

# “CONSCIENTIOUSLY OPPOSED TO BEARING ARMS”

## SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS AND THE “FAITH OF JESUS”

BY **GINGER HANKS HARWOOD**

*“The denomination of Christians calling themselves Seventh-day Adventists, taking the Bible as their rule and faith and practice, are unanimous in their views that its teachings are contrary to the spirit and practice of war; hence, they have ever been conscientiously opposed to bearing arms.”*

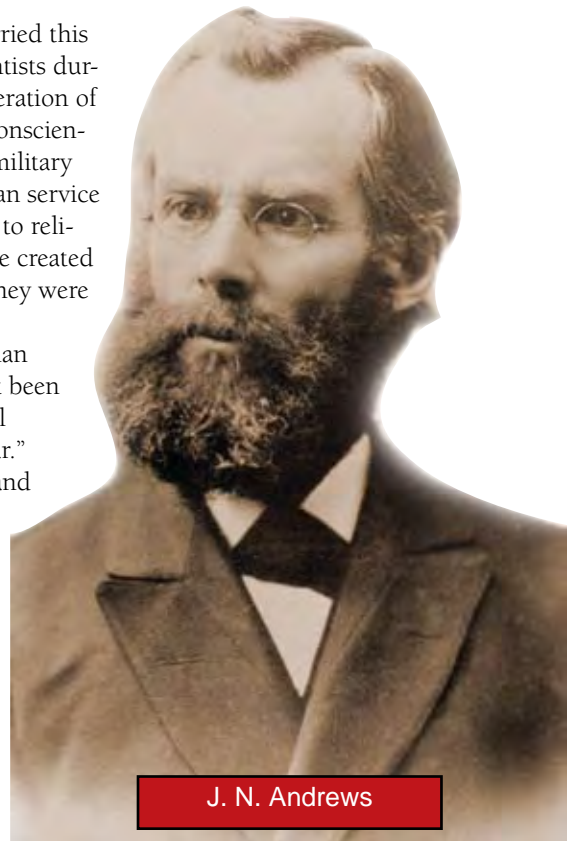
(Executive Committee, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, August 2, 1864).<sup>1</sup>

**J**. N. Andrews, hurrying from Michigan to Washington, D.C., carried this statement as he sought to secure noncombatant status for Adventists during the Civil War. Andrews’ assignment was prompted by an alteration of the March 1863 draft law that stipulated alternatives for those conscientiously opposed to bearing arms. The option of satisfying one’s military obligation by paying a fee or participating in certain humanitarian service projects was now restricted by this law to individuals belonging to religious groups with a formal noncombatant doctrine.<sup>2</sup> This change created a challenge for Adventists, formally organized only the year before, because they were too new a church to possess an established peace church reputation.

Although the draft law forced the group to articulate their stance on Christian participation in war, which might not have occurred at this time had they not been faced with a crisis, the statements prepared for Andrews represented a general consensus that biblical teachings “are contrary to the spirit and practice of war.” The church’s official position was formulated after an intense dialog on faith and violence that was hosted in the *Review and Herald*. Adventists were “non-resistants,” the term applied to those who did not believe in bearing arms or using military force to resolve conflict, a stance which grew out of their commitment to conform their lives to God’s commandments and Jesus’ example. Since Jesus eschewed violence and promoted an ethic of love, it appeared to Adventists that His followers were bound to do the same.<sup>3</sup>

As early as 1851, a decade before the church had organized, the *Review and Herald* revealed the group’s pacifist sentiments by publishing a statement by William Miller that read, “They must not countenance nor support war, for that cometh from lust, James iv, 1-3; ... they are to cry unto the Lord in their afflictions and persecutions, and make no resistance, James v,

***The church’s official position was formulated after an intense dialog on faith and violence that was hosted in the Review and Herald.***



J. N. Andrews

4-6.” The editor added his endorsement, noting “that there never was a time when the admonitions and instructions found in the book of James, or the excellent advice of Bro. Miller, were more needed than at this present time.”<sup>4</sup>

By embracing Miller’s position, the *Review and Herald’s* editors aligned themselves with a tiny circle of like thinkers, most from sectarian religious groups. The larger American peace reform movement had shipwrecked over the seeming impotence of peaceful methods to terminate slavery. When years of



Wounded soldiers being tended in the field after the battle of Chancellorsville, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, May 2, 1863.

moral suasion failed to achieve abolition, reformers’ commitment to non-violence faltered over the question of personal moral culpability for the daily violence slaves experienced: If they could stop the violence, and did not, were they not responsible for it?

