed as multi-purpose "chapels" with a vaguely church-like appearance. They were erected with the generous financial support of the "Southern European Division," to which the Austrian members were now allocated.

Also, the activities of the local Adventist welfare societies (Tabevereine)--distributing food and clothing to children, refugees, and the poor--received favorable public attention and helped to break down prejudice.³ As a result, Adventists were granted permission by local government officials to give away magazines periodically

¹Interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980; interview with W. Schultschik, Vienna, 20 November 1989.

²Cf. J. C. Thompson, "Our Work in Austria," RH, 17 July 1952, p. 18; H. Schnötzing, "Vom Adventwerk in Österreich," AE, November 1947, pp. 85, 86; L. Schnee-bauer, "Adventhaus Wien," AE, August 1950, pp. 6-8.

In 1950 the headquarters of the church were established in the centrally located Adventhaus, Nussdorfer Strasse 5, Vienna. The meeting hall of the building seats five hundred people and remains the largest Adventist evangelistic center in Austria.

³Cf. L. Schnee-bauer, "Bericht über die Wohlfahrtsarbeit der Gemeinschaft der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten in Österreich 1945-1947," BO, 1 June 1948, p. 87; E. Svrcek-Seiler, "Arbeitsbericht der acht Tabegruppen Wiens," AE, April 1950, pp. 9-11; "Ein Rekord der Wiener Tabegruppen," AE, April 1954, pp. 11, 12.

through door-to-door visitation, asking, in return, for contributions to the church's foreign mission fund. The Ingathering Program (Erntedank), as it was called by the Adventists, represented a high point for the Austrian church members, especially since this program allowed them to participate in the denomination's worldwide mission effort. The government authorities, however, did not permit Ingathering work on a full-time basis and required solicitors to be unpaid volunteers.

The strong evangelistic drive after the war led to a renewed emphasis on education and youth ministry, culminating in 1949 with the establishment of a Missionsseminar for the training of native pastors and missionary workers.¹ The school is located in the small village of Bogenhofen, in Upper Austria, about forty miles north of Salzburg. The eighteen-acre property was purchased by the Adventists in 1949 for a total sum of 500,000 schilling. The campus includes a fifteenth-century castle (Schloss)

¹On the origin and development of Bogenhofen Seminary, see: L. Schneebauer, "Österreich hat ein Missionsseminar," AE, June 1949, pp. 9, 10; K. Fischbacher, "Geburtsstunde des Seminars Schloss Bogenhofen," AE, January 1950, pp. 12-14; F. Pieringer, "Eröffnung des Seminars Schloss Bogenhofen," AE, May 1967, pp. 12, 13; P. Steiner, "Missionsschule im Ausbau," AE, July 1954, pp. 12, 13; Th. Pfingstl, "Seminar Bogenhofen: 25 Jahre danach," AE, 1 October 1974, p. 17; O. Riegler, "25 Jahre Seminar Schloss Bogenhofen," AE, 1 March 1975, pp. 15, 16; D. Heinz, "Austrian College Has Colorful History," RH, 30 December 1982, p. 20. On the history of the German-speaking Adventist theological schools, see idem, "Entstehung und Entwicklung der deutschsprachigen Predigerseminare," AE, 15 March 1981, pp. 10, 11.

under state protection as a historic monument. The school opened on November 30, 1949, with twenty-two students and a four-year curriculum consisting of the following courses: ministerial program, general education, commercial classes, pre-nursing, and home economics. The school also owned a farm, vegetable gardens, and a small factory, manufacturing bedsteads and mattresses, where students could learn useful skills while earning money to defray educational expenses. F. Pieringer, the first principal of the institution, was determined to establish a program combining the religious aspect of learning with the manual. The rural setting of the school which was conducive to spiritual development, contemplation, and physical exercise helped to implement this goal. The growth of the student body necessitated the erection of various school buildings in the late 1950s and 1960s. Since 1953 the Missionsseminar served the Adventists not only in Austria, but also in German-speaking Switzerland. Apart from the theological Seminary, established by F. Pieringer and H. Heinz, the school developed three other programs, namely a state-accredited Gymnasium, leading to the Matura, necessary for entrance into any European university, the business school, and a German language course for foreign students, affiliated with the Goethe Institute in Munich. In connection with the German language program for foreign students, the school provided

yearly cultural tours to many sights in Central Europe, as well as to several Eastern block countries.

Compared with other Adventist educational institutions, the school in Bogenhofen has remained rather small with 10 regular teachers and approximately 80 to 100 students. Nevertheless, the Missionsseminar is one of the most international Adventist schools in Europe, having accommodated students from at least 45 countries around the globe. More than 75 percent of all Adventist pastors in Austria and more than 50 percent of those in German-speaking Switzerland received their ministerial training at Bogenhofen Seminary. In addition, a number of pastors who attended the school were sent to French-speaking Central Africa as missionaries, a practice that had a reinforcing and stimulating effect on the denomination at home. Nevertheless, the operation of a school creates problems for the Adventist leaders in Austria. Adventist schooling must compete with a state-sponsored educational system which is well developed and free to all citizens. Furthermore, many Adventists in Austria do not appear to have fully grasped the value of a Christian education, at least not fully enough to pay for it. Even at present, Adventist leaders have to operate an intensive recruitment effort in order to maintain enrollment. Without question, the Seminary in Bogenhofen contributed considerably to the indigenization of Austrian Adventism. The church in

Austria was no longer dependent on foreign pastors now that a complete, four-year pastoral training was offered at the school.

The training of Adventist lay missionary workers after the war was accomplished by the time-tested Missionshelferkurse within the local congregation, offering instruction in homiletics, Bible exegesis, and church history. The courses were usually organized by J. A. Gratz and H. Schnötzingler, who, in 1949, also started a Bible correspondence school (Stimme der Hoffnung).¹ International youth meetings, a magazine (Jugendruf), and the introduction of youth clubs (Jungwacht), analogous to "Pathfinder clubs" elsewhere in the denomination, helped further to stimulate Adventist youth work in Austria.²

The idea of holding international Adventist youth meetings originated in Germany, where the first congress of this type was held in Chemnitz in 1928. In Austria, a youth congress was held in Salzburg in 1948, and more than 5,000 people from all over Europe attended a second one in Vienna in 1967. While youth meetings were very popular among European Adventists, Pathfinder work met a certain amount of resistance in the local churches. The uniforms,

¹Cf. E. Kilian, "25 Jahre Stimme der Hoffnung," AE, 15 June 1974, p. 6.

²M. C. Hetzell, "Youth Meet in Vienna," The Youth's Instructor, 12 December 1967, pp. 12-16.

flags, unit guidons, and ceremonies reminded Adventist members of para-military organizations.¹

The Pathfinder work, developed by the Adventists in America, represents only one example of the contrasting sensibility between European and North American Adventists in matters of church practice and lifestyle. In fact, there appear to be several differences between Adventists in Austria and those in North America. For example, Austrians seem less spiritually strict in Sabbath observance, allowing various sports in a relaxed, uncompetitive setting. Vegetarianism, an integral element of Adventist health reform in America, does not occupy a similarly significant position among Austrian Adventists.² Also, the writings of Ellen G. White seem to have less influence in Austria than they do in North America. Although it was not particularly uncommon in America to have a woman as spiritual leader of a denomination, Europeans held adamantly to a less flexible view of the woman in society,

¹J. J. Aitken to F. Pieringer, 24 October 1949, AAM.

²The differing attitudes among Adventists as an identifiable social group within a specific cultural setting have not been adequately researched. In order to determine the position of vegetarianism among Adventists in German-speaking Central Europe, I examined, from 1908 on, the most important church periodicals, such as Zions-Wächter, Gute Gesundheit, Adventbote, and Adventecho. Although articles dealing with issues of health appear there, vegetarianism itself receives little notice. It appears rather that in place of meatless diet, a modicum of flesh combined with vegetables was recommended. Cf. also Padderatz, pp. 225-30.

emphasizing her traditional role as mother and housewife. Doctrinal differences between Adventists in Austria and North America appear, nevertheless, to be non-existent.¹

How the differing lifestyle of Austrian Adventists developed is difficult to determine historically. It would appear that the Adventists in Austria have adapted somewhat to their social milieu. Since the Adventist community strikes the Austrian population as a "foreign" denomination, adherents of the Adventist faith have evidently attempted to color their lifestyle with more of a European hue. Such adaptation is especially clear in the question of Sabbath-keeping, which was influenced by a continental type of Sunday observance rather than a Puritan background as found in America. The Adventist focus on stricter Sabbath observance in America reflects the Puritan strain within Adventism.

Let us now look at the Adventist publishing work which experienced considerable growth in Austria after World War II. In 1948, a publishing house (Wegweiser

¹In order to find out whether doctrinal differences existed, I have, from 1920 on, systematically compared the American Sabbath school quarterlies with the German ones. The German Sabbath school quarterlies are almost exclusively an exact translation of the English lessons. This fact would suggest that officially at least no positions diverging from those of the world church were spread among Adventist congregations in Austria. In the German Sabbath school quarterlies the sole difference appears to be the incorporation of fewer citations from Ellen G. White.

