

# Spectrum

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The Journal of the Association of Adventist Forums

## Spectrum Reaches Twenty-one

HISTORIANS ON *SPECTRUM*  
THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS

OPEN LETTER TO A  
CONFERENCE PRESIDENT

THE RADICAL ROOTS OF  
PERUVIAN ADVENTISM  
by Charles Teel

STUDENT POETRY AND ART

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reviews by Jonathan Butler  
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December 1990  
Volume 21, Number 1

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# Spectrum

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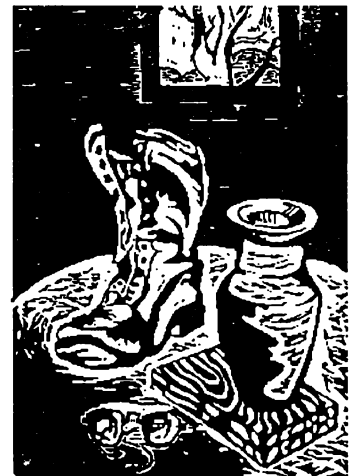
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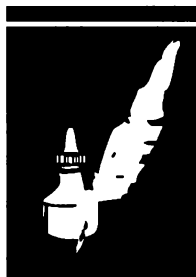
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## An Open Letter to the Southeastern California Conference President

Dear Elder Gifford:  
You are president of the largest and richest conference in North America. The rest of the church cannot help but notice what you and your conference do—or fail to do. At the 1990 General Conference Session, when you stood up in the nominating committee, to urge a change in the presidency, you were heard. When you declared, in perhaps the most eloquent speech delivered to a business session, that ordination of women to ministry was as much a matter of equality and justice as respecting black persons, delegates were visibly moved. When the outgoing General Conference President, Neal Wilson, urged from the podium that delegates from around the world approve women baptizing and performing marriages, he promised that in return North American conferences would not proceed to ordain their women pastors. Everyone knew he was focused on you and the Southeastern California Conference (*Spectrum*, Vol. 20, No. 5, pp. 6, 7, 30, 32).

I am writing to you, then, because you and your conference are pacesetters for the North American Division. You have taken unprecedented steps to open administration of your conference to lay participation. You have dispersed power from the conference office to pas-

tors and local congregations. You have not just tolerated, but nurtured an exciting diversity of pastoral and congregational styles. You declared in your keynote speech to the special October 21 constituency meeting of your conference that justice must be central to the mission of not only the Southeastern California Conference, but of Adventism as a whole. During that meeting you called for your own conference to set up a commission on justice and to commit itself officially to hiring more women pastors.

Your sterling record in both words and action makes it all the more painful that in that same keynote speech you urged the delegates, in effect, to reverse the action they had taken only 20 months earlier at a regular constituency meeting: “to approve the ordination of women pastors in our conference who have already met regular ordination qualifications, and present those names for approval to the Pacific Union Conference Executive Committee.” You did so despite your support of the original action of your constituency, and your eloquent speech, only four months before, at the General Conference Session. Few were surprised that delegates from around the world to the General Conference Session closed the door on women’s ordination. Many are surprised, however, that you agreed to



lock the door shut in North America.

Not surprisingly, you included in your keynote address explanations for changing your position. You argued that two things made you “feel very differently than I did twenty months ago.” First, a new General Conference president had been elected, who, you said, “has made it clear to me as well as to various groups that revolutionary changes are transpiring.” You then elevated to the level of an ethical obligation the need to give this new General Conference president “some time to give leadership to the church.” It was “the moral, responsible thing to do.”

You said this knowing, surely, that the earlier the Southeastern California Conference acted in the term of a new General Conference president, the more obvious that the conference had acted on its own. The sooner you approved ordination of women the more plausible that the new president bore no responsibility for your action, and the less likely that his effectiveness would be diminished. More and more each year, from now until the 1995 General Conference Session, the world field will expect that an increasingly well-established General Conference president will be able to exercise influence and authority over North American conferences.

The second, presumably more important change in the church since your last constituency meeting, was the vote of the General Conference in session to deny women ordination to pastoral ministry. Therefore, you said, “it is my hope that this conference will not vote a unilateral action nullifying the General Conference Session action. If we do, we will make it almost impossible for church order to be maintained.” Several

speakers agreed, referring to Ellen G. White’s often-cited statement in 1875 that “when the judgement of the General Conference, which is the highest authority that God has upon the earth, is exercised, private independence and private judgement must not be maintained, but be surrendered.” (*Testimonies*, Vol. 3, p. 492.)

You did not refer to that or similar Ellen White statements from 1909 in your own speech; perhaps because you are aware that they do not adequately capture Ellen White’s complex position regarding the author-

ity of the General Conference. In 1889 Ellen White gave strong counsel that certain important matters, such as race relations, should not even be brought to a General Conference Session. She said that “many questions that are tossed into the [General] Conference should never appear, but be worked out in your State Conferences. It has become habit to pass laws that do not always bear the signature of heaven.” The relation of

members toward Sunday legislation was another example of an important, sensitive topic that should not be taken to the General Conference because of the “danger of taking steps that are not of a character to receive the sanction of Heaven, though they may receive the sanction of the General Conference.” (Manuscript 6-89, November 4, 1889.)

During the debates over church reorganization surrounding the 1901 General Conference Session Ellen White said that “we hear that the voice of the [General] Conference is the voice of God. Every time I have heard this, I have thought it was almost blasphemy.” (Manuscript 37, April 1, 1901.) She declared “that these men should stand in a sacred place, to be as the voice of God

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*“We hear that the voice of the [General] Conference is the voice of God. Every time I have heard this, I have thought it was almost blasphemy. . .”*

*“. . . to be as the voice of God to the people, as we once believed the General Conference to be—that is past.”*

— Ellen G. White, 1901

to the people, as we once believed the General Conference to be—that is past.” (*General Conference Bulletin*, 1901, pp. 23, 25.)

Your keynote speech was well crafted and effective. At the beginning of the constituency meeting 50 percent of the delegates were ready, according to your own public estimate, to vote for the ordination of women in Southeastern California. Both of your fellow conference officers—the secretary and the treasurer—urged the delegates to vote yes. But the constituency followed your lead; they voted down ordination of women, 440 to 274.

The resolution then adopted by the constituency, 370 to 128, did retain, among many other provisions, a vestigial commitment to ordination of women. It instructed the conference administration “to facilitate the ordination of all qualified ministerial candidates without gender discrimination in the Southeastern California Conference, and report back to the next regular constituency meeting in 1992.” In other words, little action, more study.

Your conference is not the only one to take this route. Despite his forthright speech at the General Conference Session in favor of ordination of women, Elder Ed Motschieder, president of the Ohio Conference, a month later led his conference executive committee in deciding not to ordain their qualified woman pastor. The Ohio Conference refused to act in spite of the fact that prior to the General Conference Session the Columbia Union executive committee had already approved her ordination.

Unfortunately, Elder Gifford, you, along with some of the finest conference presidents in North America, have so far placed loyalty to denominational unity ahead of equality in the treatment of women. You have accepted a particular interpretation of Ellen White’s statements on church authority, and ranked denominational order above simple justice.

With the 1995 General Conference Session held outside North America, it will be the year 2000 before a Session, held in North America, *might* even be willing to reconsider the ordina-

tion of women. Unless a local conference in North America takes the initiative, women pastors will not be respected as equals in the Adventist Church until well into the 21st century—if then. Were conferences to deny ordination to pastors simply because of their color, would we expect black, Hispanic, or Asian Adventists to remain loyal? How can we expect women to endure unfair treatment, with no change in sight?

In your October keynote speech you called on your conference to “become a flagship to help set new trends and directions,” and “to speak with a prophetic voice.” Indeed, Southeastern should “become a model for the rest of the denomination as to what Christian justice and equality truly means.” It could have happened. You and your conference could have been remembered throughout denominational history for leading the Adventist church into a renewed commitment to justice. Tragically, you convinced your conference to resist the call to greatness.

Of course, in principle, you and your conference could still act. You could start moving immediately to fulfill the mandate of the October constituency meeting to “facilitate the ordination of all ministerial candidates without gender discrimination.” For example, as a way of expressing a renewed determination to advance the process, you could, right away, lead your conference executive committee to name specific women pastors as qualified for ordination to the gospel ministry. You could, then, at once announce their names to the conference membership. It would not be a lot, but right now even gestures of commitment are desperately needed.

Elder Gifford, if women in North America are to avoid despair and sustain devotion to their church, some Adventist leader, some local conference, must restore hope through action. Might that leader still be you? Might that conference still be yours? Or must Adventist history look for another?

Sincerely yours,  
Roy Branson



# The Radical Roots of Peruvian Adventism

Just when you thought Adventism was safe and predictable, along come Fernando and Ana Stahl. Charles Teel tells the story of this indomitable, revolutionary missionary couple.

by Charles Teel

*A version of Charles Teel's article appeared in the journal of Andes studies, Allpanchis (No. 33), 1989, pp. 209-248. Read by the bishop of Puno, the article played an indirect role in the 1990 Peruvian presidential election. After the archbishop of the capital city of Lima denounced Protestants as "outsiders" for supporting the eventual winner, Fujimori, the bishop of Puno responded in a widely covered news conference. Parting company with his superior, he declared that Protestantism in the highlands boasted a proud tradition of work-ing for the betterment of the Peruvian people.*

*Charles W. Teel, Jr., professor of Christian ethics in the School of Religion, Loma Linda University Riverside, received an M.Th. from Harvard University and a Ph.D from Boston University in social ethics. He has established the Stahl Fund for World Mission, which has sponsored at both Loma Linda and Riverside campuses such endeavors as student missions, lectureships, and museums. The fund plans to sponsor an extensive oral history project, recording on video the remembrances of retired missionaries and converts worldwide—beginning with the few remaining indigenous peoples and missionaries who remember the Stahls. Readers interested in supporting such projects may contact: The Stahl Center for World Mission, Loma Linda University Riverside, Riverside, CA 92515; (714) 785-2041.*

—The Editors

**D**ASHING FIGURES SITTING ASTRIDE POWERFUL steeds and tilting at windmills are the stuff of which great literature and less-great cinema is made. Enliven the scene with a sea of oppressed indigenous peoples and a scattering of bishops, judges, and *mestizo* overlords, and the possibility of an arresting plot emerges. So much the better if the setting can feature colorful costuming, blue sky, barren plains, and a majestic mountain lake. Scholars of the Andes, no less than playwrights and cinematographers, have been captivated by these ingredients, which characterize both the Andean altiplano and its vast Lake Titicaca Basin. Numerous distinguished and diverse persons of letters—historians, anthropologists, sociologists, theologians, ethnographers, poets, politicians, and missiologists from three continents—refer to a most unlikely pair of characters on this Andean stage: a self-taught, steed-riding, pistol-packing Seventh-day Adventist missionary couple from North America named Frederick (“Fernando”) and Ana Stahl.<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the century, a near-feudal social system dominated the Peruvian highlands. Geo-



graphical barriers kept the altiplano isolated from the rule of law promulgated in the nation's capital. Cultural barriers created a caste system in which 8 percent of the population—the *mestizo* and white minority land-holding families, with the support of political and religious functionaries—kept the other 92 percent, Aymara and Quechua peoples, in total subjection. These indigenous peoples were illiterate, had no opportunities for education, and maintained virtually no contact with the world beyond the Lake Titicaca Basin.<sup>2</sup> 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 1930s.<sup>3</sup> Such was the social context in which a far-reaching Adventist educational endeavor came to flourish.

## The Missionaries Arrive

Fernando and Ana Stahl, converts to Seventh-day Adventism as young adults in the midwestern United States, volunteered for a mission appointment to South America during the first decade of this century.<sup>4</sup> When the church told them it could not finance their passage, the Stahls paid their own way and that of their two children.<sup>5</sup> The family left Main Street, U.S.A., and landed in Bolivia in the year 1909. In the capital of Bolivia, La Paz, and its environs, Ana bartered her professional skills as a nurse to the social elite and served the destitute. Fernando stumbled about indigenous villages, intuitively exploring what it meant to be a missionary.<sup>6</sup> He first attempted to missionize by selling religious magazines. He soon discovered that the indigenous population could not read. More importantly, he came to realize that the privileged classes, in order to maintain their social and economic advantages, had every reason to keep these peoples uneducated.<sup>7</sup> By 1911 magazine peddling had taken a back seat to establishing schools. It was in this same year that the Stahls located on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca and linked up with

Manuel Camacho, an indigenous visionary and early Adventist convert.<sup>8</sup>

Cacique Amauta Manuel Zunega Camacho Alca<sup>9</sup> lived no ordinary life.<sup>10</sup> Accounts identifying him as a descendent of revolutionary Tupac Amaru are open to question, but that he embraced revolutionary causes, filed countless memorials, and led numerous delegations on behalf of the indigenous movement is beyond dispute. No less indisputable is the fact that his early forays beyond the altiplano to Iquique, Arequipa, Meyieu, Culiluinia, and Chile offered contacts with Protestantism and education, reinforced his fiercely independent spirit, and fed his passion to mediate salvation to the peasants or campesinos of the altiplano: "The only sure way of salvation from the subjugation in which we find ourselves is learning to read," he wrote.<sup>11</sup>

Accordingly, Camacho returned to the Platería soil of his early years to enact his vision. Immediately he faced fierce opposition from the *mestizo* overlords. In 1898 Camacho had the temerity to conduct classes for 25 adult indigenous peoples, albeit behind closed doors—"de una manera clandestina."<sup>12</sup> About four years later he founded a free school in his Utawilaya, Platería, home.<sup>13</sup> Valiantly but vainly he tried to keep the school open in the face of bribes, threats, terror, beatings, arrests, and imprisonments.<sup>14</sup> (An Aymara-speaking Maryknoll priest in Platería—who assisted the local Adventist pastor at the funeral of Camacho's son, Victor—volunteered that contemporary Catholics as well as Adventists view Camacho as a "Christ-figure." They still vividly remember ecclesiastical and civil authorities confronting Camacho at his school and leading him to jail with his "hands lashed together behind his back."<sup>15</sup> Stahl's editor makes a spiritual as well as temporal statement in identifying this indigenous activist as "the beginning of the Lake Titicaca Mission."<sup>16</sup>

The Stahls set up housekeeping initially in Camacho's mud brick house and embraced Camacho's vision of education for the indigenous population. During that first year, Camacho focused on the Utawilaya school.<sup>17</sup>

Together with Ana Stahl, he shepherded a student body of 150 students, ranging in age from young children to middle-aged adults.<sup>18</sup> That same year, land was purchased in nearby Platería at a cost of “treinta dólares de oro,” and buildings were erected through pooled community effort.<sup>19</sup> In 1913, the Platería Adventist School opened its doors with coeducational offerings in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as hygiene and religion.<sup>20</sup> When the titled professors imported to operate the school returned home in the face of altitude rigors,<sup>21</sup> Ana Stahl stepped in to administer the institution.<sup>22</sup> As demands mushroomed for village schools in the surrounding countryside, teacher-training courses were instituted, occupying classrooms on a year-round basis.<sup>23</sup> The result was La Escuela Normal de Platería.<sup>24</sup>

Stahl might not have been able to articulate a cogent academic definition of a “near-feudal social system,” the term employed by historians to describe the altiplano at the beginning of the century. Yet in his book, *In the Land of the Incas*, published in 1920 in English and later in Spanish, Stahl clearly pinpoints an unholy and unjust alliance of town judge, village priest, and wealthy landowner.<sup>25</sup> Leaving Ana in charge at Platería, assisted by Manuel Camacho and his young protégé Luciano Chambi,<sup>26</sup> Fernando embraced the indigenous altiplano as his parish. For a full decade, the Stahls traveled by muleback, horseback, and later on a Harley-Davidson motorcycle, to establish schools, chapels, clinics, and free-standing markets.<sup>27</sup>

In the schools, only the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught. Still, as one chronicler pointed out: “That was enough to enable the Indians to read God’s word and to

avoid being cheated in the marketplace.”<sup>28</sup> In the clinics and in the mud huts of the Aymara and the Quechua peoples, the Stahls together set bones, soothed fevers, pulled teeth, lanced boils, amputated limbs, and delivered babies.<sup>29</sup>

In the free-standing markets established by the Stahls, entrepreneurial students not only utilized their newly acquired mathematical skills, but also escaped the domination of their *mestizo* overlords and the hacienda company store.<sup>30</sup> In the chapels, worshipers were invited to accept the Good News that God loved them on the basis

of their own personhood, rather than on the merit of religious systems and intermediating functionaries. Imbibing alcohol at the fiestas and paying taxes to the village priests for feast days, baptisms, weddings, christening, and other rites, were replaced by clean living and simple worship.<sup>31</sup>

A tabulation of students, schools, churches, and members suggests

that vast numbers welcomed the Stahls’ ministry. The Adventist educational system came to entirely encircle Lake Titicaca and include as many as 200 schools.<sup>32</sup> These ranged from humble village home schools to large boarding institutions.<sup>33</sup> By 1916, 2,000 students were registered in 19 schools; by 1924, 4,000 in 80 schools; and by 1947, a high of nearly 7,000 students in 109 schools.<sup>34</sup> Stahl’s successor, E. H. Wilcox, reported that on one unforgettable day, 12 requests for schools arrived from indigenous villages.<sup>35</sup>

The Camacho site in Utawilaya effectively functioned as boarding house, school, and church, as Adventism was birthed on the altiplano. A full-fledged congregation organized on this Utawilaya site on May 21, 1911.<sup>36</sup> One decade later the weekly attendance at Platería was 700,<sup>37</sup> with thriving churches in places such as Umuchi,

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*Stahl might not have been able to articulate a cogent academic definition of a “near feudal system,” but he clearly pinpoints an unholy alliance of town judge, village priest, and wealthy landowner.*

Pomata, Quenuani, and Puno.<sup>38</sup> The baptized membership in the Lake Titicaca Mission numbered 445 in 1916; 2,255 in 1920; 5,963 in 1924; and 7,340 in 1927.<sup>39</sup> By 1940, mission membership rolls had been purged of nonattending church members and showed a total of 6,579. That year's national census showed that in the Lake Titicaca area alone there were fully four times that number of self-professed Protestants (virtually all of whom would have been Adventist).<sup>40</sup>

## The Adventists Assert

Yet numbers only partly communicate the indigenous response to Adventism. Personal commentaries flesh out statistical skeletons. One Adventist believer responded to a 1920 Pro-Indigenista Commissioner who was investigating alleged abuses by the landed classes: "All this is due to our own ignorance, and this is why we have become Evangelists [sic]. The pastors protect us and teach our children to read and write."<sup>41</sup> The assertion of this believer that Adventism addressed the practical problem of collective ignorance is borne out by educator Ruben Chambi, the son of a Stahl and Camacho protégé, Luciano Chambi—a graduate of La Escuela Normal de Platería Adventist school, and eventually the recipient of a doctorate from Cusco University. "The Adventist school system opened the way for the indigenous population of the Highlands to achieve self-hood and self-sufficiency," he has asserted. "The Stahl gospel both converted hearts and changed the social fabric of the highlands."<sup>42</sup> The fact that Dr. Chambi—just one generation removed from Puno's near-feudal past—came to be elected by

Puno voters to represent their province in the National Legislature demonstrates the rapidity of social change experienced in the altiplano.<sup>43</sup>

Ricardo Chambi, younger brother of Ruben and an Adventist minister, contends that once the indigenous peoples learned to read and write, they not only became aware of their rights under law, but they also learned how the legal system could aid them in securing such rights. Ricardo Chambi's point is supported by government records of large numbers of memorials (formal complaints that citizens could file at the local or national level) filed by indigenous peoples in the altiplano. These invited authorities to investigate alleged abuses of power.