Having concluded that violence was necessary to end this scourge, noted abolitionists and peace reformers began to campaign for armed intervention. In a major essay in August of 1856, *Review* editor James White challenged the new position advocated by respected reform

**Firm in their resolve to prepare for Christ’s return and to “keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus” (Revelation 14:10), Adventists faced the question of how a faithful remnant should relate to the social and political structures of a nation that called itself Christian but behaved in a beastly manner.**

leaders such as Gerritt Smith, opening with the question, “Has the gospel of Jesus granted you the right to use the sword, to arm with carnal weapons, to take the sword to ‘provide for your household,’ to deliver the oppressed out of the power of the oppressor, by breaking the sixth commandment of God, ‘Thou shalt not kill?’ Jesus says, ‘Love your enemies.’” According to White, the endorsement of violent means reflected “the change of the finest gold to worse than dross, the utter disregard of the testimonies of Christ and their former profession.”<sup>5</sup>

James White’s dialog with other peace reformers over the moral response to the national crisis was in fact part of a larger discussion of the relationship between Sabbatarian Adventists and the state.

**The Remnant and the Nation**

Despite the fact that Christ did not come on October 22, 1844, a remnant of the Millerite movement remained convinced that the world would end very soon. America’s startling technological progress and widespread inhumanity toward the weak and vulnerable seemed to them a fulfillment of the end-time prophecy of Matthew 24. The period in which Seventh-day Adventism assumed its peculiar identity and emerged as an organized church (1845-1863) was characterized by national claims of Christian piety and acts of imperialism, genocide, and oppression. Even as tensions over slavery split the nation and its churches, anti-immigrant violence increased, and the indigenous populations were variously deprived of their homelands and/or killed. The theory of “manifest destiny” baptized national expansionist endeavors and permitted disregard for the rights of those with whom whites shared the continent.

Firm in their resolve to prepare for Christ’s return and to “keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus” (Revelation 14:10, KJV), Adventists faced the question of how a faithful remnant should relate to the social and political structures of a nation that called itself Chris-



A slave auction



Slaves working



tian but behaved in a beastly manner. A number of them had belonged to various reform movements that were critical of America's political policies.<sup>6</sup> The study of the prophetic portions of Scripture had convinced many Adventists that God's judgment rested on nations as well as individuals, and that preparation for Christ's return included a separation from cultural practices that deviated from God's intentions and commands. The admonition, "Come out of her, my people, so that you will not share in her sins, so that you will not receive any of her plagues" (Revelation 18:4, NIV) was regarded seriously by a people preparing to live in God's kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

In his autobiography, Seventh-day Adventism's co-founder Joseph Bates recounted the incremental separation that his faith journey demanded: "I then began to feel the importance of taking a decided stand on the side of the oppressed. My labor in the cause of temperance had caused a pretty thorough sifting of my friends, and I felt that I had no more that I wished to part with; but duty was clear that I could not be a consistent Christian if I stood on the side of the oppressor, for God was not there. Neither could I claim his promises if I stood on neutral ground. Hence my only alternative was to plead for the slave, and thus I decided."<sup>8</sup>



Joseph Bates



Uriah Smith

Bates' solidarity with the oppressed resulted in his critique of American policies and the Christians who endorsed them. He called America's aggressive acts during the popular 1846-1848 Mexican-American War "murder" and chided Christians for their enthusiasm for this violent enterprise. His opinion of governmental policies is made clear in his reference to the United States as "this heaven-daring, soul-destroying, neighbor-murdering country."<sup>9</sup>