Verlag) was established in Vienna.¹ It served mainly as a distribution center for Adventist literature, including Sabbath school quarterlies, which was printed in Germany. The church periodical, Adventecho, was published by the Southern European Division in Berne, containing not only theological and devotional articles, but also news items from the local churches in German-speaking Switzerland and Austria. The Adventists in Germany belonged to another division and, therefore, had their own church paper.

The establishment of the publishing house gave the colporteur work new impetus. Since 1956 so-called Buch-evangelistenfeldzüge have been held, involving a relatively large group of colporteurs who, in connection with the local pastors, systematically canvass certain specific regions of the country. This method was developed in Austria to facilitate Adventist penetration of rural areas. It has been used internationally since then by Adventist colporteurs.²

It seems that the Adventist membership in Austria was still too small to operate medical institutions. An old people's home (Haus Stefanie) was established

¹[E. Hatzinger], "25 Jahre Verlag in Österreich," AE, 1 November 1973, pp. 18, 19. At first the work was carried out in the name of the first manager, Rudolf Überbacher. In 1951 the publishing house adopted its present name.

²Interview with F. Stronegger, Vienna, 23 August 1985. The first Buchevangelistenfeldzug took place at Klosterneuburg, Lower Austria.

relatively late, in 1970. The home accommodates more than 40 persons and is situated at Semmering, a well-known health-resort south of Vienna.

Austrian Adventism during the post-war decade had a strong vision for evangelism and expansion, revealing commitment to all types of missionary outreach. The church also began to establish institutions such as a school, a publishing house, and various multi-purpose church buildings, which contributed, each in its own way, to the overall growth of the movement.

The Legal Struggle of the Church

The government authorities of the Second Austrian Republic gave increased attention to the smaller religious groups, issuing a number of juridical decisions which improved the position of the Adventists. First, mandatory religious instruction in public schools was abolished. In 1964 Adventist children were officially exempted from attending school on Saturday.¹ Most children of Adventist parents had, nevertheless, previously not attended school on Sabbath, an illegal practice generally tolerated by the state. The exemption in Austria came relatively late.

¹Cf. Leo Kövesi and Felix Jonak, eds., Das österreichische Schulrecht (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1976), pp. 328, 329.

Strongly Catholic Bavaria had established exemption from school on Saturdays as early as 1921.¹

Adventist draftees were usually allowed to serve in the medical branches of the army, and, in 1962, were even granted permission to attend church on Sabbath.² The negotiations of the Adventists with the Austrian government culminated in 1974 with the introduction of the Zivildienstgesetz, a law which allowed conscientious objectors to perform non-military service.³

Unfortunately, modern Austrian legislation maintained the long-standing differentiation between recognized and unrecognized churches. What was the origin of this rather peculiar distinction? First, it is clear that the differentiation between "public" and "private worship" is deeply rooted in the judicial system of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation and was also found in the Toleration Patent of 1781. Then, in 1848, the differentiation of "recognized" and "unrecognized

¹G. W. Schubert, "Der Sabbat schulfrei in Bayern," ZW, May 1921, pp. 85-87.

²Steiner to K. Fischbacher, 1 October 1962, Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung, Zl. 7429-Präs/62, AAM.

³Cf. K. Poglitsch, "Empfang bei Bundeskanzler Dr. Kreisky," AE, 15 June 1974, p. 18; K. Fischbacher, "Österreich führt Zivildienst ein," AE, 1 November 1974, pp. 13, 16; idem, "Die Einführung des Zivildienstes in Österreich," GF 3 (Fall 1975):70, 71; F. Rapp, "Wehrpflicht und Gewissensfreiheit in Österreich," GF 7 (Spring 1979):56-59; E. Stumpf, "Zehn Jahre Zivildienst in Österreich," GF 13 (Fall 1985):26-32.

religions" was added. The former regulation of private worship, applied since 1781 to the tolerated churches, was now applied to unrecognized religions. While the limitation of private worship was eliminated in 1919, the differentiation of recognized and unrecognized religions-- a distinction unjustified in the light of modern egalitarian legislation--has survived.¹ Unrecognized churches, therefore, continue to have no legal basis in Austria, and their relationship to the state is unsettled.²

State recognition under present conditions amounts to government supervision, as mentioned earlier. It also leads to legal disadvantages. Adventism, for instance, practices adult baptism. Thus, unbaptized children are ex lege not members of the church. Since recognized

¹Cf. Ermacora, pp. 436, 437, 440.

²Also, as mentioned above, unrecognized churches are still not allowed to form legal societies or associations, although jurisprudential authorities such as Ermacora (pp. 442-45), Gampl (Staatskirchenrecht, pp. 46, 47), and Höslinger ("Die Rechtsstellung der 'Sekten' in Österreich," pp. 220, 221) condemn this regulation. In order to perform legal transactions for certain religious purposes, unrecognized churches continue to form so-called "substitutional societies under civil law" (Hilfsvereine).

For more information on the status of the unrecognized churches in Austria, see Rechtslexikon: Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtes für die Praxis, s.v. "Religionsgemeinschaften, Kleinere," by J. Rieger and H. Schima; E. Melichar, "Zur Rechtsstellung der gesetzlich nicht anerkannten Religionsbekenntnisse," ÖAKR 30 (1979):44-56; G. Schultschik, "Die Stellung der gesetzlich nicht anerkannten Religionsgesellschaften in Österreich," GF 11 (Fall 1983):18-22; R. Puza, "Zur Rechtsstellung der 'Sekten' in Österreich," Oekumenisches Forum 4 (1984):23-38.

churches, according to the law, may give religious instruction only to regular church members, Adventists, therefore, would lose the possibility of religious education for their youth if recognized by the state. The inequality between the recognized and unrecognized churches also leads to socio-religious discrimination, as no difference is made between Adventists and non-religious people or atheists.¹ Furthermore, it seems that the established churches contribute in an indirect, yet substantial way, to make sure that their influence in public life is not weakened by the legal advancement or recognition of additional denominations.

In order to more efficiently represent the interests of religious minorities in Austria, Adventists, in 1975, founded an organization for the protection and promotion of religious liberty (Österreichische Vereinigung zur Wahrung und Förderung der Religionsfreiheit).² Members of different smaller religious groups belong to this organization.

After the successful cooperation with the government that led to the passage of the Zivildienstgesetz, Adventist leaders attempted to gain state

¹Cf. Schultschik, p. 21.

²E. Hatzinger, "7. Konferenz der Österreichischen Union," AE, 1 December 1975, p. 17.

recognition through a new law.¹ It seems that in most western, non-Communist countries of Europe, Adventists are today in a better legal position than in Austria.

Church Organization and Evangelistic Decline

After the war the two Adventist conferences in Austria, which until then had been attached to one or another of the German Union Conferences within the Central European Division, were transferred to the Southern European Division, headquartered in Berne, Switzerland.² The separation from German church leadership had a positive effect on the development of Adventism in Austria. The churches were no longer considered an adjunct to a German conference, and attained a certain degree of administrative autonomy that led to a stronger sense of responsibility among the local members. In 1947 the Austrian conferences were reorganized as the "Alpine Conference" and the "Danube Conference," making up the "Austrian Union Conference" with headquarters in Vienna.³ In order to facilitate administrative work, the two

¹See also K. Fischbacher, "Österreich: Audienz beim Staatsoberhaupt," *GF* 5 (Spring 1977):96; idem, "Österreichs Staatsoberhaupt empfängt religiöse Minderheiten," *AE*, 15 January 1979, pp. 15, 16.

²M. Schwab, "Die Unionen der Südeuropäischen Division-Österreich," *AE*, July 1964, pp. 6, 7; idem, "L'Union Autrichienne," *Revue Adventiste*, June 1967, pp. 12-14.

³H. Schnötzingler, "Vom Adventwerk in Österreich," p. 85.

conferences, in 1967, were replaced by an Austrian "Union of Churches"--the first Adventist organization of this kind in Europe.¹ It represented a centralized form of church government with union status, composed of the local churches within a given area, such as a state, making the former conference structure unnecessary. The constitution provided for regular quadrennial sessions, and president, treasurer, and departmental secretaries were elected by the delegates of the local churches. The church organization of 1967 ultimately led to the financial independence of the Adventist movement in Austria.² Before then, church activities of the Austrian Adventists had depended on foreign funds. The reasons for financial independence include savings realized by a simplified denominational structure and an increase of church offerings due to the growing economic prosperity of the country.³

The organizational changes were accompanied by certain noticeable modifications in evangelism. The early post-wartime gains of Adventist membership in Austria

¹J. Stöger, "Wachet und Betet--Bericht über die Jahreskonferenzen 1967 in Österreich," *AE*, February 1968, p. 7; Schwab, "Die Unionen der Südeuropäischen Division," pp. 6, 7. Seventh-day Adventists in other smaller European countries quickly followed the Austrian example, forming "unions" made up of local churches without conference administration.