Chambi cites a notable example. Around 1915, an Adventist woman named Tomasa Mayta, from the village of Pomata, valiantly sought an investigation of the murder of her husband. Finding no authorities in her village or elsewhere in Puno Province willing to investigate this case, Señora Mayta severed her husband's head from his corpse, wrapped the head in a linen napkin, placed it in a basket, and—accom-

panied by Camacho—carried her evidence to the capital of Peru, Lima. There she filed a memorial. "Imagine the transforming power of the Gospel!" enthused Chambi in reporting this account. "Before the Adventist schools were established it was rare to find common persons from the indigenous population who would stand erect and assert their rights; but after we learned to read

the Bible and discovered a sense of self-worth, women as well as men were imbued with a sense of bravery!"<sup>44</sup>

Stahl and his Protestant band drew mostly rave reviews from *indigenistas* and other progressives of that time. Gamaliel Churata,

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*"Before the Adventist schools were established it was rare to find common persons who would stand erect and assert their rights; but after we learned to read the Bible . . . [we] were imbued with a sense of bravery!"*



cofounder of the avant garde literary circle, Grup Orkupata, and son of the cofounder of Puno's first Seventh-day Adventist congregation, described the indigenous educational developments in Platería as "la revolución de la Platería."<sup>45</sup> Former San Marcos University Rector and National Congress Deputy José Antonio Encinas, identified as "el maestro Puneno que inició el indigenismo en el siglo XX,"<sup>46</sup> pledged solidarity with these missionaries in "a work of human redemption."<sup>47</sup> This tie between José Encinas and the Adventists is borne out in José Tamayo Herrera's definitive survey, *Historia Social y Indigenismo en el Altiplano*. There, Adventist educators are singled out by name:

From the foundation of the celebrated school 811, where Encinas molded a generation of immortal Punenos, until the arrival of the Adventists in Puno, with the first school founded in Platería, founded originally by Manuel Zuniga Camacho Alca [spelling varies], and afterward spread through the altiplano thanks to the efforts of Fernando A. Stahl and Pedro Kalbermatter, indigenous education was initiated in Puno with unexpected and transcendent results.<sup>48</sup>

Tamayo concludes this rare excursion into transcendence with an equally rare unqualified generalization: "For the first time, the Indian acceded to letters, hygiene, and a consciousness of his own dignity."<sup>49</sup>

Numerous progressives remarked about the contrasts between the Stahl's method of evangelization and that of the priests'. Francisco Mostajo, a liberal spokesperson from Arequipa, observed that while Puno's priests planned religious feasts, their Protestant counterparts established clinics and schools.<sup>50</sup> Mostajo's colleague Ernesto Reyna agreed that while the Protestant leaders taught and healed, their Catholic counterparts sang masses and planned fiestas.<sup>51</sup> Anticlerical Manuel Gonzalez Prada—in a rare compliment to organized religion of any stripe—noted approvingly that whereas the Jesuits contented themselves with teaching the wealthy elite while enjoying the comforts of Lima, the Adventists braved the rigors of the altiplano to teach

the disinherited classes.<sup>52</sup> Educator and politician José Antonio Encinas wryly observed that whereas the village priests worked to save souls, Stahl worked to save lives.<sup>53</sup> And in 1916, after a particularly savage attack in which the Stahls barely escaped with their lives, Catholic citizens took to the press in the Stahls' defense. They disparagingly contrasted the "two Yankees, who generously cure sickness, dispense remedies, and teach the people to read, gratis," with "the priests [who] have kept the native race in the most deplorable and inhuman conditions" for more than three centuries.<sup>54</sup>

## The Power Structure Represses

Retaliation from the entrenched power interest against Camacho, the Stahls, and the other Adventist believers, was nothing if not decisive. Clerical opposition reached an apex on March 3, 1913, when Puno Bishop Monsignor Valentin Ampuero personally led a mob of 200 men, many or all mounted, to rout out the Protestant heretics.<sup>55</sup> The group first broke into Camacho's house and, not finding him at home, abducted his 11-year-old son.<sup>56</sup> Similar havoc was then wreaked at the residence of other Protestant adherents before the marauding band reached the home of the Stahls.<sup>57</sup> In the absence of the Stahls, the mob sacked their dwelling, broke furniture,<sup>58</sup> and scattered books and medicines to the winds.<sup>59</sup> Adventist believers were denounced for not participating in feast days<sup>60</sup> and tauntingly told to kiss the bishop's hand, which they refused to do.<sup>61</sup> The huddled group was instructed that "all who were not of the evangelical belief should go to one side, and that the believers should be seized."<sup>62</sup> In turn, eight men<sup>63</sup>—including Camacho—were bound together with leather thongs and led off by a force of gendarmes on a 21-mile march to jail. As they stumbled on foot, "hatless and coatless," the Adventists were repeatedly assaulted.<sup>64</sup>

Happily for the Adventists, the press tended to side with the Stahls and their converts. The Ad-

ventist educational complex was hailed as demonstrating “the altruism of a Yankee”<sup>65</sup> and the bishop’s actions derided as exhibiting the mentality “of a new Atilla.”<sup>66</sup> Eventually the prisoners were acquitted and released. Commentators on the history of religious liberty in Peru cite this incident as the impetus for the passage of a constitutional amendment on October 20, 1915, guaranteeing freedom of religious expression.<sup>67</sup>

*De jure* change does not, of course, translate immediately to *de facto* reform. As the Protestant schools multiplied, so did the opposition. On June 5, 1916, priests Julio Tomas Bravo and Fermin Manrique violently attacked the Stahls as they were inaugurating a school in Quenuani in Chucuito Province.<sup>68</sup> The Stahls barely escaped with their lives. Stahl reported that a few weeks later, after being run out of a village near the town of Sandia, 50 of the villagers who had entertained him were beaten and placed in stocks or jailed.<sup>69</sup> Toward the end of 1920, 12 Adventist believers were murdered at Pedro Kalbermatter’s Laro Mission Station in Azangaro Province.<sup>70</sup> Later, in the same area, as many as 15 believers met the same fate.<sup>71</sup> Schoolhouses were burned, Adventist teachers were assaulted, and one student in an

Adventist school was reportedly beaten to death.<sup>72</sup>

Attacks in the reactionary press abounded. The pages of *El Herald* were laced with alleged misdeeds and crimes of the Adventists and those in charge of the Adventist schools. 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 the 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 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. . . .<sup>73</sup>

For the very reasons that the privileged classes saw the Adventist schools as a curse, such indigenous leaders as Camacho saw them as a blessing. “Alphabetization” helped learners to view a world beyond their provincial state, to recognize that they were being exploited, to learn their rights, and—ideally—to discover how the system might function to their advantage.

Near the end of the



Photo courtesy of Charles Teel

*Fernando and Ana Stahl rode many miles over the altiplano on horseback.*

Stahls' tenure in the altiplano, José Antonio Encinas led the call for a commission to investigate local abuses and instigate reforms. The call was answered affirmatively by an executive decree of June 19, 1920.<sup>74</sup> The Stahls appear to have seized upon the arrival of the visiting commission as an opportunity to showcase indigenous students and to teach them how to lobby for social change. Commission member Erasmo Roca, head of the Labor Bureau in the Ministry of Development reported on the "spectacle:"

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 Platería . . . , who, in correct military formation and led by two musical bands, paraded before the commission.<sup>75</sup>

The indigenous peoples from the town of Azangaro may well have taken a cue from the "evangelists." A few days later, when the commission arrived in a tense Azangaro, they were met by fully 8,000 such greeters, also massed in military formation. Nervous landowners wired Lima for troop reinforcements and at least one local *Indigenista* leader was placed in preventive detention. Newspaper accounts report that the local power interests debated whether the same fate ought not to befall Fernando Stahl.<sup>76</sup>

The Stahls doubtless took no small satisfaction in contrasting the conditions that marked the 21-mile forced march in 1913 from Platería, with the demonstration that they had been able to stage just seven years later. The same course was now traversed by a throng of disciplined Aymara and Quechua peoples intent upon showing 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. This demonstration must be characterized as the climax of the Stahls' work around Lake Titicaca. These self-taught North American Seventh-day Adventist "missionaries, visionaries, and revolutionaries" would now mount their steeds for the last time in the Andean altiplano in favor of the Amazon jungles for the next two decades of their lives.<sup>77</sup>

## The Adventists Are Studied

In recent decades, researchers from South America, North America, and Europe have swarmed upon the altiplano to pursue research in disciplines ranging from anthropology to zoology. A number of these investigators, while pursuing their particular areas of study, have given more than a nod to Adventism's presence in Puno. Within the past decade, two researchers—Ted Lewellen, a University of Colorado anthropologist, and Dan Hazen, a Yale University Latin Americanist—have denoted the most extensive attention yet to the Adventist experience. Three other scholars have done interesting, if less comprehensive, research on the topic: Merling K. Alomia Bartra, professor of religion at Inca Union University in Naña, who has written a thoroughly documented article on Adventist education in Peru; Jean Baptiste August Kessler, Jr., whose research has produced the definitive work on early Protestantism in Peru and Chile; and Samuel Escobar, Latin American theologian and author of *La Fe Evangélica y las Teologías de la Liberación*.

Lewellen's social-science investigation is entitled *Peasants in Transition, The Changing Economy of the Peruvian Aymara: A General Systems Approach*. Lewellen draws upon systems theory to provide a framework for isolating and analyzing such characteristics of the social system as its boundaries, the plasticity of those boundaries, the openness of the society to change, and how input and output is filtered. Central to his analysis of the Aymara Indians around Lake Titicaca is what he refers to as the Protestant elite (Adventists)—a "pool of variability" that has adaptive value for a community in the process of transition.<sup>78</sup>

To carry out his research, Lewellen put down roots in Lake Titicaca's island of Soqa, an ideal laboratory setting for studying Catholic and Protestant control groups. Before Lewellen descended on the altiplano, he had already learned of William Carter's conclusions that Adventists in the Bolivian community of Irpa Chico constituted



an elite—an elite now passing from prominence to marginality, but “frustrated and disillusioned” because they had repudiated their tribal traditions.<sup>79</sup> Lewellen aimed to test on Soqa’s Protestant and Catholic control groups his thesis that “people with a more capitalistic orientation, who want to escape the costs of the fiesta system in order to more productively invest their money,

*“Adventism offered educational opportunities not available elsewhere, and thus attracted a group of people more progressive, independent, and intellectual than the norm.”*

are attracted to Adventism, thus forming an economic elite.”<sup>80</sup>

But Lewellen has not been able to confirm his thesis. Selected findings from this study establish that of the two control groups, the 18 percent Adventist minority on Soqa:

- holds the bulk of the political power;
- has more, and considerably better, schooling;
- has larger families than Catholics;
- has almost the same per capita income;
- shows significantly higher pro-education sentiments;
- chooses education over profit;
- surprisingly, shows itself as more traditional on some questions designed to measure this factor.<sup>81</sup>

Lewellen then advanced a counter-hypothesis based on the proposition that the active selective factor in the formation of the Adventist church in Soqa was not money but education: “Adventism offered educational opportunities not available elsewhere, and thus attracted a group of people more progressive, independent,

and intellectual than the norm.”<sup>82</sup>

This anthropologist argues that his second hypothesis holds, by contending that Adventism has traditionally been embraced on the basis of the schooling opportunities it offered, not on the basis of opportunity for financial gain.

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.<sup>83</sup>

Manuel Camacho and Pedro Cutipa (a Soqa Island chief who studied at Platería, returned to Soqa, started a school and church, and experienced much of the ostracism and persecution that fell Camacho’s lot) are cited as examples of individuals who valued education. They did so, not because turn-of-the-century Puno rewarded literate indigenous persons with a prospect of upward mobility and financial gain, but precisely because attending school allowed the deviants to act out the independent will and inquiring spirit that characterizes inner-directed persons. Historical developments thus demonstrate, argues Lewellen, that the selective factors operating here are independence and individuality, expressed through educational enrollment.<sup>84</sup>

Not content to appeal to history alone in support of his education hypothesis, Lewellen points to statistical data documenting the greater schooling of Adventists in Soqa by more than a full grade. He contends that even these data understate the difference. Adventist schooling on Soqa is far superior to the state schooling by virtue of the caliber of staffing appointments, and the far more rigorous supervision made possible through local community control.<sup>85</sup>

How is it that these Protestant believers, persecuted and marginalized for decades, became leaders in the communities of Soqa and elsewhere on the altiplano? Lewellen contends that the original deviance demonstrated by those few who were willing to suffer persecution and defy the status quo was in turn markedly increased by

those within this pool who adopted the new Protestant religion. Thus, in “repudiating the *fiesta* system, learning to speak Spanish, and becoming literate, these people became the most valuable part of that pool of variability which biologists recognize as essential to the processes of evolution.”<sup>86</sup> Lewellen concludes that while such deviance sidelined the Adventists for some decades in the relatively close world of the Aymara, when modern, corporate, governmental structures were finally instituted after 1950, this group of deviants was in a position to hit the ground running. They were literate, possessed language skills (Spanish), and—most significantly—they possessed that self-knowledge that characterizes those who deviate from the norm.

Dan Hazen’s *The Awakening of Puno: Government Policies and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru, 1900-1955* examines responses to the changing economic and social conditions in the Department of Puno during the first half of this century. Hazen concludes that although such developments as transportation and communication advance, national reconstruction, social ferment, political activity, and intellectual commitment gave impetus to social engineering designed to move Puno from its caste-based system to a class-based system, “the ultimate result was frustration,” with most change having occurred by the end of the first quarter of the century. Among the “would-be reformers,” Hazen accords high marks to Manuel Camacho and Fernando Stahl.<sup>87</sup>

In documenting Adventism’s impact on Puno, Hazen asserts that “Adventists have consistently been in the forefront of change in the altiplano.”<sup>88</sup> Hazen thinks that Adventists enjoyed an edge in achieving reform because “the missionaries combined appeals for individual salvation with a broad-based program of medical, educational, and market facilities open to all.”<sup>89</sup> Moving from the subject of programs to implementation, Hazen cites the Adventist “organization, attitude, and ability to get things done” as factors that enabled Adventism to be “one of the major inputs for change in early-century Puno.”<sup>90</sup> He supports

this assertion by explaining that: (1) the missionaries minimized imposition by only expanding on villager requests; (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) religion was taught, but it did not dominate the curriculum; (5) 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.

In underscoring the social leveling factor, Hazen concludes simply: “The members addressed one another as ‘hermano’ and ‘hermana’ or ‘brother’ and ‘sister.’”<sup>91</sup>

Hazen’s research enables the Puno Adventist experience to be viewed in the context of the 20th century and the “near feudal” social system then existing. In addition to demonstrating that Adventism’s integrated and contextualized programs of evangelization met felt needs, he also suggests procedural approaches that led to this success.

Merling Alomia’s article, “Comienzos de la obra educativa Adventista,” copiously documents the history of Adventist educational development. Placing his investigation in the setting of the larger Protestant experience, Alomia traces the evolution of Adventist education to Camacho’s Utawilaya school and demonstrates that “the Adventist schools have played a key role in the establishment and development of the Adventist work in Peru.”<sup>92</sup> Alomia clearly recognizes the indebtedness of the Adventist educational endeavor to the social vision of Manuel Camacho and other *indigenistas* of the altiplano.