*Review and Herald* articles expounded the view that the emergence of the United States was predicted in Scripture, and depicted the nation as a lion-like creature. By 1851, the Adventist press regularly identified the United States as the beast from Revelation 13 that began as a lamb and changed into a dragon.<sup>10</sup> As James White commented in the opening lines of an 1862 editorial, "For the past ten years the *Review* has taught that the United States were a subject of prophecy, and that slavery is pointed out in the prophetic word as the darkest and most condemning sin upon this nation."<sup>11</sup>

Uriah Smith, the Adventist authority on prophetic interpretation, cited slavery, religious intolerance, corruption, and oppression as the clear marks of the nation's dragon-like nature.<sup>12</sup>

Far from being impressed with Ameri-

can claims of Christianity, Adventists pointed to national social policies as primary evidence of the country's willful rejection of God's commandments and Jesus' teachings. They questioned whether they could participate in the political system without assuming responsibility for the beastly national acts committed in the name "of the people" by elected officials and military.<sup>13</sup>

### Believers Debate About Response to War

James White's August 1862 editorial, "The Nation," sparked a highly charged debate, as readers wrestled with their Christian obligation to be peacemakers.<sup>14</sup> The *Review* provided a place for the scattered Adventists to dialog on one of the most controversial topics in Christian America: What should a follower of Christ do when faced with structured, organized violence? An intense and lengthy forum debated the faithful response to the moral and social dimensions of war. The letters revealed a range of interpretations: Some individuals asserted that they were ready to fight, while others were certain that Adventists should submit to death by the military rather than to compromise their pacifist principles.

James White adopted a less ideological stance: Although he clearly believed that following the Prince of Peace meant that Christians should not resort to violence (even nationally sanctioned violence), he was not ready to advise church members to choose execution over military service. Seeking a third path, he encouraged Adventists to avail themselves of all the legal means to stand by their noncombatant principles. He supported campaigns to raise money to buy Adventist exemption from service in the early stages of the draft, as well as the effort to obtain church-wide deferment after draft laws closed that option.

Despite the passion for the various stances evinced in the letters, the group reached a consensus to follow the Jesus of peace, even in time of war.

### "Just War" and Adventist Principles

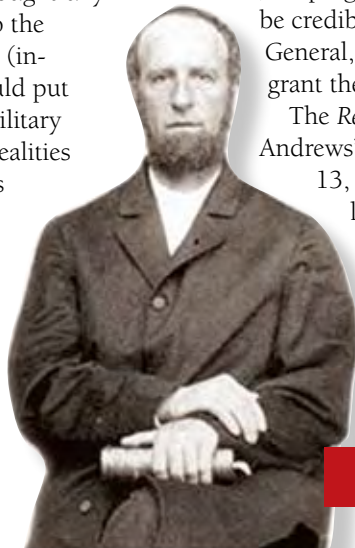
Ellen White, along with many other Christians, regarded the outbreak of war as a judgment on a nation that had knowingly profited from human bond-

age. Recognizing the complicity of the entire system in slavery's perpetuation, in 1861 she castigated the South for the sin of slavery, and the North for so long suffering its overreaching and overbearing influence.<sup>15</sup> The *Review and Herald* noted that although many viewed the war as an endeavor to end slavery, "slavery emancipation is at most but secondary," to the North's military motivation, which was union rather than abolition.<sup>16</sup>

The situation became even more complicated in late 1862 when President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation. Adventists had to decide whether they would embrace "just war" theory or maintain their non-resistance position despite the high stakes involved. If the North's war effort succeeded, slavery would be abolished; a righteous cause with a divinely desired outcome! Alternatively, if the "Southern insurrection" was successful, there would be little hope for emancipation in Confederate-controlled areas. Although some Adventists were ready to fight, there was a general consensus that even righteous causes failed to justify taking up arms to kill one's neighbors.

