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ASRS

CAN MISSION STORIES OF AN ADVENTIST PAST FOSTER A SHARED ADVENTIST FUTURE?
The story of pioneer missionaries Fernando and Ana Stahl as a case example

One way only will command respect and have power to persuade: and that is the Church's manner of being; the way she is, as she lives by the renewing power of Christ for all to feel and see. I firmly believe that without knowing it this is what the world is waiting for.

—the closing lines from Hendrik Kraemer's
Why Christianity of All Religions?(1)

Introductory comment on theology/ethics/narrative

The rubric which designates this section of our guild's collective reflections is "The Adventist Experience." Such a phrase embraces a topic which at once drives and disturbs us. Daily. Most of us are third, fourth, and fifth generation Adventists who boast a shared history: we were born in the Great Disappointment of 1844; we named the beasts that prowl the Patmos zoo of St. John the Divine; we overcame parochial presuppositions fostered by Shut Doors; and we wrested free of anti-organization Babylonian biases. In turn, we geared up for the long haul to take the Third Angel's Message to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. We appear by and large clear with regard to our shared history. What haunts us about the Adventist Experience, I think, is the matter of a shared future. One with no more than a nodding acquaintance of Adventism in the western world can recognize that the sons and daughters of the New England forbears who founded the Seventh-day Adventist Church are not finding meaning in the religious community of their birth. This greying of Adventism is a stark reality.

Thesis. This working paper offers a modest thesis: that the collective story advanced by a religious movement will continue to inform succeeding generations anew only as theological beliefs are demonstrated to have relevance for personal and social ethics. Said experientially, such a community must demonstrate that truth informs lived experience; that a way of believing results in a way of being; and that word becomes flesh. In short, the thesis argues that the Adventist story may be passed on to our children only as this doing of theology and ethics becomes of one piece.

The thesis may be deemed less than profound. Yet, given the nature of the human enterprise, the thesis calls for commitments that make profound demands on our life together.

Theology/ethics/narrative. Theologians, ethicists, and sociologists of religion have only lately sought to integrate their various disciplines. Some members of this professional society may share my recollections of Langdon Gilkey's presidential address at the American Academy of Religion convention one decade ago titled "The AAR and the Anxiety of Nonbeing."⁽²⁾ Lamenting that theology had been in less than constant dialogue with the relatively more youthful and energetic disciplines of social ethics and the sociology or psychology of religion, Gilkey drew effectively upon the metaphor of ship and crew in noting that the theologian—once assumed to captain the ship—had of late drawn deck-swabbing duty and now ran the risk of being swept overboard. (At that time I could not help but opine that the Adventist ship ran a very traditional command with theology and biblical studies still resolutely standing watch as colleagues in the sociology and/or psychology of religion bobbed at sea while vying for a spot on board.)

Stanley Hauerwas laments that historically theology and ethics have not historically been of one piece. Catholic natural law theory in principle allowed moral judgements to be made apart from theological claims, and liberal Protestantism rushed to judgement in a reductionist mode making moral demands upon a community quite apart from a due consideration of those theological themes that constitute the Christian story. While the social gospel theologians offered a needed corrective in calling the believing community to moral action, they were less interested in testing the truthfulness of religious belief than in engineering programs calling for social justice and moral responsibility.⁽³⁾

The Christian community may avoid the twin traps of detaching belief from life and the reductionist tendencies of rushing to moral activism, suggests Hauerwas, by affirming the narrative nature of its texts and traditions—“for the fact is that there are no doctrines for which one must search out moral implications; rather ‘doctrines’ and ‘morality’ gain their intelligibility from narratives that promise to help us see and act in a manner appropriate to the character of our existence.” Accordingly,

The narrative nature of Christian convictions helps us see that “ethics” is not what one does after one has gotten straight on the meaning and truth of religious beliefs; rather Christian ethics offers the means for exploring the meaning, relation, and truthfulness of Christian convictions. That is not to say that Christian convictions are proven meaningful and true by showing their ethical implications; rather they are both true and ethical in that they force us to a true understanding of ourselves and our existence.(4)