²Otto Uebersax to D. Heinz, 14 January 1985; interview with E. Hatzinger, Vienna, 20 November 1989.

³Ibid.

dropped drastically after 1955. M. Schwab, the superintendent of the Austrian Union Conference at that time, wrote:

The years after the two world wars were years of rapid church growth. In some quarters 40, 50, and 60 souls could be baptized in Vienna alone. Those were truly days of celebration. Since then, soul winning has become more difficult year by year. Adventist pastors and laity in Austria have tried unsuccessfully to raise the membership to the round number of 3,000 for years. Three thousand is the border that the neighboring Italian Union was recently able to cross.¹

The abrupt decline may be attributable to several factors.² The economic recovery that marked the second post-war decade created a highly consumer-oriented society, adding to the secularization of the people. The initial public attractiveness of the apocalyptic expectations apparent in much Adventist evangelism before and after the war faded, and the strictly doctrinal approach also began to lose its evangelistic thrust. Consequently, the Adventist missionary spirit weakened, and pastors began to concentrate increasingly on the spiritual needs of their congregations instead of launching new missionary programs. Organizational and institutional preoccupations among the Adventist leaders, such as the construction of local church buildings and the school at Bogenhofen, may

¹"Die Unionen der Südeuropäischen Division," pp. 6, 7.

²For an analysis of recent Adventist church-growth patterns in Austria, see E. Baumgartner, "A Summary of SDA Church Growth in German-Speaking Europe: History and Present Trends" (research paper, 1989), pp. 29-46, AEA.

have contributed to the neglect of evangelism in Austria as well.¹ Schwab, however, ascribed the evangelistic decline less to the institutional interests of the church and more to the societal phenomena of pluralism and secularism.² Adventists were undoubtedly puzzled by a situation unique in the evangelistic history of the church in Austria--that of no longer gaining significant numbers of converts over a period of many years. The general diminishing of public religious interest was felt by almost all churches in Austria, not only by the Adventists.

Since the early 1970s the Adventist pastors in Austria began to experiment with new forms of evangelism.³ As a response to the secularizing trends, the thrust of the evangelistic appeal was shifted, leading to an infusion of practical Christianity into the Adventist lecture programs. Congregational preaching followed the same line. From now on, many pastors focused on a psycho-religious approach to human problems instead of using a

¹Interview with H. Schnötzing, Wr. Neustadt, 9 December 1981; interview with Th. Erbes, Berrien Springs, MI, 1 August 1980.

²Interview with M. Schwab, Bogenhofen, 26 June 1984. Cf. also Baumgartner, "Summary of Church Growth," pp. 38, 39. Erbes and Schnötzing were successful evangelists. It appears that both of them were dissatisfied with Schwab's leadership, because he obviously did not put enough emphasis on evangelistic programs.

³Ibid., pp. 42, 46.

strictly prophetic or doctrinal method. Among the titles, used by the pastors, were: "The Secret of a Happy Marriage," "Living With a Forward Look," "Hope Beyond Death," "The Cause and Cure of Stress," "Food, Health, and Efficiency," "Survival Through Faith."¹ Their capitalization on public interest in health, psychology, family life, and adult education was not an end in itself but a means for leading people to an appreciation of the Adventist message. The lectures were usually offered as multi-faceted seminars with direct involvement of the participants. It was, nevertheless, often very difficult in the seminars which had a distinctly secular coloring to shift to religious topics. When the shift was made, attendance decreased significantly.

Series on such themes as the Bible in the light of archaeology, a method popular in North America, were hardly offered in Austria. The unpopularity of the latter approach may have resulted from the fact that few preachers in Austria felt themselves educationally qualified to pursue the method. It is furthermore questionable whether topics dealing with biblical archaeology would have been successful in an increasingly secular society, such as that in Austria.

¹A list of topics and various lecture programs is preserved in the archives of the Adventist headquarters (AAM) in Vienna.

The psycho-religious approach has been partially successful, although any larger evangelistic success remains to be achieved. Adventist pastors in Austria evidently found a way again to attract attention and to reduce prejudice and misunderstanding; the membership centered around 2,800 in 1975.

The General Conference session of 1975 in Vienna, which is taken as the terminus of our study, was a spiritual highlight for the Austrian Adventists. It was the first session ever held outside of North America.¹ The capital of neutral Austria proved a suitable meeting place for Adventists from the East and West. Approximately twenty thousand members attended the General Conference session, including delegates from the neighboring Communist countries and the Soviet Union.²

O. Uebersax, the superintendent of the Adventist church in Austria at that time, spoke several Eastern European languages and had regularly visited Adventist congregations behind the Iron Curtain. He finally succeeded in obtaining Soviet permission for a delegation of Adventist church leaders to attend the session in Vienna. Since the outbreak of World War I, no Adventist leaders from Russia

¹Cf. G. Rempel, "Zwischen Luthers Trutzlied und dem gesungenen Vaterunser--52. Generalkonferenz vom 10. bis 19. Juli in Wien," AE, 1 September 1975, pp. 3-8.

²Otto Uebersax to D. Heinz, 14 January 1985; R. F. Cottrell, "The Significance of the Session," RH, 7 August 1975, pp. 23, 24.

had been able to take part in a General Conference session.¹ The session in Vienna marked the beginning of a new era for the Adventists in the Soviet Union, allowing them to gradually turn to the West.

The General Conference session led to increased publicity for the small Adventist community in Austria, since the mass media throughout the country reported on the event. Yet, in spite of numerous Adventist invitations, no official representatives of the established churches and the government appeared at the session.

Adventists in Catholic Perspective

For several decades, the Catholic Church in Austria portrayed Seventh-day Adventism as a "dangerous American cult," harshly criticizing Adventist missionary methods.²

Josef Steiner, a Catholic priest from Styria, wrote:

William Miller, Ellen G. White, and Ludwig R. Conradi are definitely not the messengers of the Savior, but rather the apostles and their spiritual descendants: the pope, the bishops and the priests! Therefore we

¹In 1920, O. E. Reinke, an Adventist superintendent in Russia, had already requested that the next Adventist General Conference session be held in Europe ("First Message from Russia," *RH*, 25 November 1920, p. 7).

²J. B. Roetzer, Die S. T.-Adventisten und der Fels des Christentums (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1922), pp. 5, 6, 52.

wish to refuse all who come to us in sheep's clothing to rob us of our ancient Catholic faith.¹

The ecclesiastical authorities criticized primarily the somewhat veiled missionary tactics of the Adventists. In order to gain contact, Adventist colporteurs, missionary workers, and pastors did not immediately reveal themselves to be Adventists. That occurred only later when they had achieved a measure of confidence with the populace.

Catholic criticism was largely polemical and often contained mistakes, misunderstandings, and prejudices. The claim was made, for instance, that many Seventh-day Adventists sought to determine the time of Christ's return on the basis of their apocalyptic expectations,² using Daniel and Revelation as "arithmetic-books."³ Furthermore, the Catholics argued that Adventists misused the doctrine of the imminent Second Advent to shock as well as attract the people.⁴ The strongly eschatological orientation of the Adventist church was considered a

¹Die Kirche Christi und die Adventisten (Graz: Styria, 1924), pp. 11, 12; cf. also Adele Spuller, Sekten nach dem Konzil (Vienna: Veritas, n.d.), pp. 10, 57; Max Heimbucher, Die neuzeitlichen Sekten (Klagenfurt: St. Josef-Bücherbruderschaft, n.d.), p. 5.

²Erich Walter, Sektenwesen. Neues Heil oder Zeitkrankheit (Klagenfurt: St. Josef-Bücherbruderschaft, 1955), p. 22; Roetzer, p. 10; Steiner, pp. 24-29.

³Roetzer, p. 9.

⁴Heimbucher, p. 31.

contradiction of its emphasis on health reform,¹ and Sabbath observance and tithing were portrayed as a relapse into Judaism.²

Until the present time, the Catholic clergy in Austria continues to stigmatize Adventism as a "sect" (Sekte, Sondergemeinschaft); in some other European countries, however, it is considered a Protestant Free church (Freikirche).³ Religious prejudice and public discrimination are widely used by Austrian Catholics to downgrade Adventism. Unfortunately, no objective and well-balanced literature on denominations other than the established churches exists in Austria.

Conclusions

After World War II, Austria was reestablished as an independent state and the country's democratic constitution was quickly restored. During the Second Austrian Republic, the Catholic Church withdrew from active partisan politics and the government paid religious

¹"What is the basis of the Adventists' concern for a long life and solid health? What is actually genuine about it: the vigilance to be well prepared for receiving the Lord at His second coming, or their concern for a long, healthy life?" Walter, p. 33.

²Steiner, pp. 19-23; Walter, pp. 28-32; Roetzer, pp. 15-17; Josef Casper, Sekten, Seher und Betrüger (Innsbruck: Tyrolia, 1953), p. 27.