Missiologist Kessler’s work, *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru*

and Chile With Special Reference to the Problems of Division, Nationalism, and Native Ministry, notes that by 1946 there were more Adventist believers in Peru than all other evangelical groups combined.<sup>93</sup> He attributes “the impressive success achieved by the Lake Titicaca Mission” under the Stahls to “creating a willingness to listen to the Adventist message throughout Peru and Bolivia.”<sup>94</sup> In analyzing the reasons for these developments, Kessler points out the following factors:

*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.”<sup>95</sup> Stated positively, Kessler concludes that “Stahl preached salvation by grace and in this he set a stamp on the whole Lake Titicaca Mission.”<sup>96</sup> Kessler supports these characterizations of Stahl’s ecumenical theological grounding by noting that although he was a confirmed Adventist, “his book contains no reference to Adventist tenets on the second coming and apart from occasional reference to Sabbath Schools does not even use the word Sabbath.”<sup>97</sup>

*Integrated Witness.* The Stahls were informed by a doctrine of the nature of humankind that called for salvation to be mediated to the totality of the human experience.<sup>98</sup> (Recall Encinas’ observation, noted above, that while the priests were concerned with saving souls, Stahl was interested in saving lives.)<sup>99</sup>

*Contextualized praxis.* Kessler stresses that for the Stahls, evangelization was contextualized in direct response to felt needs of the population that the missionaries had come to serve. Camacho, et al, wrote the agenda for redeeming the indig-

enous peoples of the altiplano, not two Anglo missionaries from the North American Midwest. In turn, schools and clinics and markets came to incarnate the gospel in at least as forceful a manner as did chapels. And this evangelization was contextualized in a manner that bore witness not only to individual hearts, but also contributed to the change of social structures.<sup>100</sup>

*Indigenous leadership.* Kessler identifies the Stahls’ immediate involvement of local indigenous leadership in the schools and churches as one reason why Adventism became firmly rooted in the altiplano soil. Kessler concludes 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.”<sup>101</sup>

Samuel Escobar, a Latin American Protestant theologian, in his book *La Fe Evangélica y las Teologías de la Liberación*, undertakes the laudable task of articulating a theology of liberation that is capable of dialoguing with those outside the evangelical 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 ongoing dialogue will be chronicled by subsequent religious commentators and historians. However, of particular interest to students of a social history of Adventism in the altiplano is how he chooses to begin his book. After laying out the thesis that the “gospel that

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*The experience of Adventism in the altiplano offers “a dramatic example” of the personal, social, economic, judicial, and political consequences that can be evoked by an authentically evangelical faith.*



came to Latin America with Protestantism came with liberating force because it brought with it the power of the biblical message,"<sup>102</sup> Escobar immediately takes his readers to Platería to introduce them to the work of Manuel Zuniga Camacho and Fernando and Ana Stahl. The reason he makes this pilgrimage is clear: the experience of Adventism in the altiplano offers "a dramatic example" of the personal, social, economic, judicial, and political consequences evoked by an authentically evangelical faith.<sup>103</sup>

The activities of the Adventists in the Lake

Titicaca basin provides valuable insights into how Protestantism has been a force for social change in predominantly Roman Catholic Latin America. Here, beginning with the leadership of Camacho and the Stahls, Adventism functioned as a reforming and progressive movement, which contributed to reordering the social and political structure of the Peruvian highlands. In effect, this altiplano Adventism—grounded in indigenous schooling—may demonstrate for Latin America an alternative to both an authoritarian status quo and violent revolution.

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**Essay Notes**

1. As far as is known only Fernando ever carried firearms.

2. The indigenous percentages are likely conservative in that they are based on the 1940 census: Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercia (Dirección Nacional de Estadística) *Censo Nacional de Población y Ocupación 1940*.

3. See, for example, Tamayo Herrera and Kapsoli.

4. Key narratives about the Stahls include:

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5. Robert G. Wearner, "Fernando Stahl, Missionary to Perú" *Adventist Heritage*, 12.2 (Summer 1988): p. 17.

6. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 67. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, pp. 85, 291.

7. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 105ff.

8. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 68ff.

9. Interviews with Camacho's son, Jorge Gerardo Camacho Salas (and referenced by numbers and notes) indicate that the title "Caique" was earned when he clandestinely assumed the role of teacher to the 25 adult students he supervised in 1898: "Es así que el 15 de febrero lo eligen como Cacique, bajo estricta promesa de no hacer mención en ningún documento y juramento." (No. 4) Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Perú.

10. Limited biographical accounts of Manuel Camacho can be pieced together from the following sources:

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Stahl, *En el País de los Incas*, has information on Camacho as well as a letter he wrote from prison to Puno lawyer Señor Doctor Don Isaac Deza dated March 7, 1913, in which Camacho details the Platería attack by Puno Bishop Don Valentin Ampuero, p. 139ff.

F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 174ff.

Luis Gallegos, *Manuel Z. Camacho, El campesino rebelde del altipampa* (Puno: Centro de Estudios y Reflexión de Altiplano, 1974) is an account that is high on narration and low on documentation.

11. Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Peru (No. 25).

12. Jorge Camacho indicates that Camacho's formal teaching began in a clandestine manner in 1898 in the home of Don Filipe Sales with 25 adult students, the subject matter including reading, writing, hygiene, temperance, and "la sana religión evangélica Metodista." (No. 43) Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Peru.

13. Camacho was released from Puno's jail December 24, 1901 and appears to have taught children in the open air during at least a portion of 1902. (No. 62) "El 25 de julio de 1903 se inauguró la primera escuela rural evangélica de Utalaya con una brillante actuación sujeta a un modesto programa." (No. 65) Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Perú.

14. Jorge Camacho names persons, places, and dates of numerous attacks and arrests—and links same to the names of prefects, subprefects, priests, and national presidents. Interviews with Jorge Camacho, December 23, 1988, in Juliaca, Lima, Peru; Barbara Westphal, *Ana Stahl*, p. 129; See sources in note No. 9 above.

15. Interview with Jim Madden, June 2, 1989, in Miraflores, Lima, Peru.

16. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 286. (Not in Spanish edition.)

17. A. N. Allen, "Peru," *Review and Herald* (July 13, 1911), p. 15; J. W. Westphal, "The Work among the Indians of Peru," *Review and Herald* (August 19, 1915): pp. 10-11.
18. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 152; Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, 187.
19. A. N. Allen, "Peru," *Review and Herald* (July 13, 1911): p. 15; J. W. Westphal, "The Message among the Aymara Indians of Peru," *Review and Herald* (August 10, 1911): p. 13.
20. Chambi y Ch. p. 38.
21. Westphal, "Work" pp. 10, 11.
22. *Ibid.*; Westphal, *Stahl*, p. 39.
23. J. M. Howell, "School Work Around Lake Titicaca," *Review and Herald* (January 18, 1917), pp. 11, 12.
24. W. E. Howell, "Titicaca Indian Schools," *Review and Herald* (October 5, 1916): p. 49.
25. Stahl, *En el País de los Incas*, p. 85ff (chapter entitled "Una Raza Oprimida" discusses at length the abuses perpetuated by the wealthy landowners, as well as the prefects, subprefects, and priests; for the English version, see Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 105ff.
26. Chambi y Ch. p. 39.
27. Hazen, p. 121, offers a concise summary of the 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."
28. Westphal, *Fords*, p. 25.
29. See note 2 for general references on the life and work of the Stahls.
30. Hazen, p. 113; see note 27.
31. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 129ff (chapter entitled "Un 'Cristianismo' que no es Cristianismo"); for the English version, see Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 157ff (chapter entitled "Christianity That is Not Christian").
32. 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, p. 122, although he recognizes that "official church statistics only indicated around eighty." Lewellen, p. 130 also cites the 200 figure.
33. La Escuela Normal de Platería and Colegio Adventista del Titicaca (under other names as well) in Chulunquiani, Juliaca, have been chief boarding schools in the school system.
34. *Statistical Report of Seventh-day Adventist Conferences, Missions, and Institutions* (title varies), 1918-1960; *Yearbook of the Seventh-day Adventist Denomination* (title varies), where *Statistical Report* figures are missing, and for 1941 school figures, for which the *Statistical Report* only repeats 1940. A table is produced in Hazen, p. 112, who notes that other works "offer different figures, though variations are generally minor."
35. E. H. Wilcox, *In Perils Oft* (Nashville: Southern Pub. Assn. 1961), p. 100. The following article titles communicate the skyrocketing demand for personnel: E. H. Wilcox, "Indian Believers: Thirty Calls for Teachers Unanswered," *Review and Herald* (January 5, 1925), p. 8; see also F. A. Stahl, "Openings in the Lake Titicaca Region," *Review and Herald* (February 1, 1917), p. 13.
36. Westphal, "Message," p. 12.
37. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 290 (not Span. ed.).
38. Stahl, p. 295ff.
39. See note 35.
40. Hazen, p. 121.
41. P. Erasmo Roca S., *Por la clase indígena*, ed. Pedro Barrantes Castro (Lima: Biblioteca de la Revista de Economía y Finanzas, 1935), p. 203.
42. Charles Teel, Jr. "Missionaries, Visionaries, and Revolutionaries," *Adventist Heritage*, 12:2 (Summer 1988), pp. 6, 7.
43. Interview with Ruben Chambi on December 7, 1987 in Naña, Lima, Peru. Ruben Chambi was elected on the Demócrata Cristiana ticket in 1972 but a military coup prohibited him from taking office.
44. Teel, "Missionaries" 7, reporting on an interview with Ricardo Chambi, December 7, 1987, in Arequipa, Peru. (The Maya report was corroborated in all details in an interview with Jorge Camacho, on December 9, 1987, in Juliaca, Peru, and with Domingo Vargas and Luis Ibanez on June 13, 1989 in Collina, Pomata, Peru. This story is also cited in Chambi y Ch., p. 102).
- Interestingly, in an obscure footnote of Dan Hazen's *The Awakening of Puno*, a newspaper story is quoted that reports the subversive activities of Tomasa's husband: "Andres Mayta of Pomata had been in prison twenty months for having formed eleven schools." *El Indio* 4:8 (July 1907), quoted in Hazen, p. 41.
45. Churata, p. vii.
46. Tamayo Herrera, p. 208 (face page).
47. José Antonio Encinas, *Un ensayo*, pp. 148, 149.
48. Tamayo Herrera, p. 95.
49. *Ibid.*
- Dora Mayer Zulen, a naturalized Peruvian and vocal Puneño indigenista, has expressed apprehension that the Protestant missionaries constituted shock troops for North American imperialistic forces. Although she acknowledged the clear contributions of the Adventist missionaries, she suggested that Adventist success was chiefly due to the "corruption" of altiplano priests. Mayer de Zullen, pp. 161-167.
50. Mostajo, p. 38.
51. On Julian Palacios Ríos, see Hazen, pp. 122, 402-14.
52. Ernesto Reyna, "Evangelista," *La Sierra* (April-May, 1928), pp. 15, 16.
53. Prada, p. 119.
54. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, pp. 244-251, quoting an extended statement entitled "Concerning the crisis in one of the villages in the province of Chucuito," in *El Siglo*, p. 21, June 1916.
55. 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 país de los Incas*, pp. 131-133, for both the Stahl and the Camacho reports.

Equally full reporting of this incident appears in Kessler, pp. 231, 232.

56. "El Encarcelamiento de los Protestantes," *La Unión* (March 10, 1913): quoted in Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 133. (The English-language edition specifies the son's age as one year.) Cp. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 166.

57. Manuel Z. Camacho, letter to Sr. Dr. Don Isaac Deza, March 7, 1913, quoted Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 134; see the English version in Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 166.

58. Camacho letter to Deza.

59. Chambi, p. 37.

60. "El Encarcelamiento de los Protestantes," *La Unión* (March 10, 1913), quoted in Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 134; see the English version in Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 166.

61. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 140; Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 174.

62. Camacho letter to Deza.

63. Stahl lists six arrests whereas Camacho lists eight. See *En el país de los Incas*, pp. 132, 140. (*In the Land of the Incas*, pp. 163, 174.) Kessler notes six initial arrests with two additional arrests being made en route to jail (pp. 231-232). An eyewitness confirms this account, and adds that one of those arrested on the way to jail was Camacho himself (interview with Gabriel Chambi, June 11, 1989, in Platería, Puno, Peru). In "A Footnote in Adventist History," *Special Studies Journal* 1 (1984): pp. 4-7, Floyd Greenleaf notes that the records of the Department of State (U.S.A.), 823,404.14, consists of a dispatch from the then-U.S. minister to Peru, H. Clay Howard, and an enclosed news clipping from Lima's English-language newspaper, the *West Coast Leader* (October 2, 1913), which reports one woman being among those detained. Chambi y Ch. (pp. 32, 33) names seven males who were incarcerated: Patricio Camacho, Jacinto Tarqui, Esteban Miranda, Simeon Nara, Mario Chambi Poma, Melchor Ignacio, and Manuel Camacho.

64. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 132; *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 163.

65. "El encarcelamiento de los Protestantes"; see Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 137; the English edition is in Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, pp. 168, 169.

66. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 137; *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 170.

67. Herbert Money, *La libertad religiosa en el Perú* (Lima: Antartida, 1965), p. 37.

68. "Al Margen de los Crímenes Cometidos en la Provincia de Chucuito," *El Siglo* (June 21, 1916), quoted in Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, p. 201; see the English version in Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 245.

69. Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, 228; see the English version in Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas*, p. 273.

70. Pedro Kalbermatter, *20 años como misionero entre los indios del Perú (apuntes autobiográficos)* (Paraña: Nueva Impresora, 1950), p. 88ff.

71. Wilcox, p. 167ff.

72. Assaults on missionaries are noted in Wilcox, pp.

112, 116, 122, 166ff; Stahl, *En el país de los Incas*, pp. 127-150; Kalbermatter, p. 88ff; Westphal, *Fords*, pp. 26, 27.

73. *El Herald* 3:144 (June 2, 1927), p. 7 prints a memorial drafter by the women of Azangaro in September 1923.

74. Dora Mayer, ed., *El indígena Peruano a los cien años de república libre e independiente* (Lima: Casanova, 1921), p. 57, and Roca S., p. 189ff, discuss both the commission and its findings.

75. Roca S., p. 192.

76. *El Siglo* 7:1707 (August 9, 1920); Roca S., pp. 253, 254.

77. The Stahls worked out of Iquitos and the Upper Amazon until their retirement and return to the United States in 1938. Narratives detailing the Amazon chapter of their career are Stahl, *Amazon*; Westphal, *Bride*; and Westphal, *Ana Stahl*.

78. Lewellen, p. 4ff.

79. W. E. Carter, "Innovation and Marginality: Two South American Case Studies," *American Indígena* 80: pp. 389, 391. Carter's conclusions, Lewellen notes, appear to square with the classical anthropological viewpoint articulated by Roger Keesing. Keesing decries the "austerity and emptiness of the new life" offered to Protestant converts and contends that, accordingly, 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." [See Roger M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Holt, 1976), p. 461.] Keesing's observation that Weber and Tawney compellingly argued for the close association of Protestantism and capitalism thus informs the Weberian hypothesis.

80. Lewellen, p. 122.

81. *Ibid.* pp. 114-116.

82. *Ibid.* p. 125.

83. *Ibid.* pp. 132, 133.

84. *Ibid.* p. 132.

85. *Ibid.* p. 133.

86. *Ibid.* p. 136.

87. Hazen. Note especially the abstract immediately following the title page and Chapter 9, "The Process of Social Change in Puno" (pp. 415-434; see also p. 35ff).

88. *Ibid.* p. 121.

89. Kessler, p. 121.

90. *Ibid.* p. 122.

91. *Ibid.* pp. 111-114.

92. Alomia Bartra, p. 135.

93. Kessler, p. 241.

94. *Ibid.* p. 241.

95. *Ibid.* p. 230.

96. *Ibid.* p. 230.

97. *Ibid.* p. 230.

98. *Ibid.* p. 230ff.

99. See note 60.

100. Kessler, pp. 231-233.

101. *Ibid.* p. 242.

102. Escobar, p. 18.

103. *Ibid.* pp. 118-120.



# Student Art and Poetry: Windows of the Soul

Each year Adventist colleges publish the best of student poetry and art in short anthologies with names like *Contours*, *Gadfly*, *Montage*, *Parnassus*, and *Quicksilver*. Hail the bards and artists!

## Growing, Beliefs, Santa, God

Sometimes my little friends would question me  
On my belief in Santa Claus, just like  
The adults in my life would question me  
On my belief in Jesus Christ. A hike  
Into autonomy, where I'd be free,  
Was fraught with danger for a little tyke.  
But I was smart and learned just what to say:  
"There is no Santa; Christ's the only way."

The adults in my life were pleased to hear  
Me talk like them, and showed me off in church,  
Where I could learn that Christ's return was near  
And real and needing Biblical research,  
Where pastors cried, "The final eve is here!  
For God and all his angels do approach!"  
But I was smart and learned just what to say:  
"The world could end today, so we should pray."

Eventually I reached autonomy,  
Amid the praise of parents and peers.  
And now sometimes I ask myself, a free  
And thinking man, if the world as it appears  
Is soon to end, and when Christ comes, will we  
See more than I did see of Santa's deer?  
Although I'm smart, I don't know what to say,  
And realize that is why I need to pray.

**David Sturtevant**  
Andrews University  
*Parnassus 1990*

## 432 BED 1

In a flickering blue-black glow  
Lies a little lost soul.  
Starved white ghosts drift by,  
Busily haunting others.  
He waits quietly for his turn,  
Staring at the blue-black glow.  
Finally tiring of his faithful vigil  
He reaches across the darkness  
For a human voice and touches zero.  
Three floors below the little lost soul  
Two operators sit in a blue-white glow.  
"What was that?" asked one to the other.  
"Oh," said the other, "A little boy in  
432 bed 1 wants a t.v. guide."

**Susan Montgomery**  
Pacific Union College  
*Quicksilver 1990*



# A Saturday Afternoon at the Art Gallery (a study of the form and volume of mind space)

I went yesterday  
to see the worlds ep-  
itaph in Tole-

do, Ohio. It  
was a searing day  
in February

and the world lay boxed  
within four walls and  
covered under with

a floor—the way most  
of its dreary, dull  
inhabitants like

it. They were all stand-  
ing within their pond-  
erous, trivial,

five-sided volumes  
of thought, fancying  
themselves critic gods,

hierarchically  
dealing death blows or  
breathlessly breathing

benevolence as  
they stared into the  
windows of other

minds—at a safe dis-  
tance—religiously  
never touching nerves . . .