The church is informed by the stories of scripture; and the church itself gives birth to stories which bring greater clarity and understanding of the scriptural stories. In affirming this narrative nature of the biblical text, then, we become “storied people” building a “storied society” and the God that sustains us is a “storied God.” The church, concludes Hauerwas, is thus “nothing less than that community where we as individuals continue to test and are tested by the particular ways these stories live through us.”(5)

Selective memory. Problem: communities of faith no less than individuals experience what Martin Marty refers to as “selective memory.”(6) How are these shared stories passed on? Who are the interpreters of the text? Who are the guardians of the tradition? How does a community of faith come to be shaped in light of which stories are included in the narrative? Sociologist of religion J. Milton Yinger hypothesized that those religious movements whose story builds chiefly upon the individual nature of sin and salvation (theology informing personal ethics in a propositional manner?) foster a mentality which encourages that movement to eschew issues calling for a social and structural witness, to accommodate to the cultural status quo, and to settle into a comfortable and middle-class denominationalism. Conversely, Yinger suggests that religious movements whose story builds upon a witness against the broader evils and sins of society (theology and social ethics emerging in the context of community?) come to articulate more thoroughly an alternate value system, to develop a higher group identification and morale, and to become established religious movements which stand in opposition to much of the value system of contemporary culture. The former tend to grow beige if not grey and to blend in as they accommodate to contemporary culture. The latter tend to retain an identity and pass on the movement to succeeding generations.(7)

Donald Dayton’s *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage* persuasively documents the manner in which selective memory operated in reshaping the story of nineteenth-century evangelicalism. Dayton illustrates how the editing of the texts and traditions of evangelicalism’s story of a century past reveals a heightened individualism, an accommodation to the norms of secular society, and an assent to propositional dogma in place of the radicalism that obtained when the doing of theology and ethics represented a joint communal effort.(8)

The Stahl story as a case example

Fernando and Ana Stahl are my spiritual forbears. The Christian gospel which they preached came to be enacted not only in Adventist churches and clinics and schools, but also in town markets and provincial law courts and the national legislature. In the truest sense, the Stahls were missionaries, visionaries, and revolutionaries. (9)

—Esteban Judd, Maryknoll Priest

The Peru-based Catholic missionary who shared this characterization of the life and work of the Stahls with me two years ago was in effect asserting that the Stahl story was his story (“my spiritual forbears”) precisely because this couple’s believing (“the Christian gospel which they preached”) was evidenced in their being (“came to be enacted...”). My subsequent probings into the life and work of the

Fernando and Ana Stahl suggest, as with Dayton, that there are chapters in the Adventist narrative that have yet to be discovered or re-discovered—stories that can offer a examples of a lived integration of theology and ethics while at the same time offering a more complete understanding of our peoplehood. Indeed numerous and diverse persons of letters beyond the Adventist community—Latin Americanists, theologians, socialists, anthropologists, historians, ethnographers, poets, and politicians from three continents—laud the broad social and spiritual witness of the Stahls. That their story has received more sustained attention beyond the community of faith which nurtured them than within that community may well offer commentary on selective memory as employed by those who shape the Adventist story—a memory that I am committed to challenge.

Overview. Fernando and Ana Stahl, converts to Seventh-day Adventism as young adults in the mid-western United States, volunteered for a mission appointment to South America during the first decade of this century.(10) Upon being told that the church could not finance their passage, the Stahls and their two children paid their own way,(11) leaving Main Street, USA, to land in the Bolivian and Peruvian *altiplano*(highlands) in the year 1909. Ana bartered her professional skills as a nurse to the social elite and served the destitute as well while Fernando stumbled about indigenous villages intuitively exploring what it meant to be a missionary.(12) Fernando's first attempt at missionizing was to sell religious magazines. Yet he soon discovered not only that the indigenous population generally could not read but that the privileged classes had every reason to keep these peoples uneducated in order to maintain their social and economic advantages.(13) In 1911, magazine peddling took a back seat to establishing schools as the Stahls linked up with indigenous visionary and early Adventist convert Manuel Camacho on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca.