In early 1863, Ellen White spoke against Adventists engaging in the war, despite their strong empathy for the enslaved. "God's people" could not participate in the military endeavor, she wrote, "for it is opposed to every principle of their faith. In the army they cannot obey the truth and at the same time obey the requirements of their officers."<sup>17</sup>

Other *Review* contributors also expressed similar concerns and challenged Adventists to consider thoughtfully how their commitment to the "commandments of God" (including the Sabbath) would put them in conflict with a military enterprise. Aware of the realities of military life, Adventists questioned Christian participation in an enterprise whose nature and methods were at odds with the spirit and teachings of Jesus. As difficult as it was to renounce all weapons except faith when the nation was consumed



James White

***In early 1863, Ellen White spoke against Adventists engaging in the war, despite their strong empathy for the enslaved. "God's people" could not participate in the military endeavor, she wrote, "for it is opposed to every principle of their faith. In the army they cannot obey the truth and at the same time obey the requirements of their officers."***

by war and the future of the nation (and enslaved millions) hung in the balance, Adventists decided that their commitment to follow in the footsteps of Jesus dictated a clear path of duty.

As the war dragged on and the demand for soldiers grew, the government began to draft young men. When a law was passed that exempted only members of acknowledged peace churches from bearing arms, it became increasingly difficult for Adventists to avoid confrontation with the government over their "non-resistant" stance: Their church lacked the history and documentation of pacifism required by the new policy.<sup>18</sup>

### **The National Draft and Peace Church Status**

Obtaining peace church status during wartime was a daunting task, but the group proceeded anyway. They produced a document summarizing their position, and authorized J. N. Andrews to petition the government for this status. Andrews took statements from local and regional leaders who were acquainted with "the sentiments of Seventh-day Adventists in relation to bearing arms and engaging in war," hoping that their testimony would be credible to the Provost Marshall General, who had the power to grant the petition.<sup>19</sup>

The *Review and Herald* recorded Andrews' progress. The September 13, 1864, edition printed a letter to "Bro. White," in which J. N. Andrews reported his successful negotiations with the government.<sup>20</sup> Under the triumphant headline, "Seventh-day Ad-

ventists Recognized as Non-combatants," Andrews outlined the steps that individual draftees must take to secure this status, along with his letter to Provost Marshall General James Fry introducing Adventists as a "people unanimously loyal and anti-slavery, who because of their views of the ten commandments and the teachings of the New Testament cannot engage in bloodshed," and his recommendation that Adventists be given peace church status. Seventh-day Adventists thus gained entrance to the tiny sisterhood of peace churches, those recognized as "conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and are prohibited from doing so by the rules and articles of faith, and of practice, of their church."

### **The Sinfulness of War**

After the war ended, Adventists determined to gather more evidence to document their nonresistance stance in case of future crises. In 1865, as well as passing a resolution at the General Conference Third Annual Meeting in which they stated that "we are compelled to decline all participation in acts of war and bloodshed as being inconsistent with the duties enjoined upon us by our divine Master toward our enemies and toward all mankind," they compiled their existing peace materials and published a booklet, "Compilation—or—EXTRACTS, from the PUBLICATIONS OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS, Setting Forth their Views of the SINFULNESS OF WAR, Referred to in the ANNEXED AFFIDAVITS."<sup>21</sup> The booklet featured various *Review* articles that revealed their conviction that Christians were called to reject violence and live lives of peace.

Quoting, among others, Adventist notables Joseph Bates, James White, M. E. Cornell and J. H. Waggoner, the booklet documented Adventist rejection of



violence. Cornell, for example, reviewed Scriptural passages that commanded believers to “RESIST NOT EVIL,” and George W. Amadon answered the question, “Why Seventh-day Adventists Cannot Engage in War.”<sup>22</sup> These extracts argued that disciples of the Prince of Peace must conform to Christ’s example of peacemaking and sacrifice even when that way is difficult.

### Rebuking a Nation United

Before the close of the 19th century, America initiated what the U.S. Ambassador to England called a “splendid little war” in Cuba and the Philippines.<sup>23</sup> While most Americans enthusiastically supported endeavors to “liberate” these Spanish colonies, Adventist leaders critiqued both governmental imperialism and Christian ministers who praised the war as a means of spreading Protestant Christianity. By then, Bates and White had died, but Adventist stalwart Percy Magan opposed the war with a book, *The Peril of the Republic of the United States of America*. Challenging clerical war enthusiasm, Magan queried pointedly, “Will the people whose fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons have been shot down in this ruthless war, be more ready to accept the gospel at the hands of the murderers of their relatives? Will it cause them to be kindly inclined towards the teachings of the Saviour?”<sup>24</sup>