³Cf. Andreas Rössler, Postionen, Konfessionen, Denominationen. Eine kleine Kirchenkunde (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1988), pp. 74, 75; Fritz Blanke, Kirchen und Sekten (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1955), p. 73.

minorities more favorable attention. As a result, missionary work of the smaller Protestant churches in Austria prospered as never before. Adventist evangelism during the first post-war decade was highly successful. The encounter with economic distress and suffering caused by the war created a specific receptivity to the Adventist message, and much emphasis was placed on standard doctrinal and prophetic themes. The growing congregations were organized into a Union Conference and transferred to the Southern European Division, headquartered in Berne, Switzerland.

The establishment of the Seminary at Bogenhofen in 1949 with the subsequent emergence of a native-born clergy contributed considerably to the indigenization of Austrian Adventism. Also, the separation from German church leadership had a positive effect on the development of Adventism in Austria, leading to a stronger sense of responsibility among the local members.

After 1955 the early post-war Adventist growth declined drastically. The second post-war decade created a highly materialistic, non-religious society. Also, the third generation of Adventism in Austria witnessed the first signs of the church's institutionalization, and the evangelistic zeal weakened. Much emphasis was placed on the construction of church buildings, and less energy was available for outreach. The neglect of institutional

interests during the inter-war period may have resulted in their overemphasis in the 1950s and 1960s. Slow church growth led to a shift of the evangelistic appeal in the early 1970s. As a response to the secularizing trends of the times, Adventist pastors began to develop a practical, psycho-religious approach to human problems instead of using abstract prophetic or doctrinal methods. It seems that for Adventist evangelism to be successful in contemporary Austria, it must be long-term, oriented to the local church, multi-dimensional in topical selection, and based on small groups or seminars.

The General Conference session of 1975 in Vienna, the first held outside North America, represented a spiritual highlight for the Adventists in Austria, leading to increased publicity for the congregations all over the country. However, unrecognized religions such as Adventism continued to have no legal basis, and Adventist leaders attempted to gain state recognition through a new law. One of the legal anomalies touching unrecognized religions in Austria is that the regulations governing state recognition are a relic of the Habsburg era.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The story of Seventh-day Adventists in Austria represents a case study of the dynamics involved when a minority religion encounters a largely hostile church and state. There could be little expectation that a new denomination, particularly a religion coming from America with "foreign" workers and methods, would gain a large number of adherents in a country where traditional allegiance to Roman Catholicism linked with an emphasis on cultural continuity constituted the tenor of social life. Even today Austrians tend to assume a defensive attitude, resisting all outside influence, including that from Germany. In Third World countries Adventism is regarded as a representative of progressive western civilization and in many cases becoming an Adventist there means an upward move both socially and culturally. This is not the case in Europe, however, where Adventism until the present day is considered an unpopular, foreign religion. Often referred to as an "American sect," the foreignness of Adventism in Europe is one of the greatest single hindrances to the accomplishment of its mission. Becoming an

Adventist in Europe does not at all improve one's social status.

In order to survive the threats of church and state and the social stigma attached to a small Protestant sect, Austrian Adventists, therefore, gradually adapted their mission strategies to local conditions. Adaptability and openness to culture change served as a means of acculturation, by which Adventism was implanted in indigenous soil. The consolidation of Adventism in Austria may be attributed to Adventist indigenization more than to any other single factor. The struggle for indigenization resulted from the tenuous position of the Austrian Adventists having to counteract, at different levels, the influence of a state church and a government inimical to non-traditional religions.

Originally, the form of worship in the Adventist church, the religious behavior, and styles of missionary outreach were strongly influenced by the American environment and, therefore, quite foreign for Austrians. In addition, the Second Great Awakening, which was rural and frontier at least in its origin, had created a climate of religious intensity and receptiveness in America that was missing in Europe. Aggressive modes of campaigning such as revivalistic preaching or public religious debate in connection with the camp meetings were characteristic of the American religious life in the nineteenth century. It

was in this socio-cultural context that the Adventist church emerged from the remnants of the Millerite movement into a distinct denomination. But a similar socio-cultural context did not exist in Europe, thus creating a necessity for previously untried methods of accommodation.

When the first Adventist missionaries such as M. B. Czechowski, J. N. Andrews, and L. R. Conradi finally arrived in Europe, missionary practices were modified to fit the context of European society. Continental traditionalism and neighborhood cohesiveness were not receptive to the American modes of campaigning. Europeans, innately suspicious of imported religions, felt uneasy with the crusading emphasis of American revivalism and preferred a more formal or quietistic manner of worship and piety. Thus, the Adventist "preacher" was transformed into a "lecturer" and evangelistic campaigns became lecture programs, focusing, first of all, on the points of agreement of the Adventist message rather than on its divisive elements.

The greatest problem Adventist missionaries faced in Europe, however, was the close alliance between the established churches and the state, an alliance which provided protection for both of these and left hardly any room for the development of new religious movements. In the Habsburg lands, which constituted the second largest empire on the continent, this alliance of throne and altar

was very strong. In fact, early Adventist missionaries viewed Habsburg Austria as the country which, along with Russia, allowed its citizens the least amount of religious freedom in Europe.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, when the smaller Protestant denominations first appeared on the scene in Austria-Hungary as a reaction to rationalism and the growing religious indifference of the established churches, they had all experienced discrimination and, from time to time, persecution. They were generally regarded by the public as alien bodies within the society, since almost all of them were founded as a result of British or American mission activity. Adventism first gained a foothold among ethnic Germans in Transylvania in 1890. More than ten years passed, however, before the Adventist message spread from the Hungarian half of the Empire, where Protestantism was somewhat stronger, to what is known today as Austria. Unrecognized religions, such as Adventism, were not allowed to engage in public worship or evangelism, and state recognition was granted almost exclusively to the established churches in order to ensure that denominations applying for recognition were not ephemeral. Forced to work underground and facing constant opposition from the established churches, Adventists began their missionary outreach in larger cities, Budapest, Prague, Vienna, and Graz, where avoidance of government

controls was easier and people were more willing to change than in the closed and more static rural areas. The focus on urban missionary work has been characteristic of Adventists in Austria ever since. Most church members came from the lower classes. Persons from these levels of society had little or no social prestige to lose and were more open for any type of education and thus open for the Adventist message. Unfortunately, Adventists in the Monarchy developed a minority complex as a result of their underground status over against the monolithic Catholic loyalty of the people. The complex was more of a behavioral stance, adaptive by nature, arising out of the need for survival and self-preservation. It had resulted partly from a retreat from the world and society and partly from a reaction to the contempt for the Adventist message by an inimical environment.

An important step in the long process of indigenization took place in 1907, when J. Wolfgarten formed the so-called "lecture societies" (Vereine), under the guise of which Adventists could hold public meetings throughout the Habsburg lands. Through these lecture societies early Austrian Adventists succeeded in exploiting to their own advantage a difficult legal situation. The readiness of the missionary workers for culture change combined with an increasing internalization of the main tenets of Adventism

on the part of the new converts truly stimulated denominational growth.

The effort of the Adventists to adapt to local conditions, however, led to a crisis during World War I when the Adventist leaders informed the government of the church's willingness to take an active combatant role in the military. The problem of military service led to a split in the church and the expulsion of a sizeable minority opposed to bearing arms and performing duty on Sabbath. Adventists, not only in Austria but in all of Central Europe, had to learn that their adaptations to local conditions could not occur at the expense of culturally independent Adventist principles of faith such as noncombatancy--a difficult process which was to lead to another crisis during the Nazi era.

The question at this point also arises whether the camouflaging of Adventist mission activities through "lecture societies" was morally justifiable. Were Austrian Seventh-day Adventists practicing deceit? The somewhat veiled missionary approach has remained characteristic of Adventism in Austria to this day. If a community has a favorable impression of Adventists, an open identity may be indeed advisable. In Austria, however, the prejudice of the population toward religious dissent was very strong, and the government authorities would have hindered missionary work if Adventists had openly identified

themselves. For this reason, early Austrian Adventists through the lecture societies first attempted to establish relationships of trust and confidence. Thus, they followed an evangelistic principle applied by Jesus himself who often did not identify who he was as the Messiah until he had won the confidence of the people with whom he was working. The apostle Paul also followed the same principle, clearly affirmed in his words, "To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews." The issue of presenting the gospel before establishing an open identity seems to be one of advisability rather than morality. Austrian Adventists were too wise to let the question of their identity prejudice people so that they would decide against them without adequate information.

The process of indigenization, so important for Austrian Adventists, continued after World War I. J. Braun developed a specific overall mission strategy for the penetration of cities and rural areas, advocating colporteur work, house visitation, and welfare ministries. Adventist public lectures skillfully combined doctrinal themes with current political events to attract attention. We have also noticed that Austrian Adventists began to adapt their lifestyle to the social environment in which they lived. Sabbath-keeping, largely an inheritance from the Puritan and evangelical phases of American history, was influenced by a more permissive continental style of

Sunday observance. Similarly, the work of Ellen G. White was not so strongly emphasized in Austria as it was in North America. Europeans held more firmly to the traditional role of the woman in society, and it was difficult for them to accept the idea that a female, especially a foreigner, could actually lead a religious movement. For Americans, however, it was not unusual to have a woman as church leader, as, for example, in the case of Ann Lee, founder of the Shakers or Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Scientists. It was similarly unpopular in Austria to embrace vegetarianism, an Adventist health pattern widespread in America.