A near-feudal social system characterized the Peruvian highlands at the turn of the century. Geographical barriers kept the *altiplano* isolated from the rule of law promulgated in the nation's capital and cultural barriers created a caste system in which the five percent *mestizo* and white minority land-holding families, with the support of political and religious functionaries, kept the ninety-five percent Aymara and Quechua peoples in total subjection. Land expropriations, forced labor, and arbitrary taxation were the chief tools of oppression. These abuses gave rise to a series of violent revolts that erupted throughout the *altiplano* well into the 1930's. The indigenous peoples were illiterate, had no opportunities for education and had little contact with the world beyond the Lake Titicaca basin.(14) Calling for indigenous education as “the only sure way of salvation from the subjugation in which we find ourselves,”(15) Camacho for a full decade endured the bribes, threats, terror, beatings, arrests, and imprisonments meted out to those who have the temerity to act out their visionary hopes. Such was the social context in which the Stahls' educational endeavor would come to flourish.

The Stahls may not have been prepared to articulate a cogent academic definition of the term “near-feudal social system” as employed by historians to describe the *altiplano* at the beginning of the century. Yet Fernando's *In the Land of the Incas*, published in 1920 in English and later in Spanish, evidences a clear perception of the injustices perpetuated by an unholy alliance among the trio he explicitly names: town judge, village priest, and wealthy landowner.(16) The Stahls embraced Camacho's vision for mediating salvation to the *altiplano* and cast their lot with the lot of the indigenous peoples. Fernando and Ana assumed the highlands as their parish and for a full decade invested energies on mule back, horse back, and—later—on a Harley Davidson motorcycle in establishing schools, chapels, clinics, and markets.(17)

Indigenous response. Tabulations of the numbers are impressive. The Stahls birthed an educational system in the Department of Puno that came to encircle Lake Titicaca and include as many as two hundred schools,(18) ranging from humble village home schools to large boarding institutions.(19) So great was the demand for indigenous education that the Stahls' successor reported twelve requests for such schools were once received in a single day.(20) Tens of thousands of Quechua and Aymara peoples came to be educated. Thanks in large part to these educational efforts, baptized membership in the Lake Titicaca Mission numbered 6,579 by 1940. The National Census of that year showed fully four times that number of self-professed Protestants in the Lake Titicaca basin (virtually all of whom would have been Adventist), suggesting that Adventism had indeed established a strong presence in the *altiplano*.(21)

Yet numbers communicate the indigenous response but partly. Personal commentaries flesh out statistical skeletons. That the Adventist presence contributed to social and structural change in the *altiplano* is borne out by educator Ruben Chambi, son of the Stahls early guide and translator: “The Adventist school system opened the way for the indigenous population of the highlands to achieve self-hood and self-sufficiency,” he asserted. “The Stahl gospel both converted hearts and changed the social fabric of the highlands.”(22) The rapidity of the social change experienced in the *altiplano* is evidenced by the fact that this same Ruben Chambi—but one generation removed from Puno’s near-feudal past—came to be elected by Punenos to represent them in the National Congress.(23)

Progressive response. The Stahls and their Adventist band drew generally rave reviews from indigenistas and other progressives. One radical son of Puno, a co-founder of the avant garde literary circle *Grupo Orkupata* whose cobbler father was co-founder of Puno’s first Seventh-day Adventist congregation, described the Plateria schooling developments as initiating “la revolucion de la Plateria.”(24) A former rector of Lima’s ranking San Marcos University and sometime National Congress deputy, well known for his involvements in land reform and educational reform, pledged solidarity with these missionaries as “co-workers” with himself in “the labor in of human redemption.”(25) The director of the national library cited the Stahls and Camacho by name and lauded their educational work as having been initiated “with unanticipated and transcendent results.”(26) This rare excursion into transcendence is concluded with an equally rare unqualified generalization: “For the first time, the Indian acceded to letters, hygiene, and a consciousness of his own dignity.”(27)