They all can be found  
at the apex—odd—  
and the rest of them

(who?) make up the base,  
and they all fit nice-  
ly into the form,

established and sanc-  
tified, thought to be  
Grace, and Him person-

ified. They are all  
two-dimensional  
versions of the form;

their reflections show  
squares with a corner  
shaved off—balancing

on edge. But they all  
turn their heads at just  
the right angle to

witness—level—the  
fall.

**Yvonne Terry**  
Andrews University  
*Parnassus 1990*



**Robert Silvertborn**  
*Atlantic Union College*



**Richard James**  
*Walla Walla College*

## Untitled

excuse me if this face  
is unkempt  
but i was in a hurry this morning  
and when i looked  
in the mirror there were so many faces  
i didn't have time to shave them all.

**Steve Dunston**  
Walla Walla College  
*Gadfly 1990*

## A Prayer

L(ower as I sink  
'neath the pew of P.M.C.  
drowsy and hummm b)ord

Al(l his words pass by  
my ears indolent mono  
tonously yawn)mighty

O (God,) save us (from  
this redundant exercise)  
and lift our poor souls

(back to my seat, please)  
into the higher realm of  
your holy presence

(however wooden  
that would be) forgive us from  
our wretched sins and

deliver us from  
(my seven-syllable yawns)  
the world (an . . . zzz . . .

**Juhyeok Nam**  
Andrews University  
*Parnassus 1990*

## After the Storm

The earth was packed tight by the last shovel  
Packed into submission by the caked arms  
that swung and swung again until the wife  
grabbed hold and stopped the angry motion.

It's over, she said  
And she was right  
The last cellar was bone dry  
The last splinter removed from sight  
In the courtyard behind the church  
the fresh ground baked beneath the sun  
and warmed the marble slats that faced the river.

It's over, she said again  
more to convince herself than the man  
He laid the shovel down and moved toward the car.

The world was gray and brown  
cold, and growing colder  
As they reached the city limits  
something hit the windshield and slid  
glistening brightly, only to disappear  
beneath the hood.

He slammed on the brakes and slid  
twenty feet before stopping  
He turned to the woman  
his face white, voice flat  
What did you say? he demanded.

**Ken Coleman**  
Columbia Union College  
*Montage 1988-1990*



**Richard James**  
Walla Walla College

## Summer, 1989 C. E. . . . Umeiri

[We dug down, and as we did  
we discovered what the past was like  
because we discovered ourselves.]

I have wrested the past  
from her resting place  
I have brought back  
the spindle whorl  
that had done spinning

The juglet  
that had done pouring  
The millstone  
that had done grinding  
The bones of the children  
and of old men  
that had done living  
and done dying

And they did not seem so very long done  
And they did not seem so different

I have placed my thumb  
in the thumbprint  
of the Iron Age potter  
I have grasped my hands  
about the handles  
of the Bronze Age storage jar  
I have clasped my fingers  
about the figure  
of the clay fertility goddess  
And it felt familiar  
It all felt very familiar

So how should I go on?  
how should I have known?  
And how should we presume  
to exhume the lives lived in another time?—  
we have our own to understand instead  
So how should I go home  
and follow out my own?  
And how should I resume?



*Dale Chapman*  
Walla Walla College

And the years, oh!  
The years pile up and are overthrown

I have spit watermelon seeds  
among the thistles and the weeds  
I have laughed among the silent ruins  
and they did not seem so somber  
I have looked into my future here  
and it did not seem so novel, not so strange  
to need to change, to rearrange, exchange . . .

I have loved a woman's beauty here  
talked close with her and laughed together  
of home and hopes for future years  
and the ever cloudless weather  
(I knew exactly what she was talking about  
yes, she knew exactly what I was talking about)  
And it all seemed familiar to me  
It all seemed to be very familiar

And the years, oh!  
The years pile up and are overblown

I have stood at night upon Umeiri  
and seen the distant townlights and streetlights  
and watched the passing cars and moonlight passing  
And it seemed familiar

It all seemed very familiar there  
"It has all happened  
It has all happened here before  
It has already happened"

And time goes on and passes us by  
Three dimensions come together before us  
and we can all but sense fourth  
where place and time combine  
in the very placeness of the place

"It was there  
And then there  
And still there"  
And there will be time for more times there  
same place, some time  
and for all the years, Oh!  
The years pile up and are overgrown

I have lived a little time at old Umeiri  
and it seemed familiar  
It all seemed very familiar to me

**Thomas J. Wehtje**  
Atlantic Union College  
*Contours 1990*

# Historians on *Spectrum*: Pioneering a Free Press

*What has been the impact of Spectrum upon the Adventist Church?*



*Adventism's critical self-analysis parallels an increasing interest in its history and culture among scholars of the American religious experience.*

While we await the grace to see ourselves as others see us, you might like to see *Spectrum* as a particular group of others—the historians of Adventism—describes and evaluates us. Adventist historians had published research on a variety of topics of professional interest. *Spectrum* encouraged them to write and publish their studies of Adventism in its pages. Historians are increasingly finding publishers for their analyses of Adventism. These studies have given Adventism a higher profile within the culture. Histories of American religion often overlooked Adventists, but now works on indigenous American churches usually include references to Adventists. Analyses of *Spectrum's* role in the recent history of Adventism appear in these works. They are printed here in the chronological sequence of their publication.

Richard Schwarz, emeritus professor of history at Andrews University, is the author of *Lightbearers to the Remnant*, the standard college text on Adventist history. He also wrote *John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.* (Southern Publishing Association, 1970).

Jonathan Butler, author of *Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling: American Revival Preaching on Heaven and Hell, 1870-1920* (Carlson Publishing, 1990), and coeditor of *The Disappointed* (Indiana University Press, 1987) taught Adventist history at both Union College and Loma Linda Uni-

versity Riverside. He was interviewed by an editor of *Sunstone*, a Mormon journal similar to *Spectrum*, for a substantial article on historical method from which this excerpt is taken.

Gary Land, professor of history at Andrews University, not only wrote the article from which this selection is taken, but edited the volume in which it appears, *Adventism and America*. It is a collection of chronologically organized essays that both recount and interpret the history of Seventh-day Adventism, from its beginnings to 1980.

The entry on Seventh-day Adventists by Ronald Numbers and Jonathan Butler appeared in the recently published, multivolume encyclopedia of religion. Numbers is chair of the department of the history of medicine and professor of the history of science at the University of Wisconsin, and is the editor-in-chief of *Isis*, the preeminent journal in the history of science. He is the author and editor of many books dealing with the intellectual and cultural history of science in America. Formerly a teacher at both Andrews and Loma Linda universities, Numbers is the author of the landmark work, *Prophetess of Health: A Study of Ellen G. White*, soon to be reprinted in expanded form.

*Seeking a Sanctuary*, published by Harper and Row, is both the most recent and the most ambitious history of Seventh-day Adventism to date. (See reviews in this issue.) Fourteen of

its 20 chapters refer to *Spectrum* articles. Its authors were raised as Adventists. Malcolm Bull is a junior research fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford, from which he received an M.A. Keith Lockhart received a graduate degree from Andrews University, taught at Newbold College, and is now a writer with the *Independent*, one of England's national newspapers, and remains an active member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

— The Editors

## Confronting the Church

Probably no Adventist lay organization has done more to focus attention on social, cultural, and organizational problems confronting the church than the Association of Adventist Forums, organized in 1967. The Association of Adventist Forums ties together a number of discussion groups that grew up during the 1960s in the main centers of Adventist popu-

on controversial topics, to encourage thoughtful consideration of contemporary issues facing the church. In 1969 the Association of Adventist Forums began publication of *Spectrum*, a scholarly quarterly whose columns have frequently presented differing views on such issues as the relationship of church and state and the financing of church institutions. *Spectrum* has also carried a number of articles on aspects of Seventh-day Adventist history, the relationship of science and religion, and the role and authority of Ellen White in the Seventh-day Adventist church.

Richard W. Schwarz, *Lightbearers to the Remnant* (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979).

## Facing Problems Evangelistically

Scholars are asked, "Why aren't you converting other scholars and intellectuals? Why do you simply raise problems for the church rather than supporting solutions?" Adventist scholars can point to the Association of Adventist Forums, which is a far-flung community of Adventist scholars, professionals, ministers, and laymen, who hold meetings, entertain wide-ranging discussions of contemporary interest to the church, and publish a quarterly journal *Spectrum*. *Spectrum* started out very much like *Mormon Dialogue*. In fact, I believe there was some dependence on the part of the Adventist founders of the journal about 10 years ago. In the last few years, however, *Spectrum* has shifted from a strictly professional scholar's format to more of a magazine, with increased circulation and a larger impact on church affairs. In design it falls somewhere between *Dialogue* and *Sunstone*. I know many Adventists who say the only reason they've remained Adventists is due to

*Spectrum* and the Adventist Forums. It seems to me this is to function evangelistically within the church. Clearly, you're not going to convert thoughtful, academic types through the usual door-to-door missionary efforts or mass evangelistic meetings. But if you can show to the world outside that intellectuals find a place within the church, they are nurtured and fulfilled there, you've done something for your evangelistic outreach. I can't bring an academic colleague to church or encourage him to remain there if his kindred spirits are being ignored or misunderstood or harassed by the church.

Jonathan M. Butler, "Retelling the Old, Old Story," *Sunstone*, 7:3 (1982), p. 33.

## A Theological Pluralism

The emergence of the Association of Adventist Forums was also partially related to the growing activism among young people. As increasing numbers of Seventh-day Adventists began to attend non-Adventist graduate schools, they expressed concern that the church was not meeting their intellectual, spiritual, and social needs. Under the leadership of Roy Branson, a student at Harvard University, and with the help of denominational leaders Reinhold R. Bietz and Neal Wilson, the Association of Adventist Forums was established in 1967 and two years later began producing a quarterly journal called *Spectrum*. The association soon ran into conflict with the church—from which it was organizationally independent—over articles appearing in *Spectrum*, and it experienced tension within its own ranks between those who wanted it to focus on intellectual concerns and those who saw it as a medium to generate broad-based lay activism within the church. By the late 1970s the Association of Adventist Forums was concentrating on *Spectrum* and the

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*"I know many Adventists who say the only reason they've remained Adventists is due to Spectrum and the Adventist Forums."*

lation in the United States. Appealing primarily to the church's "intellectuals," the Association of Adventist Forums has sought, by sponsoring retreats, conferences, and discussions



sponsorship of local discussion and study groups. Increasingly, many Adventists believed that the organization represented the liberal wing of the denomination, a labeling the association sought to avoid. . . .<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, the appearance of *Spectrum*, published outside the control of denominational administrators, gave an outlet to renewed examination of the questions shelved by the 1919 Bible Conference. The discussion began when *Spectrum* (in its autumn 1970 issue) offered several articles on Ellen White. Two theologians, Harold Weiss and Roy Branson, called for a reexamination of Mrs. White's writings in terms of her relationship to other authors, her intellectual and social milieu, and her own intellectual development.<sup>2</sup> As if in answer to this proposal, William S. Peterson, an English professor at Andrews University, argued that Ellen White's account of the French Revolution in *The Great Controversy* was drawn primarily from books by Sir Walter Scott and James A. Wylie. "It simply will not suffice to say that God showed her the broad outline of events," he concluded, "and she then filled in the gap with her readings. In the case of the French Revolution, there was no 'broad outline' until she had read the historians."<sup>3</sup>

Two other articles about Ellen White appeared in the same issue of *Spectrum*, though those by Weiss, Branson, and Peterson caused the most discussion. W. Paul Bradley, speaking for the White Estate—custodian of the prophetic writings—saw no need for critical scholarship, declaring that "no reinterpretation is required to make us know God's messages for us." He further rejected the suggestion that Mrs. White had obtained her ideas from other authors, and he concluded that,

in forming one's personal judgment about the validity of the gift that resulted in the work of Ellen G. White . . . , one must doubt whether historical criticism will

have a preponderance of weight. There will always have to be present a strong element of faith.<sup>4</sup>

The discussion of Peterson's article continued until Ronald Graybill, a research assistant at the White Estate, showed that Ellen White drew her material from Uriah Smith, who had, in turn, obtained it from the historians.<sup>5</sup>

The subject of this debate may seem a minor one, but the issues involved—the validity of historical criticism and the relationship of its findings to an understanding of Ellen White—were large. And it was not only the findings of scholarship but also suggestions that the prophet had borrowed and even mishandled information that threatened the authoritative role Ellen White had come to play in the church. . . .

The denomination dismissed [Desmond] Ford partly on the grounds that he did not agree with the statement of fundamental beliefs voted by the General Conference session in the spring of 1980. This official action seems to have been related to an effort that had been going on for several years to define more fully Seventh-day Adventist doctrine. Concerned that a number of denominational positions were being questioned by church employees, particularly educators, some members of the Robert Pierson administration sought written definitions of "landmark" doctrines.

This movement arose for a number of reasons. President Pierson had served as an overseas missionary for many years, and at the time he took office he was probably out of touch with intellectual developments on Seventh-day Adventist campuses. As he became aware of contemporary Adventist thought, he found aspects of it—particularly with regard to creationism and Ellen White—rather different from the Adventism in which he had been schooled. Second, the appearance of *Spectrum* provided a previously unavailable outlet for critical analysis of traditional Adventist views. Third, a *Newsweek* magazine article in

1971 suggested that liberalism was creeping into the SDA Theological Seminary at Andrews University, an assertion that, although publicly denied, probably confirmed suspicions held by some church administrators.<sup>6</sup> And fourth, in the background lay the upheavals in the evangelical world: the inerrancy movement so highly publicized by Harold Lindsell's *Battle for the Bible* and the division in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.<sup>7</sup> Some Adventists felt that liberalism had to be rooted out of Adventist colleges before it grew significant enough to force a similar split in Seventh-day Adventism. More generally, the denomination, in putting great emphasis on education, had inadvertently produced intellectuals who, on the basis of new experiences and new information, were in various ways reformulating Adventism. The real question was, How much theological pluralism could or would the denomination tolerate?

Gary Land, *Adventism in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1986).

## Notes

1. Richard C. Osborn, "The Establishment of the Adventist Forum," *Spectrum*, 10 (March 1980), pp. 42-58.

2. "Ellen White: A Subject for Adventist Scholarship," *Spectrum*, 2 (Autumn 1970), pp. 30-33.

3. "A Textual and Historical Study of Ellen G. White's Account of the French Revolution," *Spectrum*, 2 (Autumn 1970), p. 66.

4. "Ellen G. White and Her Writings," *Spectrum*, 3 (Spring 1971), pp. 48, 61.

5. "How Did Ellen White Choose and Use Historical Sources?" *Spectrum*, 4 (Summer 1972), pp. 49-53.

6. *Newsweek* (June 7, 1971), pp. 65, 66; Kenneth H. Wood, Editorial, "The Newsweek Story," *Review and Herald* (January 1, 1970), p. 2.

7. Harold Lindsell, *The Battle for the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1976).

## Dissident Voices

Many Adventists, nevertheless, continued to live in tension with the church's teachings on the sanctuary and the authority of Ellen White. Dissident voices became increasingly audible in the 1960s, especially after a group of Adventist academics and professionals in 1967 created the independent Association of Adventist Forums (AAF) and began publishing a lively journal, *Spectrum*. During the 1970s and early 1980s Adventism was torn by claims of Adventist scholars that they had uncovered evidence that the writings of the prophetess not only contained historical and scientific errors but in many instances paralleled the prose of other authors—discoveries that forced a rethinking of White's role in the community.

Jonathan M. Butler and Ronald L. Numbers, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Mircea Eliade, ed. (Macmillan Publ. Co.: New York, NY, 1987).

*Spectrum began hiring trained journalists to objectively report the affairs of the church, journalism with which the denomination had relatively little experience . . . Spectrum took the role of an independent press.*

## Pioneering a Free Press

Eventually, then, Adventist college teachers came to see themselves as scholars rather than educators. This change was not envisaged by Ellen White, and it did not conform to her sectarian educational philosophy—even though she did write, as the liberal Adventist professor never failed to point out, that an object of Adventist education is to produce individuals who are “thinkers, and not mere reflectors of other men's thought.” The modern Adventist professor was largely a creation of church leaders. Whatever their initial reservations, they accepted accreditation, nurtured liberal arts colleges, and made the decisions that provided the resources for the denomination's universities. They supported the expansion of graduate education, encouraged talented individuals to secure Ph.D. degrees, and employed only those teachers with the best academic qualifications. It was clear, once the dust of accreditation settled, that the General Conference wanted an educational system that compared with the best in outside society. What they found difficult to accept were the consequences of their policies.

The most important result of the formation of a community of scholars within the denomination was the establishment of an academic organization, the Association of Adventist Forums (AAF), in 1968. The association was largely the brainchild of Roy Branson, an ethicist at the SDA Theological Seminary. The church's doctors, who through the accreditation move-

From *Seeking a Sanctuary* by Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart. Copyright © by Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart. Used with permission from Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., San Francisco.

ment had sparked the growth of Adventist scholarship, also helped to foster this new development. A physician, Molleurus Couperus, was appointed as the first editor of the AAF quarterly journal *Spectrum*, and the medical community gave generous financial support to the organization. But the AAF might not have succeeded if the General Conference officers had not supported the organization and the aims and objectives of its constitution. The General Conference thus approved the existence of an independent, academic organization in the denomination. It is difficult to know exactly what the church hierarchy expected, but the founders of the AAF were determined to carry out the obligation “to examine . . . freely ideas and issues relevant to the church in all its aspects.” The contributors to the AAF's quarterly, *Spectrum*, faithfully followed the journal's objective “to look without prejudice at all sides of a subject.” The effects were far-reaching. The AAF gave Adventist academics the opportunity to turn their scholarly expertise on the Adventist tradition, sometimes to devastating effect. Professors from the denomination's colleges, universities, and seminary published in *Spectrum* critical articles on Adventist theology and history. This provided the educated Adventist, and other members who cared to look, with a new view of the church and its development. *Spectrum* became, in effect, a meeting place for those in the church who believed in the benefits of academic freedom. Donald McAdams, an academic who took a leading role in the demythologizing of Ellen White in the 1970s, summed up the position of Adventist scholars: “We have no choice but to be honest at heart, acknowledge facts, and seek the truth.” To McAdams “the search for truth is, after all, the basic premise upon which Adventism is founded.”

