

FLOYD GREENLEAF



A Land of Hope



THE GROWTH OF THE SEVENTH-DAY
ADVENTIST CHURCH IN SOUTH AMERICA



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A Land of Hope is the most comprehensive and authoritative history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the territory of the South American Division. With a strong emphasis on elements of comparison and contrast, the work has an unmatched amount of information about places, people, and institutions that marked the Adventist expansion in this part of the world. No doubt, this book will continue for many years as the main source for the historiography of the Adventism in South America.

*Alberto R. Timm, rector of the Latin American
Adventist Theological Seminary*



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AN EXPLANATION ABOUT ABBREVIATIONS AND ENDNOTES

ANN Adventist News Network

AR *Adventist Review*

AW *Adventist World*

EM *En Marcha*, the official publication of the Austral Union appearing as an insert in *Revista Adventista*.

GCA General Conference Archives. File categories are:

IL Incoming Letters

OL Outgoing Letters

GF General Files

AM General Conference Association Minutes

RFMB Records of the Foreign Mission Board

Example: GCA/21, IL/1909

GCA/Record Group number, File category (IL, OL, etc.)/date

RA *Revista Adventista*

The (A) which follows designates the Spanish language edition, and the (B) designates the Portuguese language edition.

RDS Records of the United States Department of State

RH *Review and Herald*

This form applies to all variations in the name of the *Review* before it changed to the *Adventist Review*.

RM *Revista Mensal*, forerunner of *Revista Adventista* in Brazil

RT *Revista Trimensal*, forerunner of *Revista Adventista* in Brazil

SAD South American Division

Readers will see that endnotes sometimes may list many different sources that document one or more paragraphs within which a direct quote may also appear. Such passages in the text represent a digest or a summary of information in which the individual facts are combined from many sources.

FOREWORD

AS FAR AS the airline was concerned, our flight from Santiago, Chile, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, on May 30, 1977, was uneventful. But for my wife and me the jump over the Andes provided the most spectacular view we had yet seen of this mountain chain. We were well into a month-long tour of South America. Already we had visited Lima, Peru, and spent a day on the campus of Inca Union College, its name at that time. We had walked the streets of Cuzco, tramped around Machu Picchu, visited La Paz, Bolivia, and spent a long weekend in Santiago with a side trip to Valparaíso.

On May 30 we began a leg of the trip that would take us to the heart of the region where formal Adventism began on this exotic continent. After a few days in Buenos Aires, our itinerary called for a weekend at Colegio Adventista del Plata as it was then known, and we hoped to see some of the places that Frank Westphal had immortalized in his memoir, *Pioneering in the Neglected Continent*. From there it would be on to Iguazú and Brazil.

We did not know who would meet us at the airport in Buenos Aires, but we saw a smiling man holding a paper with our name on it. He introduced himself as Hector Peverini. We had never met, but his name was not new to me. I had read many of his articles in the *Review*. His news stories had taught me much about the South American Division. I also knew he was literally a part of the heritage of South American Adventism. While driving to the hotel, he promised to be our guide for the next day. He took us to Belgrano Clinic, the Austral Union office building, and then with demonstrable pride, to Casa Editora, a new facility that had just arisen on the ashes of its predecessor, which had burned three years earlier. In the lobby we gazed at a huge mural that linked the development of Christian faith to printed materials. Jesus Himself stood at the forefront of the painting and an open book proclaimed “Cristo viene.” The impact was forceful. No visitor could misunderstand the mission of this publishing house.

Before our tour ended that day our guide told us he was retired and that he had a new title, “historian of the division,” he said. He chuckled about his new task. He seemed to like it. We chatted a bit, and finally, at one of our stops while standing by his tiny, economy-sized car, I asked him what the theme of his book would be.



Immediately he turned, tilted his head to one side, lifted his right arm up, and with a smile that nearly split his face in half, he swung his clenched fist down, slapping an uplifted leg. “The providence of God,” he said.

I was also interested in the history of Seventh-day Adventists, not just in South America, but in all of Latin America, and had begun to collect information with the hope of writing at least a brief account of how the church had fared in that part of the world. One of the reasons for our trip was to experience the ambience of South America—to breathe its air, eat its food, and experience its sights, sounds, and beauty, which, I believed, would help if and when I eventually began writing. Hector Peverini and I shared a few thoughts, and he promised to give me a copy of the first pages of his manuscript. The next day he handed me a sheaf of typewritten material.

A few years later I set out on my writing venture that produced the two-volume *History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, published by Andrews University Press in 1992. It turned out to be a much longer and more penetrating story than I anticipated. Hector Peverini’s gift to me was a treasure on which I relied, and his obvious conviction and enthusiasm were part of the inspiration that kept me going to complete my task.

In August 2007, thirty years after our visit to Buenos Aires, Alberto Timm, rector of the Latin-American Adventist Theological Seminary and an avid researcher, called me one evening to broach the idea of updating and revising those portions of my books that pertained to South America for a volume limited to the South American Division. Not until I began to work on this new project did I discover that those pages that the retired Hector Peverini had given me in Buenos Aires had actually blossomed into a book. Somewhere in the materials that Dr. Timm sent me I saw a reference to *En las huellas de la Providencia* written by none other than our guide during our first day in Argentina in 1977. The title brought back memories of that moment when he unequivocally announced to me his belief that the providence of God had played a part in the development of the South American Division. The title of his book said it all. After reading *En las huellas de la Providencia*, I could vouch that Hector Peverini had kept his word. Page after page left no doubt that his theme was God’s providential leading.

The purpose of my book is not to *prove* divine intervention in specific incidents but to review the story of Adventism in South America in light of biblical instruction to take the gospel to the world. But after studying the story of the South American Division again, I may safely conclude that, while acknowledging the difficulty in

proving divine intervention by the standard tools of the historian's profession, it is very difficult, if even possible, to describe Adventism in South America as a product of natural causes alone.

One does not have to argue this point with South Americans. They not only believe it, they express their conviction freely, even to the public. Such a belief lends a sense of destiny and gives purpose and energy to those who lead the South American Division. When participating in the ceremony to lay the cornerstone of the new office building for the Central Brazil Union in the municipality of Artur Nogueira in 1987, Division President João Wolff recounted the advancement of Adventism throughout the continent, concluding that "We have to agree that something beyond human strength is working in our land."¹ Standing on the platform with Wolff was Cláudio Menezes, prefect of Artur Nogueira, who immediately followed Wolff to the microphone and helped to put the cornerstone in place.

There are many reasons for this book. Probably the first that comes to mind is the simple reality that we forget our past very quickly. A reminder of this common human weakness came to me emphatically when the name of Leo Halliwell came up in a conversation with a friend while I was working on this book. My friend had never heard of Halliwell. As a young person I had read Leo Halliwell's books about the river launch ministry in Brazil, and years later when preparing the two-volume history, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, I read his books again and added Olga Streithorst's *Leo Halliwell na Amazônia* to my repertoire. I was stunned to think that someone had not simply forgotten but had never even known about a person who was an icon of Adventist mission work.

Probably I should not have been so surprised. The golden age of Seventh-day Adventist missions has long since passed and mission stories are no longer a major genre on the Adventist reading list. But there are exceptions, such as *Desafio nas águas*, a well written inspirational book by Ana Paula Ramos who reminds Adventists that once upon a time the Seventh-day Adventist church conducted a river launch ministry, which was one of its most inspiring missionary activities in one of the most exotic regions of the world. Yet she recalled that when she was invited by a group of university students to participate in Project Lancha Luzeiro 2000, a replicated version of a voyage by one of those old boats, she had to admit that she had never heard of the river launch ministry.²

The urgency and the momentum of today often encourage us to neglect the meaning of what happened yesterday. In our post-modern era the prevailing



intellectual mood places an overwhelming emphasis on what is personal and present. Some regard the past with a kind of disdain. It is easier than we think to overlook how we have arrived at our juncture in history. But we cannot blame our forgetfulness and our neglect of the past on a post-modern generation that does not care. It is my conviction that the present generation really does care. Ana Paula Ramos demonstrates that fact. She did something about her lack of information and discovered new commitment to the mission of the church, leaving a book that imparts inspiration to a new generation by reminding readers about the integrity of the past. Her example tells all of us that it rests with those who know the past and the values it brings to the present to communicate more effectively with those who will continue long after we have gone.

In the Foreword to *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, I penned that my two volumes formed only a framework on which much more investigation and writing should hang. “If prospective authors will derive from these two volumes an inspiration to pursue additional study,” I said, “I will have achieved at least one of my objectives.” At that time I had no inkling that I would have the opportunity to pursue additional study and rewrite what I had published. One of the most gratifying results of this revision has been to discover that many South Americans have felt the burden to understand the experience of Adventism in their corner of the earth better and have written with insight and perspective for the benefit of another generation of Adventists.

The majority of this book is the chapters of my original study pertaining to South America. Most of the chapters have retained their original titles or something close to them, but each has undergone change, both editorially and substantively, some chapters much more than others. I have added several new chapters to describe events and trends during the years since 1980, which was the approximate cutoff date for the earlier two-volume set. This revised work depends far more on South American sources than did my first books, not only because South Americans have written much more about themselves but because I have had better access to those materials. In this revision they figure more prominently than in the original study, which represents one of the major distinctions between this book and my previous ones.

We cannot overlook the dominant North American presence in the South American Division during its origins and developmental years. No clear date marks the break between the time when the South American church was more or less a

“foreign mission field” and when it became a partner in the global organization of Adventism. This change becomes quite visible during the 1940s when South American names begin to appear more prominently in church records. The weight of North America remains after 1940, but South American influence progressively assumes more importance and becomes the prevailing story in the later chapters. From my study I conclude that by 1980 the transition was complete.

With that change the notion of a “foreign mission field” as opposed to the “homeland” also fell into disuse. The idea of a world church became the norm, although the realities of mission service continued, but in a somewhat modified form. Parenthetically, we might add that these alterations in thought and terminology applied to the entire world church, not just South America. However significant this change may be, the most important single theme in the book is the manner in which South America represents how Seventh-day Adventists are fulfilling the biblical injunction known as the gospel commission.

This book is the result of the efforts of many people, some of whom helped quietly and anonymously. First is Alberto Timm who planted the idea. He remained my contact person and the one to whom I directed questions. Besides sending e-mails and making phone calls to monitor my progress, he sent me numerous packages of research materials. His secretary, Cristina Morán, arranged a steady supply of additional information for me and communicated suggestions to me. I received packets from Casa Publicadora, Casa Editora, the Ellen White research centers in both Brazil and Argentina, and from other sources, all of which I found indispensable. I do not know the names of the persons who responded to his requests, but without their contributions this book would have suffered.

Those who read all or portions of the manuscript and offered suggestions were Fernando Canale, Aecio Cairus, Rubens Lessa, Raúl Quiroga, Daniel Oscar Plenc, Mario Riveros, Susana Schulz, Renato Stencel, and Alberto Timm. Others who provided additional information were Merling Alomía, Wilson Borba, Jolivê Chaves, Edison Choque, Daniel Heinz, Guenji Imayuki, Cristina Morán, Roberto Pereyra, Magdiel Pérez Schulz, Ubirajara Prestes, Jobson Dornelles Santos, Renato Stencel, Antonio Tiszavari, and Angela Brown. Andrews University Press permitted us to use the original two books as the basis of this new edition. The South American Division, led by its president, Erton Köhler, financed the project. To anyone whom I may have overlooked in the complicated events connected with this book, I offer my apologies as well as my thanks.



My wife, Betty, substantially reduced my work by scanning the specified chapters from the original study and doing preliminary editing to furnish me a working copy to begin my work. I was able to conduct much of my search through pertinent denominational sources online because of the abundance of materials the General Conference Office of Archives and Statistics has made available. I also frequented the archives of the General Conference Communication Department.

Readers of this book will sense that its purpose is more than just to encourage them to appreciate the past. Underlying every chapter is the hope that from the events of this narrative all may draw understanding, inspiration, and a strengthening of faith. From the beginning of its presence in South America, Adventism has claimed millions of followers. Their confidence in the anticipated Second Advent brought them a new vision for their future, and their lives took on new meaning because they found assurance in the gospel of redemption. They have discovered for themselves the intimacy of the “blessed hope,” a phrase that pioneer Adventists often employed to describe the experience that faith and belief in divine inspiration brought to them. South America, once a land the world regarded as neglected and hostile to change, has truly become a *Land of Hope*.

Floyd Greenleaf

¹ “UCB Lança Pedra Fundamental de Sua Nova Sede,” RA (B), July, 1987.

² Ana Paula Ramos, *Desafio nas águas* (Tatuí, SP, 2009), 7.



THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

IT WAS DURING the 1890s that Seventh-day Adventists entered South America in earnest. In many ways this final decade of the nineteenth century was a watershed. Stirred with social and economic uncertainties, many South American countries stood trembling on the threshold of the twentieth century, their political structures shaken and their futures unclear.¹

On the eve of the decade Brazilians, bent on change, stripped Dom Pedro II of his imperial crown and exiled him to France. The date was November 1889. For more than eighty years the Portuguese House of Braganza had ruled Brazil; Pedro's departure was the beginning of a new era as much as it was the end of an old one. Those who forced the white-haired monarch from his palace did so bloodlessly, but they were not as lucky with their experiments in republican government.

In spite of a new national motto proclaiming "Order and Progress," the last decade of the nineteenth century was a tumultuous time for the fledgling republican government. It survived frequent threats by the military, put down a revolt in the Bahia uplands after rebels repeatedly embarrassed the army in several



encounters, and squandered much energy debating the nature and function of political authority. By the turn of the century three Brazilian presidents had already spent themselves trying to make the new government run.

Prospects were not bright as the fourth chief executive took over. While generous profits from rubber and coffee encouraged industrialization, the country suffered acutely from wild speculation. Attempts to replace gold reserves with government bonds and bank notes played havoc with inflation. Political changes were more successful, but not dramatically so. In keeping with the expulsion of the royal family, the republicans abolished titles of nobility and further experimented with liberalism by separating church and state and secularizing cemeteries and marriages.

These mixed conditions did not discourage a heavy flow of immigrants. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Brazil welcomed hundreds of thousands to its shores. Italians, Portuguese, and Spaniards formed the three largest groups, but a sizable number of Germans and Russians also came. From the mid-1880s to the outbreak of World War I the stream of newcomers continued voluminously, resulting in large settlements of Germans in southern Brazil.

In earlier times the slave traders had also contributed to the cosmopolitan quality of Brazilian society by importing thousands of Africans to work the *fazendas*, those vast ranches that landowners carved out of a seemingly endless horizon. Long before 1888, when the slaves finally acquired their freedom, they had exerted a vital social and racial influence. After their emancipation, their future also became a central political question used by the republicans to topple Dom Pedro's imperial government the next year.

During the 1890s Argentina, South America's second largest country, also found itself tormented by upheaval. For this republic, independence in 1816 had brought neither peace nor true nationhood. Until 1862 Argentineans were united on paper only. Their struggle for national consciousness pitted Buenos Aires against the rest of the provinces, a rivalry stemming from the top-heavy effect the port had on Argentine demography. Tyranny often overrode ideals of liberty and individual freedom as the unitarians in Buenos Aires and the provincial federalists fought each other to a standoff.

With the nation nearly split, the unitarians finally became masters and Argentina settled down in 1862 to a sequence of five presidents with six-year terms. Only the last one did not complete his time in office. These twenty-eight years saw Argentina subdue the provincial chieftains, dispossess the southern Indians, devise

a promising educational system, and vie with the United States as a major food supplier for the world.

But all was not well. Juárez Celman's administration that began in 1886 was honeycombed with corruption and threatened by inflation. When the newly formed Civic Union Party pressured him, he abandoned his office to the vice president. He was the first Argentine chief executive to suffer such humiliation since the nation had genuinely united in 1862. Beginning with the change that Celman's abrupt departure precipitated in 1890, called the *Noventa*, through several decades, Argentina experienced an oligarchical government representing middle-class aims. Immigrants and their Argentine-born first generation children produced much of the spirit of this movement. Most numerous among these were Italians, Spaniards, French, English, Germans, and Swiss.

The major accomplishment of the Civic Union was to modernize politics, something that became possible only after national leadership stabilized. The new party barely hung on to its power while a quick succession of presidents committed suicide, resigned, or completed the unexpired terms of their vacating predecessors. Untempered by this chaos, the military remained aloof while civilians dedicated themselves to economic betterment, increasing their wheat production to develop a money crop. By the turn of the century conditions settled enough to allow the government to get on with reform.

In 1891 Chile passed through a crisis that left its president, José Manuel Balmaceda, dead by suicide and the government reorganized into a parliamentary republic. Extended political debates about national evolution had occurred since Chile gained independence in 1818. One of the principal issues was presidential authority. After a stormy beginning that lasted about a dozen years, the country achieved political equilibrium in 1831, but by the 1860s the liberalizing movement had clipped the wings of presidential power. Change was brewing.

A new constitution in 1871 recognized secular marriage, abolished church courts, and declared freedom of worship. Presidents, accustomed to two, five-year terms before leaving their office, were limited to a single stint. An assortment of other changes made the Chilean system a near-model of nineteenth century liberalism, but the promoters of change were not satisfied. For that matter, neither were the conservatives.

Balmaceda's presidential term, which began in 1886, followed on the heels of two military conflicts. First, the War of the Pacific expanded Chile's northern frontier



at the expense of Peru and Bolivia; secondly, the country came to terms with the Indians in the south. Conservatives opportunistically eyed the nitrate mines in the newly won territory in the north, hoping for a free hand to exploit them.

When Balmaceda, speaking for the liberals, proposed additional reforms, some of them economic, the conservative congress blocked him, intending to purge the economy of presidential interference. The upshot was the president's suicide and the organization of a parliamentary republic. Conservatives had defeated their opponents, but they virtually paralyzed executive authority to gain their edge.

The new state of affairs beginning in 1891 fostered urbanization and the formation of a definable working class. Immigrants and foreign investors, no strangers to Chile, found the new climate even more congenial. Among them were Germans who had swarmed into southern farmlands and many Englishmen whose investment capital was already a commonplace in the Chilean economy.

Chile's economy and national sense of well-being received a shot of adrenalin from the victory in the War of the Pacific, 1879-1883, but the conflict was a disaster for both Peru and Bolivia. Already enduring decades of civil disorder and economic mismanagement, Peru not only lost land to its southern neighbor but saw its economy degenerate into a more wretched condition which left it virtually at the mercy of its creditors. Virtually unaffected by the liberal alterations in its South American neighbors, Peru was supremely concerned in 1890 in how to reconstruct itself.

After losing its seacoast to Chile as a booty of the War of the Pacific, the seriously damaged Bolivia turned inward to capitalize on its rich silver deposits as a means to recover. The war appeared to purge Bolivia somewhat, whose political activities became more orderly, although marked by brisk debate between conservative and liberal elements. Although far from a declared democracy in 1890, Bolivia was beginning to open its doors to positive change.

Uruguay, a small republic created in 1828 as a buffer between Brazil and Argentina, experienced a tumultuous political history during most of the nineteenth century. Its immigration policies allowed tens of thousands of European settlers to locate on its productive lands, but by 1890 the country had still not found internal peace. Paraguay, a landlocked country that also separated Argentina from Brazil, found small advantage in its independence which it declared in 1811. A succession of dictators governed the country in the nineteenth century, one of whom led it into a hopeless war against the combined strength of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. When the conflict ended in 1870, Paraguay found itself prostrate with its strength

depleted and a population reduced by half. Too weakened to plan effectively for its own welfare, the country became a prey for more autocratic government, but by 1890 Paraguayans were at least at peace, though it was more a rest from fatigue than of positive change.

Ecuador was also touched by liberal change. In 1885 after years of what historians have called "theocratic rule," Eloy Alfaro took his turn as president, discarding legal protection for the state church and liberalizing the political system.

Of all countries in South America, Peru probably most resembled its colonial past. Lima had been the original seat of power from which Spain exercised an overpowering influence on the vice-royalty that included large portions of western South America. Culturally, Peru remained more conservative and resistant to change than its neighbors.

Even the unobservant spectator of world events could see that across South America change was in the air. Into the tapestry of change were woven several strands: liberalism, anti-clericalism, nationalism, commercialism, and industrialism. The ensuing pattern was not a carbon copy of foreign models, but both European and American ideals were unmistakably present. Particularly influential was France. Latin Americans in general, not just South Americans, often pointed with pride to their intellectual and spiritual connections with this European country where liberalism and anti-clericalism were the stuff from which the contemporary Third French Republic was made. It would take many more years for South Americans to reach a similar achievement, but by 1890 much of the territory once known as the old Spanish vice royalties and the home of the Portuguese House of Braganza were on the path to that end.

Nationalism thrived among South Americans, but their impoverished economies could not generate sufficient capital for a flourishing commercial and industrial establishment, hence the need for alien investors. Not all immigrants were economically motivated, but many formed entrepreneurial enclaves in their host countries.

Never subtle, North American interest in its southern neighbors intensified as the end of the nineteenth century neared. Although military interventions by the United States occurred in northern Latin America and the Caribbean, South American countries were largely spared from these humiliations. Nevertheless, the powerful influence emanating from the "colossus" to the north was always a factor in political life.

Much more might be said, but briefly, this was the South America that Seventh-day Adventists discovered in the 1890s. Official change may have been the order



of the day, but practically speaking, some portions of the continent were scarcely moved socially, politically, or economically from the spot where independence had found them decades before.

Sprinkled about were pockets of racially differing peoples. The original Indian population was relegated to the periphery; in some places this meant the jungle, in others the highlands. The early European settlers had generally appropriated the best lands and economic opportunities for themselves and in many instances brought Africans to work while they managed.

After independence, this situation changed in most cases. European immigrants concentrated in more moderate climates, expecting either to do the work themselves or to hire cheap labor. Many immigrants gravitated to the cities. Extending northward from the Brazilian coast into the Caribbean, the population included hundreds of thousands of former slaves.

Geographically, South America was a land whose identifying marks were a superlative vastness and beauty with legendary contrasts between mountains and plains, jungles and deserts, tropical rivers and subarctic glaciers. In a generation or two after the millions who emigrated from the Old World to this new and challenging place, a new strain in the hemispheric personality evolved. By the 1890s these people were beginning to stir. Epoch-making events were in the offing.

Change was not unique to South America. The United States, home of most Adventist missionaries, was also undergoing alteration. Just a scant generation before they entered South America, the country nearly destroyed itself in a hard-fought civil war, 1861-1865. After the smoke cleared, the nation set about, somewhat awkwardly, to heal itself. By 1890 its economic establishment was burgeoning at an incredible rate while its political system gestured supportively from the sidelines. It was a relationship that had emerged from the northern victory in the Civil War. Many were satisfied with this show of economic strength, but unhappiness was spreading, especially among the agricultural and urban working classes, both convinced that they deserved more of the new wealth than they were getting.

All of this only compounded the social wounds left festering from the war. Old hatreds were as bitter as ever. When the last decade of the nineteenth century arrived, the hopes of a large population of former slaves, once brightened by the prospects of freedom, had been dashed on the rocks of segregation. Some southern leaders, still nursing their wartime wounds, believed they had won what they wanted after all—local control of their own people. For their

part, northerners congratulated themselves for freeing the slaves and saving the country from splitting, but otherwise they seemed to care little about the social implications left in the war's aftermath.

The Seventh-day Adventist church, born in the United States during an era of reform and economic growth before the Civil War, reflected in 1890 the torture which the country had endured. From its beginnings in the Northeast, it had spread to the Midwest and on to the Pacific coast, but it continued to be a church dominated by northern ideas and people. The Civil War had divided some denominations into northern and southern factions, but Adventists had avoided a schism because they had no southern membership. During the quarter century after the war, they entered the South, but in 1890 members in only small numbers were scattered about the former southern confederacy. Denominational headquarters and major institutions as well as principal congregations were all outside the traditional South.

During the near half century of their existence, Adventists had also been fighting some battles of their own. As a rule they were not wealthy, but they were frugal, hardworking, and very determined. Besides praying and studying their way to a basic body of doctrines, they had overcome their earlier aversion to formal church organization and formed a denomination with amazing proclivity to create even more organizational structures. They also had pinched and squeezed their pennies to establish a growing chain of diversified institutions, and with some trepidation, begun a foreign mission program. In 1888 they came face to face with a crisis striking the heart of their message, the reality of the teaching of righteousness by faith.

This was the church that turned its eyes toward South America as the century neared its end. Adventists had learned to balance their compelling sense of mission with disciplined administrative techniques. The mix was not flawless, sometimes even clumsy, but it worked. Eventually in South America they organized themselves into the South American Division, including all of the continent except those countries along the upper shore that faced north: the three Guianas, as they were known at the time, and Colombia and Venezuela.

Not long after their arrival in South America, Adventists discovered the enormous effect the character of the land and the people would have on their work. These newcomers were not immigrants as ordinarily defined, or activists, or materialists. Yet they planned to stay, to make themselves heard, and to put the resources they found to good use. From Quito and Belém to Tierra del Fuego we now recall them, for this is where they went, thinly at first. To mark their way they left churches,

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schools, hospitals, food factories, printing establishments, and medical launches. By 2008, more than a century and a decade after their small beginning, their spiritual progeny numbered more than 2,600,000.²

Theirs is an intriguing story.

¹ For the general survey of South American history in this chapter, I have relied on general histories of the region.

² *146th Annual Statistical Report—2008*. This is the official statistical report which the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists publishes annually. Since its nineteenth century beginning, it has appeared under various titles. In this book it will be cited as Statistical Report followed by the year.



THE CUTTING EDGE OF ADVENTISM

“WE LANDED AT the city of La Plata,” F. H. Westphal wrote, “on a dreary day, after a month of continuous travel. The clouds hung heavy and low, and the wind drove the drizzling rain to and fro. Brother R. B. Craig . . . a colporteur who had come the year before helped us to get our baggage through the customs and then accompanied us on the train to Buenos Aires, where we were warmly welcomed to his home.”¹

For the 36-year-old Westphal, the voyage to South America had begun on July 18, 1894, when he and his wife, Mary, and their two children sailed on the *Paris* from New York to England before transferring to another steamer bound for Argentina.² Westphal was not the first Seventh-day Adventist to go to the continent of South America, but his name stands out because he was the first ordained minister to take up permanent assignment in the territory which would later become the South American Division of the General Conference.³

The starting point for Seventh-day Adventists in South America is not easy to find. Much depends on how the existence of Adventism is defined. Book salesmen preceded ordained ministers, but even



before these colporteurs arrived, Adventism filtered into a few homes. Some believers also found their way from Europe to South America. The first known Adventists in Chile, Claude Dessignet and his wife, Antoinette, arrived in 1885 from France where they had joined the church through the preaching of Daniel T. Bourdeau, a French-speaking North American who was serving in Europe. Little is known about the Dessignet couple.⁴

Among the better known cases is the story of Julio Dupertuis and his wife, Ida Arn, a French-speaking Swiss couple, who began probing Scripture for answers about which day of the week was the biblical Sabbath. The story of a Seventh-day Adventist baptism in Neuchatel, Switzerland, sparked their curiosity, and as devout members of a Baptist congregation in Felicia, Santa Fe Province, they pressed their pastor to find out more about this event. Most likely against his better judgment he helped them acquire copies of the Adventist *Les Signes des Temps* from Basel, Switzerland. Examination of this literature and further study led Julio and Ida to adopt Adventism and separate from their Baptist congregation in 1885. The Dupertuises became the nucleus of a group of French-speaking Sabbath-keepers in their community.

News of the Neuchatel baptism made its rounds in Argentina. Also in 1885, but perhaps later than the Dupertuises, Pedro and Cecilia Peverini read the story in a Waldensian paper that their friends, the Daniel Rostán family, had given them. The writer ridiculed the event, but that did not discourage Pedro, an Italian Catholic, and Cecilia, a Bible-reading Waldensian, from wanting more information. Like Julio Dupertuis and his wife, Pedro and Cecilia noticed that the paper, which originated in Torre Pellice, Italy, a Waldensian stronghold, mentioned the name of the Adventist French paper, *Les Signes des Temps* and its Swiss-based publisher in Basel. Contacts with Basel by the Rostán family resulted in literature sent to the Peverinis who studied the contents of the papers and began to observe the seventh-day Sabbath. After the arrival of credentialed Adventist workers, Pedro and Cecilia Peverini were baptized as Seventh-day Adventists. Their conversion began a long line of Adventist stalwarts in Latin American Adventism.

Perhaps the most celebrated case is the pocket of Adventism that developed among German colonists in Entre Rios Province, Argentina. Godofredo Block, one of their first-generation descendants, recalls that many Russian-German settlers immigrated to Argentina from the Volga region of the Crimea in the 1870s where they had well organized churches. For them religion was a serious matter, and for that reason they had gone to South America. Among them were Jorge Riffel and his

wife, María, who were ever searching for a suitable place to reestablish themselves. First, the Riffels moved from the Black Sea region to Brazil, and then to Entre Rios. Still not satisfied, they moved again to the state of Kansas in the United States, where they were baptized as Seventh-day Adventists in 1888 after attending an evangelistic series led by L. R. Conradi.

Convinced that they should share their new faith with friends in Argentina, the Riffels convinced three other German families to move with them to Entre Rios in 1890, thus becoming the first known baptized members in that country. Riffel, whom Argentine researcher Daniel Plenc calls the “first self-supporting missionary,” immediately met Reinhardt and María Hetze who had learned about Adventism while still in Russia but had not adopted the new faith. But by now Reinhardt and María were questioning the validity of Sunday observance, and they welcomed the Riffels and the other newcomers who studied with them. Together, the five families became a new center of Adventism in Argentina. Block remembers that these new believers worshiped with stereotypical German vigor and fervor. When they sang their hymns, he says, they nearly raised the roof off their houses. The Riffel and Hetze families continued as pillars among Argentine Adventists with many descendants becoming workers in other parts of South America, the Inter-American Division, and the United States.⁵

Research regarding Brazil indicates that Adventists also migrated from lower Russia to Rio dos Cedros, Santa Catarina, in the 1880s. Immigrants also arrived from Germany. Among them was the Friedrich Wilhelm Kämpel family who came as Adventists in 1892 and established themselves in a community later known as Boa Vista do Guilherme. One of the immigrants, a Helena Kämpel, had been baptized as a Sabbatarian in Germany in 1866, and later became a Seventh-day Adventist. It is likely that her baptism as a seventh-day Sabbath-keeper occurred earlier than any of the Adventist immigrants to Brazil or perhaps all of South America.

It is generally accepted that Adventism in Brazil began when Carlos Dreefke, a German settler in Brusque, Santa Catarina, unexpectedly received ten copies of *Stimme der Wahrheit* (Voice of Truth), a periodical published by Louis Conradi in Battle Creek, Michigan. Prodded on by Davi Hort, the owner of the local store and tavern where the mail carriers delivered their mail for the community, Dreefke accepted this unsolicited gift, but only reluctantly. The papers kept coming, and fearful of being asked to pay for them, Dreefke passed the responsibility of receiving them to a fellow townsman who soon lost interest. Eventually a village drunk agreed to take the papers so he could sell them to pay for his alcohol. In the meantime, Hort

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also used some of the papers to wrap merchandise. In one way or another, often more by accident than design, *Stimme der Wahrheit* made its way into the homes of the German colonists in Brusque and nearby Gaspar Alto.

How Dreefke's name appeared on the mailing list remains somewhat of a mystery. The story has it that his stepson, a young man by the name of Borchard, ran afoul of the law in Brusque and fled back to Europe as a stowaway. Somewhere in that journey the story says he gave Dreefke's name to Adventist missionaries who distributed literature. Unfortunately for the record, no one has conclusively documented this part of the story, and through the years its frequent repetition has given rise to many unlikely embellishments, among them the supposition that Adventist missionaries were on board the ship that took Borchard from Brazil across the Atlantic. The date that researchers believe the first packet of *Stimme der Wahrheit* arrived has varied from 1879 to 1884, but the best evidence supports the conclusion that Dreefke received the papers no later than 1880.

However blurred the facts may be, it is true that some who read Dreefke's papers took them seriously. One such reader was Guilherme Belz, a German immigrant who discovered that his brother owned *Gedanken über das Buch Daniel*, a German translation of Uriah Smith's book, *Thoughts on Daniel*, which presumably had arrived in Brazil as part of the literature shipments to the drunkard. Belz was drawn to the chapter about the seventh-day Sabbath. Recognizing the similarity between the book and what he had read in *Stimme der Wahrheit*, he took the book home and studied even more diligently. Shortly he and his wife, Johanna, accepted Seventh-day Adventist teachings. Adventists regard them as the first converts to Sabbath-keeping in Brazil.⁶

News about German believers in both Argentina and Brazil reached denominational leaders before official church workers went to South America. Adventists in Germany were also aware of what was happening in Brazil. Several of the early workers who later labored among the colonists in southern Brazil and went to South America as part of the Adventist missionary movement were from Germany.⁷ When Frank Westphal arrived in 1895, followed soon after by other representatives of the church, they found several nuclei of Adventists made up of families, some of whom may have been baptized, others who were Sabbath-keepers. It was the beginning of the pioneering phase of the Adventist movement in South America.

Seventh-day Adventists were not the first in Latin America to proclaim the second coming of Christ or to observe the Saturday Sabbath. Raymond F. Cottrell has shown that the first Sabbath-keepers in the New World were a colony of Crypto-Jews who

fled Portugal in 1502 after facing the Inquisition. Through the seventeenth century other Jewish immigrants settled in Mexico, Argentina, and the Caribbean.

Driven by theological curiosity, students of Scripture in Chile, Argentina, and Mexico reached conclusions about prophetic interpretations that were remarkably similar to the teachings of William Miller, the primary spokesman of the Second Advent in the United States. Manuel Lacunza, José María Gutiérrez de Rozas, Francisco Ramos Mexía, and Manuel Belgrano are four examples.⁸

Of the four, Lacunza is the most well-known. His experience antedates the Adventist penetration of South America by about a century. Writing under the pseudonym Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra, this Chilean-born Jesuit prepared a wide-ranging study of prophecies in Daniel and Revelation entitled *La venida del mesías en gloria y magestad*, predicting a pre-millennial return of Christ to earth. Although the manuscript assumed anonymity, the identity of the author was no secret.

With all Jesuit clergy, Lacunza was exiled from Spain's colonies in 1767. In Italy he spent his remaining years studying and writing. In 1801 he died at age seventy, not having allowed his treatise to be printed, but copies and translations soon began to appear on both sides of the Atlantic. Within three decades after his death, printed editions in Spanish, Italian, French, and English were arousing extensive interest in Europe as well as several countries in the Americas.

Among Lacunza's readers was José María Gutiérrez de Rozas, 1769-1848, a distinguished Mexican lawyer and a magistrate in Mexico City. From Toluca in 1835 he published *Consulta a los sabios sobre la aproximación de la segunda venida de nuestro Señor Jesucristo*. Like Lacunza, he veiled his identity by crediting the 235-page book to a "Mexican Magistrate," but the foreword revealed his name.

De Rozas focused much attention on prophecies in Daniel 8 and 9, asserting that the 2,300-day passage in Daniel 8:14 would be fulfilled sometime between 1843 and 1849. One of the thrilling events of his life occurred on November 13, 1833, when he witnessed the star showers which he understood to be a sign of Christ's coming. In the year of his death, 1848, he linked his sympathies with Lacunza by publishing a defense of his spiritual forebear, *Disertaciones crítico-teológicas sobre las doctrinas de Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra*.

Another of Lacunza's followers was Manuel Belgrano, an Argentine lawyer educated in Spain, whose career was interrupted by the wars for independence. At 44 years of age in 1814, he openly declared his interest in Lacunza's teachings. Two differing translations of *La venida* raised questions about their accuracy, leading him



eventually to London where he paid for a new printing to distribute in Argentina. Belgrano died in 1820. He wrote no theological work, but added impetus to the spreading belief in Christ's advent.

Francisco Ramos Mexía, 1773-1825, a contemporary of Belgrano, also promoted the doctrine of the Second Advent. Ramos Mexía was a member of the Argentine generation that wrested power from Spain. He sat in the Buenos Aires local government of 1810 and later in the Provisional Assembly. A copy of Lacunza's *La venida* fell into his hands, which he copied and then studied, jotting notes in the margins. Historian Juan Carlos Piora calls Ramos Mexía "an unorthodox Argentinean," and he argues that while he accepted the Second Advent, it was more the result of personal study than an adoption of Lacunza's belief.

According to Piora, Ramos Mexía was a maverick ranch owner and an avid student of Scripture who rejected the belief in purgatory and the sacrament of the Eucharist with its corollary teaching of transubstantiation, and he believed in conditional immortality and the intercessory ministry of Jesus. He spelled out some of his beliefs in a short work, *Evangelio de que responde ante la nación el ciudadano Francisco Ramos Mexía*, in which he declared that Saturday rather than Sunday was the true Sabbath. On his several estates he fostered the observance of the Saturday Sabbath and instituted a program of social reform for aborigines. Piora states that he observed the Saturday Sabbath before 1821, and "therefore, without any doubt, was the first Seventh-day Adventist of modern times."

The doctrine of the advent as known in the Latin American world also contributed to a corresponding movement in the Anglo community. English editions of Lacunza's book had an obvious influence on preachers of the advent when they discussed their beliefs at the Albury Conferences in Britain, 1826-30. By the time Seventh-day Adventist colporteurs and ministers began penetrating South America, belief in Christ's coming and the seventh-day Sabbath had long preceded them. Whatever their origins and however few and scattered these early believers and their sympathizers were, they attracted the attention of Seventh-day Adventist leaders. To expedite church work outside the United States, the General Conference on November 3 and 6, 1889, formed a new body, the Foreign Mission Board. On January 3, 1890, this group discussed South America for the first time, recommending that self-supporting workers with a trade or profession should emigrate to that continent and furnish information to the General Conference about the best methods of establishing Adventist work.⁹

Later in the same year W. C. White, secretary of foreign missions at the church headquarters in Battle Creek, Michigan, told Adventists that the needs of South America had been presented to the last General Conference session. Financial help was also on the way to carry the Adventist message to that part of the world. The Sabbath School Association offered to donate its collections during the last half of 1890 to start the project, and the Central European Missionary Committee agreed to send Albert Vuilleumier, an ordained Adventist minister from Switzerland, to the immigrant French, German, and Italian communities in Argentina. White noted that some men were already studying Spanish in anticipation of service in Latin America.¹⁰

With an awareness that South America offered unique challenges, Percy T. Magan, a member of the Foreign Mission Board, counseled Adventists who went to South America to work in three basic languages, French, Spanish, and German, because these nationalities “form the great part of the white population.” Probably by oversight he failed to mention Italian and Portuguese, but advised that “we must commence with those whose manners, customs and habits are most nearly akin to our own, and then by degrees as the providence of God shall open, work our way to those who are separated from us by all their habits and customs of life, to say nothing of their languages and forms of government.”¹¹

In 1891 L. C. Chadwick, a relatively new Adventist who was also recently ordained to the ministry, began a tour of the Caribbean islands, Central America, and Mexico, before proceeding to South America and on to Adventist missions in Europe and Africa.¹² As a representative of the General Conference and the Foreign Mission Board, he was on a fact-finding tour to investigate prospective missions rather than on an evangelistic tour.