During the inter-war years, Seventh-day Adventists also attempted with great determination to free themselves from the minority complex of their pre-war underground existence, a development which continues until the present. After World War I, Adventist in Austria demonstrated indeed a stronger self-confidence for missionary work than was previously the case. This may have been a result of the growing democratization of society. Austrian Adventism, now in its second generation, developed inner spiritual strength and resilience and was still a missionary movement with public evangelism as a prime function. On the other hand, almost all Adventist pastors in Austria came from Germany at the cost of a weakened sense of administrative responsibility among

the local members. It was not until after World War II that Austrian Adventists succeeded in building up an indigenous church leadership. Institutions such as local church buildings, a press, and a school, typical of European Adventism in the mid-1920s, were established relatively late, after World War II, when the Austrian church organization separated from Germany.

The constant struggle of the Austrian Adventists for indigenization was made visible through various statements of loyalty sent to the government. In 1914 Adventist leaders had submitted a petition to the Emperor, and in 1934 Braun assured officials from the corporative state of Adventist obedience. The truly negative side of this approach, however, was revealed during the Third Reich by the misuse of adaptability in making certain unwarranted concessions and compromises. When Austria was occupied by German troops in March 1938, Adventists welcomed Nazism as a relief from the Catholic suppression of the corporative state. It soon became apparent, however, that the "alienism" of Adventism as an American-based denomination was no recommendation to officials of National Socialism. Accordingly, an adaptation within the specific political context of Nazi totalitarianism was the result. In addition, the attacks on the Adventist church in Germany after Hitler's rise to power in 1933 had not been taken seriously enough by the Adventists in Austria,

and the Nazis' apparent public support of various Christian ideals had confused and blinded many to the reality of the situation.

For the Adventist leaders in Germany and Austria, the survival of church organization was of paramount importance. Thus, under pressure from Nazi authorities, they adopted a middle course attempting to maintain dual allegiances to Hitler and God. They simply did not have the courage to refuse submission to Nazi rule, thereby jeopardizing the very existence of the denomination and their own lives. Eventually, Adventist leaders ended up giving tacit endorsement to almost every government policy. The compromises that were made included central issues such as warfare and Sabbath observance. However, not wishing to repeat the painful experience of schism that had occurred during World War I largely over the issue of military service, Adventist leaders ultimately left compliance to the conscience of the individual member. This time, in contrast to World War I, no official combatant declarations were made. Apparently, Adventists had to realize that adaptation to socio-political circumstances has its limits. Political accommodation, nevertheless, proved to be an irresistible temptation for mainstream Adventists in the Third Reich. Dissident Reform Adventists were normally more willing than mainstream Adventists to oppose Nazi authorities.

The experience of the Adventist church in Austria with autocratic or totalitarian regimes demonstrates that political accommodation, arising out of the desire for indigenization, may indeed cause serious problems. One result of the church's willingness to compromise has been a series of schisms. National Socialism in particular made Adventist survival a difficult task, and a balance between integration with society and distinction from it could not be found. It is clear, however, that tension between both of these aspects can hardly be eliminated. Relations with various governments can be improved by cooperating in social activities which do not compromise the teachings of the church.

The relation between Adventists and the state is even today determined by obedience and obligation. A political engagement for solving social problems and for changing government structures is abjured. Instead, Adventists await a cosmic solution to all problems, whether the difficulties are of a social or political nature, through the return of Christ. Political non-involvement, otherworldliness, and the basic conviction that any government is inherently good and benevolent would naturally lead to adaptation in a totalitarian context such as that created by the Nazis. No wonder that German and Austrian Adventists, who had been trained to live in a highly authoritarian domestic and educational

structure, only belatedly recognized where the political ideology of National Socialism was taking them. This fact would suggest that the Adventist church must necessarily view all political developments critically while attempting to relate to the society of men and the fragile order of the world. An ongoing critical interaction between the Adventist community and the changing political systems is, therefore, essential for Adventism to remain viable. It is indeed unfortunate that Adventist leaders in Germany and Austria have not yet issued a public confession of guilt concerning their unwarranted political accommodations during the Nazi era.

With the end of World War II, Adventist evangelism surged anew in Austria, and organizational changes helped the church to expand. The separation from German church leadership and the establishment of a Union Conference brought almost complete independence from foreign control. Subsequent growth of church-operated institutions such as a school and a publishing house as well as the emergence of a native-born clergy contributed considerably to the indigenization of Austrian Adventism. But in spite of financial and administrative independence, Adventism in Austria must further develop its autonomy as an indigenous movement, especially in the area of mission outreach and evangelism. Evangelistic practices must be fully adapted to the Austrian cultural context, and a greater

sensitivity to the specific needs of the society must be developed. In fact, missionary methods should arise out of the local situation, and not be imposed from outside, simply because they have worked elsewhere. The local conditions ought to determine the methods to be used. The best tool, therefore, to proclaim Adventism in Austria is the life that is truly Adventist and culturally Austrian.

That leads us to the question as to which specific evangelistic challenges are confronting Adventist leaders in Austria today. Responding to the unique political and socio-cultural climate in Austria, Adventist leaders in the past were definitely more adaptive than reactionary. Some of them, such as Johann Wolfgarten or Josef Braun, were daring innovators, open to change and constantly looking for new and better methods of evangelism. All of them considered public evangelism the primary task of the church. Since the late 1950s, however, Adventist leaders, centralizing and bureaucratizing the church, became increasingly concerned about external evidences of denominational prosperity--the size of the church buildings and financial stability. It seems that these administrative and institutional preoccupations have led to a neglect of the evangelistic enterprise. In the past, institutionalism was always considered an adjunct to evangelism. But the third generation of Adventism in Austria experienced the first signs of the church's

institutionalization. Austrian Adventist leaders must apparently learn again that administrative and institutional interests should support, not displace, evangelistic work. They must also learn to plan for change and not for stability, by constantly re-evaluating the church's mission and role in society. The vital question of balance and priority between evangelistic efforts and other church interests demands settlement before a coordinated approach can be made. The local congregations, on the other hand, ought to develop a system of continuous evangelistic outreach by giving more recognition to qualified lay people. The training of the laity for missionary work certainly has to be revived and improved. Existing educational institutions such as Bogenhofen Seminary should be flexible enough to help the church grow instead of just focusing on intellectual achievements.

Another evangelistic challenge comes from the fact that Adventism in Austria is still primarily city-oriented. Evangelism in the cities, where people are more open to change, is obviously easier than in the more conservative rural areas. Adventist penetration of rural areas in Austria has not been very successful thus far, and new efforts must be made to establish congregations outside the cities. In addition, the modern, consumer-oriented society in Austria with its predominantly secular

interests seems to require new forms of missionary outreach. Adventists have previously emphasized a doctrinal approach in public evangelism, but in a more secular age the emphasis has shifted to a psycho-religious one, leading to an infusion of practical Christianity into the lecture programs. Both approaches are important and must certainly be kept in balanced tension rather than being viewed as mutually exclusive methods. It would appear, however, that Adventist growth in present-day Austria may increase as a result of denominational involvement in the particular needs of society. Lately, capitalization on public interest in health, family life, welfare work, and adult education has been used successfully by the pastors as a means for leading people to a greater appreciation of Adventism. A danger of this modern form of evangelism, which adapts largely to the interests of society, is that many people may no longer become acquainted with the central religious message of the church. The primacy of evangelism over any other church activity, the penetration of rural areas, and the effort to reach the secular mind seem to be the most important challenges Adventist mission is facing in Austria today. The most difficult Adventist doctrine for the average Austrian to accept remains Saturday observance, a practice which is contrary to almost all ecclesiastical traditions. People are afraid of losing

employment as a consequence of keeping Saturday as the true Sabbath.

Although historically the Adventist movement in Austria has shown little growth constrained as it was from church and state, the lengthy process of indigenization appears nevertheless to have borne fruit. Today Austrian Adventism seems to have developed an inner strength and maturity in the direction of greater distinctiveness from society. Whereas the Adventist church in the past adapted predominantly to local conditions, it has now gained the courage to change conditions by legal means. The strength and maturity of Austrian Adventism seem to be such that the present emphasis is on inducing the government to make changes, rather than on its changing to meet the demands of the government. It appears that if this emphasis is continued under the present circumstances, Adventists in Austria will finally achieve unrestricted legal recognition by the state; and in this connection, it is important, too, for Austrian Adventists to continue discarding their previous minority complex, a complex resulting from their being viewed by the public as a sect. Indeed, the courage to change local conditions is an important counterpart to Austrian Adventists' adapting to such conditions, and these two patterns stand in a dialectical relationship that can stimulate Adventist growth. The strength of Austrian Adventism evidently

results from the upward social mobility of an increasing number of church members, serving their communities as business people, doctors, teachers, and civil officials. This demographic development has occurred markedly after World War II with the growing democratization of the school system. Before this time, most of the Austrian Adventists came from lower social classes, as we have already mentioned.