The other effect of the publication of *Spectrum* was on the denomination's media. Initially, the journal was an academic publication, which

specialized in scholarly debate. But toward the end of the 1970s, *Spectrum* began hiring trained journalists to report objectively the affairs of the church. It was a form of journalism of which the denomination had relatively little experience. *Spectrum* took on the role of an independent press. As a result, General Conference leaders were unable to control the publication of information in the same way their predecessors had done. The AAF journal did not immediately affect the *Review*, which under Kenneth Wood (editor from 1966-1982) continued to present an uncritical view of the Adventist church. In this respect, Wood did not depart from the tradition of the *Review's* two most powerful editors in the 20th century, F. M. Wilcox and F. D. Nichol. But when William Johnsson took over the editorship in 1982, he realized the *Review* would cease to be credible if readers had to go elsewhere in order to find accurate information about the church. Johnsson thus began reporting more openly the issues and problems that faced Adventism. In a similar way, the denomination's clerical paper, *Ministry*, took to reporting doctrinal debates in the manner that *Spectrum* had pioneered. The AAF's journal also created the climate for other, more radical publications to appear. In 1983

an independent magazine, *Adventist Currents*, was founded, which styled itself as "an unauthorized free press supplement to official Seventh-day Adventist publications." In these ways, *Spectrum* opened up a closed society to a freer circulation of information.

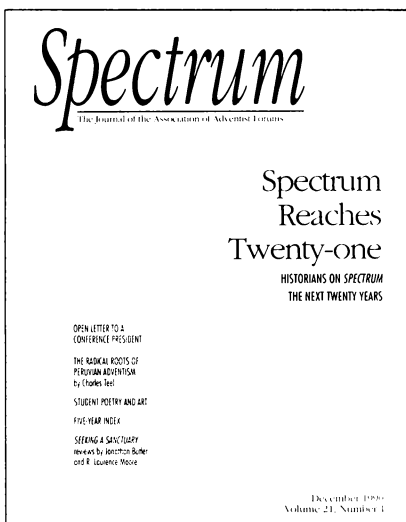
For the most part, church leaders kept to themselves whatever reservations they had about the activities of Adventist scholars. Indeed, throughout the 1970s, they continued to serve as advisers both to the AAF and *Spectrum*. However, there was one preoccupation of the academic community that proved more sensitive than others. This was its dissatisfaction with the denomination's hierarchical structure. Articles advocating the reform of Adventist government appeared at regular intervals in *Spectrum*. In 1982 the AAF commissioned a special task force to work out proposals for an alternative administrative system. After two years, the task force reported in *Spectrum*, calling for a democratic church, open elections, freedom of information, and the end of the General Conference oligarchy. Adventist leaders were not slow to perceive this threat, and later in the year, the church president, Neal Wilson, finally ostracized the organization. He rejected the notion that "*Spectrum* is the most authentic source of information regard-

ing church affairs" and attacked "the AAF and *Spectrum*" for "actively urging what appears to us to be irresponsible concepts of, and changes in, denominational administration, operations, structure and organization." That Wilson was the individual who made this statement was particularly ironic. In the late 1960s, as president of the North American Division, he was heavily involved in setting up the AAF. In the mid-1980s, he attempted to close a Pandora's Box that he himself had opened.

It did not, however, prove easy to silence the AAF. Historically, the organization was the product of an increasingly well-educated community that the provision of Adventist graduate education had created. The close connection between the AAF and the educational system was one of the sources of its strength. The organization's members were drawn from the colleges, and the colleges often provided the location for meetings of chapters of the AAF. It would be wrong to conclude from this that all church academics were equally critical of the Adventist tradition. Within the faculties of the colleges, universities, and theological seminary, professors held different positions. Adventism's scholarly community was not entirely homogeneous.

# The Next 20 Years: *Spectrum's* Ideal Future

*Younger readers look ahead  
to describe the compleat Spectrum*



**W**hat might *Spectrum* look like in the years ahead? We solicited answers from individuals who are today roughly the same age and engaged in the same activities as those who started *Spectrum* 20 volumes ago. Both those who began the journal and those who wrote for this symposium include graduate students and professionals, some employed by the denomination, some by other institutions. While contributors to this symposium are predominately Americans, they include more individuals from other cultures than were represented among those who began the journal.

— The Editors

## A Call to Be Inclusive

by Jean Arthur

**A**s a child growing up in an Adventist home, I was encouraged to read only Seventh-day Adventist publications—*The Little Friend*, *Primary Treasure*, *Guide*, and *Insight*. I was entertained. But, I never quite felt that the characters or the theses of the stories were like me or applied to me. As a college student at Columbia Union College, I was presented with the attempts of magazines to serve college-aged Seventh-day Adventist young people. They were

something to read on Sabbath, but I don't recall my friends or I ever being particularly impressed that these magazines were meant for us.

Now as a young adult, I have access to *Spectrum*, and I hope in its next 20 volumes *Spectrum* continues to do what it now does so well for me. My career so far has not involved working with Seventh-day Adventists, and my present law school program and graduate work have both been at non-Adventist universities. Consequently, I am often asked by friends and associates why I exclude certain things from my diet, why I am not available for certain activities on Saturdays, and what my church's position is on abortion, homosexuality, and many other moral issues.

I hate to admit it, but sometimes I find it difficult to be an Adventist. As a child, even into my early college years, I knew all the dos and don'ts of Seventh-day Adventism. Now, my professional training and certainly my training to be a lawyer encourages me to find an answer to the whys. The Adventists I asked as a youth could not answer why. The Bible teaches basic principles of living but it does not deal directly with many of the issues I—and many like me—face from day to day. *Spectrum* helps me to confront the difficult questions.

The issues which face the world also face us as Seventh-day Adventists. We are affected by AIDS, we are one

of the few organizations that still refuses to give women equal status, and many of us are confused about many doctrines. *Spectrum* explores these areas. The writers are not all white, North American middle-aged men.

Still, I would like *Spectrum* to be even more inclusive in its selection of authors. I would like to see more articles expressing the views of people like me, who do not work for the Adventist church, who are not seen on the platform on Sabbath, who spend most of their time around non-Adventists. I would like to see *Spectrum* continue as a voice for different points of view in the Adventist church. But the important word is *continue*.

Twenty volumes from now I want my friends and me to still know that when we pick up *Spectrum* we are not just getting the standard church "line." To be honest, I hope *Spectrum* does not change much. I want *Spectrum* to remain the magazine for Seventh-day Adventists who think.

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*Twenty volumes from now I want my friends and me to still know that when we pick up Spectrum we are not just getting the standard church "line."*

## A Resource for Developing Countries

by Les Bucwa

When I came to the United States from South Africa for the first time in February 1990, I was astonished by the liberties Americans enjoy, such as freedom of the press, of worship, of association, of movement and travel, of opinion and expression; the freedom to choose your friends, church, art museum, and entertainment. This became clear from the articles I was reading in newspapers and magazines. One of the magazines I read was *Spectrum*. The topics it addressed were all fascinating and eye-opening. It illustrated the freedom of expression you find possible not only in your country but also in the church.

But it appears to me that American citizens take these freedoms for granted, and maybe forget to share what can be shared with the rest of the world. For example, *Spectrum* is largely designed for American Adventists rather than Adventists throughout the world. Why do I say that? I've never seen a copy of this wonderful magazine at home in South Africa. It was only by chance that I was introduced to it. I believe if we had had wider access to *Spectrum*, some misunderstandings and misconceptions could have been overcome long ago.

The church in South Africa is racially constituted, as we all know. Is this right? Problems such as these should have been addressed long ago through the pages of *Spectrum* by conducting interviews with church leaders in South Africa. Interviews would enable the average church member to learn and understand how our leaders view current problems in South Africa, and how the leaders of the different racial groups are prepar-

ing themselves and our church for the second coming of Christ under the apartheid system.

The Adventist community in South Africa is concerned that we are not living according to Christian expectations. In Christ we are all one (Galatians 3:28); however, in South Africa, in our church we do not treat one another as one, but as three. We are three racial groups: white, black, and colored. It is my belief that the average church member is aware of the issue but not of the facts that hinder progress towards integration of the church. *Spectrum* could effectively provide a platform for Adventist professionals to inform, to discuss and debate the possible merger of the peoples of South Africa into one Adventist church.

The situation in South Africa is especially fitting for scrutiny because it is such a vivid example of allowing our prejudices to dominate our lives. But the issue of racism and prejudice is currently relevant worldwide as is evidenced, for example, with the Iraqis and Kuwaitis in the Persian Gulf, and the Palestinians and Israelis in the Middle East.

*Spectrum* gathers together such a wealth of Adventist talent and expertise that it has an obligation to share this with the rest of the world. Especially in the developing countries, *Spectrum* should nurture church members to face their practical day-to-day problems as Adventists.

For example, how do the Adventists in Kuwait or Liberia cope with the prevailing conflicts? Does the problem of Adventist children being required to attend school on Sabbath still exist in Gorbachev's changing Russia? What strategies did they employ to effect that change? Comparison and exposure to the drug-abuse problem in Colombia, and how the Adventist church there deals with it, would teach us all what some of the options are. Interviews with secular and church leaders worldwide about the current problems facing church members as

they live their day-to-day lives would help us invent new strategies to respond to pertinent problems in our own disadvantaged communities.

One obvious area where *Spectrum* could help is in education. The missionaries from Europe and America brought us the love of Jesus and a system of education to improve our lives, which is still greatly appreciated. *Spectrum* could now help us examine the rules and regulations, pertaining to the running of the church and our schools, which merely reflect the lifestyles of the missionaries' home countries. Lifestyle practices are distinct from the fundamental principles of the church, and sometimes conflict with our traditional customs.

As we all know, books and educational materials are scarce in developing countries. Since *Spectrum* has a lot of Adventist talent within its reach, this can be exploited to benefit church members, workers, administrators, and Adventist students in those developing nations. A series of programs could be designed to discuss organization of meetings, carrying out of administrative procedures, and planning of church activities relevant to our current environment. *Spectrum* could foster and share Spirit of Prophecy research on these topics.

Adventism in South Africa is the only denomination with its own educational system. I suppose Adventists find themselves in the same situation in many other developing countries. This puts Adventists in a pivotal position to influence their nation's educational system. *Spectrum* could help develop, sharpen, and improve the curriculum of the Adventist school systems. Teachers from the preschool to high school level need to be upgraded in their understanding of how to model and teach Adventist principles to their students. *Spectrum* could guide us in this effort by printing articles with new ideas for devotionals, and the

teaching of Bible and Spirit of Prophecy.

In addition to education, *Spectrum* could lead the way in improving Adventist publications. *Spectrum* could employ its worldwide connections to invite poems from church members throughout the world. This would provide far greater insight into the experiences and feelings of Adventists in distant lands and cultures and provide encouragement and training for promising writers.

If *Spectrum* utilized pictures, drawings, and visual illustrations from around the world, greater clarity and understanding regarding the substance of *Spectrum's* articles would result. It would also serve to attract the reader into reading more of the wonderful articles in *Spectrum*.

Another area where *Spectrum* could be of great assistance is in the Spirit of Prophecy research. It is common at home to misinterpret works such as the *Testimonies*, *Messages to Young People*, and *Gospel Workers*. The few who have the books normally use compilations and isolated quotes out of context. We need to learn the principles Ellen White was using when making a specific instruction. Otherwise, we get ourselves into pointless discussions and debates. For example, at home we hold dear the precept against the use of jewelry, but appear to miss the underlying principle. I believe Ellen White emphasized simplicity as opposed to extravagance.

Again, since our reference books are so few, if authors could provide references and proof of sources (even when formulating their opinions), this would provide something we could quote as facts to one another in sermons, articles, and essays.

In summary, I am stunned that *Spectrum* hasn't sought subscribers in South Africa and other overseas and developing countries. Since we do not have many Adventist books, each issue would pass to many, many hands and be appreciated for its valuable

contents. *Spectrum* needs to be cherished not only in the confines of America, but shared worldwide, especially in the developing countries where there is such a hunger for learning and reading materials. *Spectrum* has the potential for enlightening, educating, and motivating the world church.

Mzukisi Lesley Bucwa, director of development for Cancele Seventh-day Adventist Senior Secondary School in Transkei, South Africa, is currently enrolled in George Washington University's graduate program in urban and regional planning and in its continuing education program in fund raising. He serves as president of Neighborhoods International.

## Lab, Evangelist, and Home

by Gary Chartier

What good is *Spectrum* anyway? The concerns that birthed *Spectrum* 20 years ago seem not to excite many church members in their 20s and 30s. Even more frightening, the church as a whole seems to have lost the ability to appeal to the hearts and minds of a lot of its young people. I think that's too bad. I remember with dismay the local Forum planning conference I attended in Loma Linda two years ago: I was the only one attending who was under 30, and there weren't all that many under 40. The Forum and its church are both graying, and something should be done about it.

There are at least three ways in which *Spectrum* can help to make itself—not to mention the church—stronger and more vibrant. The Forum can be a *laboratory*, an *evangelist*, and a *home*.

The Forum can be a laboratory for the development of Adventist doc-



trine, Adventist worship, and Adventist lifestyle.

AAF has been involved in reflection on Adventist doctrine since its inception. And this kind of work needs to continue. But I want to suggest a slightly different role it could play in assisting in the formulation of Adventist doctrine: not an alternative to the role it already plays, but an addition to that role.

Most of the doctrinal reflection fostered by the Forum has involved testing and stretching the boundaries of Adventism. The Forum has been a context in which views could be aired regarding ethical concerns (like abortion) and doctrinal issues (like the ordination of women) that official Adventism sometimes seems as if it would like to ignore. The Forum needs, however, not only to help expand Adventism's frontiers, but to help identify and defend its center.

The first thing that needs to be done is to study the different ways in which the core of Adventist practice and belief could be determined. But after this methodological ground-clearing, the Forum needs to explore the *content* of core Adventism.

Our church now boasts one of the longest official doctrinal statements in Christendom. A highly placed church administrator is supposed to have said that, instead of 27 fundamental beliefs, we need only three or four. Among the Forum's tasks should be the attempted specification of those Adventist beliefs that are *really* fundamental.

As well as enthusiastically describing the center of Adventism, the Forum must defend Adventism to Adventists and to non-Adventists.

Some Adventists will balk at a definition of core Adventism because they believe it too general, too inclusive. But there is a difference between the essential and the peripheral, the major and the minor. *Spectrum* can help demonstrate that commitment and criticism can coexist in comple-

mentary fashion. *Spectrum* can remind Adventists that a community which believes everything believes nothing; that Adventism exists to communicate a coherent and distinctive understanding of the Christian gospel. It cannot fulfill this responsibility if no one, including church members themselves, understands what Adventists are committed to doing, believing, and experiencing.

Some people, inside and outside the community of faith, will ask that not only a definition of core Adventism but also the contents of core Adventism be defended. *Spectrum* can help to answer the questions of such people. It can highlight the ways in which historical analysis of the Gospels leads to a picture of Jesus that is congruent with the central confessions Christians want to make about him. *Spectrum* can remind people with varying views of earth history that their differences need not prevent them from affirming the basic Adventist understanding of the seventh-day Sabbath. *Spectrum* can help doubting "evangelicals" within and without the church see why the doctrine of atonement should be understood in cosmic terms, why it includes but transcends the work of Jesus on the cross. *Spectrum* can help Ad-

ventists and their critics reach a "post-critical" view of Ellen White that perceives the value of her prophetic ministry without denying the conclusions reached by means of historical and literary study of her work.

In short, *Spectrum* can constructively defend the core of Adventism to a new generation of Adventists and to a watching Christian and non-Christian world. By doing so, it will have rendered a major service to its community of faith.

*Spectrum* can also help Adventism explore new worship styles. Official and unofficial Adventist publications have called attention to Adventist congregations which have departed in significant ways—ways their opponents label "charismatic"—from the Adventist worship norm. And more such congregations are aborning. *Spectrum* can help the church respond to and profit from this phenomenon in several ways.

First, *Spectrum* can help clear the theological ground. It can foster discussion about the nature of Adventist worship, about its purpose and function. Such an exercise will enable intelligent discussion about the validity of various Adventist worship forms.

Second, *Spectrum* can encourage interchange that will lead to the critical assessment of existing traditional and nontraditional worship options in light of the conclusions reached by those who have thought reflectively about the essence of Adventist worship.

Third, *Spectrum* can sponsor prayerful study that might lead to suggestions for additional ecclesial alternatives. Such study might focus, for instance, on whether urban ministry options like Riverside's now-defunct City Parish might be explored. *Spectrum* might also want to ask whether, in addition to the "low church" liturgical forms currently being tested, the range of Adventist worship styles might also include patterns of adoration, praise, and celebration of a significantly "higher" liturgical

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*In short, Spectrum can constructively defend the core of Adventism to a new generation of Adventists and to a watching Christian and non-Christian world.*

character, marked by greater solemnity and the presence of a greater degree of form than that to which Adventists are accustomed. And, whatever their forms of worship, *Spectrum* can encourage all Adventist congregations to experiment with forms of life characterized by mutual support, community ministry, and openness to the Spirit's working.

*Spectrum* can help the Adventist community by being concerned not only with the thought life of the church and the worship life of the church, but also with the lifestyles of the church's members. Perhaps the most sensitive lifestyle area on which *Spectrum* could focus is stewardship. While the idea of stewardship has loomed large in Adventist discourse since the 1860s, it has too often been more a means of pressuring recalcitrant tithe-payers into submission than a joyous recognition that all of life, except insofar as it has been corrupted by sin, is God's, that "everything that God created is good, and nothing is to be rejected when it is taken with thanksgiving" (1 Timothy 3:4). *Spectrum* could encourage stewardship by highlighting the ways in which gifts—for contemporary art,

modern "secular" music, politics, film, or whatever—can be used to further the flourishing of God's good creation in accordance with the divine will. And the Forum itself needs to actively involve itself in coordinating such efforts.