The effect of Chadwick’s journey is difficult to measure. It was clearly the most significant gesture the General Conference had yet made toward Latin America. In Spanish-speaking regions next to the United States, he was quick to make reconnaissance excursions, but his fervor appears to have waned as the distance from North America increased. In Central America he advised no new work in Spanish territory, while in South America he completely ignored the West Coast. The Mission Board had even singled out Chile as a place he should *not* visit.¹³

One explanation for this advice may be that with no Spanish literature, church leaders were unready for large-scale work in Spanish countries. At the time of Chadwick’s trip, only two ordained ministers were serving south of the United States, both of them in English-speaking locations. The Mission Board members were not



snubbing Spanish lands. Considering their slim resources, they simply realized that Adventist workers would more advantageously enter English-speaking communities closer to the United States.

Whatever Chadwick's authority was, his role was primarily advisory. It appears that he had not traveled far before developing ideas of his own about the best procedures for Adventists entering new lands. While passing through Jamaica, he concluded that medical work was the preferred method to reach the masses.¹⁴ Whatever his personal opinion may have been before he began his itinerary, the Foreign Mission Board commissioned him to inspect all phases of Adventist work and establish the literature distribution program.¹⁵

COLPORTEURING IN SOUTH AMERICA

Colporteurism was the obvious way Adventists could follow P.T. Magan's counsel to work first among immigrant colonies. In languages other than English, Adventists in the United States published relatively little, but with large English-speaking groups in South America, venturesome book salesmen decided to try these enclaves as markets for Adventist literature. Colporteurs were unordained and non-salaried, which meant they survived on the profits from their sales.

Long after ordained ministers entered South America, colporteurs continued to ply their trade with an eye turned toward "virgin territory." Colporteurs did not become wealthy, but from all appearances, they did not, for the most part, complain about poverty, nor did they grumble about overwork. Their most significant sacrifices were separation from their families for extended periods and having to rough it in strange and sometimes difficult situations.

Several factors affected the colporteurs' work in South America. Patterns of transportation, communication, and immigration followed the geographical configuration of the continent and tended to isolate the eastern part from the western. A snow-capped *cordillera* made direct east-west travel from coast to coast all but impossible except for mountain passes here and there through which travelers crossed on muleback. They had few choices by sea. They could sail up and down the coasts or cross from east to west by sailing around the southern tip.

Colonization also affected canvassers. Only sparse non-Spanish communities existed in the Andean republics. Relatively large concentrations of German and English colonists lived in Chile, but compared with those in the eastern parts of the continent even these western immigrants were few. Because they had no Spanish

or Portuguese literature, colporteurs searched out other immigrant colonies first. Almost instantaneously they realized that their language deficiency was a handicap of continental dimensions.

The first attempt to establish a literature distribution program in South America occurred when a team of colporteurs landed in Montevideo, Uruguay, on December 10, 1891. The three men, E. W. Snyder, C. A. Nowlen, and A. B. Stauffer, hurriedly assessed the odds against them. Food prices were high and only authorized dealers handled books. Besides, English-speaking residents were scarce, only about four hundred, according to Snyder. On the positive side the trio noted that costs of transportation and postage were low. A German community offered sales possibilities, but cheap travel and low postal fees were of little value if only authorized persons could sell books. Stauffer was the only one of the three who spoke German, although Snyder knew a smattering of words. All three were at a total loss in Spanish.

Across the Rio Plata were about 5,000 English inhabitants of Buenos Aires, Argentina, besides more in the provinces with thousands of other immigrants, including Germans. After huddling over this information, the three decided to cross the river.¹⁶

The bookmen's quick departure from Uruguay reflected their unpreparedness, which was not all their fault. The Mission Board first intended to send two teams, each consisting of four to six colporteurs. One group would go to Brazil, the other to Argentina. After casting about for two months, the board could find only three men with satisfactory records who were willing to go. Further search was fruitless, so the mission leaders conveniently concluded that three experienced men could "test" the work better than a larger number, anyway, and sent the men on their way.

Uruguay was a dubious beginning point for them, but the choice had not been theirs. The Mission Board picked Montevideo, not knowing the proportion of English-speaking persons in any large city in South America. Probably realizing their lack of information, the board discreetly voted to allow Snyder, the group leader, to decide the procedure for the others.¹⁷ Soon after arriving in Argentina, the colporteur team broke up. Stauffer headed north for the German settlements, leaving Nowlen and Snyder in Buenos Aires. Later Nowlen also moved, first to the Falkland Islands and then to Chile.¹⁸

Their leading problem was a lack of Spanish literature, a problem that church leaders were addressing. Nearly two years after the colporteur team arrived, R. B. Craig, under appointment to South America to head the literature sales work, excused his delayed departure from the United States by saying that the Spanish edition of



Patriarchs and Prophets was slow in the making.¹⁹ Once he had arrived in Argentina, he conducted a two-week workshop for four colporteurs, presenting biblical topics as well as sessions dealing with the book that the prospective salesmen intended to market. Despite this preparation, Craig predicted that until Spanish literature became available Adventists would have problems reaching the public.²⁰

By late 1894 Craig could report that his men were selling *Patriarchs and Prophets* in Spanish. It was available also in German, but answering the language question did not mean the book was a panacea. A gold dollar exchanged for four in paper, raising the price of the volume to nine or eighteen dollars, depending on the binding. Craig complained that Argentine workers, many earning only two or three dollars a day, found the price out of reach.²¹

Craig was not alone in his pessimism. Snyder, probably for the benefit of Adventists who wanted to emigrate from the United States to Argentina as self-supporting missionaries, warned of deplorable economic conditions that began with inflation and a financial boom in the 1880s, succeeded by an economic crash in 1890. Book sales were poor, especially among the workers who congregated in the cities. Snyder was not trying to discourage Adventists from coming to Argentina, but he wished to be realistic about their opportunities for a livelihood. He was quick to point out that spiritual needs were great.²²

If Snyder sounded a bit gloomy, it was for good reason. His faith had been sorely tried. Earlier in 1893 he and other canvassers experienced a lull in their work when the Spanish edition of *Patriarchs and Prophets* failed to arrive as soon as they anticipated. Trying to be resourceful, Snyder boarded the Brazilian ship, *Jupiter*, with three cases of English books, hoping to find two months' work in Rio de Janeiro. He was not aware that many of the passengers were disguised revolutionaries. Once out to sea and surrounded by the safety that distance offered them, they hijacked the *Jupiter* and sailed it into Rio Grande do Sul, the first sizeable Brazilian port north of the Uruguayan border. Here, nearly 1,600 kilometers short of the ship's destination, they planned to launch an attack. The attempt failed and after nearly two weeks Snyder proceeded on to Rio de Janeiro.

This fracas cost Snyder all of his books and much futile effort trying to recover them. For once he gave in to his emotions and vented his anger in the columns of the *Review and Herald*. Vowing to return to Argentina as soon as the Spanish *Patriarchs and Prophets* was available, he said that "Brother Nowlin" could go to the Falkland Islands "to dispose of the balance of our English stock."²³

More than by the sale of literature, these colporteurs measured part of their success in converts. In Argentina a 21-year-old immigrant whom Hector Peverini calls an “educated Englishman” was practically waiting in the wings for religious literature. After his purchase of *The Great Controversy* from Snyder, he studied further and very soon accepted Adventism. Almost immediately he joined the colporteurs. By July 1892 he began working among the French-speaking communities in Argentina, using an English prospectus which he explained in Spanish before pulling out a copy of the book in French. Later he teamed up with Snyder and Stauffer to reach the English, German, and French colonies in Uruguay. Another early convert was John McCarthy who was a director of a sailors’ home in Buenos Aires.²⁴

Stauffer’s experiences were less dramatic than Snyder’s but no less effective. From Argentina he had moved to Uruguay, and by 1893 he worked northward to the German settlements in southern Brazil, which established him as the first Adventist worker to set foot in that country.²⁵ For the second quarter of 1894, he reported ninety-one deliveries amounting to \$298.42 before expenses of \$58.51, a margin that compared favorably with that of colporteurs in the United States.²⁶

In Brazil Albert Bachmeyer, a young German sailor who was already a committed Christian, converted to Adventism following his meeting with Snyder in Rio de Janeiro. With no delay the new convert began to sell literature himself. By 1894 he was working among the German colonists in both the states of São Paulo and Santa Catarina. It was he who discovered Sabbath-keeping families in Brusque and Gaspar Alto that would later form the first nucleus of Adventism in Brazil. The next year two German immigrants, Albert and J. Frederick Berger, brothers who had migrated first from their homeland to the United States and then to Brazil, began work among the German colonies. Especially the work of J. Frederick, says Peverini, “led many souls to Christ.”²⁷

With only a casual recognition of the revolutionary times, Stauffer unburdened his more important concerns for Brazil. Uppermost in his view were the needs for Portuguese literature and German-speaking workers, including a minister.²⁸ Whether he knew it or not, plans were already on hand to give Brazil more official church attention. When Frank and Mary Westphal left New York for Argentina in July 1894, Mary’s brother and his wife, the W. H. Thurstons, accompanied them for the purpose of beginning literature sales in Rio de Janeiro.

This development was only a partial fulfillment of Stauffer’s requests, for Thurston was an unordained self-supporting worker. He later told a General Conference

session that church leaders first urged him to go to Brazil but withdrew their support at the last moment, advising him to remain in the United States. If he chose to go anyway, he would be on his own. The best he could wring from them was a promise that if his missionary venture succeeded the church would be willing to take it over. By this time he and his wife already had their bags packed and were not to be stopped. In the end, the General Conference paid their fares, and after a few months, they even voted to grant them missionary credentials, but at the moment of departure they were without official support.

If Stauffer and his companions assessed Montevideo as inhospitable when they arrived in South America, the Thurstons, by comparison, should have regarded Rio as impossible. Their arrival in Rio was not only discouraging; it was a challenge to their survival. Standing alone on the wharf with no place to go and no acquaintance on whom to depend, the Thurstons watched the Westphals, who had sailed with them as far as Rio, pull away for Argentina.²⁹

Stauffer and Thurston shared most of the book work in Brazil, although Craig was in charge of literature distribution in South America.³⁰ From Rio, Thurston penetrated the interior and farther to the south while Stauffer canvassed among non-Portuguese European colonies, selling some English books as well as German titles that had been printed in Germany.³¹

Other literature salesmen also appeared in South America. F. W. Bishop and T. H. Davis journeyed from the United States to Chile in October 1894, following the most convenient western route by making their way down from the North American city of San Francisco, California. To their disadvantage neither spoke Spanish. Their sales were meager at first, enabling them only to eke out a living, but they hung on.³² Unbeknown to them, an English-speaking resident of Valparaíso had been quietly preparing their way. For thirty-eight years N. J. Wetherby had been distributing Protestant books and papers. Adventist literature had fallen into his hands, and not long after Bishop and Davis arrived, he wrote to Uriah Smith at Battle Creek, Michigan, relating his experience and expressing appreciation for what he had read. Among his reading fare were *The Bible Student's Library*, the *Review and Herald*, and Smith's own *Thoughts on Daniel and Revelation*. Almost immediately after entering Valparaíso, Bishop reported improved sales, forty copies of *Bible Readings* alone.³³

As Bishop ranged northward along the Chilean coast by steamship, he met with cold nights, hot days, and scarce food, but receptive people. Land travel was expensive as well as poorly developed, making travel by sea necessary. English-speaking

people were scattered, so he negotiated with a Spanish family in Iquique to take him in. While there he sold forty books, survived an earthquake, and conducted Bible studies with four persons who began to observe the Saturday Sabbath.³⁴

Meanwhile, C. A. Nowlen had come to Chile and gone, leaving Bishop and Davis some Spanish books. By then the pair could haltingly speak enough Spanish phrases to dare face the Spanish market. It was not long before their courage was rewarded with converts. Among them were Victor and Eduardo Thomann, German-Swiss immigrants who later became prominent Adventist workers, and Enrique Balada, a Spanish-born agent for the Bible Society, who was ordained as a Seventh-day Adventist minister by the leader of West Coast missions, G. H. Baber. Juan Pereira was also an early convert. Beginning in 1897 Pereira spent eighteen months as the first Adventist worker canvassing in Bolivia, an activity that South American pastor and educator Samuel Antonio Chávez declares was the beginning of the Adventist church in Bolivia.³⁵

From Chile Adventist literature spread northward. Beyond Bolivia lay Peru and Ecuador. On August 30, 1904, Davis landed at Guayaquil ahead of his freight, allowing him time to size up his new field. Prospects were becoming brighter, not only because of modernizing political trends in Ecuador but his Spanish had improved as well. "They are more liberal-minded here than farther south," he commented, "so we have a good field to work. Now is just the time to labor here."³⁶

For fourteen months he canvassed before an ordained minister arrived. His travels by rail and river steamer took him into the interior uplands where cooler climates made his work more pleasant. Contrary to his first assessment, however, he discovered that more than liberal legislation was necessary to remove prejudice. During his third trip up the Rio Grande to Baboyo, a voyage of eight or nine hours, fellow passengers stole his Bible and many of his other books and threw them overboard. For Davis this misfortune was only a distraction, overshadowed by an offer to allow him the use of a public hall in which to conduct meetings.³⁷ Sooner or later literature distribution was bound to produce results.

ORDAINED MINISTERS ENTER MISSION WORK

After colporteurs stirred up enough interest in Adventist teachings and reported Sabbath-keeping in sufficiently large numbers, church leaders began to send ordained personnel to baptize believers and organize churches. About the question of what method would most effectively promote Adventism, it was obvious that not



all the brethren thought alike. Chadwick favored health care as an opening wedge. William A. Spicer, foreign mission secretary, proposed schools as evangelistic agencies for Mexico. W. C. White had made a similar suggestion for Argentina three years earlier. Months before Snyder, Nowlen, and Stauffer left the United States, White, a member of the Mission Board, suggested that the linguistic varieties in Argentina would be advantageous to Adventists. Rather than canvassing, however, he predicted that the “demand for private teachers for English, German, and French” would be “an excellent opportunity” for missionaries to “reach those who would never come to a Protestant meeting.”³⁸ Both Chadwick and White believed that by exposing children to Adventist teachers and education, they would enhance their access to the parents. This was a clear suggestion that Adventist education could be an evangelistic tool.³⁹

Whatever differences of opinion existed, the Foreign Mission Board concluded that a broadly diversified program was impossible at the outset of Adventist presence in Latin America. They chose instead to divert most of their financial support to direct evangelism rather than to education or medical projects. Colporteurs continued distributing literature, providing the way for ministers to assume supervisory roles.

This plan posed a dilemma to church leaders. Lean working forces in the United States could hardly spare ordained personnel for mission service anywhere, yet the Mission Board filled several calls. Among them was F. H. Westphal, who would go in 1894 as the first official worker to what would become the South American Division. He bore responsibility for all Adventist work in Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil.⁴⁰ A year later this crushing load was lightened when Jean Vuilleumier, son of Swiss Albert Vuilleumier, went to Argentina and German-born H. F. Graf transferred to Brazil. North American G. H. Baber landed in Valparaíso in 1895, providing Adventist ministerial supervision for Chile. An additional minister, F. W. Spies, born in the United States but at the time, a worker in Germany, went to Brazil in 1896.⁴¹

This handful of clergymen, scattered among millions of people over hundreds of thousands of square miles, brought significant changes to the Adventist work in South America. Probably nowhere were these more noticeable than in the statistical reports relating to church growth. During the years when colporteurs were the principal workers, the denomination measured its expansion by the dollar value of literature sold, the number of books and tracts that canvassers distributed, the number of witnessing activities, and the frequency of interest in Adventist teaching they reported. Occasionally they conducted meetings. Canvassers could not avoid

the monetary aspects of their work since their survival depended on successful sales. Their reports described their work as demanding, but as financially rewarding as typical jobs in the United States.⁴²

As self-supporting workers, they were not financial risks to the church, but they understood that they were to squeeze enough evangelistic activity into their schedules to bring conversions to the church. This was as much as they could do because they were unauthorized to baptize or organize formal congregations. From their reports we may conclude that they were serving their church well but that their varied activities cut deeply into canvassing time. They measured their success in statistics that revealed their limitations, which confined them to earning a living and generating interest in the church.

As soon as the first wave of ordained ministers followed the colporteurs, the shape of Adventist activity changed, in turn altering the nature and measurement of church growth. Being salaried, ministers were not immediately affected by literature sales, and could thus devote all their time to pastoral and organizational tasks. From the outset they saw their success in terms of baptisms, formation of congregations, and evangelism leading directly to church membership. A. J. Haysmer, a minister in the West Indies, summarized these differences succinctly. "The work of the minister here has been to follow up the canvasser, instructing the people in the faith, and organizing the work," he wrote.⁴³

Canvassers, once the symbol of Adventist presence, were thus replaced by ministers. Literature distribution, considered at first a prime statistic in measuring Adventist expansion, gave way to reports on membership growth. This change does not presuppose rivalry between colporteurs and ministers. Canvassers always understood that bookselling was not an end in itself. When ordained personnel arrived to supervise the work, colporteurs happily relinquished their role as leaders to become cooperators in church activities.

Book salesmen were transients of sorts, always on the prowl for new markets in new lands. Many new believers joined them in literature distribution. A. B. Stauffer worked his way through Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil; C. A. Nowlen covered much of southern South America; and F. W. Bishop and T. H. Davis sailed up and down the Chilean coast. Their success depended in part upon mobility, which at the same time prevented them from establishing specific headquarters and forming schedules adapted to congregational needs. The nature of their work would not have permitted them to serve as effective pastors, even if they had been ordained.

By contrast, ministers settled in definite locations and gave attention to congregations in specific regions. Ordained men were official church leaders to whom the congregations were responsible, but initially, pastors were few and their visits infrequent. They traveled widely, months at a stretch. Faithful tithe paying, generosity in other offerings, and attendance at church functions were translated into statistics, demonstrating the vitality of corporate church life. The ministers handpicked Sabbath school superintendents, deacons, and congregational elders and charged them with local leadership.

Because ministers were financially able to dedicate their time to leading all phases of church work, the scope of Adventist activities widened. Colporteurs were the first to sense this expansion. Many times with ordained men at their sides, they continued more vigorously than ever to peddle their books and papers. Shortly after their arrival, clergymen began to draw members together from large regions to general meetings where they promoted schools, medical work, literature production and sales, revival, and evangelism. Ministers shouldered broader responsibilities than colporteurs, not because they were more talented, but because the stage of church growth demanded it.

Bookmen were a hardy breed and later many of them became ordained ministers. To them the church was indebted. They had played their role as the cutting edge, and now the church was ready for early organizational processes that the ordained ministry carried out.

Ministers discovered they had their jobs already cut out for them. The longer they stayed, the harder they worked, or so it seemed. Adventists in lower South America may not have found the climate problematical, at least in places, as compared to their counterparts in tropical locations, but the continental dimensions of their task presented a different set of obstacles that demanded equally as much pluck. Workers did not come up short.

Mary and Frank Westphal were a case in point. Just to arrive at their destination, their voyage from New York to Buenos Aires crossed the Atlantic twice in one month; after only a week's rest they were ready for active labor. With that brief respite behind him, Westphal set out northward across the pampas. By November, three and a half months later, he had trekked hundreds of miles, visiting, preaching, baptizing, and unifying Argentine converts into an identifiable Adventist community.⁴⁴

During the summer of 1894-1895, he organized a series of meetings in Buenos Aires to study problems of Adventist work. Late in February, six months after

his arrival in South America, he hurried to Brazil, where he spent five months in company with Stauffer, Thurston, and Graf, meeting new believers and organizing groups of worshipers.⁴⁵

COMMUNICATION AMONG THE EARLY MISSIONS

For the first few years the ministers' leading problems were expanding Adventism into new regions, building a sense of denominational unity and brotherhood among believers, broadening the work to include a variety of branches and institutions, developing a financial base among the new congregations, and traveling. This last matter—traveling—appeared to be central to ministers' success, for their ability to visit members and the frequency of their trips played a definite role in maintaining church loyalty and institutional growth. They traveled by any means they could find, sometimes paying exorbitant costs, which forced them to find cheaper methods. At that time the General Conference Committee acted as the budgetary watchdog for world fields, which meant that financial questions, including small requests, were matters that the General Conference decided. Thus, church headquarters retained control over the details of mission work.

In South America the problems of transcontinental trips made travel a formidable task. Frank Westphal spent his first night away from home shivering on a river boat heading up the Paraná from Buenos Aires to Entre Rios Province where he hoped to find the Adventist community he had heard about.⁴⁶ When he finally arrived at the Russian-German village of Crespo where the believers lived, he was battling a bad cold. The farmers welcomed him warmly with their best hospitality and gave him a place to sleep in the kitchen. For his mattress and cover, they furnished a blanket and a sheepskin coat, and with these he lay down on the dirt floor among geese, hens, and ducks, which shared the mud-brick home.

In spite of the winter's cold, he hoped for a warm night as he wrapped himself up and prayed to be an effective witness. In only moments an army of lice and fleas interrupted his prayers and drove him from his makeshift snugness to seek refuge in the night air outside the house. The neighborhood dogs prevented him from walking around, so he returned inside, spending the night on his feet in the kitchen.⁴⁷

Cold weather, fleas, lice, and sickness notwithstanding, Westphal remained uncomplainingly three weeks to study and preach. Although these farmers worked long, hard hours, they were willing to listen to the new preacher far into the night. Convening approximately at seven in the evening, they would not close until sometimes four



hours later.⁴⁸ At the end of two weeks, he organized a church of thirty-six members, and after another week he baptized nine more. “I prayed,” Westphal recalled, “that I might . . . be . . . a true servant of God announcing His message of light to the people.”⁴⁹

Crespo was only the beginning. Beyond lay San Cristóbal and Esperanza, both towns in Santa Fe Province. By the end of November he had visited these places besides attending to the work in Buenos Aires, all with a trip to Montevideo sandwiched in during October.⁵⁰ On these trips he was confronted by the linguistic complexity of Argentina, which he could only begin to touch with his facility in German and English. Ironically, speakers of these two languages were outnumbered by hundreds of thousands conversing in Italian, French, and Spanish. “Here is a field for work in five languages,” he wrote.

Westphal knew he would have to learn Spanish and wait for more workers who could speak Spanish, but until then he would have to depend on local converts to communicate with the Spanish-speaking community. According to Daniel Plenc, Westphal prayed for the first time in Spanish about the same time he organized a church in Felicia, Santa Fe Province, during the second half of 1895. However, Plenc points out that in 1898 Westphal was still using an interpreter to translate his German sermons into Spanish. Meanwhile, pondering the dilemma of communication and the lack of funds, Westphal noted that “most of our brethren are poor and will have no tithe to give until after harvest.” With these unsolved problems on his mind, he planned a trip to Brazil.⁵¹

On February 22, 1895, he sailed from Buenos Aires for Brazil. His plan was to search out German believers. Both A. B. Stauffer and Albert Bachmeyer had also sold literature among them. Westphal’s introduction to Brazil included a four-day quarantine before beginning his work. During his isolation he continued his conflict with pests by removing a large scorpion he felt crawling inside his hat. But bigger problems lay ahead. He preached in São Paulo, Joinville, and Dois Córregos, all towns in southern Brazil, where he met with German believers. At the last location he faced the language problem again—this time it was Portuguese. Although people approached him expressing an interest in his message, he could not help them because he was unable to communicate.

A month’s labor yielded more than a score of baptisms, the first of which was William Stein, Jr., son of immigrant parents from Switzerland and Germany. Stein had prepared himself for Adventism by reading *Der Grosse Kampf* (*The Great Controversy*), a book sold to his wife’s grandmother “by two men who did not drink coffee” as

Stein's wife, Maria Krähenbühl Stein, recalled her grandmother's story. Through personal study Stein had already acknowledged the validity of the Saturday Sabbath, and *Der Grosse Kampf* added historical dimensions to his beliefs. His baptism was a milestone for Adventism in Brazil. Not only was he the first person to be baptized in Brazil, he later fulfilled a productive career as a trilingual writer, translator, and editor. "With the baptism of William Stein in Piracicaba, the history of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the state of São Paulo begins," observes Ruy Vieira, a Brazilian scientist, researcher, and Stein's biographer.

Following these successes, Westphal left the state of São Paulo and sailed for Brusque in Santa Catarina, another southern state. Traveling the final thirty miles from the port to his destination in a freight wagon, he observed scenery marred by revolution. Here he found people not only fearful of further rebellion but also opposed to Adventism. One night as he was preaching, a volley of stones crashed through the windows of the meeting place, interrupting his sermon but not breaking up the service. From Brusque he went on to nearby Gaspar Alto where he conducted communion services on the bank of a river. He also baptized twenty-three persons, among them Guilherme Belz and his wife, and organized the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Brazil.⁵²

Deterro was his next stop, a 100-mile journey he intended to make on horseback. These plans soon changed, however, when his rheumatism flared up and he could not endure the pain of riding. Even this malady did not deter him. After dismounting, he walked nearly half the distance.⁵³

More travel drained his purse until it was almost empty, signaling that he should turn back toward Buenos Aires and home. With barely enough money left to buy a third-class ticket that would provide him a bunk with no mattress on a small coastal steamer, he began his homeward voyage. Rest was impossible on that rolling ship. When he reached Rio Grande do Sul, seasick and tired, he could endure his discomfort no longer. Managing to squeeze out enough money for a blanket, he continued on to Montevideo, where smoother sailing carried him across the Río Plata to Buenos Aires. He had been gone five months.⁵⁴

Hazardous travel was ordinary. In April 1897, Westphal headed north from Entre Rios to Chaco, a northern province, intending to open new work. Accompanying him were the two converts-turned-workers, John McCarthy and Lionel Brooking. While fording a swollen river their cart capsized and the hired driver abandoned his passengers and rig after making his own way to safety. Brooking extricated himself



and ran for help, leaving his companions in the water for two hours. Westphal recovered all of his belongings, Brooking salvaged some, but McCarthy lost everything.⁵⁵

Regarding this experience as only a setback, the three men refused to give up. A year later McCarthy pushed even farther north to Resistencia, passing through dense forests inhabited by hostile Indians. Travel was difficult, but his persistence paid off. After establishing several groups of believers, he returned to the same river where he had nearly lost his life to baptize three persons on the day before Christmas, 1898.⁵⁶

Although mechanized transportation was becoming more common by the early twentieth century, railroads did not touch the sparsely populated farmlands. Since colonial days large-wheeled carts had been a universal means of travel, and now Adventist colporteurs, attempting to reach widely separated homes, turned to the huge two-wheeled conveyance, enabling them to carry a large supply of books while fording bridgeless rivers and coping with the muddy Argentine roads.⁵⁷

Probably the most difficult travel problem in lower South America was crossing the Andes. In February 1902, J. W. Westphal, Frank's younger brother, began such a trip, traveling by train from Buenos Aires across the pampas to Mendoza and points westward where the railroad ended. There he and fellow passengers transferred to mules. As they picked their way up the eastern escarpment of the *cordillera*, they had to hang on tightly to keep from sliding off behind, and on the western steep slopes they cautiously descended into Santiago, Chile, narrowly avoiding headlong tumbles.⁵⁸

Even without the rarefied air of the Andes and the thick mud of the pampas, Brazilian travelers were no better off. Tropical heat, heavy rains, and poorly developed communications tested the best mettle of the workers. "The facilities for communication and travel are still very unsatisfactory," F. W. Spies wrote in 1898. "While traveling in the interior of some states, about half of my mail did not reach me. In sending telegrams, some have been delivered promptly, but on one occasion I carried a dispatch to the telegraph office, and received the promise that it would be forwarded at once to a station about 200 miles away. I arrived at this place three days after I delivered the dispatch . . . and two days after my arrival the telegram was received. I have sent dispatches that were wholly lost. Traveling by steamer is also very uncertain. Scarcely any Brazilian navigation companies have anything like a definite program . . . I have had to wait from one day to three weeks. Traveling by rail is somewhat more certain, yet rather more dangerous, than traveling by water."⁵⁹

When John Lipke, at the time a school teacher in Brazil, took his wife and 10-year-old daughter to the general meetings in Linha Torres, he encountered more

serious conditions. Their ride on mules and horses from Brusque lasted eight and a half days, riding through drenching rains, coursing their way through swamps, along precipitous paths, and through rivers. At night they slept on floors wherever they could improvise a bed, sometimes in company with rats. Each night, Lipke said, they sang, read their Bibles, and encouraged each other.⁶⁰

This was not Lipke's first brush with hardships of travel. Three years earlier he and one of his students journeyed by horseback through Santa Catarina and Paraná to Curitiba. With a larger traveling party on their return trip, they hazarded swollen rivers, crossed streams on mere boards that served as bridges, and waded along muddy paths where no wagons could pass. Food was so scarce they ate nothing but grass for three days. "We ask you, brethren in the States," he wrote, "to come over and help us. But when you come, expect to endure hardships."⁶¹

When Spies once moved his residence three hundred miles, he took advantage of the travel time to conduct meetings along the way. This evangelism stretched the trip to five weeks, three of which were especially difficult because of torrential rains. In spite of these troubles, Spies thought the experience worth the trouble. His family took the hardship in stride, and he baptized some new converts. A colleague of Spies, H. F. Graf, spent unbelievably long periods traveling by horse, one year reporting more than 300 days "traveling by burro," as historian Hector Peverini describes it. It was estimated that during his entire career Graf traveled about 25,000 kilometers on horseback.⁶²

These conditions made for long trips and forced ministers to be ready for any exigency. One itinerary for Spies began as a five-week journey but lasted five months.⁶³ Frank Westphal's first journey to Brazil, a virtual expedition into the unknown, took five months. J. W. Westphal spent months at a time traveling around the continent. Adventist congregations and small companies were often left to fend for themselves for months, sometimes much longer without a minister. When Spies moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1906 he learned that the church had been without a pastor nearly two years. In December, he spent considerable time reviving the congregation's spiritual enthusiasm prior to a communion service, the first in Rio in two and a half years. This project required six months, the longest period Spies had spent at home during his nine years in Brazil. Earlier he recalled one year when he spent only five weeks at home.⁶⁴

If early Adventist workers in South America found their travel filled with hardship, they also discovered greater reserves of strength than they thought they had.



For all of their difficulties, they could not stay home, not because of the novelty of seeing new lands and people, but because the spiritual needs of people required them to go. Since their earliest days, Adventist ministers and others who followed them had cultivated a unique solidarity by frequent itineraries to local congregations. Consultation and counsel, repeated often, had helped to maintain a unified movement.

Ministers could organize churches with comparative ease, but they could form a viable denomination only by welding the scattered groups of communicants into a single spiritual entity. Unity of purpose, teachings, and beliefs presupposed a unified and disciplined administrative organization. Adventist leaders found little to work with at first, but future church solidarity depended upon their vision and stamina. Communication and rudimentary organization were among their first tests. Ministers and their families did not find their tasks easy. What they accomplished was hardly a recognizable shadow of their ideal, but their success opened the way for further progress.

GENERAL MEETINGS

In trying to pull the sprawling church together, ministers in South America faced constant reminders that they were trained primarily in the habits and techniques of North America. They could not be expected to change overnight, nor should they have discarded their former experiences, but sooner or later they had to adjust to life and labor in new lands. Their patience was remarkable.

Swiss-born Jean Vuilleumier, with experience in the United States but sent to Argentina to work among European immigrants, found that baptisms may have been conducted a bit hastily for some members.⁶⁵ From Esperanza he complained that drunkenness among the Swiss immigrants was so common as to be fashionable. He had good reason to believe this was the most difficult habit for new Adventists to break, for he personally retrieved at least one of his members from a saloon and poured his alcohol on the ground.⁶⁶

During March 1898, less than two years later, Frank Westphal discovered similar problems when holding a general meeting in Las Tunas, Argentina. The French participants nearly wrecked the conference when it became evident that they were still drinking wine. But Westphal and his associates were firm, and after prolonged study and prayer, they gained a “signal victory.”⁶⁷

The general meeting at Las Tunas was a South American version of the North American campmeeting. Over two years passed after Westphal’s arrival before

ministers in Argentina tried to transplant this tradition. Campmeetings had been a staple of Adventism since Millerite days. Sabbatarian Adventists in the 1850s in the United States continued the practice. The big tent congregations served two purposes—they compensated for the paucity of preachers by bringing large numbers of people together, and through this association they engendered a sense of brotherhood, and later, denominational identity. In South America where only few ministers were employed, Adventists benefitted greatly by general meetings in various regions.

The brethren planned the first such meeting for Crespo, September 30 to October 12, 1896. Church members in the community pitched a forty-foot tent and agreed to house all the visitors. Vuilleumier was to share the preaching with Westphal, but he and a small party of workers from Buenos Aires were late leaving the capital by river boat, delaying the opening session until October 7.

At the first meeting about 150 Adventists were present, representing each church in Argentina. The pent-up enthusiasm became evident during the first sermon. One listener stopped the preacher “to give vent to his joy, and such occurrences were frequent all through the meeting.”⁶⁸ Although the meetings were primarily for Adventists, they were evangelistic as well. Large numbers of non-Adventists attended regularly. The preaching was done in four languages—German, English, French, and Spanish.⁶⁹

It was probably the Spanish meetings that unexpectedly attracted a *gaucho* to the tent. For the local Adventists his immediate conversion was too quick; some of them were reluctant to accept him as a genuinely changed person, but before the meetings were over he had convinced his new friends. Among other converts were a local “man of means” and a school teacher, each with his wife.

When Westphal and Vuilleumier began to talk of baptism for their prospective members, they found that officials in the nearby town of Diamante had also been observing the goings-on with something less than friendly interest. They flatly denied the ministers the privilege of baptizing, but Westphal was not so easily stopped. On the second Sabbath of the meetings, he led his flock to a local stream and conducted a baptism anyway. He was under threat of arrest. In the crowd of thirty-two wagon loads of onlookers, mainly Adventists, were a couple of soldiers and a police officer, waiting to take the ministers into custody. But other than the baptism itself nothing exciting happened, and the spectators dispersed without witnessing an arrest.

It was a chagrined judge who met Westphal the next Monday morning, explaining that the threats were caused by allegations that Adventists baptized their converts



in the nude. The ritual not only demonstrated otherwise, but also won permission for the ministers to hold additional meetings at will.⁷⁰

Practically overnight the success at Crespo made the general meeting an institution for Argentina, but eighteen months passed before Brazilian Adventists conducted their first session. In addition to being more scattered than were the Argentineans, the Brazilians were hindered by poorer travel conditions, which made gatherings more difficult. The general meetings in Brazil began with W. H. Thurston, who attended a series in Argentina during October 1897 while visiting from Brazil for health reasons. Complaining of the heat, epidemic fever, and many deaths in Rio de Janeiro, he and his family left Brazil's capital for Buenos Aires and more sanitary as well as cooler surroundings. While in Argentina he helped his brother-in-law, Frank Westphal, hold meetings in Entre Ríos for German believers. Thurston returned to Brazil after a month, leaving his wife and family with his sister, Mary, to spend the entire summer and to regain their health.⁷¹

Thurston returned to Brazil with ideas. The next May his colleagues assembled in Curitiba, a city in the interior of Paraná where Adventists had established a school. With this building serving as their headquarters, they began their fourteen-hour daily schedule at seven in the morning and ended with a preaching service in the evening. For ten days they kept up this torrid pace, terminating on the last day of May.⁷²

However energetically workers may have supported this general meeting, they were not convinced of its practicality. More than two years later Thurston apologized that expense and time made it impossible to repeat them. Nevertheless, church leaders felt compelled to meet for a six-day committee meeting in May 1900 in Brusque, Santa Catarina.

The difficulties the brethren experienced in order to attend only emphasized Thurston's opinion. He departed Rio on May 1 to join F. W. Spies and August Brack for several days of travel. Fording streams, the three fell into deep water, and finally Thurston's companions removed their boots, rolled up their trousers, and slogged barefoot through the mud to give their horses a rest. "I have never before made a trip in Brazil under such difficulties," he remarked later, "yet I never enjoyed more the blessing of God."⁷³

In 1902 churches in Brazil became an officially organized conference with fifteen congregations and 860 members. The meeting took place in Gaspar Alto, the general location where Adventist literature had first made its appearance and where F. H. Westphal had established the first Seventh-day Adventist church in Brazil.⁷⁴ No

longer could leaders avoid the question of cultivating church solidarity through grass-roots assemblies. The following year from April to September, Spies, Graf, Emilio Holzle, and J. W. Westphal, the newly arrived leader of South American Adventists, conducted a series of seven general meetings throughout Brazil. To make up for so much lost time was too much for Graf, who became ill before the trips were over. Spies managed to attend six of the seven meetings, traveling 600 miles by water, 500 by rail, and 1,700 by mule.⁷⁵ Despite expense, time, and travel hardships, the general meeting had finally arrived in Brazil, thanks to the younger Westphal's iron constitution and flair for organization.

If Brazil had problems generating a sense of church unity, Chile had even more. By 1904 membership was still fewer than 200, sprinkled from Iquique in the north to Temuco and Concepción in the south.⁷⁶ After his arrival in 1895, G. H. Baber labored diligently to expand church membership, but years of travel up and down the shoestring republic yielded indifferent results. Workers were few, and added to their burdens was the responsibility of promoting Adventism in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. By early 1904 the indefatigable J. W. Westphal admitted that Adventist work in Chile was nearly at a standstill, blaming scarcity of workers for lack of growth.

Admittedly, Westphal's observations contained some truth, but part of the problem had been Baber's disenchantment with the field. He complained about difficulties, characterizing Chile's claims of political liberalism as only pretensions. He found local leadership in Adventist congregations unsatisfactory and reminded the Mission Board of his own inexperience. When he asked permission to move the headquarters for the West Coast Mission of South America to Peru, the Mission Board balked. "The proposition did not meet with general favor," the board secretary wrote, "and it was passed over without definite action."⁷⁷

In November 1900, Baber introduced general meetings in Chile with an eight-day session at Perquenco, inviting all Adventists in Chile to attend. In the following years the general meeting became an annual event, taking place as far north as Iquique and as far south as Púa.⁷⁸

The cutting edge of Adventism had produced the nuclear congregation, the basic institution of the denomination, but for Adventists in South America, success had come with a steep price of commitment and energy. However demanding their work, neither church leaders nor laity stopped to rest on their laurels. In a sense the cutting edge was not over. Succeeding against such negative odds seemed only to inspire them with more ambitious plans—other kinds of institutions that would enable them

to achieve even greater success. Not until the next phase of the Adventist “cause” had become a reality could the newly established church stand on solid ground.