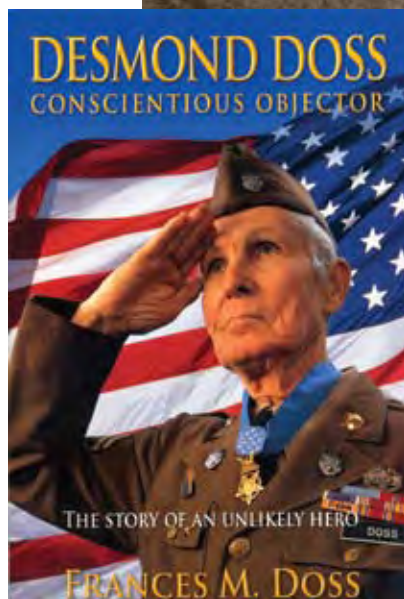
In May of 1898, the *Review* critiqued “The Gospel of War,” in an article prepared by evangelist Merritt Cornell. Rejecting the national military fervor, Cornell asserted, “There is nothing in the teachings of Christ that sanctions war. War and Christianity are antipodes—just as far apart as the east is from the west.” Acknowledging that Christians frequently ignore Christ’s peace teachings, he noted, “Yet from the days of the Saviour down to the present time, many of the most destructive and cruel wars have been waged solely in the name of religion.

“The gospel of Christ is a gospel of peace; yet right within the bo-

som of the church, there is being fostered a spirit of militarism that few appreciate. . . .”<sup>25</sup> America’s victory over Spain did not change the Adventist perspective that Christians must adhere to Christ’s methods.

### A Century of War

In the 20th century, militarism challenged the newly international Adventism. Although not all Adventists were pacifists, members’ refusal to bear arms evoked hostility on both sides of the Atlantic during World War I. Noncombatants found themselves in prison, or



Desmond Doss, a Seventh-day Adventist medic who served in World War II, is the only conscientious objector to have received the U.S. Congressional Medal of Honor.

treated harshly by their officers, other soldiers, and local citizenry. To facilitate Adventist draftees' assignment to medical duties, church institutions offered training for battlefield medical situations.<sup>26</sup>

Evangelistic success during wartime filled the pews with new members who were unaware of the church's peace witness. Francis Wilcox, *Review* editor, penned a volume, dedicated to Christian veterans, that reviewed and reaffirmed Adventist commitment to nonviolence in principle and practice. Referring to the church founders' strongly worded documents condemning violence, he sketched the history of Adventist resolve to follow the Prince of Peace, reminding his readers that "God is supreme, and His requirements are paramount to all others."<sup>27</sup>

As another world war threatened to explode, the Adventist Medical Cadet Corps expanded to every American Adventist academy and college to prepare



eligible youth for battlefield medical service. Despite this pro-active preparation, drafted Adventists encountered frequent hostility, and "conscientious co-operators" such as Desmond Doss found themselves facing continual harassment for their stance.<sup>28</sup>

The church continued to assess and refine its stance after World War II. The 1951 report on actions of the General Conference (GC) Autumn Council, stated that the church "devotes its energies and resources exclusively to spiritual and humanitarian work," and that war conditions only increased the commitment to such work. Further, the report

recommended that the statement of the relationship of Seventh-day Adventists to war appear in the church manual "immediately following the statement of Fundamental Beliefs."<sup>29</sup>

In 1954, the GC Autumn Council reconfirmed its noncombatancy position and stressed the necessity of "strong spiritual preparation for the stern tests of military service in order that they may meet these tests successfully and by their faithfulness give encouragement to one another and the church they represent."<sup>30</sup>

### Freedom of Conscience

The 1960s are often characterized as a time of social restlessness and alienation from institutional traditions and structures, but were also a period when church members' opinions on participation showed less unanimity. In the U.S., the unpopular Vietnam War stimulated a closer examination of the church's "conscientious co-operator" position. Those

who objected to the war charged the church with complicity in an immoral endeavor, while others thought that the church should provide more pastoral support for Adventists in the military. Many rejected what they saw as the church trying to usurp

personal moral decision-making responsibility.