In summation, what can be learned from the Adventist experience in Austria? Since the church as the agency of God's mission must function in a particular country or society, it cannot ignore public affairs and social responsibilities. Indigenization and flexibility of the proper kind are particularly necessary for a small denomination, such as Adventism in Austria, to survive within a largely hostile church and state setting. The primary concern of the church, however, is redemption. Missionary methods are certainly dependent on the specific socio-cultural context in which they are applied, but the core of the evangelistic message basically remains the same. Seventh-day Adventism, therefore, must continue as a movement with a changeless message for a changing world.

APPENDIX A

Chronological List of Events

- 1844 With the non-materialization of Christ's second coming in October, the Millerite movement disintegrated.
- 1844-51 Sabbatarian Adventism emerged from the remnants of the Millerite movement.
- 1860 The denominational name "Seventh-day Adventist" (SDA) was adopted.
- 1863 A central church organization, the "General Conference," was formed in Battle Creek, Michigan, with a membership of 3,500.
- 1864 M. B. Czechowski returned to Europe as the first Adventist missionary, substantially enlarging the church's concept of mission. He went to Europe against the will of the SDA leaders, who thought he was not suitable for the task.
- 1867 In Tramelan, Switzerland, Czechowski organized a congregation which later became known as the oldest SDA church in Europe.
- 1869 Czechowski traveled through Austria-Hungary early in the year, eventually settling in the Rumanian city of Pitesti, where he was also able to organize a small congregation.
- 1870 J. Erzberger, a convert of Czechowski, who had visited the SDA headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, returned to Switzerland as an ordained minister.
- 1874 J. N. Andrews was sent out as the first official overseas missionary of the SDA denomination.
- 1875 Andrews and Erzberger visited the Getaufte Christen-Gemeinde, an autonomous group of Sabbath-keeping Christians in Germany.
- 1876 In January Erzberger organized the first SDA church in Germany from the ranks of the Getaufte Christen-Gemeinde. A few weeks later, Czechowski, who had not been in contact with SDA leaders for several years, unexpectedly appeared in

Vienna, where he died of "exhaustion." Meanwhile, Andrews settled in German-speaking Basel, which became the center of the European Adventist work in the years to come.

- 1883 Andrews died in Basel.
- 1884 A "Swiss Conference" of Seventh-day Adventists was organized in Basel, including the scattered members in Germany, Italy, France, and Rumania.
- 1885-87 E. G. White visited Scandinavia, England, Germany, Italy, France, and Switzerland.
- 1886 L. R. Conradi was sent to Europe. His arrival resulted in a far-reaching mission breakthrough. He gradually adapted Adventist mission strategies to the context of European society. In summer Conradi traveled through Austria-Hungary on his way to Russia.
- 1889 Conradi established a new base for the European Adventist mission outreach in Hamburg.
- 1890 Conradi again traveled to Austria-Hungary, eventually succeeding in establishing the first permanent missionary contacts in Transylvania. The German Baptist J. Rottmayer and his family accepted the Adventist message.
- 1892 The SDA church gained a foothold in Bohemia through the work of A. Simon, a former Baptist, who had come in contact with Adventism in Germany.
- 1895 Following a baptismal service, the first SDA church in Austria-Hungary was organized at Klausenburg (Kolozsvár), Transylvania. Christine P. Rottmayer, a granddaughter of J. Rottmayer, joined the Adventist church on this occasion. Upon her return to Vienna, she remained for many years the only Adventist church member within the borders of present-day Austria.
- 1902 Adventist missionary work began in Vienna. Austria proper was designated as a "mission field," to which L. Mathe was assigned. It took five years, from 1902 to 1907, to convert five people to Adventism in Vienna.
- 1907 J. Wolfgarten achieved a breakthrough in Adventist missionary work through the formation of so-called "lecture societies" (Vereine), thus

- expertly camouflaging public evangelism. Un-recognized religions such as Adventism were not allowed to conduct public evangelistic work in Austria.
- 1908 The first SDA church in present-day Austria was organized in Vienna.
- 1913 General Conference president A. G. Daniells visited the Adventist members in Vienna, realizing that Catholic Austria is one of the most difficult mission fields for Adventists in Europe.
- 1914 Wolfgarten sent a petition to Emperor Francis Joseph I, asking him to grant Austrian Adventists the privilege of public worship. The petition remained unnoticed.
- 1914-18 The problem of compulsory conscription during World War I led to a split in the church and the expulsion of a minority opposed to bearing arms and performing duty on Saturday.
- 1919 The fall of the Habsburg Empire and the rise of democracy proved a turning point in the mission history of the Adventist church in Austria.
- 1920 The Adventist congregations were organized into a "conference," with a membership of 550.
- 1926 Under the leadership of J. Braun public Adventist evangelism began to prosper.
- 1934 The establishment of a corporative state under authoritarian Catholic rule greatly restricted Adventist mission outreach.
- 1936 The congregations were organized into two conferences with a total membership of 1,635.
- 1938 In March, Adventists in Austria welcomed Nazism and the Anschluss mainly as a relief from the Catholic suppression of the corporative state.
- 1939-45 Under pressure from Nazi authorities, Adventists adjusted themselves to the new regime. The fact that the movement was not totally banned is mainly due to the church's willingness to submit to Nazi totalitarianism. Since World War II was also fought in Austrian territory, Adventist members suffered great losses.

- 1945-50 Evangelistic success brought membership gains to a peak. More than 1,000 people joined the Adventist church in Austria, increasing its total membership to approximately 2,600.
- 1947 The Austrian Conferences were reorganized as the "Alpine Conference" and the "Danube Conference," making up the "Austrian Union Conference."
- 1949 A seminary for the training of native pastors was founded in Bogenhofen, Upper Austria.
- 1955 Adventist growth in Austria began to decline drastically.
- 1967 In order to facilitate administrative work, the two conferences were merged into a "Union of Churches," leading to financial independence.
- 1971 As a response to the secularizing trends of the times, Adventist pastors began to focus on practical Christianity, applied to everyday problems in contrast to earlier abstract prophetic or doctrinal themes.
- 1975 The first Adventist General Conference session outside of North America was held in Vienna. Adventist membership in Austria centered around 2,800.

APPENDIX B

**Statements on Sabbath Observance and
Military Made by SDA Leaders in
Germany during the Nazi Period**

1. "In letzter Zeit hat mich die verantwortliche Behörde wiederholt darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass einzelne Glieder unserer Gemeinschaft, die in kriegs- und lebenswichtigen Betrieben eingesetzt sind, sich weigerten, an den Sonnabenden Dienst zu tun. Diese Fälle waren vereinzelt und wurden nach Beratung der betreffenden Glieder durch ihre Prediger geklärt und geregelt. Trotzdem sehe ich mich veranlasst, Euch zu ersuchen, dafür zu sorgen, dass die Gemeindeglieder nochmals unterrichtet werden, welche Pflichten wir auf Grund der Heiligen Schrift unserm Volk und Vaterland sowie der Obrigkeit gegenüber haben. Die Bejahung des Wehr- und Kriegsdienstes auf Grund der Bibel schliesst die Erfüllung der sich daraus ergebenden Pflichten ein. Ich bitte Euch, die Gemeindeglieder darüber aufzuklären, dass wir in dieser Kriegszeit dem Vaterland in vorbildlicher Weise dienen . . ." (A. Mink to "Liebe Mitarbeiter im Evangeliumsdienst," Rundschreiben, 30 April 1940, AEA).

2. "Die Haltung unserer Gemeinschaft zu der diesbezüglichen Forderung der Behörde geht aus dem Rundschreiben unserer Gemeinschaftsleitung vom 30. 4. 40 hervor. Diesem Schreiben könnte nun noch eine weitere Auslegung gegeben werden dahin, dass die Lage sich inzwischen verschärft hat, dass die totale Mobilisation in diesem totalen Krieg auch eine totale Bereitwilligkeit unsererseits fordert und dass wir nicht umhin können, uns als Volksgenossen diesen Umständen anzupassen in einer Zeit, in der die Bedürfnisse des Reiches und der Front die Behörden zwingen, alle verfügbaren Kräfte einzusetzen. Unser Verständnis ist auch, dass wenn die Front keinen Feiertag kennt draussen, auch der Krieger der Heimat, der in der Front der Arbeit eingesetzt ist, keinen beanspruchen will, sondern sich einordnet" (G. Seng to "Liebe Brüder im Herrn," 4 February 1943, AEA).