¹ F. H. Westphal, *Pioneering in the Neglected Continent* (Nashville, TN, 1927), 12.

² T. A. Kilgore to L. T. Nicola, July 19, 1894, GCA/ 21, IL. Kilgore was manager of the New York branch of the Pacific Press and arranged many of the travel details for Adventist missionaries. Nicola was secretary of the General Conference. Missionaries went from the United States to South America by way of England because shipping and passenger lines did not sail directly from the United States to South America. It was possible to sail from New York to South America by patching together an itinerary. For an exception see L. C. Chadwick to O. A. Olsen, May 25, 1892, *ibid.*/11.

³ “It was my privilege to be the first ordained Seventh-day Adventist minister to labor in South America.” Westphal, *Pioneering*, 8. In this statement Westphal is referring to the South American Division, not the continent. Wesley Amundsen in *The Advent Message in Inter-America* (Washington, D.C., 1947), 80-81, refers to the experience of G. G. Rupert, an ordained minister, who spent three months in British Guiana during 1887. British Guiana became part of the Inter-American Division.

⁴ Walton J. Brown, “The Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Austral South America, 1785-1912,” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1953), 32-34. One of the most detailed sources of information about early Adventism in South America is Hector Peverini, *En las huellas de la Providencia* (Buenos Aires, 1988), 29-40, 53-63, 76-86. In 1977 I received from Peverini an unpublished manuscript consisting of a few chapters about the beginnings of Adventism in South America, which were a partial draft of his later book. Hereafter this manuscript will be referred to as the Peverini Manuscript.

⁵ Westphal alludes to these cases in *Pioneering*, 26. See also M. Ellsworth Olsen, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists*, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C., 1926), 560; William A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions* (Mountain View, Calif., 1921), 253; Peverini Manuscript, chapter 3, “La Esperanza Resurge,” 7-9. Peverini was the grandson of Pedro Peverini, who originally adopted Adventism. See also Peverini, *En las huellas*, 29-40. Olsen suggests the “late eighties” as the date when these families accepted Adventism, while Peverini states the latter part of 1885 in the case of the Dupertuis family, and either late 1885 or early 1886 for his grandfather, which means that the Dupertuis began Sabbath-keeping before his grandparents. E. H. Meyers, publishing secretary of the South American Division (1923-1927), outlined the beginnings of Adventism in South America in *Reseña de los comienzos de la obra en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires, n.d.), 3-8. See Godofredo Block’s brief memoir, “Início e Progressos da Obra Adventista no América do Sul,” *RA* (B), September, 1956. Another account of these families is given by Brown, “Foundations,” 35-44. See also the Spanish edition of Brown’s dissertation, “Los A. S. D. Bajo el Cielo Austral,” 23-28, for references to the Peverini and Dupertuis families. Pages 29-32 recounts the experience of the Russian-German families. Daniel Oscar Plenc furnishes an excellent short account of both the Riffel and Hetze families in *Misioneros en Sudamérica* (Buenos Aires, 2008), 13-30.

⁶ For the beginnings of Adventism in Brazil see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 31-35, and Michelson Borges, *A Chegada do Adventismo ao Brasil* (Tatuí, SP, 2001), 45-58. The *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 1, second rev. ed., 232, 233, provides a good summary. Of great value is Meyers, *Reseña*, 3-5, which also appeared as “Uma Recapitulação dos Começos na América do Sul,” *RM*, October 1928. One of the best syntheses of recent research about early Adventism in Brazil is Alberto Timm’s two-part article, “Primórdios do Adventismo no Brasil,” *RA* (B), January, 2005, 12-14, and February, 2005, 12-14. Regarding Helena Kümpel’s baptism, he cites her obituary in *Rundschau der Adventisten*, September 10, 1929, written by A. C. Harder, an early Adventist minister in Brazil, which Daniel Heinz has clarified in an e-mail to Floyd Greenleaf, April 10, 2010. William A. Spicer states that “The first baptisms in Germany were Jan. 8, 1875, in the city of Solingen . . .,” *Story of Missions*, 95.

The Borchard-Dreefke story has been a favorite when narrating the beginnings of Adventism in Brazil. The first version appeared in the 1918 *General Conference Bulletin*, which does not include Borchard.

Meyers cites a more detailed and documented version in *Reseña*. Its embellishments, which are sometimes contradictory, even appear in the *SDA Encyclopedia*. Probably no one knows the complete story. Research has associated the arrival of *Stimme der Wahrheit* with the flood of 1880. E-mail, Renato Stencil to Floyd Greenleaf, April 19, 2010.

⁷ Peverini elaborates about the German origin of many early workers in Brazil in *En las huellas*, 76-81. Also see Borges, *A Chegada*, 59-105.

⁸ See Raymond F. Cottrell, "The Sabbath in the New World," in *The Sabbath in Scripture and History*, K. A. Strand, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1982), 244. I have relied on several sources for the passage that follows about the precursors of Adventism. Peverini, *En las huellas*, 19-28; Alfred Felix Vaucher, *Lacunza, Un Heraldo de la Segunda Venida de Cristo* (Mountain View, Calif., 1970); LeRoy Edwin Froom, *Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers*, vols. III, IV (Washington, D.C., 1954); Daniel Hammerly, *Defensores Latinoamericanos de una Gran Esperanza* (Buenos Aires, 1955). For his treatment of de Rozas, Froom depended on Charles R. Taylor's original research in Mexican archives. For a recent study of Francisco Ramos Mexía, see Juan Carlos Piora, *Don Francisco Hermógenes Ramos Mexía* (Buenos Aires, 2008). Pages 108-175 explain his teachings.

⁹ GCA/48, RFMB, I, 3, 9, 10.

¹⁰ W. C. White, "Our Foreign Missions—A Glance at the Year's Work," *The Home Missionary*, II, Extra (November 1890), 19-22.

¹¹ Percy T. Magan, "South America," *ibid.*, II (November 1890), 244-45.

¹² Readers may trace Chadwick's tour by his reports to the Foreign Mission Board, which published them in both the *Review and Herald* and *The Home Missionary* during 1892.

¹³ GCA/48, RFMB, II, 5.

¹⁴ L. C. Chadwick to Foreign Mission Board, February 4, 1892, *ibid.*, IL.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 119.

¹⁶ E. W. Snyder, "South America," *The Home Missionary*, IV (February 1892), 46; M. Carol Hetzel, *The Undaunted: the story of the publishing work of Seventh-day Adventists* (Mountain View, 1967), 84, 85. See Brown, "Foundations," 65; GCA/48, RFMB, I, 104. E. H. Meyers has summarized the first colporteur in Hispanic South America in *Reseña*, 9, 10. Snyder later raised his estimate of English residents in Montevideo to 2,000.

¹⁷ GCA/48, RFMB, I, 102-04, 106, 120.

¹⁸ Meyers, *Reseña*, 10; G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, May 5, 1896. Baber was superintendent of the Adventist church in Chile.

¹⁹ R. B. Craig, "South America," *ibid.*, October 17, 1893.

²⁰ R. B. Craig, "Progress of the Work in South America," *The Home Missionary*, VI (June 1894), 127, 128.

²¹ R. B. Craig, "Canvassing in South America," *ibid.*, VII (January 1895), 20, 21.

²² E. W. Snyder, "Argentina," *RH*, December 4, 1894.

²³ E. W. Snyder, *ibid.*, "The Present Situation in Brazil," September 19, 1893; and "Experiences and Progress in Brazil", October 24, 1893. Snyder appeared to be especially marked for problems. After a visit to the United States where he took a wife, he and his new bride sailed from New York to Argentina in 1895, but their organ was mislabeled. It was shipped with the belongings of H. F. Graf, another missionary, and left unattended in customs in Southampton, England, for several months. They were understandably irritated. T. A. Kilgore to L. T. Nicola, December 8, 1895, GCA/21, IL.

²⁴ Peverini, *En las huellas*, 42, 43.

²⁵ A. B. Stauffer, "Report from Argentina and Uruguay," *RH*, June 13, 1893; and "Report from Brazil," *ibid.*, February 20, 1894. Stauffer wrote the Brazilian report on December 28, 1893.

²⁶ Editorial note, no name, *The Home Missionary*, VI (September 1894), 195.

²⁷ Peverini, *En las huellas*, 44-46; also see Ruy Carlos de Camargo Vieira, *Vida e obra de Guilherme Stein Jr.* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 1995), 146; Borges, *A Chegada*, 74, 75. For a concise account of the early colporteurs in Brazil, see Mário Paulo Martinelli, "Desenvolvimento da colportagem com efectios no Brasil," in *A colportagem adventista no Brasil: uma breve história*, Alberto Timm, ed. (Engenheiro Coelho, SP, 2000), 64, 65.

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²⁸ A. B. Stauffer, "Report from Brazil," *RH*, February 20, 1894; and "The Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, August 21, 1894.

²⁹ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 10, 11; W. H. Thurston, "Items from the General Conference," *RH*, April 16, 1901. The *Review* carried a transcript of Thurston's talk to the delegates at the General Conference session in Battle Creek. T. A. Kilgore to L. T. Nicola, July 3, 1894, GCA/ 21, IL; W. H. Thurston to L. T. Nicola, July 14, 1895, *ibid.*; *General Conference Bulletin*, 1895, 558.

³⁰ R. B. Craig, "South America," *RH*, December 25, 1894.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1894, *passim*; Rubens Lessa, "Produção de literatura para a colportagem no Brasil," in *A Colportagem Adventista*, 30. According to Lessa, seven different books in German and two periodicals in German were available to Stauffer.

³² Meyers, *Reseña*, 10, 11; Allen Moon, "Our Work and Workers in South America," *Missionary Magazine*, X (March 1898), 80, 81. Moon was head of the Adventist Mission Board.

³³ N. J. Wetherby to Uriah Smith, in *RH*, May 21, 1895; F. W. Bishop, "Colporteurs Work in Chile," *The Home Missionary*, VII (May 1895), 79, 80.

³⁴ F. W. Bishop, "Chile," *ibid.* (November 1895), 240, 241; F. L. Mead, "Encouraging Work from Chile," *ibid.*, 241, 242. Mead was the head of Adventist literature sales.

³⁵ Hetzel, *Undaunted*, 87-89; F. W. Bishop, "Colporteurs Work in Chile," *The Home Missionary* VII (May 1895), 79, 80; G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, December 8, 1898. See Peverini, *En las huellas*, 49-52. For a brief account of Pereira's work in Bolivia, see Samuel Antonio Chávez, *Breve historia da las raíces del adventismo en Bolivia, 1897-1927* (Cochabamba, Bolivia, 2007), 16-18.

³⁶ T. H. Davis, "Ecuador," *RH*, December 1, 1904.

³⁷ T. H. Davis, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, June 29, 1905; and "Ecuador," *ibid.*, September 28, 1905; George W. Casebeer, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, January 11, 1906. Casebeer was an ordained minister in Ecuador. The repetition of article titles was a decision by *Review* editors rather than the authors. The articles were actually letters which the editors printed under their own titles.

³⁸ W. C. White, "The Argentine Republic," *The Home Missionary*, II (June 1890), 124, 125; GCA/RFMB, I, 104.

³⁹ W. A. Spicer, "Mexico," *The Home Missionary*, V (June 1893), 100, 101; W. C. White, "The Argentine Republic," *ibid.*, II (June 1890), 124, 125.

⁴⁰ L. C. Chadwick to O. A. Olsen, May 25, 1892, GCA/48, RMFB, II, 92, 118.

⁴¹ Allen Moon, "Our Work and Workers in South America," *Missionary Magazine*, X (March 1898), 80, 81; G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, January 28, 1896; F. M. Wilcox, "Summary of Mission Work," *ibid.*, September 8, 1896.

⁴² During the 1890s wage earners in the United States, excluding farm workers, took home slightly less than \$500 a year. Only trades that were skilled, organized, and semi-professional offered incomes in four figures. Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion* (New York, 1959), 92, 93.

⁴³ A. J. Haysmer, "The Canvassing Work in the West Indies," *RH Supplement*, July 3, 1900.

⁴⁴ F. H. Westphal, "Argentine Republic," *RH*, October 30, 1894; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 22, 1895.

⁴⁵ F. H. Westphal, "Preaching the Truth in Brazil," *The Home Missionary*, VII (July 1895), 134, 135; and "Brazil," *RH*, July 16, 1895; and "Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina," *ibid.*, October 1, 1895; and "Brusque, Brazil," *The Home Missionary Supplement* (October 1895), 1, 2; W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *RH*, August 13, 1895.

⁴⁶ F. H. Westphal, "Argentine Republic," *RH*, October 30, 1894.

⁴⁷ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 13, 14.

⁴⁸ F. H. Westphal, "Argentine Republic," *RH*, October 30, 1894.

⁴⁹ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 13, 14.

⁵⁰ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina," *RH*, January 22, 1895.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* See Plenc, *Misioneros en Sudamérica*, 33, 56, 57.

⁵² F. H. Westphal, "Brazil," *RH*, July 16, 1895. Especially informative is the account of Westphal's trip to Brazil in Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 134-137. See Alberto Timm, "Primórdios do Adventismo no Brasil," *RA* (B), January 2005, 12-14. For a detailed account of the baptisms Westphal conducted on his first trip to Brazil,

including names of the new converts, see Borges, *A Chegada*, 87-92. Also of value are the early chapters in three centennial books: Fabiana Bertotti, ed., *100 anos de fé, pioneirismo e missão* (São José, Santa Catarina, n.d.) [Associação Catarinense]; Odailson Fonseca, ed., *100 anos de fé, pioneirismo e ação* (Porto Alegre, RS, n.d.) [Associação Sul-Rio-Grandense]; Edson Rosa, ed., *100 anos conduzindo vidas em São Paulo* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 2006) [União Central Brasileira].

⁵³ F. H. Westphal, "Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina," *RH*, October 1, 1895; and "Brusque, Brazil," *The Home Missionary Supplement*, VII (October 1895), 1, 2.

⁵⁴ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 38, 39.

⁵⁵ Lionel Brooking, "'In Perils of Water' in Argentina," *RH*, June 15, 1897; F. H. Westphal, *Pioneering*, 68-71. McCarthy was from England and living in Argentina at the time of his conversion. "John McCarthy," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 1.

⁵⁶ John McCarthy, "A Voice from the Gran Chaco," *RH*, May 23, 1899.

⁵⁷ N. Z. Town, "Canvassing in the River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, August 5, 1902. Town was in charge of literature sales in South America.

⁵⁸ J. W. Westphal, "From Buenos Aires to Valparaíso," *ibid.*, August 26, 1902.

⁵⁹ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *Missionary Magazine*, X (April 1898), 134.

⁶⁰ John Lipke, "A Trip to a General Meeting in Brazil," *RH*, September 28, 1905.

⁶¹ John Lipke, "A Trip through Santa Catarina and Parana," *ibid.*, June 2, 1903.

⁶² F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, April 13, 1905; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 205, 206.

⁶³ F. W. Spies, "Notes from Brazil," *RH*, September 18, 1900.

⁶⁴ F. W. Spies, "Report from Brazil," *ibid.*, June 23, 1904; and "Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *ibid.*, March 22, 1906.

⁶⁵ Vuilleumier arrived in Argentina in October 1895. See his own account, "Argentina," *ibid.*, April 14, 1896. Scattered references to his experiences in Europe are found in D. A. Delafield, *Ellen G. White in Europe* (Washington, D.C., 1975).

⁶⁶ Jean Vuilleumier, "Argentina," *RH*, August 18, 1896. As newsworthy as this problem may have been to American Adventists, Vuilleumier himself was aware of Swiss resistance to teetotalism. It was a major issue at the Swiss Conference at Basel, Switzerland, in February 1887. At the time he was working in that region in Europe. Delafield, *White in Europe*, 267.

⁶⁷ Frank Westphal, "Argentina," *RH*, May 17, 1898.

⁶⁸ F. H. Westphal, "General Meetings in Argentina," *ibid.*, July 14, 1896; N. Z. Town, "Argentine General Meeting," *ibid.*, December 15, 1896.

⁶⁹ Maintaining the evangelistic nature of campmeetings was a denominational practice. John Robertson, A. G. Daniells: *The Making of a General Conference President, 1901* (Mountain View, Calif., 1977), 34-36. Regarding the languages, Vuilleumier was proving to be a skilled linguist. Besides French he spoke English well enough to interpret from French. Delafield, *White in Europe*, 267. While working in Uruguay soon after his arrival, he spoke to Spanish audiences with an interpreter. By October 1896, after one year in South America, he was preaching in Spanish. Jean Vuilleumier, "Argentina," *RH*, April 14, 1896; N. Z. Town, "Argentine General Meeting," *ibid.*, December 15, 1896. Vuilleumier also knew German. M. E. Olsen says that while in South America Vuilleumier held sixteen meetings in French, nine in German, six in Spanish, and two in English. *Origin and Progress*, 563.

⁷⁰ N. Z. Town, "Argentine General Meeting," *RH*, December 15, 1896.

⁷¹ W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, January 11, 1898; F. H. Westphal, "The Argentine General Meeting," *ibid.*, January 4, 1898.

⁷² W. H. Thurston, "General Meeting in Brazil," *ibid.*, August 9, 1898.

⁷³ F. W. Spies, "Notes from Brazil," *ibid.*, September 18, 1900; W. H. Thurston, "General Meeting at Brusque, Brazil," *ibid.*, October 9, 1900.

⁷⁴ F. W. Spies, "Organization of the Brazil Conference," *ibid.*, October 21, 1902; Bertotti, *100 anos*, 30.

⁷⁵ F. W. Spies, "General Meetings in Brazil," *RH*, February 4, 1904.

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⁷⁶ H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *ibid.*, April 7, 1904. The Ketrting and A. R. Ogden families entered Chile late in 1901. A. R. Ogden, "En Route to Chile," *ibid.*, November 26, 1901.

⁷⁷ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *ibid.*, December 6, 1898. Two other reports by Baber under the same title appeared in *ibid.*, August 22, 1899, and January 9, 1900. See also GCA/48, RFMB, III, 298. Baber arrived in Chile in 1895 and spent six years heading the Adventist church in the countries of the West Coast.

⁷⁸ Brown, "Foundations," 173, 174.



THE FIRST INSTITUTIONS

BY THE END of the 1890s Seventh-day Adventists had already established a diversified program of schools, health-care institutions, publishing establishments, and other enterprises that spread to lands across both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Adventist clergymen were not novices at institutionalizing various phases of their work, but after entering South America they centered their attention on following up literature sales with direct evangelism—hard-hitting doctrinal lectures lasting from a few days to several weeks.

Theirs was not a question of whether to diversify, but rather when to do it. For the time being the formation of constituencies was the basic issue. With clusters of budding congregations, church leaders hoped to organize economically self-sustaining conferences to pay for diversification. It was a costly item on the Adventist agenda, but one they could not avoid, for diversifying and building institutions were almost as characteristic of Adventists as feathers were of birds.

Sometimes church leaders had hardly begun their work when they realized the need to diversify their approach to the public. In all parts of South America, education, medical work, and the



production and sale of literature emerged as typical Adventist projects. Workers did not find their activities easy; in fact, sometimes they were unsuccessful.

EARLY SCHOOLS

Like Adventists in most lands where missionaries labored, South American members utilized schools as a means to reach the public, but they were more prone to see the advantage education would be to retain their youth in the church and to train workers. The Adventist school in Curitiba, in the southern state of Paraná, Brazil, opened as a primary school in 1896 with William Stein and his wife, Maria, as teachers. The students met six days a week, beginning on Monday. The sixth day of classes, Saturday, was devoted exclusively to religious classes to which the pupils brought their parents. Not very surprisingly, the Saturday schedule was really an ordinary Sabbath service.¹ This venture functioned as both a mission school and an educational project for local Adventists.

After a visit to Curitiba, Thurston could not hold back his delight with the school's success and its evangelistic influence. Originally, the school was planned for German-speaking Adventists, but after the second term began in January 1897, Maria Stein conducted classes in Portuguese for a dozen Brazilian students. A large sign calling it the International School also announced in both Portuguese and German, "And all will be taught by God." Much to Thurston's joy, a church had been organized, and enrollment had burgeoned from eight on opening day, July 1, 1896, to about a hundred in February 1897.²

Paul Kramer, his wife, and their son replaced the Steins after only fourteen months. Within two years enrollment grew to 130 and was divided into three sections. The Kramers handled the lower and upper classes while Waldemar Ehlers, recently of Hamburg, Germany, taught the middle room. By then the school had reached the attention of *Der Beobachter*, a local German newspaper, which, after an open house featuring school activities, editorialized favorably about equipment, curriculum, discipline, and student achievement. Renato Gross, historian of the school, points out that the newspaper editor was especially impressed with the phonetic system the teachers used to teach reading.³

After leaving Curitiba the Steins opened a new school farther south at Gaspar Alto in the municipality of Brusque, Santa Catarina. John Lipke, a German-born convert who had studied at Battle Creek College, arrived from the United States to operate another school in Taquari, Rio Grande do Sul, where a local Adventist had

donated land and buildings for a school and a medical center. To superintend the clinic, A. L. Gregory, a newly minted physician from the United States, arrived with his wife, Lula, in 1904. Other schools also appeared around Brazil.⁴

With a touch of bitterness A. B. Stauffer, the ever energetic colporteur who also assumed leadership roles in Brazil, chided North Americans for what he believed was half-hearted support of these projects. Many openings for teachers were unfilled. One in Espírito Santo offered the prospective teacher a house, cow, horse, and a monthly paycheck equal to US\$32.43. Several more opportunities lay neglected in Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul. Stauffer interpreted the prevailing North American mood as saying that Brazil had all it needed in the Curitiba school, an attitude he tried to set straight by asking where German-speaking teachers were.⁵

Stauffer's challenge was too serious to leave unanswered. Allen Moon, head of the Foreign Mission Board, admitted openly that he had been unable to fill the appeals for German-speaking teachers that had been coming to him since 1894. Stauffer had a point when he implied lack of support, for Moon knew of very few persons planning to enter mission work. As for language preparation, Moon called upon North American Adventist colleges to instruct future missionary teachers to speak idiomatically rather than in the formal style taught from textbooks.⁶

By 1901 Brazilians had five schools, one of them "secular," or designed for non-Adventist clientele, and four church schools. Already they were beginning to produce church workers,⁷ but Adventist leaders in Brazil were still unsatisfied. Thurston, speaking before the 1901 General Conference session, tried to inspire church leaders with the possibility of educating workers for Portugal in Brazilian schools. For his part, Stauffer persistently agitated the language problem, emphasizing that Brazil was a Portuguese-speaking land, not German, and that plans must be laid to educate "native Brazilians."⁸

It was to be four years before Stauffer would see the fulfillment of his dream. Seven months of concentration on Portuguese and German enabled Lula Gregory to take her 14-year-old daughter and move five days' distance from her Taquari home to a Portuguese-speaking church where she established an exclusively Brazilian school. Uncomplainingly, her husband remained in Taquari with his medical practice, receiving a letter a month from her.⁹

Meanwhile, it was at Brusque that Brazilian Adventists launched their first serious attempt for a training school. F. W. Spies recalled that one of the workers' earliest questions was to ask where one could find additional church employees.



"It was readily seen," he said, "that workers educated in the field could work to better advantage than those who came from abroad." Spies doubted that some missionaries would ever adapt to changes in culture, language, and climate to "be a blessing to the people of Brazil," hence the need for a training school at Brusque.

In 1903 Spies warmly described the institution and sent pictures to the *Review* for North American readers. The school consisted of two buildings, one a combination church and classroom, the other a food-service area, workshop, and dormitory. Students worked twenty-six hours a week, paid the equivalent of US\$2.50 a month in fees, and received room, meals, and classes.¹⁰

Unfortunately, neither the International School at Curitiba nor the training school at Brusque was long-lived. In 1904 the Curitiba enterprise ended after an eight-year history, and even as Spies wrote favorably about the second school in Brusque, its end was near. Before the year 1903 ended, Brazilian Adventists moved it to Taquari, a more favorable site, but even there it lasted only briefly.¹¹

On August 19, 1903, the new school opened at its thirty-acre site at Taquari. Students and teachers lived together as a large family. Students found ample work maintaining the plant and in horticultural projects, beekeeping, and the stable and barn. These jobs kept them busy four hours each day. Their classes, offered in both Portuguese and German, consisted of Bible and "nature study, physiology, grammar, geography, arithmetic, writing, singing, music, dress cutting, sewing, hand-work, etc." The complete course lasted two years and was designed to train workers.¹²

As serious as the church leaders were about education in Brazil, a genuine worker-training school was still a thing of the future for them, but such was not the case in Argentina. Numerous short-term ventures in teaching occurred in various Adventist communities. Some of them were for English-speaking students. During her early years in Buenos Aires, Mary Westphal taught the Russian-German children in Entre Rios when she and her husband visited them.¹³ Lionel Brooking, one of the earliest converts in Argentina, began a school with fourteen students in 1897, starting what was primarily a training course for colporteurs, but he also allowed children to attend. To establish this project, he traveled to Las Garzas, Santa Fe Province, over two hundred miles north of Crespo. Classes ended abruptly when he left for the United States, making it necessary for North American missionary N. Z. Town to step in to continue the school.¹⁴

When Town reopened the school in January 1899, he changed the location from Las Garzas to Las Tunas in Santa Fe and encouraged prospective colporteurs

to attend a two-month course that included some general education, Bible, and the study of the books they would be selling. "As the lessons all had to be given in Spanish, it taxed our knowledge of that tongue, but it was good exercise," Town wrote. His Spanish was probably better than he thought, for after three months the book agents returned for another course.

Twenty-one boarding students enrolled for this second term, which gave Town the chance to prepare menus without meat and *mate*, or tea, each a longstanding Argentine dietary tradition. "The elder of the church in Las Tunas has recently discontinued the use of both meat and mate," Town reported, but not everyone took to the new regimen as well, especially abstinence from tea. Colporteurs who kicked the tea-drinking habit continued to sell Adventist literature, Town observed, but persistent mate drinkers soon quit canvassing.¹⁵

While Brooking and Town were in the north training colporteurs, more auspicious events were taking place in Entre Rios. Stirred with the need for a permanent educational center, Adventists in the Crespo-Diamante area began serious talk about a school. In June 1898, farmers started to donate land, wheat, and other aid toward the project. One gave a forty-acre tract and the crop already planted on it; other gifts raised the total to one hundred acres besides the original forty. At a meeting in September, church workers made a formal decision to establish a school to prepare workers.

One of the most convincing arguments for the new school came from Luis Ernst, a German-Swiss from Uruguay who had sold his farm, cattle, and cheese-making business to his brother in order to attend a school that he thought existed in Entre Rios, Argentina. He arrived at the September meeting with what historian Hector Peverini calls "an unmistakable call from God to dedicate his life to preach the gospel," only to find that the school was hardly on the drawing board. The workers could not foresee that this young man would become a worker whose contributions Daniel Plenc calls "critical" in the development of the church. However, they clearly understood his dedication and why he did not want to return home, even after he learned that no school yet existed. Westphal and the farmers decided the time had come to begin construction. In October 1899, Town, Westphal, and two or three local church members drove to the spot where they planned to build, and knelt on the grassy knoll to pray for God's blessing on the prospective school.¹⁶

Town became the building supervisor when construction actually began the next month. Local Adventists had already pledged US\$1,200 toward the school. "A string of wagons brought the first 80,000 bricks" one account recalled, which made



one church member's gift of two months' masonry work a much appreciated item. Town worked rapidly but sometimes alone because his helpers were occupied in the wheat harvest. By early 1900 he had eight rooms under cover with plans for seven more sleeping rooms, a kitchen, and a dining room. Luis Ernst had dug and bricked a seventy-five-foot well.¹⁷ In October at the general meeting at Diamante, Argentine workers organized a board of fifteen to oversee the school.¹⁸

This move to stabilize the school came none too soon, for conditions during the next few years caused ambivalent reactions to the program. On the positive side were increasing enrollments, good student morale, students entering church employment after completing their studies, and the arrival of new teachers from the United States, one of whom, Arthur Fulton, qualified for teacher certification in Argentina.

On the negative side were unbelievably cramped conditions made more bothersome by a lagging building program, a windstorm that destroyed parts of the buildings, and crop failures that cut off income from wheat dedicated to the school. In 1900 an exodus of workers from Argentina, including F. H. Westphal, left extra burdens and low spirits on those who remained, but through it all the Adventist community hung on.

When the school year ended on November 11, 1904, J. W. Westphal declared that the institution had experienced its most satisfactory term. Nevertheless, some "annoyances" persisted, such as no bathroom, six students in a single room, and one teacher having to share his room with a student at night and using the same space as a classroom during the day.¹⁹ A persistent and optimistic Fulton kept the school's purpose consistently before the students by setting aside entire days at a time for literature sales.²⁰ Probably church workers viewed such experiences as more important than actual classwork inasmuch as preparing people to distribute literature was a major concern. When Fulton issued his announcement of the opening of the new term in March 1906, it was evident that the school was still operating at the elementary level. But prospective students could expect Bible, geography, grammar, music, and physiology in addition to the basic classes in reading, writing, and arithmetic.²¹

By comparison to Argentina, Adventist education in Chile was slow and faltering. As with nearly every aspect of organization in this country, institutionalization was made difficult by Chile's unique geography and poorly developed transportation. In 1902 Elva Ketring, wife of the newly arrived Adventist minister H. F. Ketring, suggested a school for children of English residents in Copiapó as a method to introduce church teachings to this river community in northern Chile.²²

The Ketrings proposal had merit, but J. W. Westphal had other ideas. The *Revista Adventista* had already reminded Chilean Adventists in 1901 that they needed to provide a Christian education for their own young and that a church member was willing to donate land for the project.²³ When Westphal made his initial inspection tour of Adventist churches in Chile during 1902, he spent several days visiting the forty-five-acre plot in the south, given by Carlos Krieghoff, a Swiss-born immigrant and early convert.²⁴ Appalled that Chile had not a single active colporteur, he argued for a center to train workers locally rather than to send them elsewhere for an education.

Ketrings realized that the building program would not be rapid; however, he moved to the school site to start construction, and by 1903, had completed one house. Animated by what they saw, Chilean Adventists set 1904 as a target date to begin classes, but events moved slowly. Debts were accumulating, church members were few, and inflation cut deeply into their incomes, making money hard to find.²⁵

After a four-year absence in the United States, Frank Westphal returned to South America in 1904 to head the West Coast Mission. He faced a stalemated program. During a stopover at his brother's home in Argentina, the two men had an opportunity to plan a revival of the truncated building project in Chile. Apparently it was a priority item on their agenda, for the pair began to work hard to collect money. At the end of three weeks, Adventists in the Crespo-Diamante area pledged 510 Argentine pesos, 260 for the Chilean school and 250 toward the Argentine school, known at the time as Colegio Camarero.²⁶

The Foreign Mission Board donated 450 copies of English and German editions of *Christ's Object Lessons* for Chileans to sell to raise money for the new school.²⁷ As urgent as education was to the Westphals, not until April 1906 did classes begin with eight students in the long anticipated school in Chile. Only after workers had raised enough money to liquidate their debts and provide substantial working capital were they able to launch their plans. Carlos Krieghoff wrote that the rooms were small, furnishings were few, and instructional materials scarce, but he believed that the school would become a worthy representation of "the truth that we preach."²⁸

These beginnings of education yielded mixed results. The most notable successes occurred in regions where literacy was already relatively good. Conversely, among populations of low literacy, Adventist education achieved much less at first. Adventists also experimented with the school as an evangelistic device, but this practice always raised questions of whether classrooms were to be a "haven" for Adventist children



or an extension of the public meeting hall where evangelism took place. Some asked whether a school should or even could combine both ideals. Adventists also debated whether their greatest investments should be in institutions to train adults to participate in church work or in primary schools for children.

Money was always a problem. Where literacy already existed, support for education appeared more readily, not only because of its general acceptability, but because money was more available. Argentine farmers could give land and wheat, but common laborers had no comparable resource. Adventists maintained institutional projects other than schools, and church leaders had to decide where dollars would be spent most effectively for the denomination as a whole.

Compared to hospitals and printing houses, schools were far less technologically oriented and equipment was much cheaper. Unanimity never existed, but quite often church administrators were reluctant to underwrite educational operations, forcing local constituencies to fund their own schools.

All of this helps to explain why the beginnings of Adventist education in South America appeared like the halting steps of a child learning to walk. Small and sometimes ineffectual as they appeared, the first schools were nonetheless beginnings. The time would come when these same enterprises would no longer stumble, but run.

ESTABLISHING MEDICAL MISSIONS

If the origins of Adventist education in South America were hard earned, much more so were the beginnings of medical work. Lean mission budgets could barely afford ministers' salaries; to construct and equip clinics and simple health-care units was nearly impossible. Many times whatever medical attention the church offered came from the hands of enterprising preachers or laymen trained in missionary nursing. Only a few doctors dared brave the rigors of missionary medical practice in the tropics or even in climates similar to the United States.

Ole Oppegard was the first Adventist to promote healthful living and treatment of the sick in South America. This Norwegian-born self-supporting missionary arrived in Argentina in 1895 after training as a missionary nurse in the United States. He was to earn his living selling literature as well as working as a nurse-masseur. His skills "enabled him to restore the health of more than a few sick." Oppegard's success, combined with Lucy Post's efforts, a Bible worker who also doubled as a medical missionary in Buenos Aires, only whetted Frank Westphal's desire for a physician and nurses to establish a sanitarium.²⁹

B. J. Ferciot, an Adventist physician in British Guiana, was a possible candidate for assignment to Argentina, but talk about his transfer came to nothing for several reasons. The plan of the Mission Board called for the doctor to support himself and his family through private practice and to engage in church-sponsored projects as needed. This arrangement did not produce results in British Guiana. It was next to impossible to validate his medical license in the British colony, and his practice dwindled to virtually nothing. After his wife's health deteriorated, the couple returned home.³⁰

The issue of Adventist physicians being able to acquire legal recognition in order to practice medicine would become a major difficulty for the church. In October 1901 when the Mission Board voted to send Dr. R. H. Habenicht from Iowa to South America, it was with instructions that he go "as a missionary evangelist, using his medical knowledge as subordinate to his evangelistic work, the idea being that the laws will preclude his acting as a regular practitioner." The caveat which the Mission Board attached to his call reflected his dual experience as a preacher and physician. As a twenty-two-year-old graduate of Battle Creek College, Habenicht began his ministerial career in 1888, but he soon enrolled as a medical student at the University of Iowa. After earning his medical credential, he served as the director of an Adventist sanitarium.³¹

Because Habenicht's appointment came on the heels of a major disaster in the denomination's health-care program in Mexico, other influences may also have been at work in the Mission Board's instructions. In 1898 following a series of financial reversals, the church sold its highly touted sanitarium in Guadalajara, Mexico, to the MMBA, the acronym for Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association, headed by Dr. J. H. Kellogg. This body served as a holding corporation for Adventist health-care institutions, and although it was an Adventist entity, it was semi-autonomous because stockholders were in control.

At that time the General Conference conducted nearly all of its ministries—education, health care, literature distribution and sales, etc.—through similar organizations. Since 1891, seven years before the Guadalajara incident, church leaders at Adventist headquarters in Battle Creek had talked quietly about the need to reorganize church administration in order to bring all institutions under the direct control of church leaders. This would mean the end of societies and corporations like the MMBA.

Motivating this mood was a desire by church administrators to prevent strong individuals from taking advantage of the stockholder system of ownership in order



to gain control of church ministries and implement personal goals instead of carrying out purposes decided by the church in its business sessions. To construct the sanitarium in Guadalajara, Adventist leaders in Mexico had depended heavily on appropriations directly from the General Conference, and in the view of General Conference officers, the circumstances surrounding the sale of the Mexican sanitarium amounted to a loss.³²

In 1901 the church terminated most of its semi-autonomous organizations, but the MMBA continued on until 1904. Whatever legal difficulties may have existed in Argentina for physicians who applied to validate their medical licenses, it had not escaped the Mission Board's attention that Habenicht was an ordained minister as well as a doctor, and sending him to serve as a clergyman first and a doctor second could also have been a precautionary move to emphasize that health care was subordinate to the evangelistic purposes of the church.

Habenicht arrived in Buenos Aires in December 1901. The next month in Entre Rios he discovered that instead of passing a single test to qualify for medical practice, alien doctors had to complete examinations in all subject areas, as though they were still in medical school. Even more shocking was the news that a fee equivalent to US\$360 went with the tests. With feigned friendship a Crespo druggist who saw Habenicht as a competitor agreed to help him bypass this hurdle. Luring the doctor to the provincial capital, he connived to block his way to the authorities. Not to be tricked so easily, Habenicht went to see the British consul and an established English doctor, with whose help he received permission to establish a limited practice.³³

With Lionel Brooking, who had returned to Argentina after completing a two-year nursing course at Battle Creek, Habenicht set up practice in Crespo on March 1, 1902. Almost immediately he enjoyed success. His first patient was the local police chief. Soon he was handling as many as thirty cases a day. The sick converged on his home from miles around. One patient, blind for six years, regained his sight, and another, both blind and paralyzed, also improved. In addition to his practice, twice weekly he conducted classes at Colegio Camarero, ten miles distant.³⁴

Habenicht's limited permission to practice medicine did not waive the qualifying examinations. To prepare for them, he bore down resolutely to learn Spanish. His part-time teaching responsibilities were a ready-made chance to practice the language, and within five months he was able to conduct classes in Spanish.³⁵ Despite his hard work, four years later in 1906, he still could not revalidate his license. After fifty trips to the office, he concluded that prejudice made his case hopeless, but

his wait gave him time to conduct evangelistic meetings and to become director of Colegio Camarero. Habenicht's contributions to the South American medical program were still in the future.³⁶

A contemporary of Habenicht was A. L. Gregory. He arrived with his family in Argentina approximately in 1902 but did not remain long enough to leave an impact on the medical work. Because of the scarcity of physicians in rural areas, he acquired permission for a limited practice in Crespo. Although he quickly developed a "lively practice," he left suddenly for Brazil where professional recognition was reputed to be less stringent than in Argentina. But once in São Paulo his wife, Lula, saw trouble ahead, predicting difficulty in obtaining a medical license, mainly because of the Portuguese examination. Both of the Gregorys were hard workers, as their seven-year service in Brazil shows. Working side by side with church leaders, the doctor sometimes traveled with ministers, arousing interest with health talks.³⁷

In 1904 the Gregorys moved to Taquari, a community of about 1,500 people and the center of Adventist work in Brazil. Such a small population belied the heavy work ahead. The doctor's packed schedule often kept him busy until late in the evening, sometimes preventing him from eating lunch until nearly bedtime. "Many nights," he said, "I am too tired to study, so go to bed soon after eight o'clock." Rather than to complain about these inordinate work demands, he tried to find ways of improving his service. Noting the poor teeth of Brazilians and the lenient laws controlling dental practice, he began dentistry, dividing his time equally with medicine.³⁸

The problems the General Conference encountered at Guadalajara, Mexico, had been internal, produced by conditions peculiar to the church. In contrast, obstacles that Ferciot, Gregory, and Habenicht faced when trying to acquire medical licenses were external, imposed by governments. These circumstances raised the importance of missionary nursing among Adventist missions. It was training in this style of medical missionary activity that J. H. Kellogg had established at Battle Creek and which other Adventist institutions in North America had copied. Pastors and laity were also encouraged to train as missionary nurses.