In 1969, the North American Division moved to formally recognize respect for individual conscience concerning military participation, while retaining church commitment to noncombatancy. Although one might conscientiously refuse to serve in the military even as a noncombatant, or conceivably choose to carry weapons, the individual should "first consider the historic teaching of the church on noncombatancy."<sup>31</sup> Reflecting the North American step, in 1972 the General Conference clarified and amended its 1954 statement, asserting



that the church stance on noncombatancy was not binding doctrine. This meant that each individual had the responsibility for decision making about military service. Choices were not to be made in a vacuum, however, and the statement reminded church members that their choices needed to be informed by their primary commitment to God, their Christian obligation to "contribute to saving life," and respect for the voice of conscience.

"The breaking out of war among men, however, in no way alters the Christian's supreme allegiance and responsibility to God or modifies his obligation to practice his beliefs and put God first.

"This partnership with God through Jesus Christ who came into this world not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, causes Seventh-day Adventists to advocate a noncombatant position, following their Divine Master in not taking human life, but rendering all possible service to save it."<sup>32</sup>

While American Adventists had the option to register as objectors and refuse to bear arms, governments in the Soviet Union, China, Korea, and several Eastern European bloc nations made little accommodation for religious beliefs relating to noncombatancy. Where possible, the church worked to negotiate with governments to arrange for an alternative to bearing arms. Where that was not



possible, some Adventists endured long prison terms and extreme abuse rather than to violate “the commandments of God.”

### Keeping Faith in the 21st Century

Today, members of the rapidly growing Seventh-day Adventist Church reside in hundreds of countries, under all manner of political regimes, only some of which respect the religiously based refusal to bear arms. As the current world situation is one of “wars and rumors of wars,” Adventists remain resolved to live faithfully as Christ’s followers in the midst of violence and bloodshed. Church members must continue to examine their own consciences and to reassess the church’s position on participation in military endeavors.

Although divided by geography, culture, and political experience, the church must find ways to stay united around core Adventist understandings of Christian life and witness. Despite variations in worship styles and expressions of faith, Adventists must maintain their commitment to “keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.” While respecting individual conscience on matters of carrying arms, the Seventh-day Adventist Church must invite all people to follow the Prince of Peace in every aspect of their lives, including the imperative to embody God’s inclusive healing and redemptive love. ✍



**Dr. Ginger Hanks Harwood** is an Associate Professor of Religious and Theological Studies in the School of Religion at La Sierra University, Riverside, California. In addition to biblical studies and ethics classes, she teaches Seventh-day Adventist Church history.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *The Views of Seventh-day Adventists Relative to Bearing Arms, Together With the Opinion of the Governor of Michigan and a Portion of the Enrollment Law* (Battle Creek, Mich.: Seventh-day Adventist Publ.

Assn., 1864), pp. 7-9.

2. *Ibid.*; pp. 3, 4.

3. For two of a multitude of examples of this sentiment, see E. Everts, “Follow Me,” *Review and Herald* 13 (July 1856), pp. 102, 103, and Henry E. Carver, “The War,” *ibid.* (October 21, 1862), pp. 166, 167.

4. *Compilation or Extracts From the Publications of Seventh-day Adventists, Setting Forth Their Views of the Sinfulness of War, Referred to in the Annexed Affidavits* (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publ. Assn., 1865) pp. 4, 5.

5. James White, *Review and Herald* (August 14, 1856).

6. Ronald D. Graybill, “The Abolitionist-Millerite Connection,” in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, eds., *The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the 19th Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp.140-149.

7. E. Everts, “Christianity Requireth a Renunciation of the World, and All Worldly Tempers,” *Review and Herald* 8 (July 31, 1856), pp. 102, 103.

8. Joseph Bates, *The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates* (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publ. Assn., 1868), p. 236.