The progressives, often anti-clerical by nature, found it appealing to contrast the Stahls’ method of evangelization with that of the priests. One liberal spokesperson from the provincial capitol of Arequipa contended that while Puno’s priests planned religious feasts, their Protestant counterparts established clinics and schools.(28) A fellow progressive echoed the opinion, noting that while the Protestant leaders taught and healed, their Catholic counterparts sang masses and planned fiestas.(29) An influential social critic—not known for offering compliments to institutionalized religion of any stripe—noted approvingly that whereas the Jesuits contented themselves with the teaching of the wealthy elite while enjoying the comforts of Lima, the Adventists braved the rigors of the *altiplano* in teaching the disinherited classes.(30) And a leading Andean educator succinctly observed that whereas the village priests worked to “save souls” the Stahls worked to “save lives.”(31)

Reactionary response. Retaliation was swift and decisive from the entrenched power interests among Puno’s favored five percent. Clerical opposition reached an apex on March 3, 1913, when the Puno-based Bishop personally led a mob of two hundred men, many or all mounted, to rout out the Protestant heretics.(32) After wrecking havoc at the Camacho and Stahl homes (the Stahls and Camachos being absent at the time), eight Adventist believers were lashed together with leather thongs and led off to jail. Fernando’s account spares no details in noting how these bound prisoners were repeatedly assaulted by man and beast as they stumbled on foot “hatless and coatless” the twenty-one miles to prison.(33) The subsequent acquittal and release of the prisoners does not end the story, for commentators on the history of religious liberty in Peru credit this incident with providing the impetus for the passage of a constitutional amendment on October 20, 1915 which guaranteed the freedom of religious expression.(34)

De jure change does not, of course, translate immediately to *de facto* reform. As the Adventist schools multiplied, so did the opposition. On numerous occasions, the Stahls barely escaped with their lives. Scores of believers were murdered, schoolhouses were burned, Adventist teachers were assaulted, and at least one student was reported as having been beaten to death after enrolling in an Adventist school.(35)

Attacks in the reactionary press abounded. The pages of the conservative newspapers were laced with alleged misdeeds of the Adventists. The perceived threats to the social order presented by these schools for the indigenous peoples are made explicit in a memorial filed from Azangaro in 1923:

These false evangelical schools bring together daily large numbers of suggestible, individuals of suspect social desires, and ignorant Indians attracted through false and fantastic promises.

—At these schools they teach the most depraved and heretical practices, and preach a war of extermination against faithful Catholics and the Church itself.

—At these schools they work a labor of dissolution. They spread doctrines of the most crimson communism. They attempt to destroy patriotism and the spirit of the nation by inculcating the most extreme and dangerous socialist concepts of social organization, class and racial equality, and unbounded liberty in the ignorant masses. . .

—At these schools, finally, they openly attack our property system. . . .(36)

Near the end of the Stahls tenure in the *altiplano*, Puno progressives called for a Pro-Indigena Commission to investigate local abuses and to instigate reforms, a call that was heeded by Lima.(37) Fernando seized upon the arrival of the visiting commission as an opportunity to showcase Plateria's indigenous students while at the same time lobbying for social change. Commissioner Erasmo Roca, head of the Ministry of Development's Labor Bureau, reports on the "spectacle" that Stahl orchestrated:

What a beautiful spectacle it was for us, just a few days after our arrival in Puno, to see nearly two thousand Indian evangelists from the region of Plateria. . . , who, in correct military formation and led by two musical bands, paraded before the commission.(38)

Inhabitants from the neighboring town of Azangaro may well have taken a cue from the "evangelists" in that they massed fully eight thousand such greeters, also "in correct military formation," when the commission arrived in their tense town a few days later. Nervous landowners wired Lima for troop reinforcements and at least one local indigenista leader was placed in preventive detention. News accounts report that the local power interests debated whether the same fate ought not to be accorded to Fernando Stahl.(39)