Symbolic of the preachers' attitudes toward missionary nursing were those of H. F. Ketring in Chile. Fresh from the United States and filled with enthusiasm, he declared he would not wait for medical workers to come. He was studying Kellogg's *Home Hand Book* to supplement his health training at Union College in Nebraska, and he had buttonholed an American dentist in Valparaíso who was instructing him



how to do extractions. “So I shall go with my Bible, fomentation cloths, and a pair of forceps,” he wrote with triumphant confidence, “and expect to have success.”³⁹

Compared to the twenty-first century, these medical beginnings seem almost primitive. Better times were ahead for the church’s medical work, but Adventists seized the moment to lay a foundation of a medical establishment that would make a significant impact on the health of the continent.

PRINTING PRESSES AND LITERATURE PRODUCTION

Of all Adventist enterprises except preaching, publishing the written message was the oldest. In some respects, beginning to operate printing presses in South America was more successful than maintaining either schools or medical units. Although schools sometimes were an evangelistic tool serving non-Adventists, their chief function pointed inward to the membership, a means to retain the church’s young and train workers. Because schools usually cost more than they netted in tuition, their financial success depended on a supporting and participating Adventist community.

For the most part, health care pointed outward because it was primarily a public service. Successful medical work required large investments, but church leaders regarded such outlays worth the cost because health care often served as an opening wedge for Adventism. Publishing houses pointed both inward and outward by preparing literature for both Adventist and non-Adventist readership. In the cases of both health care and publishing, the non-Adventist market was larger. In keeping with the gospel commission to “go into all the world,” a plethora of leaflets, tracts, periodicals, and books kindled interest in Adventism and led to conversions. It was a process that could at once be economically advantageous and spiritually rewarding and would involve minimal financial risk because literature salesmen earned their livelihood with commissions.⁴⁰

Because of this combination of “spreading the word” and practical finances, publishing establishments often drew strong support from the early leaders, who, at the same time, might question the timeliness of a school because it would be a financial drain, or a sanitarium because of its heavy initial costs. Missionaries did not always understand these economic distinctions. While they generally accepted the goal that institutions should support themselves, they were sometimes unaware that as a rule of thumb, institutions usually followed after membership growth. It was easy for pioneer workers to see institutions as a means to develop a constituency, and thus they sometimes requested financial support for institutions prematurely.

In many locations where illiteracy was high, the concept of the mission school often became the leading edge of institutional work, but it was the printing press that church leaders viewed as the investment most likely to produce members. Thus at early stages of Adventist presence, they were more willing to invest in publishing than in other institutions.

It was this principle of self-support that William A. Spicer explained to B. E. Connerly, a missionary in Puerto Rico who was simultaneously promoting a school and a printing house. “I hope,” Spicer told him, “you will be able to turn out a good lot of literature among the people, and so bring in funds and sow the seed of truth at the same time. We shall not be able to talk school enterprises just now. In fact, in nearly all of our fields it has been found that school enterprises before a local constituency is raised up are rather expensive methods of missionary work.” Spicer’s advice applied anywhere, not just to a worker in Puerto Rico.⁴¹

Requests for literature were almost immediate from Adventists after they entered Latin America. Church leaders at Battle Creek endorsed a multiplicity of publications in the field to allow writers to treat local issues. The problem of communicating over a vast region also led some to favor regional papers over a single publication. Realizing it would be only a matter of time before the many missions would want papers, the General Conference Association decided in 1896 to permit several independent and inexpensive Spanish papers rather than a single journal for the entire field.⁴² Ten years later, presses in South America were rolling out Adventist papers in German, Spanish, and Portuguese. At the heart of publishing was language facility, and on this count Chile was exceptionally blessed.

In mid-1899 the Mission Board agreed to a proposal from G. H. Baber, head of the Adventist church in Chile, to publish a missionary paper in his territory.⁴³ Baber began his work with the help of the newly converted Eduardo Thomann, who managed the enterprise. They published the first edition in January 1900 through a commercial press, but by September their frugality enabled them to buy a small press and print the paper themselves. Because they had no place to put the equipment, it went into Baber’s own house in Valparaíso. Even after a couple of years he still kept the equipment and stored books and papers in his home. By this time not only was Thomann publishing the missionary journal, *Las Señales de los Tiempos*, but he was also putting out an eight-page church paper, *Revista Adventista*.⁴⁴

Baber’s stay in Chile ended in 1901, but this was not the end of the Valparaíso press. One of the two new ministers, A. R. Ogden, had been in Chile only weeks



before moving to Iquique, a coastal city in the northern mining regions. Before making this change, he mobilized the Santiago church to sell 1,000 copies of *Las Señales* each month, agreeing to furnish the papers for five cents each and to allow a 100 percent markup.

When Ogden moved to Iquique, Thomann went along as the newly appointed editor of the missionary paper. This self-taught journalist, though not a native Chilean, had lived in that country since a child and knew Spanish as if it were his mother tongue. He entered his new position enthusiastically. By sheer dint of energy, he set up the press, organized the office, edited the paper, and even sold subscriptions on the streets.⁴⁵ During the first half of 1902, the press recorded an operating gain of \$200, and by October the *Las Señales* circulation had reached 8,000.⁴⁶

Thomann was still going strong three years later when fire destroyed the press, which by then, was back in Valparaíso. F. H. Westphal, the new superintendent of the West Coast Mission, never questioned whether the press should reopen, but he did consider moving it to the new Adventist school at Púa in southern Chile.⁴⁷ A \$5,000 insurance policy provided much of the replacement money, and by New Year's Eve, only seven weeks after the fire, Thomann was back in Valparaíso selling *Las Señales* with church members.⁴⁸ Westphal and William Steele, treasurer of the West Coast Mission, also launched a campaign to raise even more money to purchase a better press. They solicited donors from among members of the Adventist community in Argentina as well as the West Coast Mission inasmuch as *Revista Adventista*, a Chilean publication, had become the official church paper of the South American Union Mission in 1904.⁴⁹

Nine months following the fire, Valparaíso was practically razed by an earthquake. The city "looks like the ruins of old Babylon," Westphal told A. G. Daniells, General Conference president. Out of this disaster came a special edition of *Las Señales* describing earthquakes as fulfillments of prophecies relating to the world's end. The press ran 30,000 copies, which sold in three weeks. Even newsboys hawked the paper.⁵⁰

No such dramatics accompanied events in Argentina. Following the first general meeting at Crespo in 1896, workers fanned out over the River Plate region to sell literature, but book sales languished. Political disturbances in both Argentina and Uruguay made the situation more discouraging. To compound matters, farmers were going bankrupt because locusts were devouring their crops. The literature market was drying up, and book agents began looking for other work. By March 1897, N. Z. Town, head of literature distribution, was unapologetically discouraged.

The English-speaking communities had long since been scoured clean, leaving large barrios of Spanish and Italians where literacy was low. For these people, Town remarked, there was more need of teachers than book salesmen.⁵¹

The first week of June 1897 had hardly passed when F. H. Westphal, John McCarthy, and Jean Vuilleumier converged on Buenos Aires, fatigued by several weeks of hard work in the north and grim over the gloomy prospects for literature sales. Huddling over their problems, they and their colleagues pored over Ellen White's writings, prayed, and compared ideas. After two weeks they decided to publish a monthly magazine, *El Faro*. The Foreign Mission Board had already approved such a paper for Argentina. "All spirit of debate will be kept out of this paper," Westphal promised.⁵² A recent convert in Buenos Aires translated articles into Spanish and a sympathetic university professor of languages offered to proofread them, gratis.⁵³

The first issue came off the press in July 1897, a month after laying the plan. It was an ambitious beginning for Adventist journalism in Spanish South America, one that was not overlooked by two Buenos Aires papers whose editors commented favorably on the new publication. As E. W. Snyder discovered, this cordial gesture did not mean that salesmen could easily reach the reading audience. Attempting to canvass the working class in Buenos Aires, colporteurs found their customers crowded into large apartment buildings—many times an entire family was confined to a single room, sharing a patio with similarly cramped neighbors. Drinking was heavy in these tenement houses, and canvassers reported that their work was hard.⁵⁴

But there were other readers besides the working class. Much to the advantage of the editors of *El Faro*, Vuilleumier brought not only linguistic skills to Argentina but editorial expertise gained in Switzerland. For months at a time he remained in Buenos Aires helping to edit the paper, which Adventists sent to members of the federal government and hundreds of merchants. Its usefulness as a public relations device became apparent in September 1900, when nearly all the businessmen from Diamante attended the nearby general meeting after receiving a special issue especially prepared and circulated for the occasion.⁵⁵

Frank Westphal and his associates were accomplishing all of this through commercial printers, but after his brother, J. W., arrived in 1901 as head of the South American mission work, events assumed a different direction. In 1902 the River Plate Conference voted to establish a press in Argentina; however, a lack of money delayed plans. N. Z. Town, now conference president, and J. W. Westphal began a campaign to raise funds, assuring members that they could save about half of the



production costs if they owned their own press. At the annual conference meeting in 1904, members voted to ask Otto Heyde to become the manager as soon as the new establishment could begin operations. Early the next year J. W. Westphal bought a used press in Buenos Aires which he installed in a small space at Colegio Camarero. At the same time *El Faro* changed its name to *La Verdad Presente*. Students from the school sometimes left their classrooms for entire days to canvass neighboring towns, selling both single copies and subscriptions. Even winter's chill and night travel did not stop them. It did not go unnoticed that circulation of the paper doubled.⁵⁶

Like their Chilean counterparts, Argentine Adventists seized the Valparaíso earthquake as a chance to widen the circulation of their paper by publishing a special edition. Students at Camarero devoted an extended weekend to selling copies. When the final count was in, 10,000 copies had reached the public. The Chilean special edition of *Las Señales* had outsold the Argentine *La Verdad* three to one. J. W. Westphal was not satisfied and confided to the General Conference president that Chileans were more prone to buy than were Argentines.

However, there were other causes for the difference in sales. The earthquake was a Chilean matter, not one that touched Argentines. E. H. Meyers, who became a missionary to Argentina soon after the earthquake, also pointed out that the underlying reason for the success of the Chilean paper was that the Adventist press in Santiago was the primary source of news because it suffered the least damage of any printing establishment in the city and was in the best position to publish information about the disaster. Even with the explanations, a sale of 10,000 papers was not a small accomplishment.⁵⁷

Of the three major South American regions where Adventists maintained a viable presence, Brazil was the last in which they published a paper. Not yet two years in Brazil, F. W. Spies announced in 1898 that both a journal and a collection of Portuguese hymns were in the making. But progress was slow. Nearly two years later Thurston said the paper was still forthcoming. Finally, in 1900, *O Arauto da Verdade*, a missionary paper, made its way into public hands.⁵⁸

William Stein, who had been teaching school, was a natural choice for editor of the new publication. Besides fluency in Portuguese and German, he was familiar enough with English to prepare publishable translations. Even before his baptism, he had demonstrated editorial interests. When F. H. Westphal visited Piracicaba in March 1895 during his first trip to Brazil, he discovered that Stein had already acquired a copy of *Steps to Christ* and had made his own personal translation. Stein

himself wrote to the “dear brethren in Battle Creek” in January 1895, two months before Westphal’s arrival, to express his thanks for the book, which he called “a beautiful little work.” Westphal remarked that Stein wanted to translate additional Adventist books.⁵⁹

Early calls for literature in Portuguese inspired Battle Creek to search Europe for technical aid in publishing books and pamphlets, but before Adventists could produce anything, Brazilian prices skyrocketed because of a 50 percent increase in book imports. American presses were nearly helpless to correct this situation. Because Adventist books produced in Europe were substantially cheaper, church leaders decided that South American missions could negotiate their own purchases from those suppliers.⁶⁰

While this may have facilitated the acquisition of German books from the Adventist publishing house in Hamburg, it did nothing for Portuguese literature. The sole book available for Portuguese-speaking Brazilians appears to have been *Passos a Cristo*, a translation of *Steps to Christ* published in Battle Creek that Stein described as “a small book translated in the United States into poor Portuguese.” Thurston and Stauffer were keenly aware of the dearth of Portuguese reading material, a situation they hoped to correct by obtaining permission to translate and publish portions of *Bible Readings*.⁶¹

At their second conference session in 1904, Brazilian Adventists re-elected Stein as editor, and at the same time pledged to raise 5,000 *mil-réis* for a press. It was John Lipke who unexpectedly supplied the needed equipment during an eight-month furlough to the United States. Only days after the conference session, he began his trip, which took him to Emmanuel Missionary College, where he picked up the press that survived the fire at the Review and Herald Publishing House in 1902. Back in Brazil by early 1905, he urged the installation of the press at Taquari, already the site of a school and A. L. Gregory’s clinic. The charred machinery was not what the workers anticipated, but it was free, and eager hands soon had it cleaned, oiled, and running.⁶²

When the printing equipment arrived from the United States, no building was ready for it; meanwhile its storage in the customs house was costing money. With the church’s leading Brazilian school and a small clinic already in operation in Taquari, it appeared to be the sensible thing to follow Lipke’s advice and unite publishing with other church enterprises.⁶³ The same year Augusto Pages transferred to Brazil from Germany, where he had managed a health-food factory and a press. Now



in Taquari, he and the trilingual Stein turned out both German and Portuguese literature. It was all very impressive to Spicer, now General Conference secretary. “The outlook in Brazil is encouraging,” he wrote after inspecting the plant in 1906.⁶⁴

These early publishing enterprises were singularly different from medical and educational institutions in that they were all successful. Without exception the establishments themselves or the papers they represented either continued or merged with others to form an unbroken procession of publishing work. Not so prosperous were the beginnings of schools and health-care units. Some of them failed, but enough continued to contribute to the heritage of Adventist institutional growth.

THE IMPACT OF EARLY INSTITUTIONS

The evolution of institutions had a profound effect upon the growth of the church in South America. Schools, health-care projects, and printing houses drew the public’s attention and gave stature to Adventists. In some cases, even more than ecclesiastical buildings, these enterprises became the benchmarks of the church. Ownership of buildings, implementation of a multiplicity of programs serving a common purpose, and employment opportunities in a variety of institutions added to the character of the church. Institutions also provided something with which Adventists in South America could identify. These were visible aspects of what Adventists liked to call the “movement” or the “cause.”

Less tangible but no less real was the unifying influence of the Adventist message itself. The titles of missionary papers all rang with the same note—lighthouse, sentinel, watchman, herald, messenger. Wherever published, the papers contained no substantive difference—they all sounded the tones of the urgency of the gospel and the announcement of the Second Advent.

Similarly, literature published for exclusive Adventist consumption exerted a unifying influence. Many years earlier, before Adventists had organized themselves formally into a denomination, the *Review* had earned its reputation as the glue that held believers together. This general church paper was nearing its half-century mark and was an institution in its own right when South American Adventists began producing their own local journals. With the *Review* as a model, these new church papers discussed doctrine, reported about the Adventist movement, and urged members to be faithful. Adventists in Battle Creek would have been as comfortable with the reading fare in Brazil and as satisfied with the subjects taught at the Argentine school and basic medical services offered in Entre Rios as with their own. In spite of local

differences and techniques, Adventists in South America maintained a remarkable sameness to those in North America where the movement began.

As the entire church grew, increasingly tighter organization and management also evolved. It had not always been so; in fact, the early Adventists were reluctant to organize. By the time they entered Latin America, they had long since overcome their doubts and were demonstrating a proclivity for order. Scarcely any aspect of the cause existed independently from a society or agency of some sort.

This trend had come about partially by necessity. In addition to the legal demands for the organization to provide corporate rights to hold property and manage money, there were other reasons, perhaps more subtle, for the growth of the organization. It was a rare Adventist who was truly wealthy and could donate generously to church projects. This circumstance, combined with the financial fluctuations of the 1890s both in the United States and elsewhere, resulted in reduced church revenues and produced an economy of scarcity in the church. The need to stretch every dollar called for much tighter controls implemented by stronger administrative authority. Church unity had always been a part of Adventist thinking, but economic conditions in the latter years of the nineteenth century were peculiarly conducive to the affinity between organization and solidarity. The resulting mentality was fertile soil for institutionalization. It was no accident that the mission program in South America, born during the 1890s, would bear the marks of the environment in which it originated.

Institutionalization began in these regions before churches combined into an organizational hierarchy. Institutions as well as church congregations helped to make organizational structure necessary. Once formed, they fed each other, church growth contributing to institutions and institutions assisting church growth.

¹ W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *RH.*, September 29, 1896; and "Report of Brazil Mission Field," *The Home Missionary*, IX (June 1897), 107-09; H. F. Graf, "Brazil," *RH.*, October 6, 1897. Renato Gross, *Colégio Internacional de Curitiba* (Rio de Janeiro, 1996) also provides a short but informative account of this school. Another valuable glimpse of the Curitiba school comes from Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 148, 149.

² W. H. Thurston, "A Trip to Southern Brazil," *RH.*, April 6, 1897; William Stein, "Our International School in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 20, 1897.

³ Paul Kramer, "Our International College at Curytiba, Brazil, South America," *ibid.*, March 13, 1900. Gross, *Colégio Internacional*, 27, 28; Vieira, *Vida e Obra*, 148, 149. Adventist readers of the *Review and Herald* in the United States at the time may have assumed from the name of the school that it was a school of higher learning because the title of Kramer's article called it a "college." In all Latin American countries, the term "colegio" approximates the English word, "school."

⁴ Roberto César de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Fundamental no Brasil," *A educação adventista no Brasil: uma história de aventuras e milagres*, Alberto Timm, ed. (São Paulo, 2004), 32, 33; Paulo César de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Médio no Brasil," *ibid.*, 52, 53. For additional information about



early schools at Brusque and Taquary, see Joubert Castro Perez and Fabiana Amaral, “O Ensino Teológico no Brasil,” *ibid.*, 123-127. G. G. Ritter, “John Lipke, M.D.” [obituary], *RH*, January 20, 1944; Alberto Timm, *Igreja Adventista de Campo dos Quevedos, 1905-2005* (Engenheiro Coelho, 2005), 61-65.

⁵ F. W. Spies, “Brazil,” *ibid.*, December 28, 1897; A. B. Stauffer, “Where Are the German Teachers for Brazil?” *ibid.*, January 4, 1898; and “The Second School in Brazil,” *ibid.*, February 8, 1898. “Gregory, Abel Landers,” *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 1, second rev. ed., 637.

⁶ Allen Moon, “The School Work in all Lands,” *Missionary Magazine*, X (February 1898), 36, 37.

⁷ W. H. Thurston, “Brazil,” *RH*, April 2, 1901.

⁸ W. H. Thurston, “In Brazil,” *ibid.*, April 23, 1901; A. B. Stauffer, “Brazil,” *ibid.*, December 3, 1901.

⁹ A. L. Gregory’s reports, all titled “Brazil,” appeared in *ibid.* on July 14, 1904, July 13, 1905, and January 4, 1906.

¹⁰ F. W. Spies, “The Brusque Training School Brazil,” *ibid.*, March 10, 1903.

¹¹ Walton J. Brown, comp., *Chronology of Seventh-day Adventist Education* (Washington, D.C., n. d.), 72, 82, 175; J. W. Westphal, “The Message in Brazil,” *RH*, January 6, 1903.

¹² John Lipke, “Our Industrial School in Taquary, Brazil,” *ibid.*, June 6, 1907. A brief account of early Adventist schools in Brazil appears in Peverini, *En las huellas*, 107-109.

¹³ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 42, 43. Peverini summarizes the early educational ventures in Argentina in *En las huellas*, 105-107.

¹⁴ Lionel Brooking, “‘In Perils of Water’ in Argentina,” *RH*, June 15, 1897; and “Argentina,” *ibid.*, September 21, 1897; F. H. Westphal, “Argentina,” *ibid.*, June 15, 1897.

¹⁵ N. Z. Town, “Argentina,” *ibid.*, February 27, 1900.

¹⁶ “River Plate Adventist University,” *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 786; N. Z. Town, “Notes from the Field,” *RH*, December 27, 1898; Brown, “Foundations,” 299, 300; Westphal, *Pioneering*, 44-48. Westphal’s account is particularly fascinating, recounting Ernst’s contributions to the building program. N. Z. Town, “The South American Union Conference,” *RH*, June 23, 1910. Also of value are Peverini’s story of Luis Ernst and the early years of Colegio Adventista del Plata in *En las huellas*, 113-123, and Plenc, *Misioneros*, 53-62.

¹⁷ N. Z. Town, “Argentina,” *RH*, May 8, 1900; Westphal, *Pioneering*, 47, 48. F. H. Westphal to Foreign Mission Board, July 26, 1899, GCA/21, IL. Regarding the donation of bricks, see a pamphlet by Pablo C. Rodríguez, *Cien años educando: origen y desarrollo de la Universidad Adventista del Plata*, quoted by Plenc, *Misioneros*, 57.

¹⁸ F. H. Westphal, “Notes from the Argentine Republic,” *RH*, January 1, 1901.

¹⁹ Town’s progress on the school can be traced in his reports in *ibid.*: “Argentina,” October 15, 1901; and “Argentina,” August 19, 1902; “River Plate Conference,” November 4, 1902; “Cyclone in Argentina,” December 30, 1902. J. W. Westphal, “South America,” *ibid.*, December 31, 1901; and “The Training-School in Argentina,” *ibid.*, February 9, 1905. Arthur Fulton commented about the school in three articles, all titled “Argentina,” *ibid.*, April 1, 1902, January 21, 1902, and May 19, 1904.

²⁰ L. A. Rojas, “Ecos del Colegio de Camarero,” *RA* (A), October, 1905; Arthur Fulton, “The Paper Work in Colegio Camarero, Argentina, S. A.,” *RH*, February 15, 1905; and “The Argentine School’s Work with the Earthquake Number of the ‘Verdad Presente,’” *ibid.*, December 6, 1906.

²¹ Arturo Fulton, “El Colegio de Camarero,” *RA* (A), March, 1906.

²² Elva Ketrang, “Chile,” *RH*, October 21, 1902.

²³ “¿Tendremos Colegio?” *RA* (A), September 1901.

²⁴ J. W. Westphal, “Our Work in the South American West Coast Mission Field,” *RH*, November 11, 1902; and “Chile,” *ibid.*, November 18, 1902; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 130-131; Brown, “Foundations,” 340-42.

²⁵ Workers in Chile frequently remarked about the high cost of living, especially in the north. At the time there were fewer than 200 Adventists in Chile, mostly in the north. H. F. Ketrang, “Chile,” *RH*, April 7, 1904. In November 1901, the Crespo church in Argentina reported more members than in the entire South American West Coast in 1904. J. W. Westphal, “South America,” *ibid.*, December 31, 1901.

²⁶ F. H. Westphal, "From England to South America," *ibid.*, December 15, 1904; Brown, "Foundations," 343-45. Brown cites different sums of money.

²⁷ Guillermo Steele, "Fondos para el Colegio de Púa, y para la Publicación de Tratados," *RA* (A), March 1905.

²⁸ F. H. Westphal, "The Opening of Our Work in Western South America," *RH*, May 16, 1907; Brown, "Foundations," 346, 347; Carlos E. Krieghoff, "Escuela Adventista en Púa, Sur de Chile," *RA* (A), August 1906.

²⁹ Peverini, *En las huellas*, 140.

³⁰ See Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Caribbean*, v. 1 (Berrien Springs, MI, 1992), 59, 60.

³¹ GCA/48, RFMB, IV, October 3, 1901; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 141.

³² General Conference Minutes, August 8, 1891. Hereafter this source cited as AM. For a discussion of the role of the MMBA in the Guadalajara incident, see Greenleaf, *Church in Latin America*, v. 1, 55-57.

³³ R. H. Habenicht, "The Medical Work in Argentina," *RH*, July 8, 1902.

³⁴ Lionel Brooking, "Argentina," *ibid.*, July 1, 1902; R. H. Habenicht, "The Medical Work in Argentina," *ibid.*, July 8, 1902.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; N. Z. Town, "Argentina," *ibid.*, August 19, 1902.

³⁶ R. H. Habenicht, "Argentina, South America," *ibid.*, December 6, 1906; "Habenicht, Robert H.," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 1, second rev. ed., 651. See Hector Peverini's account of Habenicht's early experience in *En las huellas*, 140-142. Daniel Plenc provides an inspiring account of Habenicht's contributions in *Misioneros*, 42-52.

³⁷ N. Z. Town, "Argentina," *RH*, June 3, 1902; Lula Gregory, "Medical Missionary Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, June 24, 1902; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, November 2, 1902. Gregory's sudden departure from Argentina is an enigma. The *SDA Encyclopedia* states that he volunteered to go to Brazil, but Town thought he would remain in Argentina, stating that he was studying the language, presumably to prepare for the examinations. "Gregory, Abel Landers," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 1, second rev. ed., 637.

³⁸ A. L. Gregory, "Brazil," *RH*, July 4, 1904; and "Dentists as Missionaries," *ibid.*, August 31, 1905. According to Gregory, a dentist's license cost only \$75.

³⁹ H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *ibid.*, September 16, 1902.

⁴⁰ For an absorbing account of the establishment of Adventist presses in South America, see Peverini, *En las huellas*, ch. 8, "Raudales de luz," 91-104. Peverini draws a distinct relationship between colporteurism and the advancement of the publishing industry.

⁴¹ W. A. Spicer to B. E. Connerly, May 10, 1903, GCA/48, OL, XXIII.

⁴² *Ibid.*/3, AM, II, August 26, 1896.

⁴³ *Ibid.*/48, RFMB, III, 177, August 1, 1899.

⁴⁴ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, September 17, 1901. See Aldo S. Casella and Carlos A. Steger, eds., *Cien años de bendiciones* (Buenos Aires, 2004), 7.

⁴⁵ A. R. Ogden, "Chile," *RH*, January 21, 1902; and "Chile," *ibid.*, August 12, 1902; Eduardo Thomann to J. W. Westphal, n. d. quoted in "South America," *ibid.*, October 14, 1902; Eduardo Thomann, "Chile," *ibid.*, October 6, 1904; "Thomann, Eduardo Werner," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 770.

⁴⁶ A. R. Ogden to H. H. Hall, October 5, 1902, quoted in "A Letter from Chile," *RH*, November 18, 1902.

⁴⁷ "El Incendio," *RA* (A), November, 1905; Francisco H. Westphal, "Otro Año Vencido," *ibid.*, December, 1905; Eduardo Thomann, "Chile," *RH*, March 16, 1905; and "Chile," *ibid.*, December 21, 1905; F. H. Westphal, "West Coast Mission Field, South America," *ibid.*, January 11, 1906.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; Eduardo Thomann, "Chile," *ibid.*, April 5, 1906.

⁴⁹ Francisco H. Westphal and Guillermo Steele, "La Reunión de Iquique," *RA* (A), February, 1906; Ed. W. Thomann, "Resoluciones de la Reunión de Santiago," *ibid.*, March, 1906; H. F. Ketrting, "Informe de la Reunión del Comité de la Misión Sud-Americana," *ibid.*, June, 1904.

⁵⁰ F. H. Westphal to A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, September 2, 1906. GCA/11, IL; F. H. Westphal, "Chile, South America," *RH*, November 8, 1906; William Steele, "Valparaiso After the Earthquake," *ibid.*, November 29, 1906; Arturo Fulton, "Colegio Camarero," *RA* (A), August 1905.

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⁵¹ A series of *RH* articles describes the bleak conditions in the River Plate region. Chronologically, they are F. H. Westphal, "Argentina, South America," December 1, 1896; John McCarthy, "Notes from the Southern Hemisphere," December 15, 1896; F. H. Westphal, "Argentina and Uruguay," February 9, 1897; N. Z. Town, "Argentina," May 11, 1897; F. H. Westphal, "Argentina," August 10, 1897; and "Argentina, S. A.," November 16, 1897. See also Westphal, *Pioneering*, 79, 80. Colporteurs were not the only ones suffering. Farm equipment sales had fallen off sharply. In order to help control the locusts, the Argentine government paid farmers to kill them. Westphal witnessed several wagonloads of locusts passing by on the way to the scales. Some farmers turned to this new means of earning a living.

⁵² F. H. Westphal, "Argentina," *RH*, August 10, 1897; N. Z. Town, "Buenos Ayres," *ibid.*, August 10, 1897; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 7.

⁵³ N. Z. Town, "Buenos Ayres," *RH*, August 10, 1897.

⁵⁴ E. W. Snyder, "Buenos Aires and Montevideo," *ibid.*, December 14, 1897.

⁵⁵ Jean Vuilleumier, "Argentine Republic," *ibid.*, July 3, 1900; F. H. Westphal, "Notes from the Argentine Republic," *ibid.*, January 1, 1901.

⁵⁶ J. W. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, May 11, 1905; and "The River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, December 21, 1905; Arthur Fulton, "The Paper Work in Colegio Camarero, Argentina, S. A.," *ibid.*, February 15, 1906; N. Z. Town, "La Conferencia Anual En la República Argentina," *RA*, noviembre, 1904; Arturo Fulton, "Colegio Camarero," *ibid.*, August 1905; L. A. Rojas, "Ecos del Colegio de Camarero," *ibid.*, octubre, 1905; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 11-17. One of the best accounts of the beginnings of the Argentine publishing house is found in Walton J. Brown, "Los A. S. D. Bajo el Cielo Austral," 79-84.

⁵⁷ Arthur Fulton, "The Argentine School's Work with the Earthquake Number of the 'Verdad Presente,'" *RH*, December 6, 1906; J. W. Westphal to A. G. Daniells, November 12, 1906, GCA/11, IL; Meyers, *Reseña*, 16. At the time Fulton was principal of Colegio Camarero.

⁵⁸ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *RH*, February 22, 1898; W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, November 21, 1899; "Brazil," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 1, second rev. ed., 233.

⁵⁹ "Stein, Guilherme, III," *ibid.*, v. 2, 703. F. H. Westphal, "Preaching the Truth in Brazil," *The Home Missionary*, VII (July 1895), 134, 135; "A Voice from Brazil," letter, William Stein, Jr. to the Dear Brethren in Battle Creek, *ibid.*, 135. Also see Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 143-146, 162-167. Vieira believes that Stein learned English while working for Lidgerwood, a North American engineering and manufacturing firm, and from North American Methodist missionaries who established a school in his home town of Piracicaba.

⁶⁰ GCA/3, AM, II, 96, 255, 256, 477, 584, February 4, 1894, May 8, 1895, May 26, 1896, and October 19, 1896, respectively.

⁶¹ F. H. Westphal, "Preaching the Truth in Brazil," *The Home Missionary*, VII (July 1895), 134, 135; GCA/3, AM II, 508, August 26, 1896; Vieira, *Vida e Obra*, 143.

⁶² F. W. Spies, "Brazil Conference," *RH*, August 25, 1904; J. W. Westphal, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 13, 1904; John Lipke, "Travels in Behalf of Brazil," *ibid.*, December 22, 1904; and "Brazil," *ibid.*, June 15, 1905; A. L. Gregory, "Brazil," *ibid.*, January 4, 1906.

⁶³ Rosa, *Conduzindo vidas*, 23, 24; Rubens S. Lessa, *Casa Publicadora Brasileira – 100 Anos* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 2000) 53, 54.

⁶⁴ W. A. Spicer, "Reorganization in Brazil," *RH*, June 21, 1906.



THE FIRST SOUTH AMERICAN UNIONS

“**TO THE VALIANT** and consecrated pioneers who lit the light of truth in this place,” the first brass plaque on the Crespo, Argentina Church reads, “80th anniversary of the organization of the first Adventist church.” Frank Westphal had been in Argentina only a month when he organized his first congregation at Crespo. So cheered was he by the results of this visit to those Russian-German farmers that he dashed off a speedy account to Battle Creek on the very day he completed his first three-week stay among them. “The work progressed rapidly,” he recalled in his memoir years later. “The first . . . church . . . had an initial membership of thirty-six; but new members were added every week, and the number soon grew to over two hundred.”¹ The facts show that Westphal’s figure of 200 was actually many years in the making, but it remains that the Crespo church became a pillar in Argentina’s Adventist community.

Eighty years after Westphal’s visit, grateful third- and fourth-generation descendants of those first Adventists met in a commemorative service and hung brass plaques by the entrance to their old church in honor of their forebears. “In memory of the members of this church,” the second plaque proclaims, “organized by Pastor



F. Westphal in September 1894.”² Such a rapid and successful beginning would inspire Westphal and countless other workers in the years ahead when converts were scarce and baptisms hard to come by.

Adventists in South America did not organize conferences until after the twentieth century began because it was necessary to generate a membership large enough to justify formal organization and to provide a reliable financial base to support organization. Geography both helped and hindered. Geographic continuity in South America usually made for easier communication than in some other places, such as the Greater Caribbean which was fractured into small entities separated by stretches of ocean. Also of importance was the fact that much of the climate in South America’s southern regions was reasonably similar to what workers from the United States were accustomed to.

But these favors that nature dealt to ministers and other workers were small compensation for having to spread out thinly to cover the continental vastness surrounding them. Missionary families in South America also found communication with the church headquarters in the United States difficult. To travel back and forth usually required several weeks. No one would deny that church growth was laborious and painstaking.

ORGANIZATION IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL

During his first years in South America, Frank Westphal spent much of his time moving from field to field, assessing needs and seeking out opportunities for church growth. Looking back from the vantage point of the twenty-first century, his early movements appear almost frenetic and desperate at times, but his first task was to get his bearings and, as far as conditions allowed, to establish an organized program. Unlike later twentieth-century Adventist missionaries, in the 1890s workers did not benefit from lengthy orientation to prepare them for their new assignments. For Westphal, and his colleagues as well, success was very much an on-the-job learning experience.

From September to November 1894, Westphal traveled widely in Argentina and Uruguay, while the church of thirty-six members he left in Crespo grew to fifty-one.³ After more than a year, he called his workers to Buenos Aires for a week of special prayer and study. Because they had concentrated on communities of recent immigrants, one of their more important discussions was how to reach the established Spanish-speaking public. Soon afterwards, Westphal revealed new work plans. Workers in Buenos Aires

rented an eighteen-room house that afforded them living quarters and space for public meetings; meanwhile, they organized Argentina's first general meeting in Crespo.⁴

When the general meeting opened in October 1896, the Crespo membership had grown to ninety-nine, and Westphal expected the congregation to double its size soon. His expectations were too high. Not until five years and several general meetings later did the Crespo membership rise to 191.⁵ Growth may have been slower than Westphal had hoped, but Crespo was the largest Adventist congregation in South America, and other groups were springing up in the provinces of Santa Fe and Córdoba, both north of the national capital.

Frank Westphal had organized his colleagues to reach as many language groups as possible. After their first workers' meeting in Buenos Aires, they fanned out across the La Plata region with Jean Vuilleumier assigned to French-speaking residents, Ole Oppgaard to the Scandinavians, and Westphal himself to the German-speaking community.⁶ At this stage of development, Adventism in Argentina was largely a movement among immigrants.

During 1897 Vuilleumier, John McCarthy, and Lionel Brooking reported converts in the northern communities of Cantón Vaud, Las Tunas, Esperanza, and Córdoba, besides Buenos Aires. Before mid-year, membership in the seven Adventist churches in the entire region totaled 220. In November a second general meeting took place in Entre Rios. Ministers laid plans to conduct still another open assembly in Santa Fe Province in March 1898, for French, Spanish, and those Germans not able to attend the session then in progress.⁷

Ministers were seldom blessed with large crowds. In those early days even their well attended general meetings rarely drew more than 200, although audiences exceeded 500 at the campmeeting in Diamante in October 1899.⁸ Compared to modern standards, these numbers were small, but at the time they were encouraging. Clearly, the best efforts of the first corps of workers were with small groups and families, some of whom had been meeting before Frank Westphal arrived.

Adventist work was "going forward," to borrow one of Frank Westphal's favorite phrases. Nevertheless, he was visibly nettled about finances, an attitude that showed through his usually optimistic outlook when he read that the Mission Board had appropriated only one dollar to South American missions in 1898. Disclaiming any bitterness, he nevertheless pointed out the psychological blow such parsimony would have on the Argentine Adventists. But their financial woes seemed to make them only more committed. In spite of damage that locusts were inflicting on the



wheat crops, tithe during the first six months of 1898 was equal to about US\$2,000. The number of tithe payers remains unknown, but from known information we can extrapolate a reasonable guess that the annual income of the early Argentine Adventists was only a few hundred dollars.⁹

Before the year 1898 ended, ministers had organized a church in Córdoba, held a general meeting in Santa Fe, and pushed northward to Chaco Province.¹⁰ As a harvest of his efforts following a two-year ministry in the north ending in 1900, McCarthy could point to many Adventists along a 150-mile stretch skirting the Paraná River.¹¹

When J. W. Westphal arrived in Argentina in September 1901, he assumed the role of superintendent of the South American field, which church leaders at the General Conference recognized as the South American Union Mission. It would be another five years before the church would generate sufficient membership and financial strength to elevate this union mission to a union conference.