9. Joseph Bates, *Opening Heavens, Seventh-day Sabbath, and Way Marks* (1846), p. 48, reprinted in part in *Compilation or Extracts From the Publications of Seventh-day Adventists, Setting Forth their Views of the Sinfulness of War, Referred to in the Annexed Affidavits* (Battle Creek: Seventh-day Adventist Publ. Assn., 1865), pp. 3, 4.

10. In 1857, J. N. Loughborough began a four-part series of investigative articles tying the lamb-like beast of Revelation to the United States. The first installment of “The Two-Horned Beast of Revelation xiii, A Symbol of the United States,” appeared in the *Review and Herald* 10 (June 25, 1857), pp. 57-60. He concluded his series on July 16, 1857.

11. James White, “The Nation,” *Review and Herald* 20 (August 12, 1862), p. 84.

12. Uriah Smith produced numerous articles tracing the United States in prophecy. For a sample of his theology, see “The Two-Horned Beast,” *Review and Herald* 9 (March 12, 1857), p. 148. In addition to his editorial articles on the United States, Smith produced the illustrations of the beastly creature

that appeared in the paper. For an example of the depictions, see J. N. Andrews, “The Three Angels of Rev. xiv, 6-12,” *Review and Herald* 6:25 (March 20, 1855), p.194.

13. Uriah Smith, “Politics,” *Review and Herald* 8 (September 11, 1856), p. 152.

14. James White, “The Nation,” *Review and Herald* (August 12, 1862), p. 84.

15. Ellen G. White, “The Rebellion,” in *Testimonies for the Church* (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publ. Assn., 1948), vol. 1, pp. 359.

16. “Remarks,” *Review and Herald* 11 (March 10, 1859), p. 124.

17. White, *Testimonies*, vol. 1, pp. 357-361; quote is on page 361.

18. “The Enrollment Law,” *The Views of Seventh-day Adventists Relative to Bearing Arms, Together With the Opinion of the Governor of Michigan and a Portion of the Enrollment Law*, pp. 3, 4.

19. Richard W. Schwartz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, Idaho: Pacific Press Publ. Assn., 1995), pp. 95-99.

20. J. N. Andrews, “Seventh-day Adventists Recognized as Non-Combatants,” *Review and Herald* 24:16 (September 13, 1864), pp. 124, 125.

21. The resolution as reprinted in Douglas Morgan, *The Peacemaking Remnant: Essays and Historical Documents* (Silver Spring, Md.: Adventist Peace Fellowship, 2005), p. 97.

22. *Compilation or Extracts From the Publications of Seventh-day Adventists*, op cit., p. 17.

23. Letter from U.S. Ambassador John Hay to Theodore Roosevelt in 1896 (<http://www.smlplanet.com/imperialism/splendid.htm>). Accessed December 18, 2007.

24. Percy T. Magan, *The Peril of the Republic of the United States of America* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1899), p. 121.

25. Merritt Cornell, “The Gospel of War,” *Review and Herald* (May 31, 1898), p. 351.

26. For a brief description of these preparations see Eric Syme, *A History of SDA Church-State Relations in the United States* (Mountain View: Pacific Press Publ. Assn., 1973), pp. 70-72. See also I. H. Evans, “Our Late Council,” *Review and Herald* 94:33 (August 16, 1917), pp. 2, 6.

27. Francis M. Wilcox, *Seventh-day Adventists in Time of War* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publ. Assn., 1936), p.30.

28. For a short and readable review of this significant period that sketches the evolving accommodations made to military requirements, the most helpful source is probably Douglas Morgan’s excellent article, “Between Pacifism and Patriotism,” *Journal of Adventist Education* 65:5 (Summer 2003), pp.16-27. Everett N. Dick provides the insight from personal involvement in his article, “The Adventist Medical Corps as Seen by Its Founder,” *Adventist Heritage* 1:2 (July 1974), pp. 33-45.

29. “Actions of the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee, Cleveland, Ohio,” (October 19-29, 1951), pp. 12, 13.

30. “Actions of the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee, Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.” (October 21-28, 1951), pp. 88, 89.

31. *Review and Herald* 146 (December 18, 1969), pp.16-21.

32. “Recommendations of General Interest From the Autumn Council, 1972-1,” *Review and Herald* 149 (November 30, 1972), p. 20.