APPENDIX C

Statistical Data

**Location and Size of SDA Congregations in Austria
As of 1985¹**

Location	Membership
1. Vienna IX	312
2. Salzburg	199
3. Linz	191
4. Graz	128
5. Innsbruck	125
6. Klagenfurt	120
7. Villach	112
8. Vienna-Neubau	107
9. Vienna-Yugoslav	105
10. Vienna III	95
11. Vienna XXI	90
12. Wr. Neustadt	88
13. Bogenhofen	88
14. Bregenz	82
15. Wels	81
16. Vienna XV	71
17. Dornbirn	71
18. Voitsberg	64
19. Vienna X	60
20. Semmering	53
21. Steyr	48
22. Vienna VII	45
23. Vienna IV	38
24. Vienna-Mauer	32
25. Bruck/Mur	31
26. Krems	31
27. Vöcklabruck	28
28. Bad Ischl	26
29. Hallein	26
30. Weiz	25
31. Wolfsberg	24
32. Deutschlandsberg	24
33. Knittelfeld	21
34. Weyer	20
35. Baden	19

¹A complete record of earlier membership figures was not available.

36. Feldkirchen	18
37. Friedberg	16
38. Leoben	14

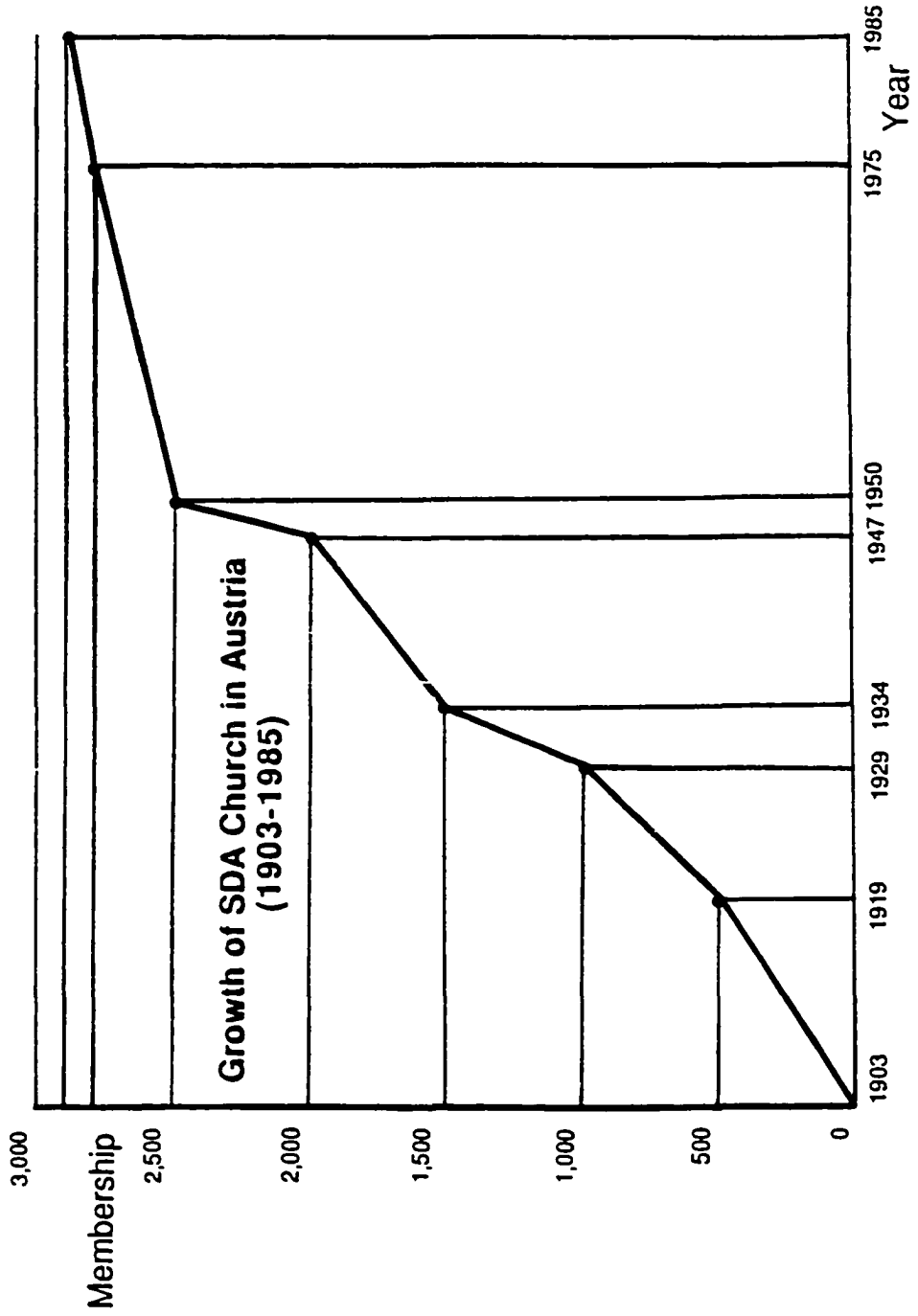
Presidents of the SDA Church in Austria

1902	J. P. Lorenz
1903-1906	L. Mathe
1907-1908	W. Prillwitz
1909-1918	J. Wolfgarten
1919	A. Bereck (?)
1920	W. Schäfer (?)
1921-1926	F. Prieser
1927-1935	J. Braun
1936-1958	L. Schneebauer
1959-1966	M. Schwab
1967-1978	O. Uebersax
1979-	W. Schultschik

**Social Status of SDA Church Members
in Vienna As of 1989**

Occupation	Percentage
Professional	4.50
Businessmen	3.50
Clerical	45.00
Skilled Laborers	35.00
Unskilled Laborers	12.00
Education	
Elementary School	26.00
Secondary School without <u>Matura</u>	58.50
Secondary School with <u>Matura</u> , or University	15.50

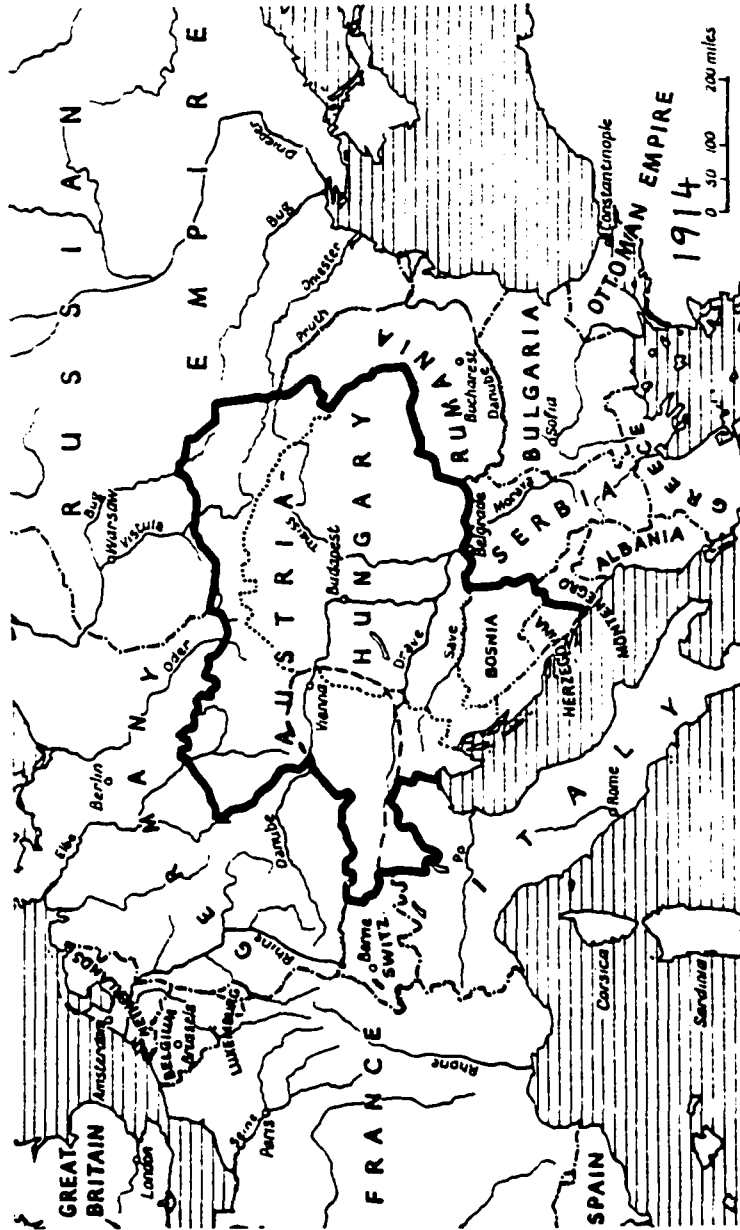
Additional findings of the demographic study show that the female percentage of the Adventist church membership in Vienna is 62, and the male percentage 38. 49 percent of the total membership has reached retirement age. Cf. Baumgartner, "Summary of Church Growth," p. 40.



Description of table on p. 237: Beginning in 1903, it took 16 years (until 1919) for the first 500 members to enter the church. Another 500 members were added in the next 10 years (by 1929), and 500 more in the five following years (by 1934). It took 13 years more for the next 500 members to join (by 1947), and in the three following years another 500 were added (by 1950). Since 1950, attempts have been made to raise the membership by another 500, to 3,000.