Prior to J. W. Westphal's arrival, organization had been simple. Leaders were too few for effective oversight throughout the continent. By 1901 nearly half of the Adventists in Argentina were concentrated in Crespo, but since 1896, ministers and their helpers had successfully evangelized to a radius of 700 miles. From November 10 to 20, 1901, the younger Westphal presided over another general meeting near Crespo and supervised the organization of the River Plate Conference, with N. Z. Town becoming president. Included in this new organization were Paraguay and Uruguay, places where Adventists had barely begun their work¹²

Six months later, H. F. Graf became the first president of the Brazil Conference, where membership growth was also drawing attention. Seven years had passed since Frank Westphal had organized the first Brazilian church of only twenty-three members in Gaspar Alto.¹³ Only months after that first congregation formed, Thurston counted five Sabbath schools, but before the year 1895 ended, Graf organized another church in Rio de Janeiro and a third congregation at Santa Maria do Jetibá, in the municipality of Santa Leopoldina, Espírito Santo. Thurston, always interested in literature distribution, observed that new believers were appearing wherever colporteurs sold books and papers.¹⁴

In the waning days of 1896, F. W. Spies baptized twenty-one new members after a series of meetings at Mucury, Minas Gerais. Meanwhile, in Curitiba another church formed, partly as a result of the school that William Stein conducted. Wrote Thurston, "It is not the number of churches which we may be able to report that rejoices our hearts so much as to see so many turning from sin to righteousness."¹⁵

At the time only two ordained men served Brazilian Adventists—Spies and Graf—who ministered to members that now spread from the southernmost reaches of the country northward to Rio de Janeiro. For months Graf lay sick in Curitiba, unable to work, and had not other workers, such as Thurston and Stauffer with their wives, labored even harder, Spies would never have been able to handle the staggering chores that fell his lot. In spite of Graf's jaded health, by the middle of 1897 Thurston informed Battle Creek that Brazilian Adventists had multiplied to five churches and four unorganized companies, consisting of 251 members and sixteen Sabbath schools with nearly 500 members. From these groups came over US\$1,100 in tithe. Measured in United States dollars, family income among the first Brazilian Adventists appears to have been much less compared to their Argentine fellow church members. It was evident that Adventist workers were not building their church on rich foundations.¹⁶

Graf's return to the preaching circuit in 1897 provided a spark to evangelism. Spies began studying Portuguese, and on a Saturday night in October, he opened the first evangelistic meetings for Portuguese-speaking listeners in his own home, although he did not preach in that language. Crowded conditions forced him into a nearby hall, which he rented for \$7.50 a month. "The Lord's work is onward," he wrote.¹⁷ Elsewhere, the Brusque church grew to sixty-nine, and in Ijuhy, Rio Grande do Sul, Graf organized forty-two members into the largest congregation in Brazil.¹⁸

When workers assembled at Curitiba, May 20-31, 1898, for their first planning session, the number of their congregations had risen to ten with three additional companies. Thurston reported 300 members, a surprisingly low figure when compared with the number of baptisms since the last head count on June 30, 1897. Probably Thurston was citing Brazilian membership in round numbers, but a net growth from 251 to roughly 300 with about 100 reported baptisms raises questions of membership losses. Only occasionally did workers allude to apostasies, but Spies hinted that he and Graf could not give adequate pastoral care to the increasing number of congregations.

For example, for sixteen months beginning in November 1895, the members in Santa Leopoldina had not seen a minister; during the last nine months they had not even had the leadership of a local church elder. In spite of these adverse conditions, the congregation had over twenty anticipating baptism when both Spies and Graf visited in 1897. Much more modest success awaited the traveling ministers when they visited Santa Isabella where they baptized five. At Theophilo Ottoni, they noted two members had apostatized.¹⁹



But in spite of members losing their way, Adventists in Brazil were increasing, and church leaders were spurring themselves on with their demanding schedules. Spies spent the last twelve weeks of 1898 traveling from Rio de Janeiro to Minas Gerais, this time accompanied by his wife, who supplemented his preaching with cooking classes and discussions about healthful dress. By the time the trip was over, he had baptized thirteen. At the same time, while his work accumulated at home, Thurston spent several weeks in southern Brazil, only to face eighteen-hour work days when he returned home. During one month the next year, workers reported sixty baptisms.²⁰

Meanwhile, Spies was taking advantage of every opportunity to learn Portuguese. In 1899 he accompanied William Stein on two trips from Rio to evangelize among the so-called natives. "To be . . . with a brother who could speak the Portuguese fluently had long been my wish," he wrote afterwards. Soon he would have more than his wish. On a journey begun on New Year's Eve, 1899, taking him southward from Rio, he was caught at Itararé in São Paulo without an interpreter, and had no recourse but to depend on his own knowledge of the language. "In this, my first attempt to speak the precious message of salvation to the natives," he said euphorically, "the Lord greatly blessed me; and each evening as I spoke to the people, I realized more freedom, until I soon felt a desire to withdraw from the work among the Germans altogether, and to work only for and among the Brazilians."²¹

Brazilian membership climbed to 697 by the end of 1900. Thurston's spirited report to the General Conference session in 1901 recounted not only the experiences of Adventist growth, but told of fifteen churches and ten other groups comprising the largest segment of the church in South America. In September of that year, J. W. Westphal, en route to Argentina to replace his brother as superintendent of South American missions, spent a brief stop in Brazil to discuss the organization of a conference.

Eight months later, May 10-20, 1902, Brazilian Adventists convened at Gaspar Alto to consummate their plans, but Westphal was not there. Detained in quarantine, he made a belated appearance eight days behind schedule, but not too late to place an official stamp on the new organization. H. F. Graf, the new president, would lead the fifteen churches. Among the 860 members Westphal noted about 150 from the Portuguese community. The church was very much a German entity. With an air of celebration the new officers vowed not to hire any workers unless they had attended one of the Adventist schools or until the conference committee

had examined them, specifically, regarding healthful living habits. Since those first colporteurs ventured into the country slightly less than a decade before, Adventists in Brazil had reached an exhilarating moment.²²

Notwithstanding their joy about organization, their sobering financial condition was something they could not escape. During the four years when membership was growing from 251 to 860, tithe increased from US\$1,100 to only US\$1,250, which revealed a sharp drop in per capita giving. At the time of their organization into a conference, Adventists in Brazil were operating nine schools, a clinic, and a printing press. If their tithe was even an approximate index to their financial well-being, they could predict struggles ahead.

ADVENTISM SPREADS TO THE WEST COAST

In 1902, when conferences first organized in Argentina and Brazil, membership in those fields dwarfed the number of Adventists in Chile. Of course, ministers and their associates on the West Coast worked with a much smaller population, but even at that, church growth was sluggish.

When G. H. Baber left Battle Creek on July 15, 1895, to take charge of Adventist labors in Chile, he had been ordained but two days.²³ Settling in Valparaíso, all he found in Chile were three colporteurs and a handful of Sabbath-keepers. A year later he reported imprecisely about twenty or thirty in Santiago observing Saturday, led by Enrique Balada, a Spanish-born Protestant minister he had baptized.

In late 1896, a thousand miles to the north in Iquique, Baber baptized seven in the Pacific Ocean, and before hurrying back to central Chile, he ordained Julián Ocampo to pastor the small flock. Baber justified this quick ordination by saying that the new convert had formerly preached as a Methodist, implying that he was a man of experience. Besides, since this tiny congregation at Huara, about twenty miles from Iquique, was too far from headquarters to expect regular visits, someone should have the authority to baptize new believers. Only weeks later at Santiago, Baber baptized ten more in a millrace fed by bone-chilling melted snow flowing from the Andes. At the same time, Ocampo prepared eight new members in Iquique. By February 25, 1897, Baber and Balada completed a six-week tour of Chile, baptizing twenty-five.²⁴

As promising as these beginnings were, they were not enough to overcome Baber's rapidly developing pessimism. Facing the new year, 1897, with an empty treasury, he blurted out to the *Review*, "Does anybody in the United States feel



interested in the progress of the last warning message to . . . South America? If so, does your interest touch your purse?" Through the year he drove himself on, traveling again to southern Chile with Balada, but as hard as they labored, conversions fell off and their outdoor baptisms incited public scoffing. At one of Balada's ceremonies in 1899, a fight erupted between hecklers and spectators. The work was at a virtual "standstill," Baber reported.²⁵

In September 1899, Baber visited Iquique and other Adventists in northern Chile again. Almost recklessly he forced himself through thirty-one consecutive nights of public meetings, and baptized eleven converts. Before he turned homeward with both his mind and body drained, he visited Huara where Julián Ocampo had been left in charge of a new but promising church three years earlier. Baber found disaster. Only two families remained. Ocampo himself had disappeared, "to the relief . . . of the faithful ones who remain," Baber confessed.²⁶

Baber may have been prone to pessimism, but he was working against nearly impossible odds. Colporteurs who preceded him to Chile had found many interested persons but their number fell below those in Argentina and Brazil. Alone and confronted by hard travel that his unfamiliarity with the language and Chile's unique geography made even more difficult, he felt compelled to divide his responsibilities with Balada and Ocampo, both attractive workers because they were Spanish-speaking. Baber ordained both of them on the strength of their former Protestant experience, but because of the uniqueness of Adventist teachings and ministerial methodology, this action was risky. While at first the results seemed to justify his decisions, evangelism still proved to be hard, and slow membership growth persisted.

As though these disheartening tasks in Chile were not enough, on Baber's shoulders also rested the establishment of Adventism in Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, the other countries in the West Coast Mission.²⁷ In 1901 he admitted he had confined himself mainly to Chile. After five years in Valparaíso he confessed that he still had no church but only a Sabbath school.

Baber entered Iquique in April 1901 for a four-month evangelistic campaign, which turned out to be his last in Chile. Balada joined him for the first month. In October Baber reported twenty-four baptisms and a newly organized church of thirty-four. Hidden behind this news was a history of five or six years of evangelism and at least three evangelistic series in this northern community, from which he garnered only ten members. Shortly after Baber's last campaign, T. H. Davis left Iquique following two years of canvassing in the city, commenting that Protestantism

was more prosperous in northern Chile than anywhere else in the republic. The Adventist experience in that region did not support Davis's opinion. After six years of work, only a handful of members could be found. Whatever the causes for this uninspiring record, lethargy among the workers was not one of them.²⁸

During the four years from 1902 to 1906, Adventist growth in Chile continued slowly and with arduous effort. Membership reached 100 by March 1901; three years later the number increased only to 180.²⁹ Meanwhile, J. W. Westphal found the Chilean church in deplorable condition when he toured the republic for the first time from November 1902 to February 1903. In southern Chile the members were scattered, and at Iquique in the north he discovered eight apostasies caused by doctrinal dissent. When he tried to hold a church business meeting in Santiago, no one could produce a list of the members. Before he could transact the first item, he had to screen everyone in the manner of preparing them for baptism. Several did not qualify for membership.³⁰

H. F. Ketrang, who became head of the West Coast Mission following Baber's departure in 1902, was working in what he called reduced conditions, but J. W. Westphal, while inspecting the West Coast churches in 1903, was more direct, describing Adventism in Chile as at a standstill.³¹ During 1904 Ketrang concentrated on church organization as a means of revival. In Iquique, the site of one of the best Adventist church buildings in South America and the largest congregation on the West Coast despite difficult evangelistic efforts, he conducted a revival and educated the members to utilize committees in transacting their business. At an unspecified date, probably prior to his Iquique effort, Ketrang reorganized the Santiago church, resulting in a 400 percent increase in tithe and sixty new members. "I seldom go there without finding several who desire baptism," he said.³²

Ketrang's mid-year reports in 1904 indicated sharp increases in offerings throughout Chile, tithe alone jumping from 1,990 Chilean *pesos* in 1903 to 3,281 in 1904.³³ We may speculate that disciplined church organization was not the only cause for this dramatic change. While Chilean prices were typically high, those in Iquique were astronomical. Probably an inflated currency helped as much as reorganization to swell the statistics of church finances. But Ketrang's success did not blind him to the difficulties of the Chilean church. The few baptisms that workers reported corroborated his observation that Adventism had not progressed rapidly. E. W. Thomann harvested only one new member from a three-week series of meetings in Copiapó, a north-central city.



After his return to South America in 1904, F. H. Westphal replaced Ketrings as head of the West Coast Mission. Soon after his arrival he and Carlos Kriehoff worked over five weeks in Chanco, a coastal town 200 miles south of the national capital, where they attracted a small but regular attendance. They baptized only five. Months later, on a trip to Nuevo Imperial in the south, Ketrings took in five more new members.

Weather was a problem that impeded the church. Westphal coped with it by traveling north in the winter to avoid the heavy rains in the south, and returning to the lower regions during the summer. "How to economize the time is the great question before us," he wrote, more than a little harried.³⁴ When the South American Union became official in 1906, Chilean Adventists hovered around the 200 mark.³⁵

Similarly, Adventists were clutching to no more than a toehold in the Andean republics in 1902. Soon after his arrival, Ketrings moved the office of the West Coast Mission to Iquique because it was geographically closer to the center of the mission that included all the Andean countries north to Ecuador.³⁶ Bolivia had not yet seen its first permanent worker; a scant number of Sabbath-keepers huddled almost secretly in Lima, Peru, where the first worker, Enrique Balada from Chile had met such strong opposition that he returned home. No known Adventists existed in Ecuador.³⁷

The first Adventist workers in Ecuador found more challenges than encouragement. A ten-year veteran book salesman in Chile, T. H. Davis landed in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in August 1904, followed by the Casebeers fourteen months later. Together, George Casebeer, an ordained minister, and Davis scouted both the coast and interior of Ecuador trying to arouse interest, but with virtually no success. In 1906 Davis remarked that besides the workers, only one Sabbath-keeper lived in the republic, and "he has been sick, without money, work, or friends."³⁸

The state of Adventism in Bolivia was even less promising, if that were possible. In 1898 Juan Sebastián Pereira finished an eighteen-month tour, selling literature despite severe opposition, and in 1902 E. W. Thomann and José Luis Escobar spent about four months in that landlocked country, distributing books and selling *Señales de los Tiempos*. When the South American Union was born in 1906, Adventists still regarded Bolivia as an unentered field.³⁹

In spite of Balada's unproductive experience in Peru's capital, the country afforded brighter prospects than Bolivia, but barely so and not because the political climate was more favorable. Two groups of self-supporting missionaries from Chile entered

Peru in 1898. One group, led by José and Liborio Osorio, went to Arequipa, but before they could accomplish anything, authorities arrested and deported them. The other band which included José Luis Escobar and his wife, Victor Thoman, and Luis and Victor Osorio with their wives, settled in Lima. They met for worship clandestinely, but their first baptism was Ramón Beltrán, who remained a pillar of strength for the nascent Peruvian church until his untimely death in 1912. When Baber visited the country two years later, he conducted meetings behind closed doors. On their way to Bolivia in 1902, Thomann and Escobar visited several locations in Peru, including the Titicaca region. Following another visit in 1904, Thomann estimated that thirty had adopted Adventism.⁴⁰

Later in the same year, H. F. Ketrting sailed north from Chile to call on Peruvian believers, discovering near-intolerable conditions for new members. A concern to change this situation led to F. L. Perry's arrival in Lima in November 1905 to pastor the leaderless flock. Two native workers, Julián N. Espinosa and Ramón Beltrán, were shouldering most of the responsibility for literature distribution in Peru as well as shepherding local groups. Espinosa, the first Peruvian to carry the credentials of an Adventist worker (missionary license), reported six locations in 1905, not including the Lake Titicaca region, where he knew believers lived. In less than half a year he reported thirteen anticipating baptism. Still, no formal congregation existed.⁴¹

Both Casebeer in Ecuador and Perry in Peru were financial gifts to the West Coast Mission. In his year-end report for 1905 in *Revista Adventista*, Frank Westphal noted that "we have reason to be happy for this addition of pastors," since two conferences in North America were paying their salaries.⁴²

Frequently overlooked in the first years of Adventism in Peru is the impact of Eduardo Francisco Forga, scion of a wealthy mine-owning family of Arequipa and not yet a Seventh-day Adventist when Perry arrived. Forga had spent his youth and early adulthood in Europe, finally graduating from a German university with a degree in civil engineering. A man of means, he also had a mind of his own, and when he returned to Peru as a 25-year-old, he brought with him independent ideas about diet, temperance, entertainment, and the rights of indigenous people, all of which he had developed while in Europe. During the decade after 1896, he championed the causes of health and religious liberty in Peru. By the time Perry arrived in Peru, Forga's challenges to the establishment had angered many of his own family as well as the authorities. Undaunted, he inflicted irreparable damage to Peru's policies of religious intolerance by publishing severe criticism



in his periodical, *La Reforma*. With his life on the line, he escaped from Peru in 1906, never to return. While in England he attended Adventist evangelistic lectures and married the preacher's sister, Marguerite Lacey, who was also a sister of May White, wife of Ellen White's son, William C. White. Forga spent the rest of his life editing Adventist literature in England, the United States, and Spain. He died in 1915 at the age of 44.

Progress was slow in Peru, but thanks to Forga's preliminary work, Perry's presence indicated that Adventism was beginning to put down its roots in one of the most unlikely corners of the neglected continent.⁴³

FORMATION OF THE UNION

Outside of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, Adventists were hard to find in 1902, and even in these three countries their numbers had just begun to grow. Since 1896 Uruguay had one organized congregation and tiny clusters of other members. When General Conference Secretary W. A. Spicer visited South America in 1906, he recognized that church growth had been uneven, despite the evidence of advancement. In Uruguay he spoke through a translator, probably the ordained minister, John McCarthy, who, as the head of Uruguayan Adventists, was accompanying him. The several groups of members were mostly of German-Swiss background. Spicer observed that the country contained fewer than a hundred Adventists.⁴⁴ Paraguay had one ordained minister, E. W. Snyder, who began work among foreign colonists, but gained few converts and organized no churches.⁴⁵ Concluding that evangelistic possibilities were poor, he left the field in 1903. His replacement, Luis Ernst, a newly ordained minister, reported in 1906 that Paraguay was practically barren of Adventists.⁴⁶

It was in Brazil and Argentina that Adventist membership grew comparatively well after J. W. Westphal organized the first conferences in 1901 and 1902. With N. Z. Town leading the churches in the River Plate Conference and H. F. Graf in charge of the Brazil Conference, Westphal himself could devote more time to administrative matters involving the continent. In February 1902, he left Buenos Aires for an extended tour of Chile, spending several weeks inspecting congregations from Iquique in the north to Chillán in the south.⁴⁷ The next year he turned his attention to Brazil, returning to Argentina in late August after traveling thousands of miles and conducting seven general meetings in five months.⁴⁸

Beginning in 1900, Town focused his energies on the new school, Colegio Camarero, in Entre Rios. Although this project absorbed much of his time as well

as that of other workers, he and his colleagues continued to press evangelism throughout the River Plate Conference. One of his favorite techniques was to schedule general meetings in communities where few if any Adventists lived, using the event as a public attraction. In 1904, a dozen Italians from Navarro in Buenos Aires Province became members after attending combined business-evangelistic meetings.⁴⁹ In March of the same year the conference session convened at San Gerónimo, Sante Fe Province, with similar results. A new, formally organized congregation appeared less than a year later, and eighteen months after the conference, Dr. R. H. Habenicht conducted another baptism at the same place.

Arthur Fulton's account describes how the pastoral serenity of the Argentine pampa combined with the baptism to make the event a moment of celebration. "At the morning service it was decided to leave the village at two o'clock, for the river, a distance of seven or eight miles," he wrote. "It was a beautiful day. Some in coaches and carts, others on horseback, started out for the river. At first we passed between fields of corn . . . Next we passed ripening fields of wheat or pasture lands. But soon we entered the large gates of an *estancia*, as a stockfarm is called . . . It is pleasant to drive past the contented herds, quietly feeding in their alfalfa and clover pastures. But suddenly we are at the river. There are no trees on its bank to tell us we are nearing it, but on the other side the seemingly endless plain stretches on as before.

"The beautiful baptismal service over, we return the way we came, our hearts rejoicing that the truth has made an advance move."⁵⁰

When the third annual session of the River Plate Conference met in 1904, officers chose Lehmann, another town in Santa Fe Province with no Adventists, for their meetings. Nearly every church in the conference sent delegates who transacted official business from October 6 to 16. When not attending the three daily services, they went from house to house, distributing books, papers, and Bibles, "and before the close of the conference" Habenicht said, "some had decided to obey the truth." Weeks later J. W. Westphal was gratified to learn that ten persons began Sabbath observance.⁵¹

In what had become routine procedure, the conference met the next October in Rosario Tala, Entre Rios. Stimulated by a hundred baptisms and four additional congregations since the session in Lehmann, delegates threw themselves even more fervently into evangelism. By the end of January their reports indicated forty new members in one month, some of whom were the first converts in the community.⁵²

Church rolls listed more than 600 members in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay, the region comprising the River Plate Conference in 1906 when it became part of



the South American Union.⁵³ During 1904-1906, while the conference was gaining momentum, the treasurer reported not only steady increases in tithe but generous support of Colegio Camarero and a new printing establishment.⁵⁴

From F. W. Spies a steady flow of letters to the world headquarters told the story of Adventism's growth in Brazil. J. W. Westphal learned through experience what workers in this seemingly boundless country meant by interminable trips when he conducted his marathon of general meetings in 1903 and another four-month itinerary in 1904. During this second trip he traveled 2,200 kilometers by mule, he said, sometimes sleeping in makeshift circumstances.⁵⁵ Inspired by the example of the new South American superintendent, Spies and other workers launched an evangelistic campaign that made Brazil the most rapidly expanding field in South America.

In late 1903 Spies began a four-month, 1,000-mile itinerary during which he baptized twenty-nine converts, "all Brazilians," he wrote proudly, indicating that they were from the Portuguese population. Hardly finished with this trip, he began another journey lasting equally as long, visiting current members and stressing abstinence from tobacco, whiskey, and pork. Before the second session of the Brazil Conference opened in Joinville in April 1904, eight colporteurs bombarded the area with literature to prepare the community for the customary evangelism that workers mixed with their official business.⁵⁶

Another set of business meetings during July evoked heated debates about the proposal to send Waldemar Ehlers to Rio Grande do Sul, thus depriving Espírito Santo of its only ordained minister. Although the motion passed, the incident underscored Brazil's acute need for more workers. Westphal had already noted that only seven of the twenty Brazilian states could claim Adventists, and these were under the supervision of only three ordained men.⁵⁷

Ever sensitive to his conviction that plans for church growth should reach what he called native Brazilians, Spies planned to move farther north from his home in Brusque to Castro in Paraná to devote more time to Portuguese work. After transferring in October 1904, he extended a welcome to two new workers, at the same time emphasizing the aspect of evangelism closest to his heart. "I hope those sent may soon learn the language," he advised, "so as to be able to work for this people. And the way to learn the language is to get into the field, among the Brazilians and away from the Germans."⁵⁸

By April Spies had observed enough progress at Castro to conduct a series of general meetings for Portuguese-speaking Adventists. He and John Lipke rented two

houses, using one for meetings and to prepare and serve food, and the other as a “dwelling.” The week-long session gave listeners an opportunity to hear a minister, a treat that some rarely enjoyed more than once a year.⁵⁹

Within two months Spies and his family moved again, north to Rio de Janeiro. It was here that the needs of Brazil’s neglected and sometimes untouched vastness struck forcefully upon him. Finding a congregation that had not seen a pastor in almost two years, he decided to remain at home for six months, his longest home stay in nine years. Burdened with the majority of Brazil’s territory and its unreached millions, he told church leaders in the United States that only one minister was available to the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo, while twelve more states north of Rio had never seen a worker.⁶⁰

Other workers were also trying to conquer Brazil’s challenges. Graf reported to Westphal more than fifty conversions at a single locale in Rio Grande do Sul.⁶¹ When the South American Union organized in 1906, Adventist laymen and workers had built a membership exceeding 1,000.⁶²

This accomplishment had not been easy. Nearly everywhere in Latin America Adventist ministers and their assistants faced opposition so commonly that they regarded it as a part of their routine, but in Brazil they endured unique resistance. News stories contained accusations that missionaries, J. W. Westphal among them, were spying for either the United States or Germany. Some Brazilians stirred up by these allegations, seized and beat members of various congregations. In a different vein, when Spies and Lipke planned their meetings at Castro, they spent part of their time combating the effect of a Portuguese translation of D. M. Canright’s book, *Seventh-day Adventism Renounced*.⁶³

On a Saturday morning in early 1906, W. A. Spicer landed in Buenos Aires, the first General Conference representative to visit the region since L. C. Chadwick in 1892, fourteen years earlier. South American Adventists had waited patiently but persistently for this occasion, when they could reorganize themselves into a union conference. Shortly after Spicer’s arrival, 150 delegates representing about 2,000 Adventists around the continent, assembled at Paraná, provincial capital of Entre Rios, Argentina, to elect J. W. Westphal president of the new South American Union, H. F. Graf as the vice president, and N. Z. Town as secretary-treasurer.

“The new time has dawned in South America also,” Spicer wrote. For him the tour of South America was both an eye-opener and an inspiration. In a series of articles running four months in the *Review*, he described Argentina and Brazil and



the formation of the South American Union. “We stand just where Israel stood in the days of Joshua,” he again wrote with a touch of the dramatic. Weeks later from Pernambuco, Brazil, he observed, “There are some long gaps to be filled in, but the surrounding of South America with our missions is not so far off, after all. And only think that about twenty-five years ago we did not know of a single Sabbath-keeper in all the continent!”⁶⁴

Spicer had good reason to sound triumphant, for Adventist growth had been accomplished under great strain; at times only the most optimistic could smile. In 1903, three years before Spicer’s visit, Westphal reported over 1,100 members in South America but noted only small accomplishments among the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. He also admitted to a decline in tithes in the River Plate region and confessed that Paraguay was without a minister. Further, he added, only a few members had resulted from mission work on the West Coast. That same year the General Conference appropriated US\$10,786 for South America (as compared to \$12,000 in 1901, two years earlier), but specified that no funds were tabbed for church growth. At best, Westphal could expect only to maintain his current budget. The weight of unfinished business pressed heavily on his shoulders. “It will be seen,” he said in 1903, “that, while we have great reason for gratitude to God for what he has done, the light must be within sight of but very few of these thirty-five million souls.”⁶⁵

By 1906 when the South American Union organized, signs of progress pointed toward the fulfillment of Westphal’s vision. With about a hundred attending a meeting in Brazil, he presided over the division of the Brazilian Conference into two fields, the Rio Grande do Sul Conference with offices in Taquari and the second, the Santa Catarina and Paraná Conference headquartered in Brusque, Santa Catarina. According to Westphal, this new arrangement would reduce travel time by church leaders and would make administration easier in a vast region. The entire republic of Argentina, with the exception of Misiones Province, formed the Argentina Conference with headquarters in Buenos Aires. The rest of the new union split into seven missions: (1) Ecuador, (2) Peru, (3) Chile-Bolivia, (4) Uruguay, (5) Upper Paraná consisting of Argentina’s Misiones Province and Paraguay, (6) São Paulo, and (7) North Brazil, which included all of Brazil north of São Paulo.⁶⁶

The union’s three presses in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, and training schools in the same countries, were none too many assets for the work that lay ahead. With more or less 2,000 members, the new South American Union was an inspiration to church leaders, and although they greeted the union with elation, they could not

overlook the fact that they faced a continent of more than forty million persons. Difficulties lay ahead—meeting the challenges of widely differing climates and peoples—but in another decade this region would achieve division status.

¹ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 15; Frank Westphal, "Argentine Republic," *RH*, October 30, 1894.

² For an account of the Crespo church and the commemorative service, see H. J. Peverini, "Crespo, Argentina, Church Reviews 80-Year History," *ibid.*, January 2, 1975.

³ Frank Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 22, 1895.

⁴ Mary T. Westphal, "Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, March 24, 1896; F. H. Westphal, "General Meetings in Argentina," *ibid.*, July 14, 1896; F. M. Wilcox, "Summary of Mission Work," *ibid.*, September 8, 1896; N. Z. Town, "Buenos Ayres," *ibid.*, November 10, 1896. Peverini, *En las huellas*, 53-63, provides both interesting and valuable detail about the early growth of Adventism in Argentina up to the year 1900.

⁵ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina, South America," *RH Supplement*, December 1, 1896; J. W. Westphal, "South America," *RH*, December 31, 1901.

⁶ F. H. Westphal, "South America," *ibid.*, July 7, 1896.

⁷ Jean Vuilleumier, "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 26, 1897; F. H. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, June 15, 1897; and "Argentina, S. A.," *ibid.*, November 16, 1897; and "The Argentine General Meeting," *ibid.*, January 4, 1898; John McCarthy, "Argentina," *ibid.*, July 6, 1897; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, December 28, 1897; and "South America," *ibid.*, November 23, 1897.

⁸ John McCarthy, "Camp-Meeting in Diamante, Argentine Republic," *ibid.*, August 20, 1901.

⁹ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, September 6, 1898. "Summary of Statistics," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1899.

¹⁰ John McCarthy, "Argentina," *RH*, April 19, 1898; and "Argentine Republic," *ibid.*, October 18, 1898; and "A Voice From the Gran Chaco," *ibid.*, May 23, 1899.

¹¹ John McCarthy, "A Voice from the Chaco," *ibid.*, May 15, 1900.

¹² J. W. Westphal, "South America," *ibid.*, December 31, 1901. In 1903 J. W. Westphal was named superintendent of the South American Union Mission and became a member of the General Conference Committee by virtue of his position, *ibid.*, May 5, 1903; *General Conference Bulletin*, April 14, 1903. The General Conference Committee Minutes, April 30, 1903, refer to South America as a union.

¹³ F. H. Westphal, "Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina," *RH*, October 1, 1895; and "Brusque, Brazil," *The Home Missionary Supplement*, VII (October 1895), 1, 2.

¹⁴ W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *RH*, January 14, 1896; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, May 25, 1897; Timm, "Primórdios do adventismo no Brasil," *RA* (B), February 2005.

¹⁵ F. W. Spies, "The Work in Brazil," *RH*, February 2, 1897; W. H. Thurston, "A Trip to Southern Brazil," *ibid.*, April, 6, 1897.

¹⁶ W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, September 28, 1897.

¹⁷ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, November 2, 1897.

¹⁸ F. W. Spies to Foreign Mission Board, no date, quoted in *Missionary Magazine*, X (January 1898), 32; A. B. Stauffer, "The Second School in Brazil," *RH*, February 8, 1898; A. B. Stauffer and H. F. Graf, "Brazil," *ibid.*, February 15, 1898.

¹⁹ W. H. Thurston, "General Meeting in Brazil," *ibid.*, August 6, 1898; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, May 25, 1897.

²⁰ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, March 14, 1899; W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, June 20, 1899; and "Brazil," *ibid.*, November 21, 1899.

²¹ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, January 23, 1900; and "Items from Brazil," *ibid.*, July 31, 1900.

²² J. W. Westphal, "South America," *ibid.*, December 31, 1901; and "The Message in Brazil," *ibid.*, January 6, 1903; A. R. Ogden, "En Route to Chile," *ibid.*, November 26, 1901; W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, April 2, 1901;

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and "In Brazil," *ibid.*, April 23, 1901; F. W. Spies, "Organization of the Brazil Conference," *ibid.*, October 21, 1902.

²³ Editorial note, no name, *ibid.*, July 16, 1895.

²⁴ Baber's reports were all titled "Chile," and appeared in *ibid.*, December 22, 1896, February 9 and 23, and April 13, 1897; F. W. Bishop, *ibid.*, November 20, 1919. See Peverini, *En las huellas*, 47-50, for details about early Adventism in Chile.

²⁵ Baber's accounts in *RH*, entitled, "Chile," February 23, 1897, February 22, 1898, March 14, 1899, and August 22, 1899.

²⁶ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *ibid.*, January 9, 1900.

²⁷ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *ibid.*, December 6, 1898.

²⁸ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *ibid.*, September 17, 1901; and "Chile," November 19, 1901; T. H. Davis, "Chile," *ibid.*, January 14, 1902.

²⁹ Brown, "Foundations," 174; H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *RH*, April 17, 1904.

³⁰ H. F. Ketrting, "Experiences in Chile," *ibid.*, May 5, 1903.

³¹ H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *ibid.*, April 17, 1904; J. W. Westphal, "Chile" *ibid.*, April 14, 1904.

³² H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *ibid.*, October 13, 1904; and "Chile," *ibid.*, November 17, 1904.

³³ Brown, "Foundations," 177; H. F. Ketrting, "Memoria de la Obra de la Misión de la Costa Occidental por el Año de 1904," *RA* (A), April, 1905.

³⁴ E. W. Thomann, "Chile," *RH*, February 23, 1905; H. F. Ketrting, "Chile," *ibid.*, March 2, 1905; and "Chile," *ibid.*, May 11, 1905; F. H. Westphal, "Chile," *ibid.*, June 22, 1905.

³⁵ F. H. Westphal, "The Opening of Our Work in Western South America," *ibid.*, May 16, 1907. Peverini describes the slow advance of Adventism in Chile during the early years in *En las huellas*, 87-90. According to the *SDA Yearbook*, 1907, 96, the membership of the Chile-Bolivia Mission was 240. Bolivian membership was negligible. The official statistics published by the General Conference, "Statistical Report of Seventh-day Adventist Conferences and Missions," *RH*, September 19, 1907, lists 192 members of the Chile-Bolivia Mission. This figure also shows conditions as of December 31, 1906. In 1904 Ketrting said there were 180 Adventists in Chile. All of this points to two conclusions: (1) during the years 1904-1906 the Chilean church hardly grew, and (2) the statistics supplied by workers writing to the General Conference or the *Review* were unofficial reports and were only approximations.

³⁶ "Nuestro cambio á Iquique," *RA* (A), May 1902.

³⁷ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, December 6, 1899; and "Chile," *ibid.*, April 10, 1900; and "Chilian [sic] Mission," *ibid.*, June 6, 1899; J. W. Westphal, "Our Recent Trip Through Chile," *ibid.*, September 16, 1902; A. R. Ogden, "West Coast (South America)," *ibid.*, October 21, 1902. See Peverini's description of Adventism in Peru and Bolivia, *En las huellas*, 66-72.

³⁸ J. W. Westphal, "Tidings from the Neglected Continent," *ibid.*, July 21, 1903; T. H. Davis, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, January 13, 1903; and "Ecuador," *ibid.*, December 1, 1904; and "Ecuador," *ibid.*, March 29, 1906; George Casebeer, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, January 11, 1906.

³⁹ G. H. Baber, "Chile," *ibid.*, December 6, 1898; A. R. Ogden, "West Coast (South America), Mission Field," *ibid.*, May 12, 1903; F. H. Westphal, "The Opening of Our Work in Western South America," *ibid.*, May 16, 1907. See Samuel Chávez, *Adventismo en Bolivia*, 17-20.

⁴⁰ Merling Alomía has furnished detailed information about the origins of Adventism in three works: "Comienzos de la Obra Educativa Adventista," *Theologika*, v. 1, no.1 (1983), 104-106; "Un Importante Centenario en la historia de las Misiones," *ibid.*, v. 13, no. 2 (1998), 268, 269; and *Breve historia de la educación en el Peru, 1898-1996* (Lima: 1996), 22, 23; Ed. W. Thomann, "Viages Misioneros," *RA* (A), November 1902; E. W. Thomann, "Our Peruvian Field," *RH*, June 9, 1904.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; H. F. Ketrting, "Peru Unentered," *ibid.*, December 22, 1904; and "Beginnings in Peru," *ibid.*, February 2, 1905; F. L. Perry, "En Route to Peru," *ibid.*, December 7, 1905; "Peru," *ibid.*, February 1, 1906; and "In Peru," *ibid.*, August 16, 1906; Julián N. Espinosa, "Buenas Noticias del Peru," *RA* (A), June 1906; F. L. Perry, "La Obra en el Peru," *ibid.*; *SDA Yearbook*, 1906, 85.

- ⁴² Francisco H. Westphal, "Otro Año Vencido," *RA* (A), December 1905.
- ⁴³ Robert G. Wearner, "A Peruvian in the White Family," *RH*, July 27, 1978; Eduardo F. Forga, "The Struggle for Religious Liberty in Peru," two-part series, *ibid.*, February 14 and 21, 1907. See also Merling Alomía's observations about Forga's contributions to the early development of Protestantism in Peru in *Breve historia*, 28-42.
- ⁴⁴ W. A. Spicer, "Along the Way in South America," *RH*, June 28, 1906.
- ⁴⁵ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina and Uruguay," *ibid.*, February 9, 1897; E. W. Snyder wrote several reports in *ibid.*: "Self-Supporting Work in Paraguay," July 4, 1899; "The Work in Paraguay," June 11, 1901; "An Appeal for Paraguay," November 12, 1901; and "Paraguay," February 10, 1903.
- ⁴⁶ E. W. Snyder, "Progress in Paraguay," *ibid.*, February 17, 1903; J. W. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, March 8, 1906.
- ⁴⁷ J. W. Westphal, "From Buenos Aires to Valparaiso," *ibid.*, August 26, 1902; "Our Recent Trip Through Chile," *ibid.*, September 16, 1902; and "Our Work in the South American West Coast Mission Field," *ibid.*, November 11, 1902.
- ⁴⁸ F. W. Spies, "General Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, February 4, 1904; J. W. Westphal, "The Message in the River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, February 11, 1904.
- ⁴⁹ N. Z. Town, "Argentina," *ibid.*, June 2, 1904; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, June 30, 1904.
- ⁵⁰ Arthur Fulton, "Baptism in San Geronimo, S. A.," *ibid.*, February 8, 1906; J. W. Westphal, "River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, August 11, 1904; and "River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, April 27, 1905.
- ⁵¹ N. Z. Town, "La Conferencia Anual En la República Argentina," *RA* (A), November 1904; R. H. Habenicht, "River Plate Conference Proceedings," *RH*, December 23, 1905; J. W. Westphal, "River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, April 27, 1905.
- ⁵² J. W. Westphal, "The River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, December 21, 1905; and "River Plate Conference," *ibid.*, April 12, 1906.
- ⁵³ Figures from the *SDA Yearbook*, 1907, indicate 560 in 1906 as compared to 680 on December 31, 1906; *Statistical Report*, 1906.
- ⁵⁴ J. W. Westphal, "River Plate Conference," *RH*, August 11, 1904; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, May 11, 1905; R. H. Habenicht, "River Plate Conference Proceedings," *ibid.*, February 23, 1905.
- ⁵⁵ J. W. Westphal, "La Conferencia Brasileira de los Adventistas del Séptimo Dia," *RA* (A), August 1904; and "Brasil," *ibid.*, September 1904.
- ⁵⁶ F. W. Spies, "Brazil, South America," *RH*, May 5, 1904; "Report from Brazil," *ibid.*, June 23, 1904; and "Brazil Conference," *ibid.*, August 25, 1904.
- ⁵⁷ J. W. Westphal, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 13, 1904; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, November 17, 1904.
- ⁵⁸ Mrs. F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 20, 1904; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, April 13, 1905; and "Brazil," *ibid.*, June 15, 1905.
- ⁵⁹ John Lipke, "General Meeting in Castro, Parana, Brazil," *ibid.*, October 26, 1905.
- ⁶⁰ F. W. Spies, "Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *ibid.*, August 24, 1905; "Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *ibid.*, March 22, 1906; and "Conditions in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 19, 1906.
- ⁶¹ J. W. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 12, 1905.
- ⁶² *Statistical Report*, 1906.
- ⁶³ J. W. Westphal, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 31, 1904; F. W. Spies, "Brazil-General Meetings," *ibid.*, November 2, 1905.
- ⁶⁴ F. W. Spies, "A organização de Conferência União Sul-Americana," *Revista Trimensal*, July, 1906. Hereafter this periodical will be cited as *RT*. See Spicer's articles in *RH*, 1906: "South American Growth," May 3; "How the Light of the Advent Message Came to South America," May 10; "New Union Conference in the Field," May 31; "Good News in a Far Country," June 14; "Reorganization in Brazil," June 21; "Along the Way in South America," June 28; "Brazil's Second Conference," June 28; "South America Takes Up the Cry," July 5; "In Newer Brazilian Fields," August 2; and "Belting a Continent," August 16.