*Spectrum* can also encourage responsible stewardship of money. Readers do not need to be reminded that we, as human beings, are all "members, one of another," and that we have responsibilities for others inside and outside the church. They do not need to be reminded that lifestyles marked by "conspicuous consumption" are leading to the devastation of our environment. And they do not need to be reminded of the tyranny possessions can exert.

A commitment to simplicity undoubtedly has consequences for organizations—for the institutional church and for the Forum itself. Perks and office staffs and purchases of funeral-black suits might have to be restrained. But simplicity also has consequences for individual life. If individual Forum chapters encouraged and supported individual Forum members in the pursuit of "downward mobility"—the redirection of resources in ways that would foster the flourishing of creation (Third World development, church counseling services, urban ministry, the work of Christian artists, etc.)—the witness against materialism could be a powerful one.

Simplicity is not to be confused with grinding asceticism—which is no more Christian than libertinism. But a commitment to simplicity will, I believe, lead us to opt for costume jewelry over pearls, futons over beds and couches, second hand clothes over the products of Saks, shell rings over diamond rings, shared homes over second houses in the mountains, and scooters and bicycles over automobiles; perhaps also it would mean an end to the dominance of the idiot-box over the family living-room. A choice for simplicity can lead to surprisingly

creative solutions to the problem of beautifying and humanizing one's life.

The kind of Adventism articulated in such books as Jack Provonsha's *God Is With Us* and Chuck Scriven's *The Demons Have Had It*, and in the pages of *Spectrum*, must be communicated to American audiences; this must be the kind of Adventism people think of when they hear our church mentioned. Past *Spectrum* articles urged such evangelism, but it is time to be more specific. Articles should explore how Adventists can cultivate the skills of "friendship evangelism" in which the spiritual well-being of one's friends is taken seriously as part of one's concern for them as friends. *Spectrum* might commission the writing of evangelistic books, and even undertake the organization of historically sensitive, theologically nuanced evangelistic series.

**A**n increasingly middle-aged *Spectrum* must also make a conscious effort to articulate an Adventism that is attractive, not only to secular Western adults, but also to the church's own youth. It must strive to facilitate their growth in grace, assist them in service to the world, and accept their desire to move beyond a lifestyle rooted in 19th-century pietism.

*Spectrum* can serve the church by being a special kind of home for Adventists and their friends.

Like everyone else, Adventists need community. And for those Adventists who need support as they serve in their various home churches, *Spectrum* can foster that needed community.

Young people who are not sure whether they want to serve or worship or do anything else in local congregations can be helped by *Spectrum's* publisher, the Association of Adventist Forums, by actively including such young people in their activities. National and local Forum organizations

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*Articles should explore . . . "friendship evangelism" in which the spiritual well-being of one's friends is taken seriously as part of one's concern for them as friends.*

could ensure that young Adventists can occupy Forum leadership positions; in so doing, the Forum could demonstrate that, even if institutional Adventism seems inaccessible to input from the young, the Association of Adventist Forums is accessible.

Adventists who wish to expose non-Adventist friends to core Adventism should be able to find in *Spectrum* and chapters of the Association of Adventist Forums settings where their friends can get excited about their church. *Spectrum* can accomplish enormous good. It can further appropriate experimentation, help to spread the everlasting gospel to the world, and offer church members the support they need to continue living Christian and Adventist lives. No one could question the relevance of a *Spectrum* and Association of Adventist Forums that so dynamically served the church and the world.

Gary Chartier is a doctoral candidate in theology and philosophy of religion at Cambridge University. He thanks Heather Hessel, John Jones, Steve Daily, and Vernon Howe for comments that contributed to the development of this essay.

## What's in a Word?

by Daniel Duda

The celebration of publishing *Spectrum's* twenty volumes is a moment to ponder the power and importance of words in our individual and corporate lives. Because we live in a world where words (like dollars) are becoming pitifully devalued, it might seem that words are no longer important.

But I come from a country, Czechoslovakia, where words finally shook the society and brought the

communist social order, and all its uncountable suffering, to an end. For more than 30 years, I lived in a society that arrogantly claimed to have a monopoly on truth, and tried to exploit words in a very peculiar manner. Words were twisted, misinterpreted, distorted. Words were used to label people and put people in prison. But experience has taught me that words are not only capable of being lethal arrows but also rays of light in a realm of darkness.

Words point to something which is beyond them. Our attitude toward the words always reveals our attitude to some realities. As Seventh-day Adventists, we recognize the importance of human words; a whole department of our work was established to publish and disseminate words more effectively. Seventh-day Adventists have a very special regard for the Word of God. We want our lives to follow it as closely as possible. As a church we quite rightly believe, as we always have, in the power of words to change history—the history of individuals, churches, nations, even the whole civilization.

Unfortunately, the church (or some of its sections) sometimes is prone to claim the final word in the realm of words. History tells us that the church has not always avoided this arrogance. Theologians working with the Word have brought forth words that radiated great hopes, but have also emitted lethal rays.

Today, as our faith is challenged from every angle by our secular society, we need to find the appropriate words, to think and bring out new thoughts, to explore new horizons, to rethink the reasons for our positions. We need as Adventists to present the eternal verities in up-to-date cloth. We need to be able to present in today's language what we believe to be God's message for our generation. We need the word for today.

Naturally this must mean not arrogantly refusing to submit to God's

inspired Word, but honoring it. All of us need to learn to build our faith on solid foundations while being open, as Christians, to anything true and new.

*Spectrum* can and should play an important role in finding the word for today. Adventist theologians, students, and intellectuals need to have an arena where their views can be discussed and challenged freely, openly, and without emotional attacks. We desperately need different societies, segments, sections, and groups within the entire Adventist spectrum engaging in honest and meaningful dialogue.

All my life I lived in a country where there was only one voice, one way of speaking, one way of looking at things. I do not want something similar in my church. Now, thank God, in my country, false, oppressive uniformity is history. As Adventists we do not yet live in a theocracy. Let us put into practice Augustine's well-known dictum: "In essentials unity, non-essentials liberty, and in all charity."

Daniel Duda was born in Czechoslovakia, received the equivalent of his M.Div. at the Slovak Lutheran Theological Seminary in Bratislava, and served as a pastor and teacher in the Adventist Seminary in Prague. He enrolled in 1989 in the D.Min. program at the SDA Theological Seminary, Andrews University. He is now teaching theology at the new Adventist seminary in the Soviet Union.

## Let's Not Get Comfortable

by Gina Foster

"What is really bothering me incessantly is the question what Christianity really is, or indeed who Christ really is, for us today."  
—Dietrich Bonhoeffer

The question of who Christ really is troubled Dietrich Bonhoeffer during

his last months in prison. Bonhoeffer's concern was that the traditional representation of Christ as humanity's Redeemer from sin did not fit the new age of science and philosophy; did not allow human beings to explain their origins and actions without reference to God. Half a century later, as *Spectrum* enters its third decade, these words resonate with our commitment to responsible spiritual dialogue.

If one replaced the word "Christianity" with "Seventh-day Adventism," I think Bonhoeffer's words would reflect *Spectrum's* purpose quite accurately. From my perspective, *Spectrum* and the Association of Adventist Forums form two valuable resources within the church which make Adventism a viable contemporary religion.

In reading the early issues of *Spectrum*, I sensed an energy I seldom feel in current Adventist publications. From its inception, *Spectrum* has dedicated itself to an intellectual and spiritual questing that often touches on the controversial. Complex issues such as race and gender relations, sexuality, problems associated with AIDS, and even points of doctrine appear from the very first. Although as a church we may be slow to respond to the challenges of contemporary soci-

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*Spectrum seems to have settled into a comfortable liberalism. Though the subject matter and authors remain potent, the actual texts are not.*

ety, *Spectrum* quite obviously is not.

From a critical perspective, as *Spectrum* has developed it seems to have settled into a comfortable liberalism. Although the subject matter and authors remain potent, the actual texts are not. I read many articles in which the contributors congratulate themselves for being wise enough to see a problem in isolation, without considering the larger context. For example, *Spectrum* has published several articles on homosexuality within the Adventist church. In these articles, one reads that there are homosexuals in the church, that there are groups for gays within the church, and that the church is not particularly receptive to its gay members. However, these articles do not mention the role of alternative sexuality within the church, the problems (and benefits) of allowing these men and women to participate fully in the church, and how our "Christian" notions of sexuality parallel as well as contradict the notions of those of gay and lesbian orientation. While I do not expect every writer to present a fully detailed article of his or her position each time he or she contributes, I do feel that the editorial staff could find a wider representation of facts and opinions on issues concerning sexuality and marginalization.

*Spectrum* does not do this on a sporadic basis. The occasions for far-ranging discussion focus mainly on Ellen White or church structure. However, except for an issue devoted entirely to the subject of women's ordination, I do not find the level of dialogue I expect in scholarly discussions.

This tendency to use half-finished arguments disturbs me. If we are to commit ourselves to open, honest communication, we must prepare ourselves for moments of discomfort. We cannot open doors only to stand in the portal. We must face both the divine and the demonic when we question, or we may lose sight of "who Christ really is."

One cause of this comfortable self-limitation is that the contributors to *Spectrum* are not as diverse as the audience they claim to represent. On subjects of general interest (Ellen White, church structure, the church and politics), writers are primarily white, male, and impeccably credentialed as intellectuals. Writers of African-American descent write on race; women write on gender. Writers from marginalized sectors of society write predominantly on the issues of their marginalization. There are regrettably few exceptions to this rule in the 20 published volumes of *Spectrum*.

**A**nother cause of this easy self-consciousness lies in the attitude of Seventh-day Adventism itself, of which *Spectrum* is only a reflection. As a church and a subculture, we view ourselves as ineradicably unique. In my critical role, I must point out that we are not as distinctive as we think we are. We are Christians, and North American Protestants, and we share many qualities with these groups. Within Seventh-day Adventism are doctrines that differentiate our church from others, but we are still a part of Christianity as a whole. We are also a part of the world in which we work and live. We are more alike than we are different.

When we think we are different (and blessed for being so), we ask less of ourselves than we would in a similar secular situation. We base conclusions on incomplete evidence (see ordination of women, the replacement of the conference hierarchy, the responsibility of church toward state), and we settle for the views of a Seventh-day Adventist over a more qualified statement from an "outsider." I think we have much to learn from the Protestant churches who already ordain women, from the Catholic theologians who practice liberation theology, and from interdenominational committees

studying common interests such as family, worship, and spiritual community. Wouldn't we accomplish more if we realized our common ground as believers in Christ and Christianity, accepting our limitations as part of our humanity, rather than denying that we can't know it all?

As I mentioned earlier, I think that *Spectrum* has done a commendable job. But there is room for improvement. If we keep Bonhoeffer's concern in mind, I am certain that we can follow the words of an Arabic proverb, to "keep what is worth keeping, and with the breath of kindness, blow the rest away." Surely this is the best spiritual dialogue.

Gina Foster, who is planning to embark on graduate studies in theology with an eye toward becoming an Adventist teacher or minister, received her B.A. in 1990 from Pomona College in Claremont, California. Her special program, in theology and English literature, included a year's study at Emmanuel College, Oxford University, where she gave a public reading of her own poetry and worked on her honors thesis—an analysis of several contemporary Christian poets.

## Providing Community

by Brent Geraty

I was born two years before *Spectrum*. I can't claim that *Spectrum* played a particularly important role in my early childhood, but I did learn to recognize the "magazine without any pictures." The more interested I became in reading, the more familiar *Spectrum* became, and by the time I reached college, its articles were quite often used by my friends and me as a basis for discussion. As I have changed, so too has *Spectrum's* role.

I write now as a graduate student, facing a dilemma that is not unique. How do I reconcile the expectations of my church with the challenge to think in critical and creative ways? In truth, that should not be a dilemma; in reality, it is a daily predicament. The impression is sometimes given by the church (both the institution *and* its membership) that it already has the answers, and that all a member needs to do is to adhere to these discovered "truths."

I believe, however, that it is the search for truth that brings us closer to what is actually true, more than does any interim designation of an arrived truth. By accepting the status quo, we find what is true to be more illusive. Alfred Lord Tennyson articulated this idea when he wrote that "there is more faith in honest doubt . . . than in half the creeds." Doubt has too often been discouraged in the church; it has been thought of as entirely too dangerous. But many of us have discovered just how true, how stimulating, honest doubt can be. Lest I be misunderstood, I should make it clear that embracing honest doubt does not prevent us from sharing with our world, our country, and our community, the knowledge as humans, in the words of a colleague of mine, that "love is better than hate . . . peace is better than war . . . good is better than evil . . . hope is better than despair . . . life is better than death, and that all of this has meaning."

What does this have to do with *Spectrum*? *Spectrum* performs the vital function of providing a secure place where graduate students, et al, can go to express their honest doubt, and to reflect upon both the doubt and faith expressed by other *Spectrum* constituents. It gives graduate students an Adventist outlet where they are not asked to set aside the critical, potentially constructive, tools that they have learned. In this way, *Spectrum* allows us to try out different kinds of reconciliation with the Adventist church.

The importance of a journal like

*Spectrum*, too, is that it gives its readers the gift of community. Through the written exchange of ideas, *Spectrum* fosters a community of committed Christians, most of whom share a common Adventist heritage. Corresponding and communicating through *Spectrum* (or more directly), friends and colleagues develop a network; a network that often provides the support and encouragement that a larger church community is understandably unable to give. One of my hopes, then, for *Spectrum's* future, is that it will enable me to get acquainted with other people from my generation who not only share my ideas, but also my eagerness to move the church to a more nurturing, more just, and more inclusive state.

This brings me to a more specific list of what I would like to see in *Spectrum's* future. First, I would like to see a younger *Spectrum*. I'd like to see more graduate, professional, and college students writing articles and articulating ideas. It's not that people outside my generation are dealing with issues that aren't relevant to us, it's just that I need to begin developing the Adventist network that I wrote of earlier. Perhaps I'm just encouraging more articles to be submitted.

Second, I would like to see *Spectrum* get a sense of humor. (A British tour guide is speaking to a group of American tourists. "This is where the Magna Charta was signed." "When did that happen?" shouts a tourist. "1215," replies the tour guide. "Shoot," says the American, "we only missed it by 20 minutes!") Actually, I'm not calling for a joke or cartoon section, it just seems to me that more often than now occurs, it would be appropriate for an author to incorporate humor into her or his piece. Humor and depth of thought are certainly not incompatible.

Third, I would like to see more "personal reflection" pieces. Often I



find that reading somebody else's personal emotions, feelings, and thoughts enables me to better understand myself. Encouraging the sharing of very personal experience might require including anonymous authors.

Having made suggestions for new additions, I must say that for me the purpose of *Spectrum* from its inception—to provide a forum for the written exchange of ideas—is of timeless necessity. *Spectrum* need only remain as a tool that is open for those who care to use it—a tool where Adventism can be analyzed and embraced, where ideas can be shared and dissected, and where people can meet and become whole.

Brent Geraty received his B.A. in 1990 from Atlantic Union College, where he was editor of the college newspaper. He will enter Yale Law School in the autumn of 1991. He is currently completing an M.A. in history at Andrews University.

## Seek a Wider Universe

by Karl Hall

In his novel *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy describes two characters who were old friends from university days. One thought the other's clear and simple outlook on life resulted from the poverty of his nature, while the second thought the first's inconsequential opinions resulted from a lack of mental discipline. Yet the clarity of the first character pleased his friend, and the second character's abundance of undisciplined thought likewise pleased his companion, so they liked to meet and argue.<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing unique about this pair. Who among us cannot think of friends whose company we most enjoy when debating some topic of common concern? I single out Tolstoy

because this passage, ending with the matter-of-fact statement, "they liked to meet and argue," is part of an extended narrative in which the main character often senses that he is "painfully out of harmony with himself, and strain[s] all his spiritual powers to escape from this condition."<sup>2</sup>

As someone who struggles with discord in his spiritual life, I am always interested in hearing about the par-

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*I am always interested in the particular harmonies that others have found in some aspect of their own spiritual experience.*

ticular harmonies that others have found in some aspect or another of their own spiritual experience. The fact that one person's harmony may sound dissonant to another is no obstacle to listening. For me it is spiritually helpful simply to "meet and argue," and that is the primary reason I read *Spectrum*. I see *Spectrum* as an instrument for productive tensions that can lead to greater harmony in the life of the reader.

Some 20 years ago, when *Spectrum* first appeared, preschool nicely encompassed my idea of an institutional forum for discussing contemporary issues. Even as a child, I began to learn the many forms of disputation, although substantive debate frequently lost out to impassioned rhetoric in key questions like whether or not I had been tagged "out."

Two decades later I am still in school, trying to master the subtler arts

of disputation as formalized in the graduate curriculum. These studies, a baptismal certificate (and a stint as an English-Russian translator at the 1990 General Conference Session) perhaps qualify me, at least superficially, for novitiate status among the Adventist professionals who effectively constitute the bulk of *Spectrum's* readership. As such I would like to offer my own perspective on possible priorities for *Spectrum* in coming years.

As *Spectrum* contemplates the possibility of publishing in the next millennium, the need to involve another generation of Adventist young people, engaged both in examining dilemmas in the church and articulating new insights, becomes readily apparent. How can *Spectrum* best encourage them to "meet and argue" on its pages? I would suggest three related imperatives:

*Be good catholics (with a small "c"),* in the sense that the issues defined and addressed by the materials in *Spectrum* should be universal although the issues need not necessarily originate within the Adventist subculture. By this I simply mean that the pages of *Spectrum* could be a profitable forum for discussing extra-Adventist concerns. At the very least, we should be presenting Adventist perspectives on larger social debates. Several examples come to mind: Should Adventists take positions in environmental debates? Do we have anything credible to say, or is it easier to hide behind an apocalyptic theology? Should Adventists as consumers exhibit habits any different from the population at large (and I don't just mean meat, alcohol, and tobacco consumption)?