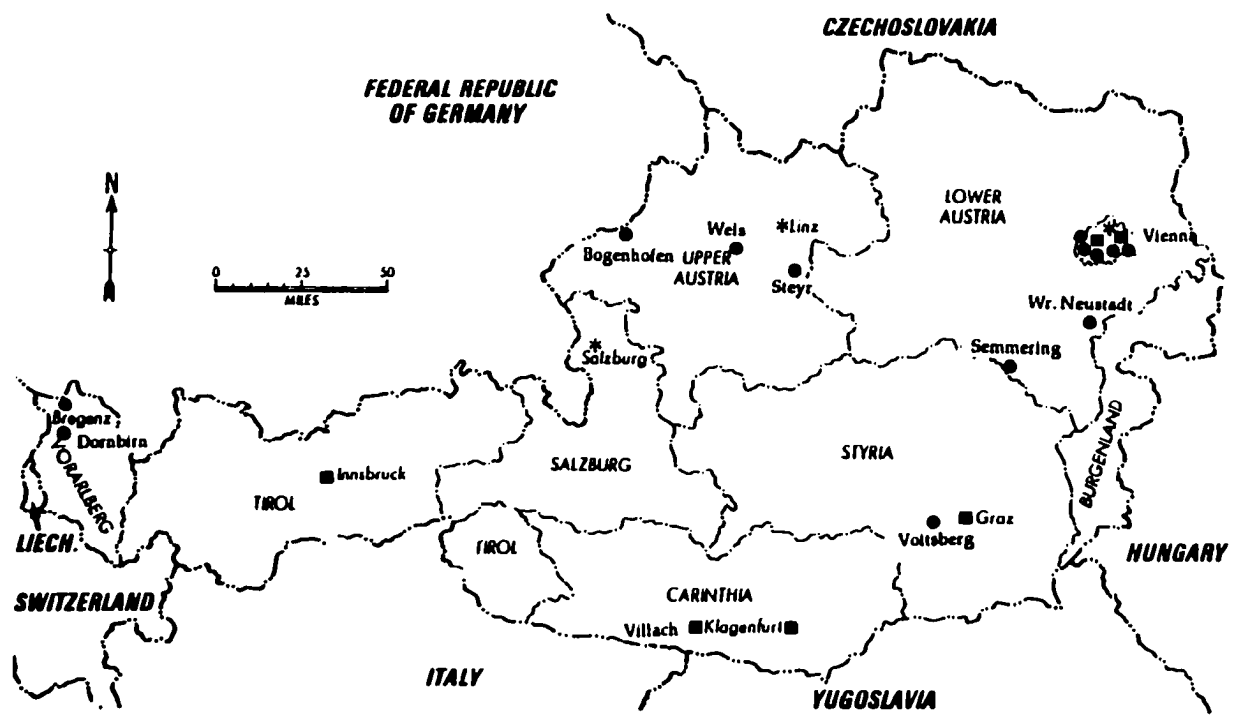
APPENDIX D

Maps





*— Location of SDA Churches in 1908



Location of SDA Churches in Austria As of 1985

- * over 180 members
- over 100 members
- over 40 members

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Unpublished Materials

Essay on Manuscript Collections

This essay describes the unpublished sources held in various archival and record collections.

Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan

The Adventist Heritage Center contains some material about the origin and development of the "Adventist Reform Movement" in Central Europe during World War I, including the following manuscripts: R. R. Rühling, "The So-Called German Reform Movement," 1957; and L. H. Christian, "The Aftermath of Fanaticism or a Counterfeit Reformation," [1957?]. Of particular value is the primary source collection "Kampfschriften der Abfallbewegung." A helpful source of information on the early history of Adventism in Austria-Hungary is the research paper by J. Szigeti, "Steps to Christ in Hungary," [1982]. The Adventist Heritage Center also preserves a number of term papers, reports and manuscripts on the history of the Adventist church in Central Europe and the mission activities of M. B. Czechowski, J. N. Andrews, and L. R. Conradi

which are pertinent for our study. There are also a few letters dealing with the situation of the Adventist church during the Third Reich. These letters were written by J. B. Penner and A. Minck.

Archiv der Advent-Mission, Gemeinschaft
der Siebenten-Tags-Adventisten/Österreichische
Union, Vienna, Austria

The Archives of the Austrian Union of Seventh-day Adventist Churches naturally contain the most material on the history of Adventism in Austria. Unfortunately, the archival collections have not been arranged chronologically or thematically and do not have any reference numbers. The material can be divided into five major groups: minutes of various church board and committee meetings; local church chronicles and various anniversary records; letters and personal notes of different church officials; photographs, tapes, and other valuable memorabilia; and a collection of newspaper clippings on the more recent church activities. The earliest archival records date from the year 1906.

Archiv für Europäische Adventgeschichte,
Theologisches Seminar Marienhöhe,
Darmstadt, Federal Republic of Germany

The newly established Archives of European Adventist History possess a growing collection of letter files, indispensable for the study of Adventist church history in Central and Eastern Europe. The vault houses a

collection of "Conradi Papers" which primarily covers his life and work as a Seventh Day Baptist minister in Germany and Austria from 1932 until 1939. Four research papers are of major importance for our study: E. Duda, "Vyvoj a Pokrok Adventního Díla v Československu," 1972; J. Hartlapp, "Die Lage der Gemeinschaft der Siebentags-Adventisten in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," 1979; H. Teubert, "Die sogenannte Reformationsbewegung," 1981; and E. Baumgartner, "A Summary of SDA Church Growth in German-Speaking Europe: History and Present Trends," 1989.

The archives also contain a collection of important letters and documents dealing with the relationship of the church to the Nazi regime. These letters can be found in the document files for the years 1933-1945.

Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Washington, D.C.

The Archives of the General Conference contain materials of special importance for the early period of Adventism in Austria. The correspondence between the mission leaders in Europe (L. R. Conradi, G. Dail, J. Wolfgarten) and the General Conference officials (A. G. Daniells, W. A. Spicer) during the period from 1903 to 1918 is particularly noteworthy. Unfortunately, the correspondence is not entirely preserved. It can be found in: Record Group 11, Presidential; and Record Group 21,

Secretariat (Foreign). The letter book of A. G. Daniells is in the file "Outgoing Letters, 1887-1914."

Ellen G. White Research Center,
Andrews University, Berrien Springs,
Michigan

The Ellen G. White Research Center at Berrien Springs, Michigan, is a branch office of the Ellen G. White Estate in Washington, D.C. It contains some very important manuscripts and letters concerning the response of Central European Adventists to the outbreak of World War I and the resulting question of universal military service, as well as the rise of various Adventist "reform movements." These materials are in the following document files: DF 319; DF 320; and DF 350b. The Berrien Springs office also contains much useful material in its document files that is not available in the office at Washington, D.C. Included in this material are term papers, articles, newspaper clippings, and letters on the historical development of Adventism in Germany and Switzerland. However, there is no separate folder on the Adventist church in Austria.

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Allgemeines
Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna, Austria

The administrative archives section of the Austrian State Archives contains the files of the various legal societies, founded by the Adventist church in Vienna in 1908 and 1909 as an attempt to camouflage its

missionary activity. The names of the societies are: "Advent," "Verein christlicher Männer und Frauen," and "Österreichischer Leseverein Mehr Licht."

Österreichisches Staatsarchiv-Neues
Politisches Archiv, Vienna, Austria

The new political section of the Austrian State Archives contains valuable sources on the history of religious minorities in Austria. They represent helpful background material for a better understanding of the Austrian Adventist church development. The sources can be located under the following designation: Kart. 287; Kart. 321; and Kart. 516.

Personal Collection

Between 1979-1989 I held interviews with a number of individuals who could give valuable information on the origin and development of Adventism in Austria. Those interviewed include conference presidents, church treasurers, ministers, elders, and lay members. Records of interviews with the following are in the author's personal collection: K. Barath, Th. Erbes, K. Fischbacher, E. Hatzinger, H. Heinz, G. Herrnstein, Ch. Lesovsky, M. Mannesmann, F. Pfingstl, H. Prauhart, H. Schnötzingler, W. Schultschik, M. Schwab, F. Stronegger, E. Svrcek-Seiler, J. Szigeti, and O. Uebersax. During the same period the author corresponded with a number of individuals who could also provide information on the history of

the Adventist church in Austria. Letters from the following are in the author's personal files: F. Dombrowsky, K. Fischbacher, J. Frei, F. Hasel, O. Saur, G. Schuster, H. Teichmann, and A. Vaucher.

The information provided in interviews and correspondence is especially valuable for periods which are less exhaustively documented such as that of the corporative state and National Socialism. Much documentation was destroyed during World War II. This is one reason for the lack of sources regarding the Nazi period. In addition, some archives still maintain a rather restrictive policy when it comes to material related to that period in history.

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