⁶⁵ J. W. Westphal, "Tidings from the Neglected Continent," *ibid.*, July 21, 1903; I. H. Evans, "General Conference Appropriations to Foreign Missions," *ibid.*, May 12, 1903; W. A. Spicer, "Mission Field Advance," *ibid.*, October 28, 1902. No foreign mission funds were earmarked for church growth anywhere in 1903. The General Conference did not apply special constrictions to South America.

⁶⁶ One of the best accounts of the organizational history of the South American Division is Roberto Gullón, "Historia de la Estructura Organizacional de la División Sudamericana," a paper presented at the Simpósio da Memória Adventista no Brasil, September 30-October 6, 2001, Centro Universitário Adventista, Engenheiro Coelho, SP, Brazil. The paper was revised by the author on July 12, 2004. See pages 4-6. For Westphal's view of the reorganization in Brazil, see his personal report, "A Conferencia do Estado Rio Grande do Sul," *RT*, July 1906; F. W. Spies, "A Missão Brasileira do Norte," *ibid.*, October 1906.



FROM UNIONS TO SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION, 1906-1916

NO ONE VOICED the needs of the South American church better than J. W. Westphal when he bared his soul to General Conference Secretary W. A. Spicer in 1909 that “everything is just in a formative, developing state where so many things come up for solution, especially where money is scarce and few to take responsibilities . . . Discouraging feelings have crept over me of late as I have seen so much to do, so many things untouched, others incomplete and inadequate for the work, the work in the churches not more than half looked after . . . How are we ever to do this great work? Where will the men and means come from to do the work and place our institutions in these fields on a basis as regards their appearance, condition and conveniences that will make them in some measure representative?”¹

In the flush of union organization less than three years earlier, Westphal had been cautious but sanguine about the prospects in South America. “With the field and responsibilities divided as we have them now,” he said, “we feel that we are somewhat prepared for the growth and enlargement of God’s people.”² Few should have been surprised that with a continent before him, inadequate funds,



and too few workers, he would shortly feel overwhelmed by the tasks he faced.

During 1907, the first complete year for the South American Union, Westphal saw his field vault forward, inspiring widespread satisfaction while at the same time strewing administrative headaches in its wake. Church members in the River Plate region were on the positive side of this paradox as they raised funds for the Argentine school and laid plans for evangelistic expansion into regions untouched by Adventism. Similarly, F. W. Spies, one of the most consistent and prolific reporters of church activities in Brazil, stimulated Adventist ambitions to establish a stronger presence in the states of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia.³

Although still small in sheer numbers, Uruguay dazzled union leaders with a 70 percent membership increase, 150 percent gain in tithe, and 400 percent growth in general offerings. At a meeting in Santiago, March 29-April 7, 1907, Chile separated from Bolivia, officially outgrowing mission status to become a conference. At the same meetings workers voted to transfer E. W. Thomann to Cochabamba, Bolivia, as the first permanently established minister in that country. These changes were not without their problems. With the Chile-Bolivia Mission divided, J. W. Westphal predicted Bolivia “will be one of our most difficult fields. It has no seacoast, and is thus cut off from immediate touch with the world.”⁴

Most of the few Adventists in Peru were already dropping out when F. L. Perry arrived in late 1905 to take charge, but by early 1907 he had a group ready to organize into the first formal congregation in the country. Still looking for their first converts in Ecuador, George Casebeer and T. H. Davis and their families moved two hundred miles inland from Guayaquil to Ambato, a mountain community at 9,000 feet elevation, where they founded an English school.⁵ After struggling for months to increase Adventist membership in Paraguay, Luis Ernst and Ignacio Kalbermatter gained permission to hold meetings anywhere in the republic.⁶

When the 1907 General Conference Committee convened in Gland, Switzerland, its members were ready for aggressive action, not only for South America, but for all mission projects outside North America. “We became fully convinced,” General Conference President A. G. Daniells reported in the *Review*, “that the time had come for us to set on foot a larger, more systematic, and better organized movement for selecting and preparing workers to send into foreign fields.” With a vote aimed at Washington Training College, church leaders recommended changes in both faculty and curriculum “to make that institution a distinctively foreign mission training-school.” By the time it opened the next school year, it had become

Washington Foreign Missionary Seminary, a title it held until 1913 when it reverted to its traditional college status.⁷

The Gland Council left no doubt that church leaders recognized the needs of what many called the “neglected continent.” South America sent no representatives to that meeting, but the General Conference Committee appropriated US\$3,000 to move and equip the Brazil printing plant and voted ten missionary appointments to South America, mainly to Brazil and Argentina.⁸ Months elapsed before these appointees actually arrived; meanwhile, J. W. Westphal had been roving the union, stirring up a flurry of projects.

It was March 1908, the end of the Argentine summer, when twenty-eight representatives from around the South American Union gathered at Colegio Camarero for a session of reports and planning. Westphal attributed the church’s progress to improved organization, which he said enabled leaders to touch more people and to supervise their work better. The meeting was the first real demonstration of what had been going on in the union since it had organized slightly more than a year and a half earlier.

Of encouragement to workers was institutional expansion in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. New buildings were going up at the schools at Púa, Chile, and Diamante, Argentina. The Buenos Aires printing plant added offices, and church leaders were laying plans to establish a sanitarium in Entre Rios adjacent to the school. Helped by the \$3,000 from the General Conference, the Brazil printing plant was in the middle of a 550-mile transfer from Taquari, near Porto Alegre, north to São Bernardo on the outskirts of São Paulo. Growth in membership was upward, but not sharply so; however, church revenues increased dramatically, which encouraged the delegates to launch a new phase of evangelism—work among the Andean aborigines.⁹

Westphal saw membership increases and institution-building as two near simultaneous aspects of church growth. This perception led him to centralize his financial resources and to exercise administrative controls over organizational machinery. Although he was speaking to the Brazilian Adventists, he was enunciating a cornerstone of his administrative policies when he reported the reorganization of the Brazilian conference in 1906. “It is the plan,” he explained, “that each conference will try to support itself so that the means we receive can be invested in new fields.”¹⁰

The first major break in this centralization process appeared in 1910, when territorial changes occurred along language lines. The South American Union split, allowing Brazilian Adventists to assume direction of their own work. Omens of such



a change had been apparent from 1906 when the South American Union began. At that time delegates elected H. F. Graf as vice president of the South American Union, but in 1908 the union committee voted to empower Graf, in conjunction with other members of the committee from Brazil, to handle matters of general interest to that country.¹¹ This action gave the Brazilian workers a degree of independence from the Spanish-speaking sector of the union.

Graf took quick advantage of this convenience. In January 1909 the “Brazilian division of the South American Executive Committee” convened in São Bernardo to transact business for Brazil.¹² This administrative shortcut helped delegates at the third union session in 1910 to approve dividing the South American Union into three unions—two Spanish and a Brazilian union. Westphal, although not opposed to two separate Spanish unions, did not believe 1910 to be the appropriate time for that change, and probably at his insistence, the group deferred their action, even though, according to N. Z. Town, the workers generally favored it. The organizational meeting of the Brazil Union occurred in December 1910 with L. R. Conradi presiding as a General Conference representative.¹³

F. W. Spies became the first president of the newly formed Brazil Union in 1911. In 1914 Westphal agreed to organize Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into the Inca Union Mission, consisting of three missions, one for each country. E. L. Maxwell, for several years a conference president in the United States and superintendent of the Peru Mission since 1913, was elevated to become the new leader of this union. He also retained his position as head of the local mission in Peru.¹⁴

One of Westphal’s first accomplishments as South American Union president was to gain control of finances. The General Conference had customarily dealt directly with each local field, but by 1908 Washington was channeling all funds for South America through the union headquarters in Buenos Aires. This procedure gave Westphal and his fellow union leaders a decisive role in financial controls over all regions, including institutional development. Westphal correctly believed that administrative control was necessary to avoid confusion and to acquaint himself with South American needs.¹⁵

These developments took place in economically troubled times. Westphal had to manipulate his limited resources, but his colleagues in Brazil and Peru did not always concur. Unfortunately for everyone, World War I exacerbated an already trying situation. Hardly had hostilities in Europe erupted before South American banks refused to release deposits. The complaint from around the circle was uniform—funds

were increasingly hard to come by. Spies, as president of the Brazil Union, could transact his business directly with the General Conference, but Adventist leaders in Washington regarded Maxwell and the Inca Union Mission as a subsidiary of the South American Union. This meant that Maxwell's operating funds passed through the South American Union. Wartime uncertainties caused Westphal to clamp even tighter controls over finances, resulting in only intermittent transfer of operating money from his office in Buenos Aires to Maxwell's in Lima, Peru.¹⁶

The evolution of institutions reveals more clearly how Westphal's policies shaped the growth of Adventism in South America. Although he believed strongly in the role of institutions as branches of the church, he did not recommend that they proliferate at random. At the organizational meeting of the South American Union, Spies reported that the delegates resolved that church leaders should support the schools and printing establishments then in existence rather than found "new institutions before the growth of the work demands them."¹⁷ It was a conservative policy but a necessary one in order to stretch scarce funds as much as possible and to exercise an equitable control over church growth.

RIVER PLATE SANITARIUM

The Gland Conference and the decision to promote world missions by establishing Washington Foreign Missionary Seminary occurred almost contemporaneously with the defection of Dr. John H. Kellogg from the Seventh-day Adventist church. Unable to prevent him, church leaders looked on helplessly as he took Battle Creek Sanitarium with him. In 1907 the Medical Missionary Department of the General Conference tried to clarify the confused state of Adventist medical institutions by creating two lists of health-care institutions in the *SDA Yearbook*, one for sanitariums that were under church supervision and the second for institutions privately owned by Adventists. None of the forty-two on the official list was in Latin America, but as events were soon to show, one was in the making in Argentina.¹⁸

In March 1908, J. W. Westphal bought R. H. Habenicht's home and a sixty-acre property next to the school in Entre Rios, planning to convert it into a sanitarium and to build the doctor a smaller house. A larger medical unit would follow. In the midst of these activities, Westphal confided to Spicer, "I am sure the openings for a sanitarium are seldom so favorable for self-support as they are here. It is a case where the Lord is driving us, and not we starting an untimely thing." With as many as ten wagons with waiting patients in his yard, Habenicht had to find room for



the sick who were thronging to his house. No space was available except his home. Sometimes performing surgery in his dining room, and cramming fifteen patients into a single room, he carried on, even then turning many away.¹⁹

After the school year ended, Habenicht and A. L. Gregory, recently arrived from Brazil, admitted patients to the school building. Construction on the new sanitarium was sluggish, provoking a perplexed Westphal to fret, "What we will do with our patients when school opens is the question now before us."²⁰ By December the sanitarium, although still conducted in Habenicht's home, was nevertheless booming with business. In its first twenty-nine days of operation, the doctors grossed over 1,400 Argentine *pesos*.

With 6,000 *pesos* Westphal paid for land but could scarcely organize construction on the new medical building; however, once it became usable, the sanitarium succeeded amazingly well. Indebtedness he could expect, but with such prospects as the first month indicated, he was hopeful for growth and solvency. Soon after returning from the 1909 General Conference, he noted with more than a little satisfaction that the sanitarium's income was exceeding its operational costs. At least for the time being, his assurance to Spicer that the project would support itself was holding true. When delegates to the March 1910 union session met at the school, Westphal was especially pleased to show a nearly completed sanitarium, and N. Z. Town sent pictures and reports to Washington for publication in the *Review*. Even more encouraging was the bookkeeper's report after closing the records for 1910—a gain of close to 3,400 *pesos* with nearly an equal amount of receivables.²¹

The pattern of steady growth by River Plate Sanitarium was not without uncertainties. Local doctors opposed the medical unit. With some justification they feared they would lose patients. Their lobbying produced local laws permitting Habenicht to accommodate only twenty-five in-patients, but the sick came in such large numbers the staff had to find space for a dozen more in other buildings. When provincial authorities reacted by threatening to close the sanitarium, they met a public howl so loud they reversed themselves to allow Westphal to expand instead. By 1912 the enterprise had grown enough to allow a recent graduate from the medical school at the University of Arkansas, Dr. George B. Replogle, to join the medical staff.²²

Another problem centered on Habenicht, around whom the institution revolved. He persisted unwearingly, but he failed to achieve full legal recognition as a doctor, a situation that hampered his practice and the progress of the sanitarium. At the union meeting in 1910, following several years of his fruitless attempts to revalidate

his medical diploma, workers concluded the best way to avoid such difficulties in the future would be for the General Conference to sponsor Adventist medical students in South America. At the time Frank Westphal's son, Carl, was contemplating a medical degree from a Chilean university, but coaxing by the union brought neither young Westphal nor anyone else the coveted financial support from the General Conference. Meanwhile, Habenicht had to cultivate the good will of local authorities to continue even a limited practice.²³

Clientele at the sanitarium was uneven, tapering off and endangering the institution's finances whenever agricultural income dropped. Consistent frugality prevailed over these fluctuations and debts diminished, enabling Westphal to announce a net worth of more than US\$6,000 in 1914 after six years of operations.²⁴ Habenicht could report a better showing at the end of 1915—almost US\$40,000 in assets and only slightly more than \$4,000 in liabilities. During the two years, 1914-15, the staff treated 1,080 patients, and doctors performed 292 operations while losing only five cases.²⁵

These statistics were satisfying, but church leaders and the doctors themselves measured their success by other data. After the first class of six nurses graduated in 1912, Westphal noted that nearly all of them would enter denominational employment. But Habenicht's chief concern was "what is being done for souls of the sick and dying?" Confessing that his busy schedule prevented him from giving as much pastoral attention to his patients as he wished, he nonetheless could verify that baptisms resulted from the work of the sanitarium. Patients noticed that the religion of the sanitarium workers was connected to the way they treated the public. For doctors and nurses alike such observations were the distinctive marks of Adventist medical ministry.²⁶

The beginnings of River Plate Sanitarium suggest an amazing and unique story. Unlike other Adventist hospitals, it was not conveniently surrounded by an urban population with a ready supply of sick. L. R. Conradi of Germany, visiting South America in 1910 by special request of the General Conference, probably spoke for many when he described the location as a "novel" one, implying doubts about establishing an institution in the middle of the pampas.²⁷ However, Habenicht characterized the region as populous with 70,000 to 100,000 persons, but living mainly in villages and farms, some of them sixty miles away. Paraná, a community thirty miles to the north, was the closest city.

Habenicht built his reputation on sheer doggedness. He willingly traveled those sixty miles across the pampas to see a patient or worked around the clock if necessary.

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He was farmer, preacher, professor, and doctor—he could plow fields, preach sermons, teach school, and practice medicine. It mattered little to the local residents that he was not a fully accredited practitioner according to Argentine law. He was as hardy as the Russian-German settlers he served, who recognized honest and effective work when they saw it and responded with confidence.²⁸

If the middle of the Argentine pampa was an unlikely spot to build a hospital, so was the year 1908 an unlikely time for Westphal to launch his construction program. Still fresh in the minds of denominational leaders was the blow John Harvey Kellogg had dealt the church the previous year as he walked off with Battle Creek Sanitarium and several other medical units, including Mexico's Guadalajara Sanitarium.

The General Conference officers were in no mood to invest in risky health-care establishments, but they showed a willingness to encourage projects that were appropriately controlled. We may speculate that Westphal's unquestioned loyalty to the church, combined with his own powerful presence, were important factors in official moral support of a new sanitarium. Habenicht was not only too busy to build a personal empire as Kellogg had—legal constrictions hemmed him in even if he had harbored any desires—but Westphal left no doubt about who was really in charge of Adventist affairs in South America.²⁹

For more than thirty years the sanitarium standing beside the Diamante school was the sole medical unit Adventists operated in South America. It was not an imposing building at first, only eleven by twenty-four meters, but with the school it broke the monotonous pampa horizon as a striking symbol of Adventist aspirations, determination, and concern for both spiritual and physical well-being.

REORGANIZING PUBLISHING ENTERPRISES

On South America's West Coast other questions faced J. W. Westphal. In 1907 the report reached him that the school in Púa, Chile, was debt-free, largely because of careful management of Chilean affairs by his brother, Frank. Other blessings were the re-equipment of the Chilean press and its transfer to Espejo, a Santiago suburb, and the purchase of conference offices adjacent to the press. "When we think what the Lord has done for us during the last three years," Frank wrote to church leaders in Washington, "we feel to praise his name."³⁰

But the outlook was not so bright as the older Westphal saw it, or so his younger brother, J. W., interpreted the situation. Loans on the press remained unpaid and the school building fund needed replenishment, which meant a return to indebtedness.³¹

The problems in Chile were but a part of the union-wide institutional question that plagued the younger Westphal during 1908.

Shortly before the South American Union president left Argentina to attend the 1909 General Conference session, he decided to ask the world headquarters for US\$5,000, rationalizing that Washington had never helped the institutions in the River Plate area and that Adventists in that region asked for financial assistance only if they knew their projects were sound. Not only the sanitarium and the school in Entre Rios but the press in Buenos Aires burdened his thoughts. Further reflection induced him to request US\$20,000, distributed equally among each of the four institutions—the school and sanitarium at Diamante and the two publishing houses in Argentina and Brazil.³²

The financial needs of all of South America's institutions were obvious, but Westphal intended to allocate portions of the \$20,000 to only some of them. His decisions about how to divide the money followed a plan to consolidate existing institutions into a system that would best serve the entire continent. To put everything in its place would require months, perhaps years. "These institutions are in large part my children," Westphal wrote to Spicer. "Before I leave [referring to his permanent return to the United States, still far in the future] I should want to see these institutions on their feet doing excellent work in this closing message. I want to look back upon them as something left in a condition acceptable to those who will carry the burden of them. As I write this I have feeling akin to those of a father for his children."³³

Since 1906 Westphal had been engineering major changes in South America's publishing industry in an attempt to organize literature production more effectively. La Imprenta Verdad, the first name of the Argentine press, had been in operation for only a year on the school campus in Entre Rios before church leaders transferred it to Florida, a suburb of Buenos Aires. Almost immediately after its installation at the school, complaints arose that the space was too small and that the location deep in the interior of the country put the business at a disadvantage. The new location in Florida was on two building lots which Ole Oppegard and Frank Westphal sold to the River Plate Conference. Because donations from church members in Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina had established the press, the new board of directors included representatives from all three fields.

The new quarters were larger, but still small and unheated. Press workers recalled that in order to stay warm on cold days they alternated with each other in turning

the press by hand. A couple of years later a gasoline motor made operations easier. On this single press the staff of three persons published *La Revista Adventista* and *La Verdad Presente*, both for Spanish readers. Even with this limited production, space was tight because officers of the South American Union, the River Plate Conference, and the Tract Society also moved into the building, occupying room for which they paid monthly rental fees. With this trickle of income and other donations, the press added a new room and laid plans for further construction.³⁴

In Brazil conditions rapidly led to changes after establishing the press at Taquari in 1905. With the formation of more than one conference in Brazil, the press became the property of all Brazilian Adventists, not just a single conference, which required a board representing all fields to oversee operations.³⁵ Adventists in Brazil finally owned their own press but not without problems. Similar to its Argentine counterpart, it occupied cramped quarters in the school building. The publication process was complicated and slow because editors lived in Rio Claro, about 600 miles distant. Sending articles through the mail to the press in Taquari took two or three weeks.

Nevertheless, even in this awkward situation the press began publishing one German and two Portuguese journals each month. In 1907 the first book in Portuguese, *A Gloriosa Vinda de Christo (His Glorious Appearing)* came off the press, a ninety-six-page work with twenty-seven pictures. These accomplishments were encouraging for a new press, but with an eye on additional needs for Portuguese literature and a desire to be near a larger population center with improved commercial facilities, the Rio Grande do Sul Conference voted to move the business again to a larger space. The press had been at Taquari for only two years. According to Spies, no one had intended that the press would remain there, which Brazilian church leaders viewed as a location where inconvenient communication conditions made successful operations almost impossible.³⁶

Ardent support by Spies, combined with two General Conference grants in 1907 and 1909 totaling US\$8,000, enabled church leaders in Brazil to purchase twelve acres in São Bernardo, about ten miles from the growing city of São Paulo. The plan was to construct a plant for the three presses and other equipment. Two of the presses had come as a donation from the Adventist publishing house in Germany. Meanwhile, the equipment occupied temporary quarters.

The transfer from Taquari occurred in 1907 but was not completed until January 1909 when the press moved into new buildings. William Stein also moved to the new site, thus consolidating the editorial and printing processes under one roof.

In 1908, after only one year in São Bernardo, the press published *Vereda de Christo*, Stein's translation of *Steps to Christ*.³⁷

With these advancements in mind, well might Westphal ask the General Conference for \$20,000 in assistance. In February 1909 while on his way to the General Conference, he stopped in Chile to attend the annual conference session in Santiago, where the leading discussion items were the school in Púa and the Chilean press. The school was struggling as was seen by comparing its enrollment with that of Colegio Camarero in Argentina, where a hundred students attended. This figure outstripped both the Brazilian and Chilean schools combined. Despite the needs of the Chilean school, which this contrast made clear, the Westphals focused most of their attention on the press, which needed financial assistance but was holding its own with an annual circulation exceeding 100,000 *Señales*, distributed throughout four Andean republics besides Cuba and Spain.

After collecting first-hand information about these questions, J. W. Westphal proceeded to the United States, contemplating along the way some radical adjustments in the publishing enterprise. In Washington he secured the \$20,000 according to his request, and at the South American Union session in March 1910, he shuffled institutional organization in order to derive maximum benefit from the appropriation and to expand union control at the same time. The moves were especially propitious for the Spanish-speaking fields.

Meeting in Diamante, delegates voted to centralize their printing establishments by combining the Chilean press with the plant in Argentina, thus providing one publishing house for Spanish literature. In Espejo, press operations had become too large for the West Coast constituency, which was also strapped with a school. The merger permitted Chileans to concentrate on the school, the institution that met their local needs. Argentina could publish and furnish papers for Chile more easily than Chile could send its youth to the school in Entre Rios. "We need to educate, educate, educate, educate," Frank Westphal wrote just days before the press merger was approved.³⁸ In addition to combining the Chilean and Argentine presses, church leaders also unified editorial policies of all papers in South America and established institutional committees for Chile, Argentina, and Brazil.³⁹

Centralization of Spanish publishing in Argentina placed the press on a more nearly equal footing with the Brazilian firm, where three more books came off the press by 1910. Assets at the Brazilian press were valued at more than three times the Buenos Aires plant and its production nearly 50 percent larger. L. R. Conradi,

while visiting South America in 1911, described the press as only a “small publishing plant,” but even at that it was not producing to its capacity. “The plant is sufficiently large,” he observed, at least for Brazilian needs, but “could do much more work.” The monthly Portuguese journal was “of excellent quality . . . but,” Conradi thought, “altogether too small.”

More than five years later in 1915 when N. Z. Town and W. W. Prescott passed through Brazil en route to Buenos Aires to organize the South American Division, they found significant change. Three new brick buildings housed more modern equipment, and output had increased seventeen times since 1906. During the two years, 1914 and 1915, its publication list included eight books and nine tracts besides German and Portuguese monthly journals and three special editions of the union paper.⁴⁰ The Argentine plant, called Casa Editora since 1912, was also successful enough in the same two-year period to net more than US\$5,000 and to write off the entire stock of literature resting in Inca Union depositories, a donation approximating \$3,000.⁴¹

Comparisons between the Brazilian press and Casa Editora yield valuable insights into the development of the publishing industry in South America. Figures show that although the total assets in São Bernardo—later known as Santo André—were greater, the Argentine house tended to outproduce the Brazilian press as measured in value of sales. The figures also indicate that during its early years Casa Editora concentrated on periodical literature rather than books. Besides the Pacific Press in the United States, a publishing center in Spain and another small enterprise in Mexico produced literature for Hispanic readership, although the firm in Spain contracted its business with commercial printers. Until the era of World War I the Spanish-speaking countries in South America depended on other sources for books.

Book production for Spanish readership in South America had been problematical from the outset of Adventist presence in the continent. The books that the Adventist publishing industry had translated from English into Spanish, most often those authored by Ellen White, frequently lacked a polished quality. Some church leaders thought they would never appeal to the educated class. According to Elbio Pereyra, an associate director in the Ellen G. White Estate, not until Eduardo Francisco Forga began participating in the translation process in 1907 did Adventist books for Spanish readers achieve a satisfactory quality. Forga labored in the United States, England, and Spain, coordinating a team of translators that included non-Adventist writers.⁴²

By contrast to Casa Editora, book production was a more significant issue in Brazil. Until years after World War I Brazil was the only genuine source of literature

for Portuguese-speaking Adventists, the vast majority of whom lived in that country. Adventists in Portugal did not own a press, but early in the twentieth century they produced literature for local consumption rather than export by contracting jobs to commercial presses. The literature market in Portugal was small. As late as 1924, M. V. Tucker, manager of the Brazilian plant, known as Casa Publicadora beginning in 1920, noted that only about 3 percent of Brazilian production went to Portuguese readers in both the United States and Portugal.

It is also worth noting that the German-speaking sector of the Brazilian membership was much larger than its counterpart in Argentina. After the first German colony, São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul, was founded in 1824, the German population of Brazil grew to about 300,000 before the end of the nineteenth century. While aiming its publications at the Portuguese population, the Brazilian publishing house also produced a limited amount of periodical literature for German-speaking members, while the Argentine press limited itself in the early years to Spanish productions.

These circumstances account in part for the different directions the two South American publishing houses took. They also help later generations to understand the enormous contributions that William Stein made to the early development of the publishing industry in Brazil. Editor Rubens Lessa calls him “the competent William Stein, Jr.,” and regards him as “one of most brilliant Adventist writers.”⁴³

J. W. Westphal’s encouragement to establish the Portuguese press close to São Paulo and to merge the Chilean and Argentine presses at a new location in Buenos Aires were not prejudicial against Chile. By so organizing South America’s publishing interests, he avoided needless duplication of investments and manpower, two commodities that were always a premium in the eyes of Adventist planning committees. The move also allowed greater attention to the press that possessed more urgent needs. In January 1911, when the Buenos Aires plant began printing the missionary paper, *Las Señales*, for all Spanish countries in the union, South American publishing institutions had hardened into their essential mold. Time would witness to the wisdom of these decisions.

TRAINING SCHOOLS IN ARGENTINA, CHILE, AND BRAZIL

Schools also felt the shaping process brought about by organizational growth during the decade when the South American Union was evolving into a division. From the variety of educational units in South America in 1906, none could claim the title of a true training school. That term commonly described institutions whose primary

purpose was to train students in Adventist lifestyle and for denominational service, hence the title “training school.” Although the schools offered basic academic classes, the institutions had not advanced far enough so questions such as degrees and the differences between secondary and post-secondary instruction would be serious issues.

In Púa, Chile, classes began in 1906 with the inexperienced Carlos Krieghoff as director. The program was elementary level only. Offerings in Argentina were above elementary but not fully secondary. The Brazilian school at Taquari was similar. Before moving from Brusque where it had first organized, it experienced only dubious success. In all of these schools, adults could take special classes preparing them for some phase of Adventist work, usually canvassing, but such courses did not constitute a genuinely academic program.⁴⁴

Westphal’s tendency to centralize administration led him to support the Argentine school as the leading educational center for Spanish-speaking countries in the South American Union. Habenicht had no spare time—he could not even attend faculty meetings—but he served briefly as head of the school, a task he gladly relinquished in 1908 when Walton C. John arrived in Entre Rios to take charge of the new building whose construction had begun the year before.

John quickly won Westphal’s confidence, and before the term ended in November, the two men disclosed their plans for the 1909 school year. A thirty-six week schedule would span nine months from March 3 to November 9. To meet their expenses, students would pay twenty *pesos* per month and work three hours daily. Westphal wanted to “incorporate” (receive accreditation) with the government, but he admitted that the inspector probably would not approve a school without such basic equipment as maps, charts, or even a library.⁴⁵

Because his departure for the 1909 General Conference session in Washington occurred a month and a half before the new school year, Westphal had to wait for John’s reports to learn how well the school was progressing. A good showing would bolster his appeal for money. As it turned out, the timing of events could not have been better. Colegio Camarero was benefitting from a confident, full-time school administrator and an enrollment that shot up from seventy-nine to 124, which was the best in the school’s brief history. The increasing number of faculty enjoyed a new building, albeit without much equipment. Westphal lodged his request for money, received assurances, and returned to Argentina where he found the school in which he was placing so much hope saddled with debt. He could not resist an immediate letter to Washington hinting with little subtlety that he needed the promised money without delay.⁴⁶

These plans for financial support of education became more complex when Westphal faced the thorny school problems in Chile. In 1907, one year after beginning classes, school director Krieghoff moved his students into an unfinished three-story building with a loft. This structure was supposed to house twenty-three dormitory rooms besides offices and space for food preparation and dining. Frank Westphal was working as tirelessly for the success of the Chilean school as was his brother for the Diamante institution, but he was not nearly so well off, either financially or with prospective enrollments.

Earlier, in 1908, the Westphal brothers had a chance to discuss the financial condition of the Púa school. As a result of their talks, they and other Chilean workers decided to increase the building fund. For the approaching term they hired a new principal and four other faculty to run the school. Frank wrote Spicer that with little income "at first" they would have to work carefully, but "the education of workers must not be neglected." Four months later and somehow nearly out of debt, he decided that a bakery would answer some of the school's financial needs. Unfortunately, the problems were too deeply rooted for remedies for a bakery to correct.⁴⁷

By 1909 the outlook was appearing more promising. Some secondary classes had become part of the curriculum, enrollment reached fifty-four, and students were coming from Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. Frank Westphal talked optimistically about the growing missionary influence of the Chilean school, but his brother did not appear convinced that Púa was the place to invest large sums, at least at the present time. In February 1909, the two Westphals met again during the annual Chilean conference session. By then J. W. had decided to ask the General Conference for \$20,000 for South American institutions, and while he had not completely ruled out appropriations for Chile, neither had he included them.

On February 20, in a gravelly river bed near Santiago, the Westphals and other conference delegates ate their Sabbath picnic dinner and also celebrated the baptism of seven new members, a unifying experience in the face of the trying issue of how to handle the school's finances.⁴⁸ Three days after the picnic lunch, J. W., stopping in Valparaíso while en route to the United States, reflected about home, already a month behind him, and the difficulties he faced. The meeting in Santiago had not been easy, and his emotions, pent up after several months of grueling decisions, tumbled out in a letter to Spicer.

"It was hard work," he said, "for me to pull away from home and the Argentine work for this long, perhaps eight months trip. Wife was not very well, Olive

[daughter] turned her face crying, the baby Chester held out his little arms crying, but I just had to harden my heart, turn and go . . . Discouraging feelings have crept over me of late as I have seen so much to do, so many things untouched, others incomplete and inadequate . . . How are we ever to do this great work?”⁴⁹

It was a critical moment. Only because the Westphal stamina rarely bent so visibly do we sense the intensity of the problems he faced. Each of the Westphal brothers possessed granite determination, but they were not acrimonious or rivalrous. As strong as his support of the institutions in Argentina was, J. W. went to Chile in an honest attempt to determine the best method to support the Púa school. He was impressed with the new principal, George Casebeer, lately of Ecuador, and encouraged his brother Frank to complete the building and set up a needy student fund. Later, in Washington, he even requested a General Conference gift for the school, although smaller than the \$5,000 he asked for the Argentine school.

Funds were scarce and improvements slow, but Frank still talked encouragingly about increased enrollments and the important role the Chilean school played. In 1910 J. W. raised his appropriations requests to US\$35,000 to be divided among six institutions and the Indian missions. Púa would receive \$3,000, none too liberal for a school poorly equipped with beds made from rough boards nailed together, which students used as benches during the day.

By early 1911, J. W. had watched the struggle long enough to express overt doubts about Chile’s educational program. A general meeting coinciding with Conradi’s tour of South America in November 1910, and a conference session in March 1911, both at Púa, allowed the South American Union president to see the school twice at close intervals. Its financial statement showed a loss. “With the prices charged, this could hardly be otherwise,” he commented. Poverty among Adventist students nearly precluded their attendance.⁵⁰ In his opinion the school had been premature; the buildings, still too spartan to be practical, were not ready to house students adequately. Consequently, he advised the “Chile brethren” to restrict their operations to an elementary program and send all students to Argentina after their sixth year.⁵¹

Although J. W. based his suggestion on Púa’s physical deficiencies, he probably had other doubts as well. Frank’s repeated allusions to the school’s influence were references to colporteur training, although Púa offered only a primary education. J. W. was not opposed to the school’s classes, but he interpreted slow construction to be a sign that the constituency could not support the school. It was plausible

that Spanish-speaking Adventists in South America could afford only one bonafide worker-training school at that time, and obviously, Argentina's institution was much closer to that role.

But there were questions about the Argentine campus as well. As impoverished as J. W. saw the Chilean school, he thought the school in Argentina was far from well off. Rough seats, practically no library, no office space, extremely crowded conditions, and lack of money for repairs were some of the problems he hoped to remedy with a US\$5,000 gift in 1911. Conradi also voiced doubts. With the restraint of a polite visitor, he expressed wonder about the Argentine pampa as a site for a school. Reacting to the unfinished building, its unplastered ceilings and simple board partitions, he observed "this school surely ought to have the promised money it is to receive from the \$300,000 fund, to place it in creditable shape."⁵² Diamante could not accommodate more students comfortably, but by confining the worker-training course to one school, Westphal could avoid duplication of effort and derive more benefit from General Conference financial support by spending the money on a single campus.

Whatever his reasons for suggesting a curtailment of the Chilean program, ten years in South America had taught J. W. Westphal that sooner or later Adventists would be forced to train their own workers in order to lessen dependence on missionaries from the United States and elsewhere. Rapid turnover by 1911 left very few workers with more than four years of experience. Because needs were multiplying and new personnel had to learn the language, customs, climate, and methods of labor before becoming effective, Westphal lamented that the union was left with "continually weak help . . . It seems that our only real source of hope is that we get more of the natives into the field." Ferdinand and Ana Stahl were already venturing into the Lake Titicaca region with plans for schools and clinics, all of which meant worker-training courses to prepare support personnel.⁵³

With all of J. W. Westphal's coaxing and financial prodding, he did not demand that the Argentine school become the sole educational center for Spanish-speaking South America. While he and his colleagues debated the problems of education, Colegio Adventista del Plata, as the Argentine school came to be known, implemented a four-year secondary level "missionary course," and in 1912 Escuela Adventista de Púa introduced three secondary years.⁵⁴

For six years the younger Westphal had supported Púa but pursued a policy of extracting every ounce of support from Chilean Adventists for their school before

investing outside money. If the church on the West Coast would have a school, it would have to provide the basic funds, difficult as the financial situation may have been. It was a policy by and for iron-willed men. Perhaps for that reason it worked.

Further events demonstrated the need of support for the Chilean school. After the General Conference Committee meeting at Friedensau, Germany, in 1911, appropriations to South America were reduced. During the negotiations for money that followed, reminders of needs at both Entre Rios and Púa led Westphal to complain to Washington about slashes in his requests for aid and to suggest that denominational leaders should vote a Thirteenth Sabbath offering to the two South American schools.⁵⁵

General Conference approval of this proposal brought needed assistance, more than US\$10,000 from the December 1912 collection, but the portion devoted to Argentina was twice as large as that given to Chile.⁵⁶ With its allocation Colegio Adventista del Plata began a two-story dormitory, which H. U. Stevens, the new principal, delayed after completing the ground floor because his money ran out. On May 2, 1915, school officials finally dedicated the addition. Meanwhile, Stevens had also built a new power plant and made other improvements. Growth eluded both schools as fluctuating enrollments, sometimes dipping below 100, plagued Argentina, and sluggish increases and slow development of the plant characterized Púa.⁵⁷

For Colegio Adventista del Plata the critical year had been 1908; the pivotal time for Púa occurred later. Dark days were ahead for both institutions, but by 1912 the relationship between the two campuses had jelled, both emerging as officially supported training schools for southern regions in South America.