*Look outside the church.* Many young people raised in the church in the 1980s will not maintain their ties in the 1990s. The element of skepticism in these decisions is perhaps best reflected in a chorus from a recent song:

We go to the Bible, we go through  
the workout

We read up on revival and we  
stand up for the lookout  
There's more than one answer to  
these questions pointing me  
in a crooked line  
The less I seek my source for some  
definitive  
The closer I am to fine.<sup>3</sup>

We need to encourage input from people who no longer "seek their source for some definitive" in the church as an institution. I think of peers who are keenly disappointed in the church's positions on the role of women, and feel that their connection with the church has, as a result, become ambiguous at best. If *Spectrum* is to be a vehicle for continuous renewal in the relationship between its readers and the Adventist church, it ought to make a point of seeking out the insights of those on the fringes who may continue to offer caring criticism. This is part of what it means to "evaluate the merits of diverse views," an objective for *Spectrum* from its very beginning.

Occasionally we may suspect, as did a professor I once knew, that "ideals, like virtues, are most spoken of when in doubt or danger. The wish to articulate them goes hand in hand with the need to defend them."<sup>4</sup> That is why "outside" contributions may be difficult to assimilate, for they suggest doubt in the common ideals that we assume define the church. Maintaining the church community in a life of faith is indeed a high ideal, and the printed word may sometimes seem a feeble medium for the task. But that faith whose content is implicit remains at the carpenter's bench in Nazareth. The only defensible faith is the one that meets and argues in its inconclusiveness, and aspires to make the crooked straight.

"Shatter the confines of oppression with the shock of the holy." We should continue to invoke the words of Roy Branson in the daily life of the church

and of the world around us. Like Ibsen's Dr. Stockmann, we have "new and vigorous truths" to share. What better forum to do so than *Spectrum*? Let *Spectrum* proclaim a liberating theology that always challenges its readers to be more than, in Churchill's turgid phrase, "flaccid sea anemones of virtue who can hardly wobble an antenna in the waters of negativity." *Spectrum* can not only encourage Adventist participation in discussions of contemporary issues, it can serve as a catalyst for action by the reader in his or her community. Only then will it enable us to boast, along with Jeremiah, of a Lord "who exercises kindness, justice, and righteousness on earth" through the diverse lives of his believers.

### Notes

1. Leo Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*, Part VII, Chapter III
2. Ibid., Part VII, Chapter IX.
3. Emily Saliers. "Closer to Fine." *Indigo Girls*. Epic EK 45044.
4. Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), p. 22.

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## Daring and Loyalty

by Doug Morgan

I can only envision the future of *Spectrum* in the light of its profound influence on my own intellectual and spiritual development. While I was a theology major at Union

College in the mid- and late 1970s, *Spectrum* helped introduce me to a way of probing the Adventist faith that disclosed a richness and range of possibilities I had never before imagined. My first exposure came in a philosophy lecture by H. Ward Hill, who presented the James Londis-Richard Rice debate on faith and reason (Vol. 5, No. 2, 1973). Here were Adventist theologians conducting a public but civil argument over a fundamental human issue. And they brought great figures like Augustine, Aquinas, and Pascal into the argument. I began to see that to believe as an Adventist meant something far deeper than mere acceptance of a predetermined set of doctrines. I wanted to hear more.

That same year another professor then at Union, Jonathan Butler, shared with me a manuscript he had submitted to *Spectrum* titled, "When Prophecy Fails: The Validity of Apocalypticism" (Vol. 8, No. 1, 1976). That article gripped my soul. Here was the courage to confront weaknesses in traditional understandings of a doctrine at the core of the faith, but also the faithfulness, creativity, and intellectual skill to reformulate the belief and show its significance for the present era.

This brief personal retrospective points to the goals I would like to see *Spectrum*/Association of Adventist Forums continue to pursue, with the energy and adaptability demanded by changing times. Zinzendorf, the Moravian leader of the pietistic revival of Protestantism in the 18th century, said, "Belief needs daring and much loyalty." In fresh and diverse ways, *Spectrum*/Association of Adventist Forums must continue to express and facilitate the daring and loyalty that makes faith vital.

Daring is needed in the rigorous pursuit of truth, both about the life of the church and about its message; that is, in both reporting the news and in open theological inquiry. Despite the refreshing changes at the *Adventist*

*Review* in recent years, one of *Spectrum's* most important roles remains that of objective journalistic coverage of church affairs. No institution can remain healthy or true to its best self for very long without independent critical scrutiny. A worthy goal might be more comprehensive and regular news coverage through a network of volunteer reporters and stringers.

Commitment to intellectual truth must also remain strong. As long as the Seventh-day Adventist church supports liberal arts higher education, Adventists will face the challenge of relating their faith to the often competing claims of the wider culture of learning. Those seeking to negotiate the tricky course in which those competing claims are taken seriously must have the resource of an open forum in which discussion is not constricted at the outset by the necessity of adherence to a party line. No real future for an educated Adventism is possible without such a forum. Moreover, commitment to the progressive unfolding of truth has always been at the heart of Adventism.

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*We need to show that it is by building on what is best in Adventism and applying it to the present age that the movement goes forward and fulfills its mission . . . to articulate the truths of Adventism.*

The daring to pursue truth is thus in itself an act of loyalty. But pursuit of truth without loyalty can destroy community. I see *Spectrum/Association of Adventist Forums* as serving those who hold a deep commitment to the Adventist community together with their commitment to truth. It is for those who choose to carry out their personal quests in continuity with the Adventist heritage, whose concern is to enrich the community rather than eviscerate it.

I believe the impact of *Spectrum/Association of Adventist Forums* during its first two decades has overwhelmingly been toward building up community rather than tearing it down. But I want to suggest some ways in which we might be more explicit and energetic in expressing loyalty (each of which would be an expansion of past and current endeavors).

First, *Spectrum/Association of Adventist Forums* needs to encourage progressive Adventists more forthrightly to stake their claim on the Adventist heritage and offer visions of hope for its future. We need to challenge the notion that those who selectively absolutize aspects of the past can rightfully claim to be the exclusive preservers of the Adventist tradition, while so-called liberals erode it. We need to show that it is by building on what is best in Adventism and applying it to the present age that the movement goes forward and fulfills its mission. The volumes of *The Festival of the Sabbath* and *Pilgrimage of Hope* are marvelous examples of what could be done on a larger scale to articulate the truths of Adventism in a way that addresses the world in which we now live.

Second, we need to continue to pursue creative ways of witness and service. One of those ways could be making *Spectrum* the pioneering voice of a more thoroughgoing Adventist cultural engagement. If Adventism is worthwhile, it must have something to say to the larger culture—its public

issues, arts, and learning. Such engagement would both enable Adventists to bear a more effective witness and be a source of spiritual invigoration of our own community. *Spectrum* could include review and commentary on significant non-Adventist books, plays, and films as a means of exploring what Adventism has to offer (as well as learn from) contemporary culture.

The German scholar Ernst Troeltsch, writing around the turn of the century, cited Zinzendorf in suggesting daring and loyalty as necessary for defining the essence of Christianity in an era of intellectual upheaval. While few Adventists (or others for that matter) would today find all of Troeltsch's conclusions tenable, his way of charting the process that keeps faith vital remains useful. An adaptation summarizes what we who are connected with *Spectrum/Association of Adventist Forums* need as we approach the turn of another century: Much loyalty in meditation on and devotion to the Adventist heritage and above all to Jesus, but also the daring to bring a living idea forward out of the past for the present time, with the courage of conscience grounded in God, to set it within the intellectual world of the present.<sup>1</sup>

## Notes

1. Ernst Troeltsch, *Writings on Theology and Religion*, translated and edited by Robert Morgan and Michael Pye (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1977), p. 176.

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Doug Morgan is a Ph.D. candidate in the history of Christianity at the University of Chicago, and an assistant professor of history at Southern College of Seventh-day Adventists. After receiving his M.A. in religion from the University of Chicago, he became editorial director of *Collegiate Publications*, which published the *Collegiate Quarterly* and *College People*.

# The Music of Maturity

by Beverly Wesner-Hoehn

As a musician I have spent many years examining the lives and performing the music of great and not-so-great composers. If one were to choose any major composer such as Beethoven, Stravinsky, Debussy, Schönberg, Brahms, Schubert, or J. S. Bach, and examine his compositional techniques, one would see an obvious growth in maturity. Each person passes from simple structures of music created at the beginning of his career to masterful and intricate design at the middle and most successful part of his career, climaxing in compositions filled with contrapuntal technique or intentionally arranged chaos by the culmination of his life. As their music matures, some composers' lives are divided into as few as three periods for the sake of classification of their different styles of music; some have as many as ten major stylistic divisions. A few finished their most mature stage only to pass on to fragile deaths and musical obscurity.

The form of communication found in *Spectrum* has participated in a maturation process as well. I remember attending Adventist Forum meetings while a student at Pacific Union College, but as to reading *Spectrum*? I must confess that I did not read anything then that wasn't assigned by my major professors. It wasn't until after I left the haven of Adventism, and found myself deeply submerged in graduate school, that I sought to keep in touch with the temperature of the Adventist religion. I felt that, as a performing-arts major in a secular university, I would have to make a concerted effort to hear the issues being discussed by my church. I did so by reading *Spectrum*. What a blessing! I found articles to digest, to discuss, to encourage, and

to enlighten. Since 1978, I have been reading *Spectrum* as a part of my "homework," mental rejuvenation, and recreation. I have watched it grow and mature, and pass through stages similar, I think, to those a musical composer or performer does.

A budding musician is so enthusiastic and responsive to suggestions; but so often lacking in the technical support or ability to accomplish the task. It's always more practice, or more writing. *Spectrum* began with a very dedicated group of writers, eager to present what they believed and knew to be true. At first their audience was small, the funds difficult to find. But their dedication and commitment was indomitable, so they succeeded in publishing a journal. As public interest grew, so did *Spectrum's* staff, budget, and quality of articles.

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*In an age when many young adults are finding the religion of their parents to be irrelevant, Spectrum could present a composition of beauty and inspiration. . . . I have a strong desire to discuss it with friends who don't care.*

At Indiana University it was intriguing to see how well-attended the professional doctoral recitals were. Music of the highest caliber and form was consistently presented—in stark contrast to the struggling sophomore soprano who had to pay to get even Mom and Dad to attend. Oh, the value of experience! The years of practice and maturation do change the final product. As it has aged, *Spectrum* has also become seasoned: an expanding source of information and a maturing source of knowledge.

Is it approaching the culmination of its life? Has *Spectrum* evolved into the final, well-polished, or even chaotic extreme of maturity? I hope I see the finest years still yet to come. In an age where many young adults are finding the religion of their parents to be irrelevant, *Spectrum* could present a composition of beauty and inspiration. I frequently find myself in a discussion with my husband over where the latest issue of *Spectrum* is; or whose turn it is to read it while tending the baby in the nursery during church. (If the latest issue has just recently arrived, that discussion turns into a hot debate!) We've also found that in some places it is a great way to discourage being asked by the nominating committee to serve in a church office—we just carry it under our arm with our Bible and *Collegiate Quarterly*, and they don't bother asking!

Seriously, though, I have found so much to inspire and debate in its pages. I have a strong desire to discuss it with friends—friends who see the church as irrelevant; friends who don't know about *Spectrum* at all; friends who don't care. I was surprised to learn that its circulation is at 5,500. I had presumed that such a well-seasoned art form would be enjoying the success of a well-attended recital. My desire is to see its audience expand and adopt its ideals.

Unfortunately, the future of a musician is only ensured to the extent that the audience supports the con-

cert. The future of any form of communication is valuable only if people will use it in day-to-day communication. I perceive the dilemma for the future of *Spectrum* to be how to reach out and touch more lives. I consider it very useful and important to my daily life; but I know I am almost alone among my friends in this sentiment.

As *Spectrum* begins its age of culmination, it can be more effective than ever through a massive, well-planned circulation campaign. It must create the need to be in our homes to ensure its future. The *raison d'être* must be to seek and present a wide diversity of

ideas and options for the rational, truth-searching Christian. Whether through simple tunes, masterful and intricate forms, or some intentionally planned chaos, the usefulness of *Spectrum* has not died and passed into obscurity. Through experience and age it has created the need to exist in my life, to communicate on a deeper level, thus ensuring its future as a sounding board for Christian ideas.

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Beverly Wesner-Hoehn is a concert harpist who has recorded music with members of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Los Angeles Phil-

harmonic. A graduate of Pacific Union College, she earned a Master of Music degree from the University of Southern California and her Doctor of Music from Indiana University, where she also was an instructor for three years. She has studied and performed internationally, including one year of study at the Conservatoire Royale de la Musique in Brussels and the premier performance of a composition by a Chinese composer at the the World Harp Congress (WHC) in Israel. Wesner-Hoehn is the treasurer and a member of the board of directors of the WHC.

# Adventist Women Adopt Common Action Plan

*The recent Women's Summit reveals a new, refreshing boldness and confidence*

by Iris Yob



*Iris M. Yob holds a doctorate in the philosophy of education from Harvard University. She is currently an associate professor of education, State University of New York (SUNY) at Geneseo, and the president of the Adventist Women's Institute.*

On the weekend of September 21-23, three dozen women from the United States and abroad met for a Women's Summit in Pennsylvania. They came as representatives of the various Adventist women's organizations—the Association of Adventist Women, the Adventist Women's Institute, and TEAM (Time for Equality in Adventist Ministry). Some came simply as interested individuals. They were responding to decisions made recently by the General Conference in session, and were determined to renew their church with a vision of inclusiveness.

Women spoke more explicitly than ever of their radicalized conviction that the Christian message gave them the grounds for their equal acceptance and place in the family of God. They laid personal claim to a biblically-based prerogative to full participation in the role and function of the church.

The women also spoke with a new boldness. They were not viewing themselves as occasional recipients of favors begged from powerful church leaders but as privileged associates in the work of God. Empowered by a sense of self-worth through the grace of God, they were not about to formulate requests and recommendations. They were instead ready to pronounce their expectations and forthrightly declare their purposes and intentions.

This change is significant for the future of the church.

This summit brought together for the first time a coalition of women and women's groups, representing different publics and different agendas. The coalition formed a steering committee to look into the setting up of a women's caucus with a specific focus on affirmative action in the church. Members of the steering committee have begun laying plans and working on strategies.

Another accomplishment of the summit was the writing and signing of a declaration—a statement of what must be in place by the next General Conference session in 1995 if the church of the 21st century is to have true gender equality. The declaration, included below, is an articulation of the next steps to be taken toward the day when women will serve in all capacities of the church at all levels, as God gives them the gifts and the opportunity to do so.

## TOWARD 2000

### A Declaration

By International Adventist Women in a Joint Meeting of Representatives from Major Women's Organizations and Individuals

Addison, Pennsylvania  
September 21-23, 1990



Whereas the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists has adopted a plan known as Global Mission, and

Whereas the North American Division has voted to accept that plan and implement its objectives throughout the division, and

Whereas that plan states:

" . . . Based on our understanding that every believer is commissioned to minister in his or her spiritual gifts, we therefore call for every church member to participate creatively in a global strategy to take the everlasting gospel to every people group and each individual on planet earth. . . ." and Whereas the North American Division strategy calls for ". . . Creating vital and dynamic worship, fellowship, . . . in Bible-based, Christ-centered congregations . . ." and ". . . RECLAIMING inactive and former church members . . ." and

Whereas action 323-89N, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR SERVICE, was voted at the 1989 NAD year-end meeting and has been adopted as policy D 75, which reads:

"The official position of the Seventh-day Adventist Church is that all members in good and regular standing shall be given full and equal opportunity within the Church to develop the knowledge and skills needed in the building up of the church. This position and its resultant course of action requires that all services and all levels of Church activity be opened to all members on the basis of their qualifications. The North American Division will seek applications from qualified women, minorities, and the handicapped, and will afford all individuals equal opportunity in employment, appointment, promotion, salary, and other organizational benefits without consideration for race, color, gender, national origin, ancestry, physical handicap, age, height, weight, marital status or prior military service."

And Whereas among the statements of Fundamental Beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists, statement thirteen says:

" . . . In Christ we are a new creation; distinctions of race, culture, learning, and nationality, and differences between high and low, rich and poor, male and female, must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with Him and with one another; we are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation. . . ." this assembly of international Adventist women calls for the following actions to be accomplished throughout the world church between now and 1995 so that women may be full participants in Global Mission and in the governance of the church at all levels.

1. To more closely reflect the 2:1 church membership ratio of women to men, elect or appoint at least 30 percent female representation to all levels of decision-making bodies, including administration, boards, committees, and delegates to Annual Council, year-end meetings, and constituency sessions. This calls for a change in the present methods of formulating these groups so that they will more accurately represent church constituencies with reference to women and minorities.

2. Implement NAD policy D 75 throughout the North American Division; adopt the same policy in the General Conference and each world division; and develop a monitoring or auditing instrument to measure the progress of implementing this policy worldwide.

3. Appoint a full-time Director of Women's Ministries at all levels, including local conferences. Her duties will include identifying, assessing, and developing strategies to meet women's needs; generating and disseminating

accurate information concerning the role of women in the church; sponsoring retreats for the purpose of spiritual nourishment; and educating women regarding church governance and policies. At the General Conference, the director should be a General Field Secretary. At all levels, this position should be fully funded with an appropriate budget to cover travel, the cost of research, publications, translations, materials, and meetings.

4. Encourage and recognize the formation of a women's caucus. This would include at least annual international meetings and more frequent meetings at the division and union levels.