The Stahls doubtless took no small satisfaction in contrasting the conditions that marked the 1913 forced march from Plateria with this demonstration of solidarity that Fernando had been able to stage just seven years later. The earlier band of eight captives had been lashed together with leather thongs and herded "hatless and coatless" over the same twenty-one mile course to the taunts and jeers and assaults of their mounted captors and onlookers. Now the twenty-one mile course was traversed by a throng of disciplined Aymara and Quechua peoples intent upon demonstrating to the visiting dignitaries that an integrated presentation of the Gospel had liberated them from those internal and external principalities and powers that had formerly held them in bondage.

Contemporary Commentary on the Stahl Story

Researchers from South America, North America, and Europe have swarmed upon the *altiplano* in recent decades representing disciplines ranging from anthropology to zoology. Many offer commentary on the Stahl's manner of believing and being.

Ted Lewellen. In researching the work, *Peasants in Transition* ,(40) this anthropologist put down roots in Lake Titicaca's island of Soga to study Catholic and Protestant control groups. Lewellen descended on the *altiplano* informed by anthropological studies which concluded that Adventists constituted an elite who were "frustrated and disillusioned" because they had repudiated their tribal traditions and who were now passing from prominence to marginality.(41) Such studies decried the "austerity and emptiness of the new life" offered to Protestant converts and contended that a "pall of Protestant gloom hangs over many a community in the Pacific and tropical South America that once throbbed with life, laughter, and song."(42) On the contrary, Lewellen discovered that the eighteen percent Adventist minority on Soga held the bulk of the political power, had more and considerably better schooling, had larger families than Catholics, had almost the same per capita income, showed significantly higher pro-education sentiments, chose education over profit, and—surprisingly—showed themselves as more traditional on some questions designed to measure this factor.(43)

Positing that "Adventism offered educational opportunities not available elsewhere, and thus attracted a group of people more progressive, independent, and intellectual than the norm,"(44) this anthropologist observed:

Adventism both tapped and created a 'pool of variability.' It served to select out of the mass of oppressed and ignorant humans that meager group of deviants to whom education had an almost addictive appeal, a group who were not satisfied to be slaves to their *mestizo* oppressors or their own ignorance. These people became the most valuable part of that pool of variability which biologists recognize as essential to the processes of evolution...Here we have a people preparing for a future fifty years before it arrives. The founders of the Adventist church were, by definition, innovators.(45)

Dan Hazen. A Yale University doctoral dissertation titled *The Awakening of Puno*(46) has emerged as the definitive work on education in the Lake Titicaca basin. It is not surprising that fully a fourth of this dissertation is devoted to the school system envisioned by Manuel Camacho and established by Fernando and Ana Stahl.

Hazen boldly asserts that "Adventists have consistently been in the forefront of change in the *altiplano*."(47) What gave Adventists this edge was their contextualized and integrated offering: "the missionaries combined appeals for individual salvation with a broad-based program of medical, educational, and market facilities open to all."(48) Moving from the subject of programs to implementation, Hazen cites the Adventist "organization, attitude, and ability to get things done" as factors which enabled Adventism to be "one of the major inputs for change in early-century Puno."(49) He unpacks this statement by citing the following considerations: 1) the missionaries minimized imposition by expanding only on villager request; 2) doctrinal controversies were played down in favor of new standards of hygiene, temperance, health care, and morality; 3) literacy was actively fostered as students read from the Bible and Peruvian texts; 4) while religion was taught it did not dominate the curriculum; 5) this Adventist instruction was generally better regarded than state efforts; 6) native workers were quickly trained and put to work in schools and churches; and 7) finally,

Adventist missionaries carried with them a willingness to seek new answers. They also embodied a less status-conscious life style than local *mestizos* and whites, resulting both from more democratic national and religious heritages and from their necessary alliance with Puno's underdogs, the Indians, against abusive church and civil authorities.(50)

In underscoring the social levelling factor, Hazen concludes simply: "The members addressed one another as '*hermano*' and '*hermana*' or 'brother' and 'sister.'"(51) Only those who have experienced the marked social stratification of a colonized people can fully appreciate this concluding observation.