With an early beginning at Brusque, a training school for Brazil seemed a likelihood. In 1903 it moved about three hundred miles south to Taquari, where, with the press and A. L. Gregory's clinic, the Adventist community had the makings of an institutional center. This apparent prosperity did not last. By 1908 Brazilian leaders decided that their small institutions should move to more promising sites. "Sao Paulo is one of the most important states in Brazil," J. W. Westphal said after the first session of the São Paulo Mission, "and it is important that our work become firmly established in that field."⁵⁸

The breakup of the center at Taquari was already underway. The printing business was on its way to the São Paulo suburb of São Bernardo, and Gregory moved to Argentina, although conference leaders requested him to transfer from Taquari to Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul. From Rio de Janeiro Spies consciously promoted a

northerly trend in church expansion by calling for a training school in the center of the country.⁵⁹ By the time the press completed its move in 1909, the school was the only vestige of the erstwhile “center,” and the following year it closed its doors. That Brazil could benefit from special donations to reestablish its institutions was obvious. After attending the 1909 General Conference session, Spies reported a thirty-*conto* (an old currency of Brazil) appropriation for Brazil, part of which was for a central school.⁶⁰

There had been no metamorphosis at Taquari producing a Brazilian counterpart of Argentina’s Colegio Adventista del Plata, but the church could not long remain without a training school. More resolute than ever after being impressed by the needs of northern Brazil, Spies was ready for serious action in 1915, predicting that when the Brazil Union produced its own workers it would enjoy greater progress. At a meeting in 1914 Spies’s wife, Izadora, also fired up church workers by telling them they had waited long enough to establish a school for Portuguese-speaking members. “When the time comes to advance God will find His men, and also provide the money necessary for the project,” she advised them.⁶¹

It was not as though nothing had been done for the Portuguese sector of Brazil. The German-speaking leaders of Brazilian Adventists had been feeling the pressure of expanding into Portuguese regions for years. Between 1900 and 1913 they had published a missionary journal in Portuguese, and in 1906 A. L. Gregory introduced *Revista Trimensal*, a quarterly paper for Portuguese members that would become *Revista Mensal* and eventually the Brazilian *Revista Adventista*. The editors devoted *Revista Trimensal* largely to Sabbath school lessons, the first organized lessons for the Portuguese-speaking members.⁶² Immediately after the organization of the South American Union in 1906, Brazilian church leaders resolved to teach their training school classes in Portuguese, “since workers for the Brazilian fields must be prepared,” J. W. Westphal said.⁶³

In 1908 Spies reported inquiries about Adventism from Bahia and Alagoas, two northern states, and beginning in October of the same year, he spent two months in Maceió, finding a dozen Sabbath keepers. After conducting meetings at which a hundred attended, he baptized a handful of converts and organized a group, but finances and the lack of workers prevented him from assigning anyone to that field. Besides these opportunities in the north, needs were showing up elsewhere as well. At the 1914 session of the Brazil Union, the delegates resolved to prepare a reading course for the workers in order to acquaint them with history and the Portuguese language.⁶⁴

But for all of their efforts and good intentions to satisfy the increasing needs among the Portuguese-speaking public, Brazilian Adventists had made scant headway toward an effective training school. However, now fortified with \$6,000 in savings, \$3,000 more donated by the prospering São Bernardo press, and a pledge for an additional \$2,000, Spies bought three hundred acres at Santo Amaro, five miles from São Paulo, where he intended to erect a school. Since purchasing the property in nearby São Bernardo for the press nearly eight years earlier, Spies had openly recommended the general location of São Paulo for a training school. Emboldened by bright prospects, he asked the General Conference for US\$10,000 for construction. "We perhaps made a big mistake in not asking the General Conference long ago for ten or fifteen thousand dollars for an educational institution . . . Forgive us, brethren, for timidity in this respect, but we will come now," he sardonically wrote.⁶⁵

Events moved rapidly at Santo Amaro. In April 1915, Adventists closed the land deal and John Lipke moved onto the grounds with seventeen students to begin remodeling the existing buildings and constructing new ones. In July classes began. Students lived in tents and spent half their time in study and the other half farming and building as rapidly as their funds allowed. When the South American Division went into operation the next year, the Brazilian training school was hardly more than embryonic, but it was destined to become one of the major Adventist institutions in South America.⁶⁶

Although Brazilian Adventists outnumbered Argentine members, Spies did not regard them ready to venture into sanitarium construction. Convinced that insufficient personnel to conduct other church projects was the heart of his problem—he barely had enough workers to maintain his program—he told Spicer that "we need first of all the men who will raise up churches and thus bring us a constituency. The matter of doctors, nurses and sanitariums can come in later, when we are ready for it."⁶⁷

No doubt Spies did not want to duplicate the strain Westphal experienced by forming a cluster of institutions simultaneously, but more importantly, he did not have enough workers who could spare the time from pastoral duties to build such a center. Before Brazil would have its hospital it would wait more than three decades, a much more prolonged delay than Spies or anyone else anticipated.

PROGRESS IN LITERATURE CIRCULATION

One significant aspect of South American evangelism was a revived interest in canvassing, coinciding roughly with the establishment of the Brazilian press at

São Bernardo and the consolidation of the Chilean and Argentine printing plants. Nearly two years before the Spanish presses joined, N. Z. Town returned to the United States to become associate secretary of the General Conference Publishing Department. Plans to print several standard books in Spanish were already materializing when he visited the Pacific Press only weeks before the 1909 General Conference session. Translators, some of them non-Adventists, were producing versions of *Great Controversy*, *Bible Readings*, and *Home and Health*, but G. W. Caviness, on loan from Mexico, and Eduardo Forga from Peru were turning out most of the work. In 1908 the Pacific Press sold \$15,000 in Spanish literature, a figure that ballooned to \$25,000 in 1909 and skyrocketed to \$43,000 during the first five months of 1910.⁶⁸

Such success was a combination of Town's enthusiasm and improved organization in the field itself. Delegates at the 1908 South American Union session chose T. H. Davis, the inveterate canvasser from Ecuador, to head literature sales for Chile as well as Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. In July 1909, Max Trummer, a young German-born canvasser in the United States, sailed from New York to take charge of book and periodical sales in Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina.⁶⁹

Two months after Trummer's departure from the United States, Town also left New York on an eight-month tour taking him, among other places, to South America where he conducted colporteur conventions and organized the book distribution program. These moves were the first attempts to form a continental system of literature sales.

Davis and Trummer were ready for Town when he arrived. At Diamante potential colporteurs attended a rousing institute, and then paired off for actual work. Trummer wrote that they moved from town to town, carrying their cots and cookstoves with them. On the West Coast an energetic Davis shuttled from field to field, alternately peddling books himself and gathering his salesmen for short study sessions. At these meetings he and Town prepared beginners to sell and trained the experienced agents to sell better.⁷⁰

Trummer's organization was well-executed, and as long as he promoted book sales, the program prospered. Every year he inspired the canvassers to surpass the previous year's record. During each vacation students left the sanitarium and school in Entre Rios to sell books and earn scholarships to pay for their educational expenses.⁷¹ In 1914 Trummer returned to the United States to secure American citizenship, complete his education, and marry an Argentine secretary who was attending the Adventist college in Washington, D.C.⁷² His successors continued his program, but church leaders emphasized other aspects of evangelism more immediately related to baptisms.

A series of events beginning in 1908 provided new impetus for the literature distribution program in Brazil. John Lipke held instructional sessions for new colporteurs in 1908. Closely following these meetings, Brazilians met at São Bernardo in January 1909 to dedicate their new plant. Only days later they reassembled at Itapetininga, a hundred miles away, to lay plans for more colporteur institutes.⁷³

To penetrate farther northward had long been a goal for Spies, but the vastness of his field was overwhelming. “Our needs are as big as Brazil,” he told Spicer soon after becoming president of the Brazil Union. “You can picture them as big as you want to. You cannot overdo the thing.” In response to the desire of Spies to look north, Lipke moved to Bahia in Northeast Brazil following the formation of the Brazil Union, where he both evangelized and sold literature.⁷⁴

In November and December 1911, Spies traveled north to visit Lipke and observed the rapid spread of Adventism with ambivalent joy and pain. In that year nearly sixty converts joined the church. Requests for pastoral attention were too numerous for one man to answer; yet even though three new workers entered Brazil, Spies judged other fields more needy, and assigned them elsewhere.⁷⁵ Spies saw these successes as reminders that he could not furnish the workers needed to follow up the interests that Lipke was generating.⁷⁶

The only alternative Lipke had was to build his own working force. He had no school on which to depend for prospective workers; nevertheless, within a scant year and a half after he arrived in North Brazil he baptized 142 converts from whom he recruited and prepared six colporteurs, two canvassing leaders, and two Bible workers. To accomplish this remarkable achievement, he conducted training courses for workers in September 1912.⁷⁷

That the canvassing program in Brazil was weak had not escaped Conradi’s attention during his South American tour, and he did not leave without encouraging Spies and his colleagues to promote it. “We are sure,” he ventured, “that if the same field work is done here as Brother M. Trummer is doing in Argentina, things will begin to move here also.” Lipke’s experiences seemed to fulfill Conradi’s observation. A year later, Spicer, also visiting South America, listened to the leader of the work in Northeast Brazil deliver a “cheering report” about the church in that region, noting that some of the new converts were “getting a good experience in the colporteur work.”⁷⁸

It was in the East Brazil Mission that the first spurt occurred in literature evangelism in Brazil. During two years, 1910 to 1912, Brazil’s nine canvassers grew to twenty-seven, ten of whom served under Lipke. When the South American Division

organized, the thirty-seven colporteurs in the Brazil Union equaled the number of bookmen in Spanish-speaking fields, but their sales were about \$4,000 less. Meanwhile, more colporteurs had arrived from the United States, among them R. M. Carter, who took charge of Brazil's book work.⁷⁹

A NEW IMPETUS IN EVANGELISM

Fashioning an effective literature sales department was not the only problem Spies faced in the Brazil Union. Personnel deficiencies were common to all mission fields, but Brazil suffered more than its share. Only months after Spies became president of the union, a rash of vacancies erupted in the southern conferences. The Paraná Conference, without a president for nine months, finally elected J. G. Kroeker to serve half-time while he remained as superintendent of the São Paulo Mission.

Days after he patched São Paulo and Paraná together, Spies conducted the annual session of the Santa Catarina Conference, also without a leader. After three days of business, he closed the meetings, not having found even a part-time president for the 450 members and ten churches. Journeying on to Linha Torres, also in Santa Catarina, to hold five days of general meetings, he could not put his problems aside. "I feel constrained to ask the prayers of our people," he brooded, "that the Lord of the harvest will send more reapers into his harvest."⁸⁰

Everywhere he turned Spies found a common need—vacancies caused by a lack of workers. His trip to East Brazil during the final weeks of 1911 only aggravated his quandary. São Paulo, regarded as one of the most promising fields in Brazil, still had no ordained minister. In 1912 Spies himself moved from Rio de Janeiro to São Bernardo to live at the union headquarters; at the same time he became São Paulo's only fully credentialed leader.⁸¹

The following year Brazil's acute need for workers was answered more generously than anyone hoped. At the 1913 General Conference session in Washington, D.C., pleas to relieve the beleaguered working forces in Brazil convinced fifteen listeners who agreed to go. On September 25 this bevy of new workers landed at Santos before proceeding to a São Paulo suburb to spend several weeks in language study. They were part of twenty-two missionaries who arrived in Brazil that year. When the union session convened at Santo Amaro, January 1-19, 1914, Spies, reflecting on his past difficulties, remarked that it was "certainly a cause for thankfulness and encouragement to see almost fifty workers present at the meeting." He relished this moment of celebration, but he knew his problem was not completely resolved.

The union committee remained for a week to discuss further business, leading Spies to conclude that Brazil was too large to administer as a single field. No one disagreed, but no one could supply necessary personnel to share the tasks. Spies knew he could delay Brazil's worker-training school no longer, and in 1914 began to plan seriously for an educational center. In 1915 the versatile John Lipke, who had begun his missionary career in Brazil as a teacher, stepped in to become the first director of a school that would eventually become the leading Adventist educational institution in Brazil.⁸²

Since their arrival in South America, ministers had evangelized on a relatively small scale, following interests generated by literature distribution or preaching to small groups resulting from personal witnessing. Large congregations were rare, even in the cities. The first visible sign that South American Adventists were attempting large-scale urban evangelism appeared in 1911 as a result of L. R. Conradi's visit from Germany.⁸³

Conradi described his visit as short, but it began in October 1910, and ended on January 11, 1911, a total of three months. During that time he said he "visited all the institutions of South America . . . attended five general meetings at different places, assisted in the organization of the Brazilian Union Conference, attended two local conferences, and . . . met all the leading workers of South America, except those of Peru and Ecuador."⁸⁴ Although Conradi stopped first in Brazil, his first important conversations took place in Buenos Aires, where he attended the annual session of the Argentine Conference, November 2-12. Conscious that this was one of America's great cities, the largest one south of the equator and the world's largest Spanish-speaking metropolis, he observed that Adventist work was scarce. Before the session ended, conference leaders took a special collection to begin city evangelism. Shortly after, C. E. Knight, president of the Argentine Conference, affirmed Conradi's suggestion of increased emphasis on urban regions by beginning the first series of tent meetings in Argentina's capital.⁸⁵

Evangelism in metropolitan areas was not a new idea, but Adventist ministers in South America had never made a concerted effort to present the less liturgical Adventism to the Catholic populations of South America's cities. However, after Conradi's visit urban evangelists proposed to attract ordinary people from the streets directly into Adventist meetings, consisting of a series of doctrinal lectures followed by personal instruction. Baptism would follow. If successful, this method would increase members at a faster rate than private, door-to-door literature distribution followed by individual Bible studies.

Although Conradi's visit to Buenos Aires set a new trend in motion, it would be nearly four decades before it would culminate in a fully mature program of urban evangelism. One of the first omens that his influence lingered on in South America was the appearance of an Italian congregation in Argentina's capital only a few weeks after he left. By the end of 1911, membership in the city had grown 25 percent. A year following Conradi's visit, Spicer, making his second tour of South America, observed that the Adventist ministry had sensed the needs of the cities. Adventists in Buenos Aires celebrated New Year's Day 1913, by dividing their single Spanish congregation into three churches, thus furnishing a witnessing group in more than one place in the city. At the 1914 annual conference Argentineans gave \$1,000 to purchase a large tent to continue evangelism in the capital.⁸⁶

Wherever Conradi went, he stirred an urban awakening. From Chile Frank Westphal wrote about his attendance at general meetings held in Púa and Santiago and the conference committee's decision to give more attention to cities. Westphal himself moved to Valparaíso for the summer months to revive the church.⁸⁷ After a year he could point to success in both Valparaíso and Santiago, but many Chilean cities remained untouched.⁸⁸

On the return leg of his trip, Conradi spent an afternoon in São Paulo, "an excellent field for labor," he observed, conscious of potential urban evangelism. The next day in Rio he was even more impressed as he and Ricardo Wilfart, a Bible worker, viewed palatial homes on beautiful avenues. "I said to myself," he recalled, "What a work might be done if we had a few experienced city workers here!"⁸⁹

If metropolitan soul-winning programs demanded more workers, they also required more time. During his trip to South America in 1912, Spicer reflected that "our brethren in Brazil have city problems as well as we in the United States. We hope for a good work in this city of Rio de Janeiro, with over one million in the city and suburban towns. We must help the brethren in Brazil to develop their work."⁹⁰

For three years Conradi's inspiration for city evangelism lay dormant in Brazil until John Lipke returned from Bahia to lead a new kind of evangelistic effort in Santo Amaro. In some respects it presaged the complexity of later large-scale evangelism. Spies later commented that ever since Adventists entered Brazil they had discussed methods to evangelize the cities. Auditoriums were difficult to rent, so finally union leaders decided to pitch a tent.⁹¹

Lipke was nearly ecstatic. Workers began meetings as the evangelistic phase of the annual Brazil Union session, but contrary to the ordinary, attendance did

not erode when church business ended and workers left. Under Lipke's direction an organized evangelistic team held three meetings a week while spending other evenings visiting and tutoring interested listeners in Adventist beliefs. One of the three weekly meetings was a health lecture including lessons in cooking and hydrotherapy treatments. For this aspect of the series, Lipke used two nurses, who also assisted in evening visitation to homes. After four months the team was ready to present its converts. "Our last Sabbath was indeed a day of rejoicing for us," Lipke wrote, "because we could baptize twenty believers as the first fruits of our work."⁹²

Spies was impressed. A tent went up in Rio that attracted 125 to 150 listeners while another in São Paulo drew 300 to 400.⁹³ By the time the South American Division organized in 1916, evangelism had developed from an almost exclusively rural, literature-oriented process to experiments with urban evangelistic teams, the forerunners of large-scale metropolitan crusades.

Of all the excitement created by membership gains, nothing in Rio, Buenos Aires, or Santiago compared with events among the Peruvian Indians. The formal decision to evangelize among them was not a sudden one. From the time of their entry into South America, Adventists talked about eventual missionary activities among aborigines. To South Americans, Indians were a commonplace, but from the outset of his assignment to Bolivia, E. W. Thomann was singularly impressed with the needs of the Quechua and Aymara tribes, and he determined to provide literature for them in their own languages. His descriptions of his work and pleas for help reached concerned Adventists through the *Review*. Their repetition only underscored the colossal task he faced.⁹⁴

J. W. Westphal shared Thomann's concerns. At the 1905 General Conference session he suggested that South American Adventists should look forward to evangelism among the indigenous peoples of their continent. After a trip through Chile, Peru, and Ecuador the next year, he wrote that "from every visible standpoint Peru is destined to be a hard field . . . Nowhere have I seen the Indian so much in evidence. They are poor, and apparently hard working . . . A great many of the population are at an elevation of seven to fifteen thousand feet . . . Except east of the Andes, where the climate is not healthful, and the population is small, the country has a barren, forbidding aspect. But the message must and will go."⁹⁵

F. L. Perry, head of the Peru Mission, also caught the same vision. The convictions of his heart, freshly burdened with the dilemma of introducing Adventism in the Lake Titicaca region, became known when he attended the 1908 South American Union

session in Entre Rios. Accompanied by George Casebeer, who was also struck with the needs of Indians in Ecuador, Perry left Lima via Titicaca for Argentina, visiting a couple of families in Puno who had found Adventist papers and had written for more. "Now, what can I do?" he pled helplessly in the *Review*. "I can not stand the altitude except for two or three days at a time. We have no native laborers who could be of much help to them . . . I know of no one in South America whom we can get." He had already proposed an Indian school, an idea that reached an Aymara tribesman near Puno who announced that he spoke Quechua, that he had a teaching certificate and had already been offering formal education to his people.⁹⁶

By the time Perry received this news, he had returned from the union session in Argentina where delegates voted US\$125 to open work among the Andean aborigines. However paltry the amount was—Perry estimated he needed thirty times that figure for the school—it ignited the imagination of South American Adventists. Before they adjourned, the delegates raised \$275 more in cash, \$50 in pledges, and added \$60 by buying 500-year-old Inca relics for personal mementos.

Back in Peru, Perry hammered away incessantly about his proposals. His listeners quickly gave him another \$325. Joining the ranks of supporters was Eduardo Forga, the recently converted Peruvian Adventist on a visit to the United States, who discussed the plight of the Indians in a five-part series in the *Review*, passionately closing, "In the name of six million unhappy Quechua Indians . . . I make an appeal that they be helped, and that speedily."⁹⁷ Even before becoming a Seventh-day Adventist, Forga had earned a reputation as a social reformer in Peru by agitating for the rights of Indians and lending his support to evangelism among the Andean tribespeople. Peruvians were already acquainted with his views. Adventists heard his and Perry's call. They did not know it, but they were about to embark on one of the most stirring adventures among South American Indians that Protestantism had seen.

THE STAHLs AND THE PERUVIAN ALTIPLANO

Among the legends of Adventist mission history, few stories have attracted more attention than the exploits of Ana and Ferdinand Stahl, who spent approximately thirty years in Bolivia and Peru, beginning in 1909. Both had completed nurses' training at Battle Creek and at the time of their mission assignment they owned a treatment clinic. Only weeks after the 1909 General Conference session, the Stahls were on their twenty-day voyage as one of the seven appointments made to the

South American Union. The *Review* explained their quick and eager departure by saying that “Brother Stahl was able to get off thus early, having funds of his own with which to pay the transportation charges.”⁹⁸

Days after landing at Mollendo, Peru, the Stahls—Ferdinand, Ana, daughter Frena, and son Wallace—they entered Bolivia.⁹⁹ E. W. Thomann transferred immediately back to Chile, leaving Stahl to supervise the Bolivia Mission. It was a large assignment for inexperienced workers, but the Stahls showed they could learn quickly and that they had a special sense of mission to the aborigine population.

“From our first meeting with them in La Paz,” Stahl said about the Indians after a year in South America, “we have been interested in this people.”¹⁰⁰ His concern for the tribespeople filtered across the *altiplano* to A. N. Allen, new head of the Peru Mission, who invited him to visit an Indian school that Manuel Camacho had organized near Puno on the shore of Lake Titicaca.

Camacho, the Aymara tribesman who owned a teacher’s certificate, had broken out of the traditional Indian mold by learning to read and traveling to the western slope of the Andes and even as far as Iquique, Chile. Since 1898 he had conducted schools for his own people. He found Adventism in literature that made its way to the Titicaca region and introduced it into his school. By the time Stahl and Allen met in mid-1910, Camacho had more than fifty students and a Sabbath attendance of at least half that number. Cold weather and a light snow chilled neither the Indians’ warm reception to Stahl nor Stahl’s response to the challenges he saw. He treated fifty sick and helped Allen conduct meetings. Before the two missionaries left, Allen baptized fifteen and encouraged the Indians with promises of additional schools.¹⁰¹

Four months later, Stahl was back in Chucuito, Camacho’s home territory, where he found another group ready for baptism. Overwhelmed by what he saw, he asked Camacho to write to J. W. Westphal about his needs. In Argentina the union president had been undecided about the best procedure to begin evangelism among the Indians. He did not want to release Stahl from Bolivia, but he desired to inaugurate an Indian program, and no one else appeared to be available. A letter from Stahl himself, reinforcing Camacho’s appeals, helped to swing the decision. In May 1911, a convinced Westphal met Allen and Stahl in Puno to establish a new Indian mission.¹⁰²

Both Westphal and Allen concluded that Stahl should move out of La Paz to live among the Indians at Chucuito, Peru, on the northwestern side of Lake Titicaca near Puno, but he should also continue his work in Bolivia.¹⁰³ The three men purchased land adjacent to “Brother Camacho,” where they planned to erect a home for the

Stahls and a mission that would include a school and a clinic. It was the beginning of Platería Mission. "I have just visited our work among the indians [sic] near Puno, Peru," Westphal wrote the General Conference. "You have heard much about this work and are deeply interested in it . . . What you have heard about it has not been overdrawn."¹⁰⁴ Less than a year passed when Westphal visited Titicaca again, this time to welcome Spicer to South America and to show him the new Indian mission, at the time consisting of only an unfinished school. Construction was slow. From Puno, twenty-one miles away, Indians carried building materials, even large timbers, on their shoulders.

When Westphal inspected the mission again in 1915, Stahl had erected three buildings and was prepared to enlarge his program as J. M. Howell and C. V. Achenbach and their families arrived from the United States. Ana and two native assistants had organized a school of 100 pupils. Stahl did not overlook baptisms. His first ceremony brought eighteen new members; forty more joined at the second ritual and seventy during the third. On his third visit Westphal helped Stahl with another baptism, pushing the membership above 300.¹⁰⁵

From the outset of his first trip to Lake Titicaca, Westphal was not only impressed with the Indians—he personally baptized twenty-nine and organized a church on the trip—he also was impressed with Stahl. "Brother Stahl has a splendid influence among them," he observed. "His medical work has done much to win their confidence. While he gets very near to them, will pat them on the back or head, or will put his arms about them and give them an especial [sic] endearing embrace as the situation may require, he is not one to let them run over him. He seems especially fitted to labor for them."¹⁰⁶

Westphal had seen what the Indians already knew almost instinctively—Stahl was a true friend. To them he was large, powerful, bold, and commanding, yet almost maternally tender to their sick, never audacious or swaggering, neither overbearing nor exploitive. His keen perception of human nature and natural gregariousness led him both in and out of predicaments ranging from the hilarious to the life-threatening. He would endure incredible hazard, unbelievable hardship, and formidable odds to reach the Indians. His adventures on the Peruvian *altiplano* both inspired and alarmed his associates. At once he engendered unbending loyalty among his Indian disciples and infuriated the established authorities. Ana, his Swedish-born wife, was equally tenacious and dedicated. The pair had nerves of steel, cast-iron stomachs, and hearts of gold. All Peru would eventually hear much

from this Olympian couple. Within five years lawmakers in Lima even changed their national constitution, partly to accommodate the missionaries, and partly because the missionaries helped convince them that changes were right and proper.

Even among Adventist circles Stahl was regarded somewhat heroically as a benevolent maverick, one who would not permit the red tape of denominational bureaucracy to interfere with his commitment to “spread the word” as he perceived it had to be done among the Indians, if it was to be done at all. Through all of these experiences he maintained something of a sublime contempt for what gossip, either friendly or unfriendly, said about him. Few better personified the biblical injunction to be as wise as a serpent but harmless as a dove.

Westphal described Stahl’s prospective ministry at Platería to the General Conference by comparing it to Christ’s use of Capernaum as a center from which He conducted His ministry in Galilee. Perhaps the analogy was far more apt than he anticipated.¹⁰⁷ To the Indian children, Stahl was a ready friend. The tribespeople once brought a boy to him, “only twelve years old,” Stahl said, crying bitterly with eyes eaten away by disease. “I gathered the boy in my arms, holding my face close beside his, and explained to him that Jesus knew all about him, and that he should not grieve so. I told him that God would restore his sight in heaven, and that he would see beautiful things, far surpassing anything on this earth. The little fellow stopped crying, and asked many intelligent questions, and I left him happy in his new-found faith.”¹⁰⁸

Stahl’s compassion inspired an abiding trust in his judgment. When an Indian came to him with a hopelessly infected finger, Stahl decided to amputate, but he had no anesthetic. Putting his arm around the sufferer, he explained what he had to do, warning him of pain, but no more than necessary. The Indian extended his hand, commenting, “Father, you can go right ahead and do what you think is best.” With his hat stuffed in his mouth to prevent crying, he watched Stahl cut his finger off at the last joint. “The man never flinched,” Stahl later recalled.¹⁰⁹

Stahl had not been among the Aymaras long before he wrote to Spicer that his essential technique was gentleness. “It has never failed to make friends,” he said. Two years later he was more convinced than ever that his methodology was the key to his success. “I have found in my work out here that the more we use kindness, and approach the people at all times with courtesy the more can be gained.”¹¹⁰

Stahl’s associates never confused his soft touch with weakness. He could be tough and hard, making quick believers of assailants. After an army officer and six of his men tried to arrest him on charges of hitting other soldiers who had tried to

steal his mules, Stahl remonstrated, asserting the accusation was patently false. He convincingly made his point by declaring that the thieves were obviously unharmed, which was evidence that it was “hardly probable had I struck them,” implying that if he had actually hit them, they would have suffered serious injury. The officer had no reply to Stahl, and released him abruptly.¹¹¹

High altitudes posed climatic challenges aplenty, but Stahl took them matter-of-factly, once crossing the Andes at 17,000 feet in the teeth of a driving blizzard. It was the sixth day of travel for him and his friends, and wearied by the gale, they found an abandoned shack in which they tried to sleep. The wind and snow mercilessly bit their way through the dilapidated walls, making rest impossible. To stay alive they continued their ride through the night, reaching their destination the next day.¹¹²

Ana Stahl shared her husband’s duties. Prominent Bolivians in La Paz learned first-hand of her nursing expertise and frequently called her back from Puno to care for their sick. J. W. Westphal noted with concern that she was very busy in Bolivia and remained away from home for extended periods. In November 1914, she began a two-month vigil for the wife of the United States minister in La Paz. Half a year later the Bolivian president himself called to Puno, requesting Ana to nurse his daughter-in-law through a sickness. On his first visit with Stahl in the Titicaca region, J. W. Westphal observed that Stahl was equally comfortable with aristocracy as with the Indians. As much could be said for Ana.¹¹³

Ana also shared her husband’s dangers. After a band of hostile Indians attacked their home, she and Ferdinand decided to flee, but by then an electrical storm added to their peril. Saddling their horses, they left anyway, riding through the lightning that alternately blinded them and showed them the path. After fourteen miles Ana’s exhaustion was complete. Ferdinand was forced to spread blankets on the snow to improvise a bed where they could spend the rest of the night. By morning their blankets were frozen.¹¹⁴

In spite of everything, Stahl could laugh. While passing through a large village, accompanied by his son, he sensed the Indians becoming noticeably talkative. With only limited knowledge of their language, he did not understand what they were saying, but repeatedly greeted them cheerily with a customary, “the same to you,” in their tongue. Finally on the other side of the village and out of earshot, young Wallace Stahl, who knew the language much better than his father, told him the Indians were hurling epithets at him, calling him a horned devil. “I was reminded of a text in the fifth of Matthew,” Stahl remembered, “which says, ‘Agree with thine adversary quickly.’”¹¹⁵



When Stahl moved from La Paz to Platería Mission, he walked into a political imbroglio that drew international attention. Westphal warned the General Conference before Stahl arrived that trouble was brewing, but he could not predict how far-reaching it would become. The heart of the issue was suppression of the Indians, long acknowledged by some Peruvians as one of the evils of their country.

This situation with its ramifications made serious trouble for Stahl when he began medical humanitarianism, even before he built Platería Mission. His schools angered the landlords even more. Sporadic violence erupted, more often during his absences. On one such occasion, when his weakening health had temporarily forced him to lower altitudes, attackers closed Camacho's school and dragged some Adventist Indians to Puno where they remained jailed for more than a week. When the story reached Lima, liberals reacted swiftly to what they deemed a national scandal. The story was not the only matter that found its way to the *limeños*—Camacho himself appeared in the city to bare his soul to the Peruvian president, Guillermo Billinghurst, who as somewhat of a liberal, promoted a spate of reform legislation.

Camacho's boldness is partly explained by the fact that his plight coincided with a movement led by the University of San Marcos faculty in Lima who rejected the notion that Indians were inferior beings. Proponents of positivist philosophy had advanced this teaching, but teachers and students alike carried it a step farther by agitating for an end to *gamonalismo*, the power of the landlords.

Because of pro-Indian sentiment in many sectors in Peru, including leading newspapers and the university, sympathy for the victims ran strong in the Peruvian congress. After a sequence of rapid and clever parliamentary moves, the matter climaxed in late 1913, when the senate overwhelmingly approved a constitutional change that guaranteed the right to choose one's religious persuasion, which in turn reduced the likelihood of attacks on the new Aymara schools operated by Camacho and Stahl. The army overthrew Billinghurst in 1914, but reform mentality persisted, with congress finalizing its actions in 1915.¹¹⁶

That Stahl had struck a blow in favor of religious liberty was unquestioned, but Peruvians before him had already laid the foundation for his accomplishment. Not only had intellectuals advanced the notion of social reform, but Eduardo Forga had fought for both Indian rights and religious liberty for nearly twenty years before the senate action. As the publisher of *La Reforma*, a periodical in which he argued vehemently for change, he became such a thorn in the flesh to the establishment

that in 1906 he feared for his life and fled Peru, but not before arousing considerable debate, especially among political liberals.¹¹⁷

On the eve of the formation of the South American Division, Stahl celebrated Christmas by baptizing twenty-nine converts, raising church membership in the Titicaca area to 340. By 1916 he and his associates established nineteen schools for the Aymaras. About 2,000 attended. Figures in later years dwarfed these statistics, but whatever the future held, he and Ana had carved heroes' niches for themselves from the resistant Andean fastnesses. No one could doubt the accuracy of the term "revolutionary" which La Sierra University's ethicist Charles Teel bestowed on him decades later.¹¹⁸

FORMATION OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION

Uneven but firm growth characterized the South American church, 1906-16. Spies, already a veteran of fifteen years in Brazil and thoroughly familiar with the peculiarities of his field, settled into his new post as president of the Brazil Union in 1911 by announcing that membership expansion was his priority policy.¹¹⁹

Under his leadership the Brazil Union had functioned nearly autonomously, but such was not the case with the Inca Union. The General Conference consistently bypassed Inca Union Mission leader Maxwell to deal financially with the headquarters at Buenos Aires for all Spanish for work. Maxwell found this arrangement irksome, an attitude strengthened by the complete control that the Buenos Aires publishing house exercised over all printing in Spanish South America. Appalled by the lack of organization "on this side"—meaning the Andean republics—Maxwell was confused enough after a year in his new position as union superintendent to doubt that the Inca Union Mission was a real union. Even more shocking to him was the news that the General Conference always intended the Inca Union to be subject to the South American Union under Westphal.¹²⁰ The reason for this relationship was that the Inca Union was a union mission rather than a union conference, a distinction that Maxwell appeared to have only partially understood.

Spies was also disenchanted with the organization of South American Adventists, but less frank than Maxwell. J. W. Westphal continued his visits to Brazil, but Spies was not administratively responsible to him. With some legitimacy, the Brazilian Union president claimed that other parts of South America received more than their share of money and workers. General Conference statistics, published at the time, show that the sizes of the two working forces was, indeed, weighted toward the Spanish regions.¹²¹

Spies's and Maxwell's critical observations were reactions to the attitude of church leaders in Washington that recognized Westphal as the *de facto* head of the South American church irrespective of how it was organized. Westphal's centralization policy had been too successful for the Brazil and Inca unions to overcome. His thrifty control of finances and his skillful decision-making articulated his vision of long-range needs in South America, penetrating beyond contemporary organizational structure to see the imperatives that only continental institutions could fulfill. These he determined to establish, whether or not the cost was heavy and at times paid for by what some interpreted as neglect of other phases of the church. Westphal abused neither the Inca Union nor the Brazil Union, but, like all successful organizers, he defined priorities and tenaciously held to them, managing his limited resources accordingly.

In addition to institutions, membership was also a major consideration when assessing organizational needs. By the end of 1915, Adventism had made little impact on Ecuador where only twenty-three members lived. The strength of the church in Peru's Titicaca region overshadowed its weakness elsewhere in the country. About 200 were scattered from Arequipa to points northward. In Bolivia only stirrings were visible in La Paz and Cochabamba, with fewer than a dozen members. More than 670 Adventists dotted the Chilean map, mainly in the center and south. Although most of the 1,100 Argentine Adventists lived along the riverine corridor from Buenos Aires north to Santa Fe and Paraná, evangelism was spreading in all directions, including Uruguay where 130 members lived in a few clusters. In northeastern Argentina and Paraguay more than 270 Adventists pointed to an encouraging beginning. The Brazilian church was largely southern and coastal, as contrasted with the general population that was concentrated along the central coastal region.

At the time it organized in 1906, membership in the South American Union exceeded 2,100, more than half in Brazil. In the nine years that followed until the division formed, 1907-1915, the combined total of Adventists in the eight countries reached 4,900, hardly more than a small community if they could have assembled in one place. Annual growth rates had not been even, but for the nine years beginning in 1907, they averaged nearly 10 percent. Evangelistic methods probably improved if one can validly infer such a conclusion from higher baptismal rates as 1916 neared. The Spanish regions had expanded more rapidly than Brazil, but another dynamic figured into membership increases. Mission activity among the Peruvian tribespeople contributed about 25 percent of the total membership increase in division territory during the years of the South American, Brazilian, and Inca unions.¹²²

While foreign missionaries directed the South American church, national leadership was emerging. Santiago Mangold and Luis Ernst had become mission superintendents; other phases of the church program, usually literature sales, were sometimes under national supervision. What spectators considered a small and ragtag group, Adventists themselves regarded as evidence of God's unmistakable guidance and blessings and cause for rejoicing.

Adventists had been evangelizing for a quarter century in South America when the General Conference organized the South American Division. Hardly had the Inca Union Mission appeared in 1914 before Spies, Maxwell, and J. W. Westphal began talking cautiously but openly about reorganizing into a division headed by a General Conference vice president.

Theirs was more than speculative small talk. By 1914 the unified administrative structure created by the South American Union had split into three unions binding fourteen conferences and missions together. All three presidents chafed under this system. Maxwell was disappointed with his subservience to Westphal; Spies's outward neutrality could not hide his desire for more official attention for Brazil; and Westphal asked only for a workable system that would promote South American interests, a tacit admission that the present one needed improvements. Their guarded support for a division expressed only caution, not negativism. Westphal, whose towering influence had given the South American church its shape, finally took an open stand in favor of the division, admitting "it would make me breathe easier," which spoke for Maxwell and Spies as well.

When the General Conference assembled in Loma Linda, California, for Autumn Council in November 1915, Daniells and other General Conference officers were also convinced that a South American Division was necessary. On November 18, council delegates approved the new administrative unit and asked 46-year-old Oliver Montgomery to leave his post as president of the Southeastern Union in the United States to become the first leader of new division.

His decision was quick, but he took time to telegraph his wife for advice. Her seven-word answer was all he needed: "Willing to go where God may call." Within two weeks they sold their goods and were making final visits with relatives. On December 11, 1915, only twenty-five days after their decision to go, the Montgomerys and Martha, their 12-year-old daughter, and General Conference representatives N. Z. Town and W. W. Prescott, sailed from New York for South America.

News that the plan was definite reached a relieved Westphal in late December.

"This suits me exactly," he told T. E. Bowen of the General Conference.¹²³ In 1916 the new executive moved into his office in the Buenos Aires suburb of Florida. Consolidation and expansion lay ahead, but for South American Adventists, their times of beginnings were over.

¹ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909.

² J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, June 17, 1906, *ibid.*/11, IL.

³ J. W. Westphal, "The Argentine Conference," *RH*, January 24, 1907; and "Hearts Are Being Prepared," *ibid.*, February 28, 1907; and "Alto Parana Mission," *ibid.*, April 18, 1907; F. W. Spies, "Organization of the Rio Grande do Sul (Brazil) Conference," *ibid.*, August 2, 1906; and "The North Brazil Mission," *ibid.*, October 25, 1906; and "The North Brazil Mission," *ibid.*, December 20, 1906; and "A Visit to Sapucaia, Brazil," *ibid.*, May 9, 1907.

⁴ J. W. Westphal, "Bolivia Mission," *ibid.*, July 11, 1907; and "The Organization of the Chile Conference," *ibid.*, July 4, 1907; Samuel Chávez, *Adventismo en Bolivia*, 32-34; Juan McCarthy, "The Republic of Uruguay," *RH*, May 9, 1907.

⁵ Three *RH* articles titled "Peru," by F. L. Perry: January 27, April 25, and July 11, 1907; George Casebeer, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, August 16, 1906; and "Ecuador," September 27, 1906; three *RH* articles, titled "Ecuador," by T. H. Davis: March 7, May 30, and August 1, 1907; and "Ecuador, South America," *ibid.*, March 28, 1907.

⁶ J. W. Westphal, "Alto Parana Mission," *ibid.*, April 18, 1907; Luis Ernst, "Good News from Paraguay," *ibid.*, September 12, 1907.

⁷ A. G. Daniells, "A School for Volunteers for Foreign Mission Fields," *ibid.*, July 11, 1907; W. A. Spicer, "The General Conference Committee Council at Gland, Switzerland," *ibid.*, July 11, 1907. For a discussion of Washington Foreign Missionary Seminary, see Floyd Greenleaf, *In Passion for the World* (Nampa, ID, 2005), 149-153.

⁸ J. W. Westphal, "The South American Union Conference," *RH*, June 11, 1908; and "The General Conference Committee Council at Gland, Switzerland," no name, *ibid.*, July 4, 1907.

⁹ F. H. Westphal, "The School at Pua, Chile," *ibid.*, January 16, 1908; N. Z. Town, "The Argentine Annual Conference," *ibid.*, January 23, 1908; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, April 2, 1908; J. W. Westphal, "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 30, 1908.