5. Prepare and/or promote and distribute worldwide, publications on women's issues in key languages.

6. Educate ministers and church leaders through a series of seminars and articles in official church publications (e.g. *Ministry*) regarding the true nature of the inclusiveness of the Gospel.

7. Develop and implement a standard of equity that governs and implements church policy making. Among other things, this calls for an auditing, too, for worldwide use that will indicate how conferences, unions, or divisions are meeting the objective of equal pay for equal work.

8. Recognize and ordain women in the role of deacon and elder at the local church level, with the goal of at least one woman elder in each church.

9. At the General Conference level, by 1995,

a. elect at least one woman vice-president;

b. establish an Office of Human Relations; and

c. permit divisions, where culturally acceptable, to authorize ordination of qualified women and confer on those women all rights and responsibilities pertaining to ministry.

## SDA Women Threaten Tithing Practice

by Michael Hirsley

Unlike many American religions that trace their histories to other parts of the globe, Seventh-day Adventism is a worldwide religious movement of more than 6 million members whose roots are in America.

They are humble roots. The first words of the movement are attributed to Biblical scholar William Miller, who died in 1849. And the church grew from a dubious non-event on Oct. 22, 1844, which became known to Miller's followers as "the great disappointment."

Citing scriptural prophecy, Miller had predicted the world would end on that day.

Having survived, indeed thrived since the great disappointment, Seventh-day Adventists have now bumped into a modern-day disappointment.

A group of Adventist women in America, angry and frustrated at leadership votes this year to maintain the church's policy against ordaining women as pastors, have called for an economic boycott of sorts.

They want members who agree that non-ordination constitutes discrimination against women to stop tithing to the church until the policy is changed.

The Adventist Women's Institute, after agreeing in principal at a recent board meeting, intends to create a special escrow fund next month as an alternative coffer for tithing, which is specifically called for in the denomination.

This is a sort of quiet, deliberative protest," said Fay Blix, attorney and treasurer of the escrow fund. "But there is a lot of anger among a lot of us.

"We know many members feel tithing is their duty as Seventh-day Adventists, but also don't feel right to give to a church that discriminates

against women," said Blix. She had been a lifelong Seventh-day Adventist, and a member on the executive committee of the Southeastern California Conference, but quit the church this year over the ordination issue.

Reactions in the denomination's hierarchy to the Women's Institute action have been mixed

"They constitute a small group, and they ignore the fact that women are not left out of responsible leadership positions" said Shirley Burton, director of communications for the worldwide church.

Philip Robertson, treasurer of the Southeastern California Conference, whose 50,000 members constitute the church's largest American district, said he could understand the "significant level of frustration" that prompted the group's action.

"When members feel a need to act in such a manner, it seems to call on each of us as leaders to re-evaluate the sensitivity with which we earn the confidence of our members," he said.

After the worldwide convention of delegates from 184 nations voted last July not to ordain women, and before the Women's Institute enacted its tithing boycott, a California district conference wavered on the issue.

In a straw vote, members favored ordaining women, but in a formal vote, they said they could not stand against the church's position.

"I suppose the people at the Adventist Women's Institute meeting felt, 'If Southeastern California wouldn't do it, who will?'" said Roy Branson, editor of *Spectrum*, an Adventist journal.

A sixth generation Adventist whose grandfather was president of the worldwide church, Branson said:

"I see this as an act of desperation on the part of individuals who are very dedicated to Adventism, but very

dedicated to equality, and feel there is no movement on that question.

"It could be quite an important move, depending on how many people follow."

Blix said some donations have already been received, from women and men, earmarked for the fund that she hopes to have officially in place by Dec. 1.

Robertson said any impact from a significant withholding of tithes "will probably be felt most keenly by local churches and conferences," which might have to reduce personnel and programs.

Iris Yob, president of the Adventist Women's Institute, said the escrow account "will be advertised, but we don't intend this as a threat or a bribe."

She said conditions for releasing the fund to the church would be its ordaining a woman. In the meantime, interest from the account "will be used in harmony with the principle of tithing, for ministry to women."

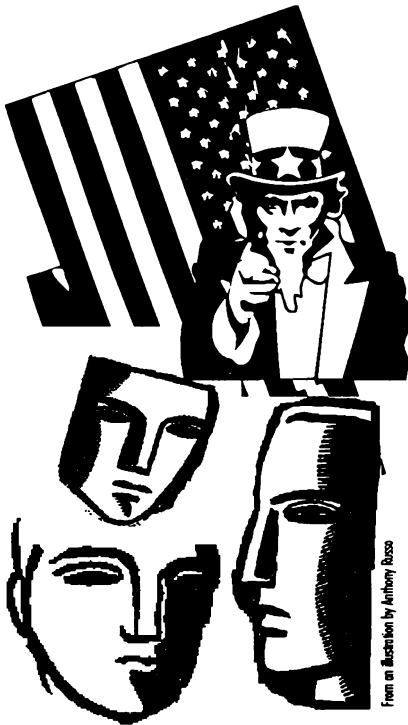
Burton said that women can hold licensed minister positions, but cannot be ordained as "elders," a position that enables them to pastor anywhere in the world. With a U.S. membership of 700,000, most of the 6.2 million Seventh-day Adventists live in other parts of the world.

Two main arguments are made against ordination of women, Burton said: "There is no biblical support for ordaining women, and most parts of the world are not ready for women ministers."

Proponents of women's ordination argue that discriminating against women conforms neither to Scripture nor to justice. "As the church has failed to grow with the times, younger members are becoming less and less vested," Blix said.

While the effect of the tithing action remains to be seen, she said, "This happens to be one of the vehicles that the church listens to. It involves money and image."

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## Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism as a Feature Film Classic

Reviewed by Jonathan Butler

*Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream.* Malcom Bull and Keith Lockhart. Harper & Row, San Francisco. 1990.

If the writing of Adventist history were compared to film making, Arthur L. White's six-volume biography of Ellen G. White might be likened to home movies that splice together numerous scenes from the prophet's life without an interpretive framework. Historians like Richard Schwarz (*John Harvey Kellogg, M.D.*; and *Light Bearers to the Remnant*), Gary Land (*Adventism in America*), or Ron Graybill (*E. G. White and Church Race Relations*) have produced documentary films, so to speak, that organize themselves into insightful narratives.

In Adventist historiography, however, we have seen little of what could be termed the feature film. That is, the expensive, imaginative history, the big book which, like the big film, views the Adventist past through the eye of a single and powerfully integrating thesis. As book-length studies of Adventism, *Prophetess of Health* by Ronald Numbers, and *Seeking a Sanctuary* by Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart, are perhaps the only examples of the feature film.

As "filmmakers," Bull and Lockhart have codirected less the epic spectacle than the intimate, personal movie; less Cecil B. DeMille's "Ten Command-

ments" than Woody Allen's "Crimes and Misdemeanors." As writers they prefer refined and nimble conversation to grandiloquent oratory. But this is not to say that their book lacks size or gravity. Quite the contrary. In alternating between Adventism's past and its present as both historians and sociologists of religion, they have combined an astonishing command of their resources with a penetrating, interpretive vision.

Their book is not a creation out of nothing. In fact, it is fitting to note here that two decades of *Spectrum* appear to have provided for the authors an invaluable window into Adventism. But in the inventive use they make of this new scholarship, along with an abundance of other materials, the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Undoubtedly, critics will poke a few holes in their whole. Their range as authors is, after all, both a strength and a weakness. In order to create this panorama, they cannot possibly handle each scene with the rigor and precision of the narrower specialist. But make no mistake about it. For both its breadth and depth, this is the best study of Seventh-day Adventism that has ever been written.

Essential to its success is the fact that it balances, on the one hand, an exhaustive understanding of the internal subworld of Adventism with, on the other hand, an astute sense of Adventism's place in the larger world.

*Jonathan Butler is the author of Softly and Tenderly Jesus Is Calling: American Revival Preaching on Heaven and Hell, 1870-1920, forward by Jerald C. Brauer (New York: Carlson Publishing, 1990). He has also coedited (with Ronald Numbers) The Disappointed: Millerism and Millenarianism in the Nineteenth Century (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Receiving his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, Butler has taught at two Adventist colleges.*

For Bull and Lockhart examine the Adventist experience as it relates to the American nation. Though one of America's few indigenous religious movements, Adventists set about to create a sanctuary from America. As a result, they established one of the more "successful of all alternatives to the American way of life" (p. ix).

In Part 1 of the book, then, the authors chronicle the development of Adventist theology, but not as insular, doctrinal history. Rather, they trace the ideological boundaries between Adventism and the world. They find that the basic difference between the movement and the mainstream is Adventism's rejection of American society as the means of universal redemption. As a remnant of American society and values, Adventism usurped the role of savior from the nation. In its Saturday Sabbath (a holy day so near and yet so far from America's Sunday Sabbath), Adventism formed its own version of American civil religion.

Part 2 of the study, which focuses on Adventism and American society, suggests that in both its ideas and its institutions the church has "recreated America within America" (p. 171) while at the same time keeping its distance from the nation. "Adventists do not so much participate as imitate," the authors write. "They have not

been incorporated into American society; they function as a separate organism within the larger body" (p. 167). As an example, Adventist missionary expansion corresponds to American influence in the world, or Adventist self-control in regard to sex is an idiosyncratic expression of America's belief in "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In Part 3, the authors turn from Adventism as a group to the subgroups within Adventism (women, blacks, ministers, doctors, educators, self-supporting Adventists) in order not only to document the remarkable diversity within the church but also to further elaborate on the symbiotic relationship between Adventism and American society. Here they reflect on the irony of a church of "feminine" values and a woman prophet with, nevertheless, a patriarchal structure. Or ministers who base their authority on distinctive Adventist theology, while the doctors appeal to secular science. Or parochial education which, designed to insulate Adventists from the world, instead narrows the gap between the church and society.

With their book, Bull and Lockhart, who describe themselves as a non-Adventist and an Adventist, should improve the public understanding of a quiet and misunderstood American minority, as well as enhance the group's own self-understanding. Adventists have been perceived by the public as apocalyptic fanatics at the lowest, entry level of the movement, or philanthropic physicians at the highest, and often exit level of the church—either as William Miller or as John Harvey Kellogg. Hidden from the public view is the internal experience of Adventism personified by Ellen White, about whom the authors write as insightful revisionists. Their metaphor of Adventism as a "revolving door" (Chapter 20), occupied by aspirers, sustainers, and transformers (with little contact between these groups), should stimulate many a Sabbath discussion.

Indeed, for many years to come, even the more disputable aspects of this provocative book would set the agenda for discussion on the nature of Adventism, both inside and outside the church. Without question, LeRoy Froom and F. D. Nichol have been displaced. Building on the generation of Adventist scholarship since them, *Seeking a Sanctuary* probes Adventism in profoundly new and important ways.

The book is wrong, I think, in casting Adventism as a hierarchy over against American democracy; Adventism democratizes its own—spiritually, intellectually, economically, and socially. While the book is obviously right about the slighting of visual arts in Adventism, I think its explanation for this approaches the fanciful. In general, I feel less certain than Bull and Lockhart that Adventism is an alternative to the American way of life, in those instances where it seems so fully a part of it as to be an intensification of Americanism. But I also wonder to what degree they (and others of us) have distorted the story, and will one day be discarded, because of an American rather than a more global perspective.

But no matter how often I disagree with them, I always take them seriously. To what extent, however, will Adventists in general read and reflect on this book? Until now, the church has not flocked to a book as "feature film." With more than 5 million members, world Seventh-day Adventism is approaching the size of Los Angeles and Chicago combined. But I imagine the number of Adventists who will read Bull and Lockhart could fit comfortably in an early service at the Sligo church (while Adventists who watch TV's "Roseanne" could populate, say, Lincoln, Nebraska). I hope I am wrong about this, because this book, for both its substance and its artful and engaging style, deserves not just critical but popular acclaim. I give it two thumbs up.

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*Make no mistake about it. For both its breadth and depth, this is the best study of Seventh-day Adventism that has ever been written.*

## Seeking a Sanctuary: The Insiders' Insights for the Outsiders' Interest

Reviewed by R. Laurence Moore

**S**ee*king a Sanctuary*, Malcolm Bull's and Keith Lockhart's ingenious and valuable look at the Seventh-day Adventist community over the full term of its existence, begins with a puzzle. Most Americans know next to nothing about Adventists, often confusing them with Jehovah's Witnesses. However, scanty and erroneous information does not keep them from holding a negative image of Adventism relative to other Christian groups. Adventists rank a shade below Mormons. Now this is odd. Adventists have a sufficiently long history to make detached judgments possible. At no time in their past have they engaged in socially disruptive behavior, at least not since Millerism's Great Disappointment, which contemporary Americans in most cases have never heard of. Adventists have never sought a plurality of spouses, have not engaged in war-

fare with their neighbors, have not kidnapped or brainwashed anyone, and have not sacrificed animals in devil worship. They practice their Sabbath on Saturday, but so have some Baptists and all Jews. Their most distinctive contributions to American culture could not be construed as anything but "mainstream"—breakfast cereal, a stringently pure diet, an abundance of sensible medical care, and a back-to-basics school system.

In truth, Bull and Lockhart sometimes seem puzzled themselves about just what issue has lost the popularity contest for Adventists. They don't locate the reason in theology. Even when the theology of Adventists was most peculiar relative to older Christian groups, during the 19th century, "its obsession with eschatology, its doubts about the Trinity, its emphasis on human perfectibility" were scarcely unusual. What finally mattered, according to Bull and Lockhart, was not doctrine but a "unique and isolated history" that Adventists choose to pursue, first in Battle Creek and then at other geographically specific centers around the nation. In view of the geographic concentrations of Adventists, it is somewhat surprising that Bull and Lockhart distinguish Adventism by its time orientation rather than by space orientation, which they claim is characteristic of Mormonism. But in either case, according to Bull and Lockhart, it is not the mere content of space and time conceptions (the doctrine) that has mattered, but the way in which Adventists have used the ordinary cultural material of America to create a society within a society. Adventist so-

ciety is "alternative" not because the values it pursues are "un-American" but because it uses these values to damn the nation in advertising its version of eschatology.

One implication of Bull's and Lockhart's analysis is that American Adventists are immune from the patriotic jingoism of American politicians, a fact that may be borne out by close inspection but that has not been particularly obvious in the era of the Cold War. Ellen White, it has seemed to me, would have been perfectly at home with Ronald Reagan so long as they restricted their conversation to Armageddon and the American values of hard work and perseverance. However, Bull and Lockhart are surely right in saying that Adventists have not sought redemption through American politics. Moreover, Adventists have designed an inward-looking set of institutions that can carry believers from the cradle to the grave with surprisingly little reliance on help from the non-Adventist world. These alternative institutions have, in fact, created points of stress between Adventists and other Americans when, for example, Adventists have wanted to control their own schools and hospitals without state certification and when they have wished to apply their own standards about what constitutes a fair wage for men and women. Even so, the negative ranking of Adventism may stem less from the assertiveness of their separatist imperative than from the inability to hold firm on these matters. Americans seem to admire the more stubborn Amish because of their successful tenacity in drawing boundaries against the world.

**A**s it happens, American Adventists have not maintained a firmly closed door either in their theology or in their social posture. Bull and Lockhart, in their skillful chapter on the "revolving door" features of Adventist membership, demonstrate that Adventist

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exclusivism leads too quickly, not to conflict with the larger American society, but with Adventism's own institutions and cultural creations. Converts to the Adventist Church tend to come from unprivileged social backgrounds. The strict morality of the church and the opportunities offered by the church bureaucracy propel them socially upward and endow them with business and managerial skills. Their children, even those educated totally in Adventist schools, can follow a well-marked path into the professional role of doctor, dentist, or educator. Yet in seeking to excel in these roles, Adventist professionals are necessarily exposed to standards of excellence that are not generated primarily within the Adventist community. Bull and Lockhart describe the conflicts between Adventist clergy and Adventist doctors very effectively. The outcome of conflict is not necessarily expulsion or apostasy. However, the career path of John Harvey Kellogg, who pursued roles valued by Adventists, remains a possibility that causes more problems for Adventists than, say, for the equally successful and equally sectarian Mormons. In devising means to make

Adventists distinctive, the church constructed a revolving door that tried to permit believers to move from inside to outside and back to inside. Unfortunately, it allowed them to make a calamitous pause in what often seemed the fresh air of "outside."

The model, offered by Bull and Lockhart, suggesting the inevitability of lost membership, is a long way from proved. The "revolving door" thesis is argued more as a matter of inference from questionable survey material than as a matter of solid evidence.

What most strikes this neutral observer of the Adventist Church is its enormous success. The church doesn't hold on to all its converts or all those who are born into it. No church ever did. But Seventh-day Adventism has from the beginning found formulas of success that have given it the energy to retain and expand its core group. In fact, what is most sorely missed in the Bull and Lockhart book is an adequate account of the growth of the church abroad. That was not their purpose, but a full understanding of the dynamics of Adventism, especially in the contemporary world that occupies probably more than half of Bull's and

Lockhart's attention, must push beyond its American roots.

I would venture two other criticisms. Readers of *Seeking a Sanctuary* must bring a considerable amount of information to the text. Bull and Lockhart move swiftly into their analyses, and they expect readers to know, for example, what happened at Glacier View. The other criticism is that for all its encyclopedic coverage and sociological perspective, the book conveys no portrait of average Adventist believers. It is based primarily on printed works by the leading figures in the Adventist Church. Even Part 3 of the book, which deals with Adventist subgroups, readers are provided with little information that they can, with statistical confidence, call "typical." I am not inclined to blame Bull and Lockhart for this failing. Religious communities provide notoriously poor information about themselves. Adventists in this respect are not different. Bull and Lockhart have worked in terrain that is not friendly to scholars, and they have accomplished something that I admire very much.



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*Authors, topics, book reviews, film reviews,  
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compiled by Harvey Brenneise and Christopher Cassano

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Addicted to the Church? How to Cope

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Volume 20, Number 3

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Women: Ordination No, Marrying Yes  
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