Jean Kessler. This Dutch missiologist's work is titled *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile*.(52) In analyzing the reasons for Adventism's success factor, Kessler contends that the following factors obtain:

1. Theological base. Kessler flatly asserts that there "was no sectarianism in Stahl," judging that this understanding of the Gospel placed the Stahls "well ahead of most Adventists of their time."(53) Stated positively: "Stahl preached salvation by grace and in this he set a stamp on the whole Lake Titicaca Mission."(54)
2. Integrated witness. The model of humankind's nature espoused by the Stahls called for salvation to be mediated to the totality of the human experience.(55)
3. Contextualized praxis. Evangelization was contextualized in direct response to felt needs articulated by the population that the missionaries had come to serve. And this contextualization of the gospel bore witness not only to individual hearts, but contributed to the change of social structures as well.(56)

4. Indigenous leadership. Kessler observes that all evangelical missionary groups in Peru painted a picture of God as “One who had come to serve, but only the Adventists made it possible for the Indians to share in the social application of the Gospel.”(57)

Samuel Escobar. A Latin American Protestant theologian, Samuel Escobar undertakes a laudable task in his book, *La Fe Evangelica y las Teologias de la Liberacion*,(58) that of articulating a theology of liberation which at once is capable of dialoguing with those outside the evangelical tradition while yet remaining faithful to that tradition. The task is formidable, for the “liberationist” and the “evangelist” tend to talk past one another—if they talk at all. Indeed, many would contend that the liberationist simply dismisses the evangelist as irrelevant while the evangelist dismisses the liberationist as irreverent.

The extent to which Escobar is successful in facilitating on-going dialogue will be chronicled by subsequent religious commentators and historians. Of particular interest to students of a social history of Adventism in the *altiplano*, however, is how Escobar chooses to begin his book. After laying out the thesis that “the gospel which came to Latin America with Protestantism came with liberating force because it brought with it the power of the biblical message,”(59) Escobar immediately takes his readers to Plateria to introduce them to Manuel Camacho and Fernando and Ana Stahl. He makes clear his reason for beginning this book with the Adventist story: *altiplano* Adventism offers “a dramatic example” of the personal, social, economic, judicial, and political, and spiritual witness that can be evoked by an authentically biblical and evangelical faith.(60)

A concluding, unscientific postscript

Are the call to believing/being shared by Hauerwas, the hypothesis advanced by Yinger, and the evangelical experience posited by Dayton even remotely accurate? If so, I propose that the Adventist Experience which birthed and nurtured those of us in this room will be embraced by our children only as it becomes clear that the Adventist narrative celebrates characters such as the Stahls—“missionaries, visionaries, and revolutionaries” whose lived experience demonstrates that believing and being are of one piece and that the Adventist story can make a radical difference on Earth. For only as this believing/being is sensed to make a difference will our children sense the need for belonging.

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Notes

1. Hendrik Kraemer, Why Christianity of All Religions? (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), p. 125.
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3. Stanley Hauerwas, A Community of Character: Forward a Constructive Christian Social Ethic, (Notre Dame: Notre Dame UP, 1981), p. 90.
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12. Stahl, En el pais de los Incas 67.
Stahl, In the Land of the Incas 85, 291.
13. Stahl, In the Land of the Incas 68ff.
14. The indigenous percentages are likely conservative in that they are based on the 1940 census: Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio (Direccion Nacional de Estadística) Censo Nacional de Poblacion y Ocupacion 1940. See, for example, Tamayo Herrera and Kapsoli.
15. Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Peru (#25).
16. Stahl, En el Pais de los Incas 85ff (chapter entitled "Una Raza Oprimida" discusses at length the abuses perpetrated by the wealthy landowners, as well as the Prefects, Subprefects, and priests; for the English version, see Stahl, In the Land of the Incas 105ff.
17. Hazen 121 offers a concise summary of Stahls endeavors quoted later in this article:"Adventists have consistently been in the forefront of change in the Altiplano—the missionaries combined appeals for individual salvation with a broad-based program of medical, educational, and market facilities open to all."
18. Estimates vary in part, no doubt, due to differing definitions as to what constitutes a school. Key variables include home school, village building, church-owned building, Mission-appointed teacher. The 200 figure is cited in Hazen 122, although he recognizes that "official church statistics only indicated around eighty." Lewellen 130 also cites that 200 figure.
19. La Escuela Normal de Plateria and Colegio Adventista del Titicaca (under other names as well) in Chullunquiani, Juliaca, are the system's boarding schools in the school.
20. E. H. Wilcox, In Perils Oft (Nashville:Southern 1961) 100. The following article titles communicate the skyrocketing demand for personnel: E. H. Wilcox, "Indian Believers: Thirty Calls for Teachers Unanswered," Review and Herald 15 January 1925: 8; see also F. A. Stahl, "Opening in the Lake Titicaca Region," Review and Herald 1 February 191:13.
21. Hazen 121. Also Statistical Report El Siglo 7.1707 (9 August 1920); Roca S. 253-54..
22. Charles Teel, Jr., "Missionaries," 6,7.
23. Interview with Ruben Chambi on December 7, 1987 in Nan, Lima, Peru. Ruben Chambi was elected on the Demócrata Cristiana ticket in 1972 but a military coup prohibited him from taking office.
24. Churata vii.
25. Jose Antonio Encinas, Un ensayo, 148-49.

26. Tamayo Herrera 95.
27. Tamayo Herrera 95.
28. Mostajo 38.
29. Ernesto Reyna, "Evangelista," La Sierra (April-May 1928): 15-6.
30. Prada 119.
31. On Julian Palacios Rios, see Hazen 122, 402-14.
32. While the figure 200 is consistently reported, Stahl has all 200 mounted on horses whereas Camacho notes that only some were mounted. See Stahl, En el pais de los Incas 131-33 for both the Stahl and the Camacho reports. Equally full reporting of of this incident appears in Kessler 231-32.
33. Stahl, En el pais de los Incas 132; In the Land of the Incas 163.
34. Herbert Money, La libertad religiosa en el Peru (Lima: Antartida 1965) 37.
35. Assaults on missionaries are noted in Wilcox 112, 116, 122, 166ff; Stahl, En el Pais de los Incas 127-150; Kalbermatter 88ff; Westphal, Fords 26-27.
36. El Heraldo 3.144 (2 June 1927): 7 prints a memorial drafted by the women of Azangaro in September, 1923.
37. Dora Mayer, ed., El indigena peruano a los cien anos de republica libre e independiente (Lima: Casanova 1921) 57, and Roca S. 189ff, discuss both the commission and its findings.
38. Roca S. 192.
39. El Siglo 7.1707 (9 August 1920); Roca S. 253-54.
40. Lewellen, Peasants in Transition.
41. W. E. Carter, "Innovation and Marginality: Two South American Case Studies," American Indigena 80: 389-91.
42. Roger M. Keesing, Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective (New York: Holt 1976) 461.
43. Lewellen 122.
44. Lewellen 125.
45. Lewellen 132-33;136.
46. Hazen, The Awakening of Puno.
47. Hazen, 120.
48. Hazen 121.
49. Hazen 121.
50. Hazen 122.
51. Hazen 111-4.
52. Kessler, A Study of the Older Protestant Missions.
53. Kessler 230.
54. Kessler 230.
55. Kessler 230ff.
56. Kessler 231-33.
57. Kessler 242.
58. Escobar, La Fe Evangelica.
59. Escobar 18.
60. Escobar 18-20.