¹⁰ J. W. Westphal, "A Conferencia do Estado Rio Grande do Sul," *RT*, July 1906.

¹¹ Untitled and unsigned article, *RT*, May 1908.

¹² F. W. Spies, "A dedicação da casa publicadora," *Revista Mensal*, January, 1909. Hereafter this publication will be cited as *RM*.

¹³ N. Z. Town, "The South American Union Conference," *RH*, June 23, 1910; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, June 13, 1910, GCA/21, IL/1910. A detailed account of the formation of the Brazil Union is found in A. Pages, "A organização de Conferencia União Brasileira," *RM*, January 1911.

¹⁴ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 25, 1914, GCA/21, IL/1914; "Maxwell, Edgar Lindsay," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 45.

¹⁵ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909.

¹⁶ E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, September 2, 1914, *ibid.*/1914; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, October 4, 1914, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, November 30, 1914, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, December 12, 1914, *ibid.* The *SDA Yearbook*, 1915, lists the Inca Union Mission as "under the South American Division."

¹⁷ F. W. Spies, "A organização de Conferência União Sul-Americana," *RT*, July 1906.

¹⁸ W. A. George, *et al.*, "Relation of Private Sanitariums to the Denomination," *RH*, August 22, 1907; W. A. Ruble, "Seventh-day Adventist Sanitariums," *ibid.*, August 22, 1907. See *SDA Yearbook*, 1907.

¹⁹ Statistical reports from the General Conference disclose that the greatest single revenue from offerings anywhere in Latin America and the Caribbean originated in Argentina. Viewed from this fact, Westphal's

insistence on making Argentina the control center for his work was justified. See H. E. Rogers's two reports, "Statistical Report of Seventh-day Adventist Conferences and Missions," *RH*, September 19, 1907, and September 17, 1908; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, March 26, 1908, GCA/21, IL/1908; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, July 9, 1908, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, September 26, 1908, *ibid.*; R. H. Habenicht, "A New Medical Missionary's Letter," *RH*, November 26, 1908; and "How a Sanitarium Grew Up on the Plains," *ibid.*, November 4, 1909.

²⁰ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, December 4, 1908, GCA/21, IL/1908; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, December 14, 1908, *ibid.*

²¹ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, July 9, 1908, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, December 14, 1908, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, November 14, 1909, *ibid.*/1909; N. Z. Town, "The South American Union Conference," *RH*, June 23, 1910.

²² W. A. Spicer, "On the Argentine Plains," *ibid.*, May 9, 1912; "Replogle, George Brumbaugh," *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 435, 436.

²³ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, June 26, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, September 14, 1915, *ibid.*/1915; Minutes of the Third South American Conference, March 12, 1910, *ibid.*/1910.

²⁴ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, December 1, 1912, *ibid.*/1912; J. W. Westphal to Spicer, March 19, 1914, *ibid.*/1914.

²⁵ W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 3," *RH*, May 11, 1916. Prescott was the official General Conference representative to South America in 1915-1916 when the South American Division was formed. *Statistical Report*, 1915.

²⁶ J. W. Westphal, "The South American Union Conference," *RH*, March 20, 1913; Dr. G. B. Replogle, "Field Experiences of Nurses," *ibid.*, July 17, 1913; anonymous patient to River Plate Sanitarium, quoted in "How the Patient Looks at It," *ibid.*, September 17, 1914; R. H. Habenicht, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *ibid.*, February 22, 1917.

²⁷ L. R. Conradi, "In the Mesopotamia of South America," *ibid.*, May 11, 1911.

²⁸ Spicer observed in 1912 during his visit to South America that local residents were not frightened by Habenicht's lack of credentials or laws restricting the sanitarium. They went where medical attention was available. W. A. Spicer, "On the Argentine Plains," *ibid.*, May 12, 1912. See Daniel Plenc's account of Habenicht's remarkable accomplishments in *Misioneros*, 42-52.

²⁹ During these years Westphal's letters are sprinkled with anxious allusions to the threats posed by Kellogg's dissent that was brewing in Battle Creek. See J. W. Westphal file, GCA/21, IL/1906.

³⁰ F. H. Westphal, "Chile," *RH*, December 12, 1907.

³¹ N. Z. Town, "Annual Meeting in Chile," *ibid.*, June 4, 1908.

³² J. W. Westphal to N. Z. Town, January 13, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, no date, but written immediately prior to his trip to the General Conference session, *ibid.*; H. E. Rogers, "Statistical Report for 1907," *RH*, September 17, 1908; F. W. Spies, "Dedication of the Printing Plant in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 1, 1909.

³³ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, no date, but information in the letter dates it immediately prior to Westphal's trip to the 1909 General Conference, GCA/21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, January 13, 1909, *ibid.*

³⁴ Brown, "Los A. S. D." 82; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 20-22.

³⁵ J. W. Westphal, "A Conferencia do Estado Rio Grande do Sul," *RT*, July 2006.

³⁶ John Lipke, "Our Industrial School in Taquary, Brazil," *RH*, June 6, 1907; J. W. Westphal, "General Meeting in the Sao Paulo (Brazil) Mission," *ibid.*, July 16, 1908; Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 177-180; "A transferência de nossa casa publicadora no Brasil," *RT*, October 1907; untitled news note in *RT*, July 2007; F. W. Spies, "Aquisição de uma propriedade em S. Bernardo," *RM*, January 1908. See account by Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 54-59.

³⁷ Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 61-64; Fonseca, *Fé, pioneirismo e ação*, 30-33. Regarding Stein's translation of *Steps to Christ*, it was an accomplishment that he had begun thirteen years earlier in 1895. When reporting

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his first trip to Brazil in March 1895, F. H. Westphal wrote in the *Home Missionary* that he had met Stein, who wanted to translate Adventist books. Westphal credits him with already translating *Steps to Christ*. In the same issue of *Home Missionary* a letter from Stein, dated January 25, 1895, includes a reference to a “beautiful” book, *Steps to Christ*, which he hopes can be made available to his people. The editor added parenthetically that after the letter was written Stein had actually translated the book. It is likely that *Vereda de Cristo*, was a refinement of the translation that he had begun in 1895.

³⁸ “Resolutions adopted by the Thirty-Seventh Session of the General Conference,” no name, *RH*, June 24, 1909; J. W. Westphal, “The Chile Conference,” *ibid.*, April 15, 1909; F. H. Westphal, “Chile,” *ibid.*, April 29, 1909; N. Z. Town, “The South American Union Conference,” *ibid.*, June 23, 1910; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, October 12, 1909, GCA/ 21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, March 4, 1910, *ibid.*/1910.

³⁹ “Minutes of the Third South American Union Conference,” March 12, 1910, *ibid.*; N. Z. Town, “The South American Union Conference,” *RH*, June 23, 1910.

⁴⁰ Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 63, 64; L. R. Conradi, “The New Brazilian Union Conference,” *RH*, May 25, 1911; W. W. Prescott, “Under South American Skies—No. 2,” *ibid.*, March 23, 1916; N. Z. Town “The Literature Work in Brazil,” *ibid.*, March 23, 1916.

⁴¹ W. W. Prescott “Under South American Skies—No. 3,” *ibid.*, May 11, 1916.

⁴² Elbio Pereyra, *Eduardo Francisco Forga* (Buenos Aires, 2004), 55-85.

⁴³ For this passage comparing the two South American publishing houses, see data in *Statistical Report*, 1907-1915 and Oliver Montgomery, “Our Literature in South America,” *RH*, June 26, 1919; M. V. Tucker, “A Obra Publicadora no Brasil 1924,” *RM*, March 1925. Ruy Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 131-203, relates the story of William Stein and his contributions to the publishing industry. Also useful are Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 34, 35, and “Portuguese Publishing House,” *SDA Encyclopedia*, second rev. edition, v. 2, 370, 371, and “Safeliz Publishing House,” *ibid.*, 519. Also see Borges, *A chegada*, 125, 126.

⁴⁴ Regarding the Chilean school, see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 132-136. Also see Brown’s two works, *Foundations*, 330, 331, 349, 350, and *Chronology* for data pertaining to these schools.

⁴⁵ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, September 8, 1908, GCA/21, IL/1908.

⁴⁶ Walton C. John, “Diamante (South America) School,” *RH*, January 20, 1910; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, October 12, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, November 21, 1909, *ibid.*

⁴⁷ F. H. Westphal, “The School at Pua, Chile,” *RH*, January 16, 1908; N. Z. Town, “The Annual Meeting in Chile,” *ibid.*, June 4, 1908; F. H. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, April 22, 1908, GCA/21, IL/1908; F. H. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, August 28, *ibid.* Peverini graphically describes the struggles of the school at Pua. *En las huellas*, 132-136.

⁴⁸ J. W. Westphal, “The Chile Conference,” *RH*, April 15, 1909.

⁴⁹ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal, “The Chile Conference,” *RH*, April 15, 1909; Brown, *Foundations*, 351.

⁵⁰ F. H. Westphal, “The Chile General Meeting,” *RH*, January 26, 1911; L. R. Conradi, “Through the Andes,” *ibid.*, April 13, 1911; J. W. Westphal, “Chile,” *ibid.* May 11, 1911.

⁵¹ F. H. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 21, 1910, GCA/21, IL/1910; J. W. Westphal to W. C. White, March 24, 1911, *ibid.*/1911; J. W. Westphal, “South America,” *RH*, November 10, 1910.

⁵² *Ibid.*; L. R. Conradi, “In the Mesopotamia of South America,” *ibid.*, May 11, 1911. The \$300,000 fund was a special campaign for money devoted to projects which the ordinary General Conference appropriation did not cover.

⁵³ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, March 31, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, June 11, 1911, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ Brown, *Chronology*, 76, 113; W. C. John, “Reports from Schools,” *RH*, March 7, 1912.

⁵⁵ Both J. W. Westphal and Mary Westphal, Frank’s wife, appealed in the *Review* for funds. Mary’s description of the Chilean school reveals its almost pitiable condition. Mary T. Westphal, “A Special Message to the Sabbath-Schools,” *ibid.*, December 12, 1912; J. W. Westphal, “Two South American Schools,” *ibid.*, December 19, 1912; W. A. Spicer, “The Biennial Council in Friedensau, Germany,” *ibid.*, August 17, 1911.

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⁵⁶ L. Flora Plummer, "Editorial," *Sabbath School Worker* (March 1914).

⁵⁷ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, July 25, 1912, GCA/21, IL/1912; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, October 14, 1912, *ibid.*; G. E. Hartman to W. A. Spicer, September 4, 1913, *ibid.*/ 1913; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, March 19, 1914, *ibid.*/1914; Brown, *Foundations*, 337; Walton C. John, "Diamante (South America) School," *RH*, January 20, 1910; and "The River Plate (Argentina) Academy," *ibid.*, June 1, 1911; and "Reports From Schools," *ibid.*, March 7, 1912; news note, no name, *ibid.*, May 7, 1914; H. U. Stevens, "River Plate (Argentina) Academy," *ibid.*, July 9, 1914; and "River Plate Academy," *ibid.*, December 24, 1914; and "The Colegio Adventista del Plata in 1915," *ibid.*, January 20, 1916; F. H. Westphal, "Progress of the Message in Chile," *ibid.*, May 9, 1912.

⁵⁸ J. W. Westphal, "General Meeting in the Sao Paulo (Brazil) Mission," *ibid.*, July 16, 1908.

⁵⁹ A. L. Gregory, "Brazil," *ibid.*, September 10, 1908; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 15, 1908.

⁶⁰ F. W. Spies, "A Conferencia Geral em Washington," *RM*, August 1909.

⁶¹ John H. Boehm and Gedeon de Oliveira, "It Was an Ammunition Factory," *Journal of True Education* (June 1953), 20, 21.

⁶² A. L. Gegory, "Saudações," *RT*, January 1906; F. C Webster, "A História da Escola Sabatina no Brasil," *RA* (B), January 1952.

⁶³ J. W. Westphal, "A Conferencia do Estado Rio Grande do Sul," *RT*, July 1906.

⁶⁴ See three articles by F. W. Spies: "Missão Norte-Brazileira," *RM*, August-September 1908; "Missão Norte-Brazileira, Viagem á Maceió," *ibid.*, November 1908; "Missão Norte Brasileira, Noticias de Alagoas," *ibid.*, January 1909; P. Hennig, "Terceira sessão bienal de Conferencia União Brasileira," *ibid.*, January 1914.

⁶⁵ F. W. Spies, "Aquisição de uma propriedade em S. Bernardo," *ibid.*, January 1908; F. W. Spies, "Pernambuco, Brazil," *RH*, September 30, 1915; F. W. Spies to General Conference Committee, August 17, 1915, GCA/21, IL/1915. The account by Joubert Castro Perez and Fabiana Amaral, "O Ensino Teológico no Brasil," in *Educação adventista*, 127-129, provides valuable information about the beginnings of the training school near São Paulo. Also see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 125-129.

⁶⁶ F. W. Spies to W. T. Knox, September 10, 1915, GCA/21, IL/1915; F. W. Spies, "Brazilian Union Conference," *RH*, February 10, 1916; G. B. Taylor, "Collegio [sic] Adventista do Brazil," *South American Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 2, 3.

⁶⁷ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, April 8, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911.

⁶⁸ N. Z. Town, "Our Spanish Literature," *RH*, April 11, 1909; C. H. Jones, "Orders for Spanish Books," *ibid.*, June 30, 1910. Jones was manager of the Pacific Press. See Pereyra, *Forga*, 55-85.

⁶⁹ J. W. Westphal, "The South American Union Conference," *ibid.*, June 11, 1908; Max Trummer, "En Route to Argentina, South America," *ibid.*, November 11, 1909.

⁷⁰ E. R. Palmer, "Off to Spain and South America," *ibid.*, September 16, 1909; and "Good Words from Far Countries," *ibid.*, January 6, 1910. Palmer was publishing secretary for the General Conference. Max Trummer, "Argentina," *ibid.*, March 10, 1910; a series of *RH* articles by T. H. Davis: "From Peru to Chile," December 31, 1908; "The Canvassing Work in Chile," January 28, 1909; "Chile," March 18, 1909; "Peru," September 23, 1909.

⁷¹ For samples of Trummer's many reports in *ibid.*, see "The Canvassing Institute in Buenos Aires," February 2, 1911; "South America," October 26, 1911; "Good Experiences in Canvassing in Argentina," November 30, 1911.

⁷² Wilma Ross Westphal provides an interesting account of this phase of Trummer's life in *Heretic At Large* (Washington, D.C., 1976), 27-39.

⁷³ J. W. Westphal, "The Portuguese Publishing Work in Brazil," *RH*, July 30, 1908; John Lipke, "Canvassers' Institutes in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil," *ibid.*, August 6, 1908; F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *ibid.*, October 15, 1908; and "Dedication of the Printing Plant in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 1, 1909; and "A General Meeting in Sao Paulo, Brazil," *ibid.*, March 25, 1909.

⁷⁴ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, April 8, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911.

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⁷⁵ F. W. Spies, "A Visit to the East Brazil Mission," *RH*, March 28, 1912.

⁷⁶ See Lipke's accounts in *ibid.*, "North Brazil Mission," August 4, 1910; "Bahia, Brazil," October 27, 1910; "North Brazil Mission," January 26, 1911; "East Brazil Mission, April 27, 1911.

⁷⁷ John Lipke, "East Brazil Mission," *ibid.*, January 16, 1913; F. W. Spies, "East Brazil Mission," *ibid.*, February 20, 1913.

⁷⁸ L. R. Conradi, "The New Brazilian Union Conference," *ibid.*, May 25, 1911; W. A. Spicer, "In the United States of Brazil," *ibid.*, June 27, 1912.

⁷⁹ See H. E. Rogers's statistical reports in *ibid.*, August 24, 1911, June 26, 1913, and November 23, 1916, for comparative data. F. W. Spies, "Brazilian Workers' Meeting," *ibid.*, July 9, 1914; and "Minas Geraes" [sic], *ibid.*, August 12, 1915.

⁸⁰ F. W. Spies, "Parana (Brazil) Conference," *ibid.*, May 25, 1911; and Linha Torres (Brazil) General Meeting," *ibid.*, July 27, 1911; and "Santa Catharina (Brazil) Conference," *ibid.*, August 24, 1911.

⁸¹ F. W. Spies, "Sao Paulo, Brazil," *ibid.*, November 7, 1912; and "North Brazil Mission," *ibid.*, December 26, 1912.

⁸² News note, no name, *ibid.*, August 7, 1913; F. W. Spies, "An Encouraging Event for Brazil," *ibid.*, December 11, 1913; and "Brazil Union Conference," *ibid.*, May 14, 1914; and "Brazilian Workers' Meeting," *ibid.*, July 9, 1914; Henry Haeft, "Missionaries on Their Way to Brazil," *ibid.*, February 26, 1914. During 1910 to 1915 Spies had more than doubled the number of his workers. H. E. Rogers's reports for 1909 and 1915 tell the statistical story. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1910, and November 23, 1916.

⁸³ Conradi was actually substituting for A. G. Daniells, General Conference president. J. W. Westphal repeatedly suggested that the world headquarters should pay more attention to South America. Daniells agreed to tour the continent in 1910, but requested Conradi, leader of European Adventists, to make the trip in his place. L. R. Conradi, "In South America," *ibid.*, March 9, 1911.

⁸⁴ Conradi reported his trip in a series of *RH* articles from March to May, 1911. This quote appears in his last, "The New Brazilian Union Conference," May 25, 1911.

⁸⁵ L. R. Conradi, "In South America," *ibid.*, March 9, 1911; C. E. Kmght, Argentina, *ibid.*, February 16, 1911.

⁸⁶ C. E. Knight, "Argentina," *ibid.*, July 13, 1911; and "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 25, 1912; and "Buenos Aires, Argentina," *ibid.*, September 11, 1913; W. A. Spicer, "In Two South American Cities," *ibid.*, May 2, 1912; J. W. Westphal, "Argentine Annual Conference," *ibid.*, January 21, 1915.

⁸⁷ F. H. Westphal, "The Chile General Meeting," *ibid.*, January 26, 1911; and "Chile," *ibid.*, February 9, 1911; L. R. Conradi, "Through the Andes," *ibid.*, April 13, 1911; Mary T. Westphal, "Chile," *ibid.*, April 27, 1911.

⁸⁸ F. H. Westphal, "Chile," *ibid.*, February 1, 1912; and "Progress of the Message in Chile," *ibid.*, May 9, 1912.

⁸⁹ L. R. Conradi, "The New Brazilian Union Conference," *ibid.*, May 25, 1911.

⁹⁰ W. A. Spicer, "In the United States of Brazil," *ibid.*, June 27, 1912.

⁹¹ F. W. Spies, "Tent Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 29, 1915.

⁹² John Lipke, "Sao Paulo (Brazil) Mission," *ibid.*, September 3, 1914.

⁹³ F. W. Spies, "Tent Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 29, 1915.

⁹⁴ Among Thomann's many reports in *ibid.* are: "Bolivia, South America," September 12, 1907; and "Bolivia," December 12, 1907; Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Thomann, "The Work in Bolivia," October 17, 1907.

⁹⁵ J. W. Westphal, "The Third Angel's Message in the Land of the Incas," *ibid.*, August 29, 1907.

⁹⁶ F. L. Perry, "En Route to the South American Union Conference," *ibid.*, April 9, 1908; and "Peru," *ibid.*, August 27, 1908. See references to the Ecuadorian Indians by T. H. Davis and George Casebeer, *ibid.*, 1907, 1908, *passim*. E. H. Meyers, "Review of Beginnings in South America," part 3, *South American Bulletin*, IV (March 1928), 2, 3. Spicer later described how the Indian teacher had worked as a servant in a coastal town and learned Spanish, became a teacher, and found a Bible and copies of *Señales*. "How God's Providence Guided," *RH*, January 8, 1914. See Peverini, *En las huellas*, 69, 70, 157, 158.

⁹⁷ J. W. Westphal, "The South American Union Conference," *ibid.*, June 11, 1908; Eduardo F. Forga's five-part serial, "A Plea for the Inca Indians of Peru," *ibid.*, October 29, November 5 and 12, and December 3 and 10, 1908. For the best background of Forga's work, see Pereyra, *Forga*, 41-54.

⁹⁸ W. A. Spicer, "General Conference Committee in Council," *ibid.*, June 17, 1909; editorial note, no name, *ibid.*, July 1, 1909.

⁹⁹ F. A. Stahl, "En Route to Bolivia," *ibid.*, August 19, 1909; and "Bolivia," *ibid.*, September 16, 1909. F. A. Stahl, *In the Land of the Incas* (Mountain View, Calif., 1920), 35.

¹⁰⁰ F. A. Stahl, "The Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," *RH*, December 29, 1910; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 159-160; Charles Teel, "The Radical Roots of Peruvian Adventism," *Spectrum*, v. 21 (Dec. 1990), 5-18.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*; F. A. Stahl, "Selling Our Literature in Bolivia," *ibid.*, September 15, 1910; A. N. Allen, "Among the Incas of Peru," *ibid.*, Harvest Ingathering Number, 1910; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 160.

¹⁰² J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, November 1, 1910, GCA/21, IL/1910; F. A. Stahl, "Among the Aymara Indians," *RH*, April 27, 1911; J. W. Westphal, "In South America's Union Mission Field," *ibid.*, June 22, 1911; and "The Message Among the Aymara Indians of Peru," *ibid.*, August 10, 1911.

¹⁰³ F. A. Stahl to T. E. Bowen, June 18, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, June 25, 1911, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to General Conference Committee, May 31, 1911, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* For an interesting narrative of the Stahls' experience in the Titicaca highlands, see Barbara Westphal, *Aventura nos Andes e Amazonas* (São Paulo, Brazil, 1978), which is a translation of the English version *Ana Stahl of the Andes and Amazon* (Mountain View, Calif., 1960). Stahl's autobiographical account, cited previously, is also a valuable source of information.

¹⁰⁵ News note, no name, *RH*, March 14, 1912; A. N. Allen, "Times of Refreshing," *ibid.*, April 25, 1912; F. A. Stahl, "New Mission Buildings among the Indians of Peru," *ibid.*, February 13, 1913; J. W. Westphal, "The Work Among the Indians of Peru," *ibid.*, August 19, 1915; editorial notes, no names, *ibid.*, September 16, November 11, and December 16, 1915; F. A. Stahl, "Missionary Work Among the Indians of the High Andes," *ibid.*, July 12, 1917; E. L. Maxwell, "The Inca Union Mission," *ibid.*, November 11, 1915.

¹⁰⁶ J. W. Westphal to General Conference Committee, May 31, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 134-36.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 146-48.

¹¹⁰ F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, September 21, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, August 28, 1913, *ibid.*/1913.

¹¹¹ Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 193, 194.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 262-270.

¹¹³ J. W. Westphal to General Conference Committee, May 31, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, August 3, 1912, *ibid.*/1912; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, October 14, 1914, *ibid.*/1914; F. A. Stahl to T. E. Bowen, June 23, 1915, *ibid.*/1915.

¹¹⁴ Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 241, 242.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 160, 161.

¹¹⁶ J. W. Westphal to General Conference Committee, May 31, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, January 20, 1914, *ibid.*/1914; F. A. Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 105-125, 162-184; W. A. Spicer, "Good Words from Peru," *RH*, November 20, 1913; and "How God's Hand Guided," *ibid.*, January 8, 1914; O. H. Maxson, "Good News from Peru," *ibid.*, November 27, 1913; Charles M. Snow, "Religious Liberty in Peru," *ibid.*, April 2, 1914 (Snow was associate editor of the *Review*); Edgar Brooks, "A Plea for Peru's Indians," *ibid.*, April 2, 1914. The *Christian Advocate*, January 15, 1914, and the *Christian Observer*, March 11, 1914, also carried accounts of the incident. Merling Alomía includes a verbatim report of the testimony by the aggrieved Indians when they witnessed before the court in Puno after the attack in 1913. See Alomía, "Un Importante Centenario en la historia de las Misiones," *Theologika*, v. 13, no. 2 (1998), 294-297. Bent Axel Larsen, who with his wife, spent many years in the Titicaca region as Adventist missionaries, describes the atmosphere of the times in *The Schoolhouse Burned Twice* (Mountain View, Calif., 1968.)

¹¹⁷ Pereyra, *Forga*, 23-30. Pereyra regards Forga as the "nearly forgotten pioneer of the neglected continent" ["El pionero casi olvidado del continente descuidado"]; Alomía, *Breve historia*, 28-42.

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¹¹⁸ F. A. Stahl to T. E. Bowen, December 26, 1915, GCA/21, IL/1915. Among Adventist researchers, Charles W. Teel, Jr., director of the Stahl Center, La Sierra University, has provided the most scholarly and informative account of Stahl's influence in the Lake Titicaca region. See three of his articles: "Revolutionary Missionaries in Peru," *Spectrum*, v. 18 (no. 3, 1988), 50-52; "The Radical Roots of Peruvian Adventism," *ibid.*, 21 (Dec. 1990), 5-18; "Missionaries, visionaries, and revolutionaries; logging a passage in search of Fernando and Ana Stahl," *Adventist Heritage*, 12 (summer 1988), 3-14.

¹¹⁹ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, April 8, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911.

¹²⁰ E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, September 2, 1914, *ibid.*/1914; E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, December 24, 1914, *ibid.*; E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, March 30, 1915, *ibid.*/1915; E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, June 30, 1915, *ibid.* Maxwell's attitude expressed in his letters is difficult to understand in light of his article, "The South American Union Conference," *RH*, April 23, 1914, in which he describes the action establishing the new union: "Another important move was to set off the countries of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru as a union mission under *the supervision of the union conference*" (Italics supplied). Maxwell appears not to have understood the implications of the action, which clearly states that the Inca Union would be a subsidiary of the South American Union.

¹²¹ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer and W. T. Knox, May 13, 1915, GCA/21, IL/1915. Knox was General Conference treasurer. The Spanish territories began the year 1910 with a total of seventy-four workers, including fifteen ordained men; by contrast Brazil had only thirty-two workers with five ordained ministers. At the end of 1915 Brazil's workers totaled seventy, of whom nine were ordained, both figures less than those of Spanish countries at the same date. The Spanish regions were meanwhile employing 108 workers, including twenty-three ordained ministers. The membership difference was not great enough to justify the disparity Spies described. See H. E. Rogers's statistical reports, *RH*, October 6, 1910, and November 23, 1916.

¹²² See annual *Statistical Report* for years 1907-1915. For interesting details of the early membership in Bolivia, see Samuel Chávez, *Adventismo en Bolivia*, 40-47.

¹²³ While both Maxwell and Spies respected Westphal's leadership and acknowledged his singular influence, they both suggested that the leader of the proposed division should be a new personality. Their remarks imply they believed Westphal to be the only serious candidate for the new post in South America at the time. Westphal himself appeared unaffected by the possible choice, even stating his willingness to become a church pastor if necessary. E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, March 1, 1915, GCA/21, 1L/1915; E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, June 10, 1915, *ibid.*; E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, August 3, 1915, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer and W. T. Knox, May 13, 1915, *ibid.*; T. E. Bowen, August 27, 1915, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, September 15, 1915, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, December 10, 1915, *ibid.*; N. Z. Town, "En Route to South America," *RH*, December 23, 1915. F. W. Spies reported a short account of the organization of the South American Division in "Organização da Conferência Divisional Sul-Americana," *RM*, April 1916.



THROUGH EARTHQUAKE, FIRE, AND BLOOD

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to calculate the cost of introducing “the cause” to South America and building a division of the General Conference. From the General Conference treasury poured tens of thousands of dollars. In 1890 the Foreign Mission Board announced that allocations to all overseas Adventist missions totaled US\$68,000. Of this amount South America received approval for only \$5,000, a minuscule amount by twenty-first century measurements, but at the time the church had not organized an official mission in the field. As small as this figure appears now, the allocation was probably as much as the board could spare. Ironically, not enough contributions flowed into the board’s hands to fulfill even this small promise, and appropriations declined the following year.¹

The North American Sabbath schools came to be the best source of mission offerings. By 1897 they were the origin for 60 percent of all donations tabbed for what the church called overseas expenditure. It is no surprise to us now that General Conference appropriations never matched requests for aid. In 1908 all requests from missions exceeded US\$247,000, but church leaders in Washington pared them to \$161,000. Projects in the territory of the future South

American Division received \$15,000. Pained by the inability of the church to meet the financial needs of the growing world congregation, General Conference President Daniells suggested that if 70,000 Adventists donated only ten cents per week for missions, the treasury could double its current budget.²

With these facts in mind, the 1909 General Conference session established a \$300,000 fund for the construction of homes for missionaries and to aid institutional growth outside North America. According to the plan the denomination was to raise the money during the next four years and spend it only as rapidly as it came in. At the same session the budget for the next year allowed South America \$20,000 for “evangelistic work” and \$35,000 from the new \$300,000 fund.³

In 1912, less than four years after instituting the \$300,000 plan, the General Conference replaced it with a different program that eliminated long delays between approval of mission projects and the transfer of funds from Washington to missions. The new system allowed world headquarters to designate specific projects for which the Sabbath schools would collect an offering on the last Sabbath of each quarter. At least four fields could benefit annually from these drives.

The idea became an Adventist tradition and came to be called the Thirteenth Sabbath Overflow Offering. During the decade following its inception, these “overflow” offerings produced thousands of dollars for missions all over Latin America, helping to fund schools, operating budgets for missions, transportation costs of missionaries traveling to their assignments, construction of homes, and other projects.⁴

In 1915 regular allotments for all of Latin America and the Caribbean amounted to \$67,508.45, or slightly more than 13 percent of the total church mission budget. Of this amount more than \$36,000 went to South America with the rest of the hemisphere receiving slightly less than \$31,000.⁵ Following World War I, budgets for non-North American fields bulged enormously. For 1920 the South American Division received nearly \$200,000, an increase of five and a half times over five years.⁶

PERSONAL HARDSHIP AND TRAGEDY

As impressive as these figures are, the most significant price for missions was paid in toil, tears, health, and even the lives of workers themselves. The toll was staggering. Death was too common, and too commonly it came suddenly. Few took time to mourn for long; they had work to do. “Suppose missionary graves do mark our advancement into other lands?” asked George F. Enoch, a worker in the

Caribbean, who voiced what many Adventist workers only thought about self-denial. “Who ever heard of a war’s being fought without sacrifice of lives?”⁷

Those were courageous words, implying that missionaries should expect to undergo pain and hardship, and perhaps even die. He was not telling them something they did not already know. At the time he spoke, Adventists had been in South America for more than a decade and they had endured much grief. Most of the sufferers sustained their pain quietly, grieved death silently, and diverted their minds by their work. They had few other choices.

Such was the case of Thomas H. Davis and his family. They lived along the coastal regions of Ecuador where yellow fever and smallpox ran unchecked, each claiming two or three deaths daily. “The Lord be praised for keeping us in good health,” he wrote, but after combating the hazards of that sultry climate for two years, he transferred to an interior site in the highlands. A year and a half later tragedy struck. Few with similar experiences expressed their thoughts more poignantly.

“Little did I think on moving my family to the interior that my dear companion would be taken away by death here in Ambato. July 16, [1907] after five days of sickness, she fell asleep . . . We laid her in the municipal cemetery under a large mulberry tree to await the voice of the Life-giver. At first we thought it would not be possible that the Lord would permit her death, leaving behind three little ones. But after we had prayed together, she seemed willing to go. She called the children, and also gave instructions about her burial. What a loss, especially for the little girls. Only those who have passed through such an experience can fully realize what it is to have a dear companion taken away—a companion who has suffered with one for the truth’s sake . . . My mind goes now to the verse in Revelation: ‘That they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them.’ The trial was hard for me to bear . . . I was alone.”⁸

Davis had come to South America in 1894 a single man but found a wife, Susana, in Chile. Shortly after their marriage, they went to the United States for a brief respite to revive his ailing body, an interruption in his work that he tolerated somewhat impatiently. Colporteur was a profession he deemed more precious than life itself. Susana’s death from complications of childbirth forced him to give his newborn son in adoption to another missionary family, but he continued to care for his two small daughters. Davis himself died seventeen years later as a patient at River Plate Sanitarium in Argentina, a victim of intestinal hemorrhaging.

No one was exempt from trouble, but usually workers in the tropics suffered worse. Time and again sickness drove them to new places or even back to the United States.

Some missionaries did not regard their new living conditions with necessary deference. Inordinate work and injudicious dietary habits left A. B. Stauffer almost prostrate in Brazil. W. H. Thurston remarked that Stauffer's conscientious adherence to the "principles of health reform" sometimes led him to go many days in succession eating nothing but "raw corn meal and bananas." Thurston admitted that "it is very hard to get proper food in the majority of places," but he was alarmed at Stauffer's eating habits. "We tried to give him some good advice relative to his work and living," he assured the General Conference.⁹

In 1896 both W. H. Thurston and H. F. Graf suffered with yellow fever. Thurston said little about his troubles, but Graf explained he had contracted the disease during a September visit to Curitiba. Already ill, he mustered enough strength to walk the return trip to Joinville, a four-day ordeal of sixty or seventy miles. Both he and his wife lay sick for six weeks, narrowly escaping death.¹⁰

A year later, when heat rose to oppressive levels in Rio de Janeiro and fever broke out in near-epidemic proportions, Thurston would not gamble with danger. Gathering his wife and child, he left in October to visit his sister, Mary Westphal, in Argentina. He returned after four weeks on the pampas, but his family remained much longer.¹¹

From the mining communities in Chile's Atacama Desert came more reports of health hazards. After thirty-one consecutive nights of evangelistic meetings in Iquique, G. H. Baber said he had not enjoyed a single well day in a month. Probably his strenuous schedule contributed to his poor health, but he noted that the water was bad. Other workers also complained about Iquique's water. It was so scarce that peddlers imported it from mountain streams fifty miles away and sold it by the bucket or barrel.¹²

Church workers found that even moderate climates were not without dangers. Little more than a year following the arrival of the Frank Westphals in Argentina, Mary described the climate as delightful, but after six years of uninterrupted and wearying labor, Frank could not shake the malady affecting his hands and face. Fellow worker John McCarthy said he was "sick in the head," referring to what Westphal himself called irritations. Mary and son, Carl, also suffering, returned to the United States, and not long afterwards Frank reluctantly sailed for home. Within four years they were all back in South America, but they completed their mission career in Chile, where the climate was drier.¹³

After visiting Bolivia and seeing the striking climatic contrasts—heat and cold, dry and wet—E. W. Thomann warned that prospective workers should "enjoy good

health” before agreeing to live in that field.¹⁴ Similarly, a combination of threats to health faced workers in Peru. Always present was the problem of high altitudes and thin air. F. L. Perry’s first trip to Lake Titicaca demonstrated that he could not maintain an active pace and expect to remain long in the region. His successor, A. N. Allen, found Lima’s climate less trying than that of Honduras, his previous field, but when he visited Puno he also confessed the altitude was problematical.¹⁵

“The summers are wet and cold, and the winters dry and cold,” Stahl described the highland climate. “The atmosphere is highly charged with electricity, which is very taxing on the nervous system; and the altitude requires one to have good heart and lungs.” As stubbornly as he fought these adversities, he periodically descended from the Andes to catch a normal breath.¹⁶

Not all workers were as tough as Stahl. J. M. Howell recalled that he and his wife were allowed several weeks at moderately high altitudes to adjust to the rarefied atmosphere before assuming permanent assignments in the Lake Titicaca region. Even at that, four years were all his wife’s heart could endure. “‘You will have to decide between your wife and the work you are doing,’” Howell quoted an Arequipa doctor who examined her. “‘If she goes back up there, she will never come down again.’ And so we came down to stay.” The Howells’ experience was not unique.¹⁷

Altitude sickness was only one of the problems confronting workers in the Andean uplands. With Ana Stahl delirious from typhus, doctors told Ferdinand to prepare for her death, but she clung precariously to life and recovered. Hardly had she begun to walk again when he hurried to La Paz, Bolivia, to nurse a colporteur, Otto Schultz, who was suffering from typhoid fever besides hemorrhages and convulsions.¹⁸

Despite his rugged constitution, Stahl suffered too. “It was so cold at Plateria,” he said, also remarking that he had no medicine at his mission. “I am skin and bones only it seems now and I cannot move my arms much.” Even in this almost immobile condition, he descended into a well to baptize forty-eight Indians. So weak was he that a strong Indian had to hold him upright to keep him from toppling over in the water. After he contracted malaria while battling an excruciating case of rheumatism, Indians carried him out of the mud and water at Plateria to receive treatment. A few months of recuperation at Habenicht’s sanitarium in Argentina rejuvenated both his body and his spirits. “I never knew what it was to be ill before,” he said.¹⁹

Sickness was to become a commonplace for him in Puno. During one of his recurring bouts with rheumatism, sympathizing Indians brought him countless gallons of milk. “Mrs. Stahl filled every available dish in the house, including the washtubs,”

he recalled, “and we had milk enough to bathe in.” Smallpox and typhoid were so frequent in the Andes the natives regarded them almost nonchalantly. Vaccination protected Stahl from the first disease, but he became ill with the second. Ana despaired for his life.²⁰

Reports of sickness among workers are too numerous to catalog. Sometimes illness ended with death. In Argentina both Arthur Fulton and his daughter survived smallpox, but B. C. Haak, the 30-year-old president of the Argentine Conference, died, a victim of typhoid, after only four months in his position. Poor health forced another president, Waldemar Ehlers, from Brazil’s Rio Grande do Sul Conference.²¹

The hazards of travel were a constant trial. Emilio Hoelzle, an early ordained minister in Brazil, spoke of spending nights sleeping on the ground in wet clothes. To discharge his duties as a conference president, Waldemar Ehlers faced floods, landslides, destroyed bridges, and delays. Calling these conditions “grandes dificuldades,” he admitted that they were a “test of patience.”²²

Especially heart-wrenching was the suffering borne by women and children. While their husbands traveled, wives often took charge of mission work, sometimes for months at a time. Mary Westphal assumed her husband’s duties while he made his pastoral rounds and held evangelistic campaigns.²³ She was also one of the first women to experience a family tragedy alone. Frank was in Brazil, making his first tour of that field in 1895, when his eighteen-month-old daughter, Helen, died after contracting measles and scarlet fever in succession. “When I arrived . . . home, my wife and . . . son met me at the door, but my little daughter Helen did not appear. There was scarcely need to ask what had happened. The mother’s griefworn face told me,” Frank recounted years later.

Son Carl, also afflicted, had reached the critical point of his fever when his sister died. Fearful that she might have to bury him the next day, Mary nevertheless left him at home, and together with a non-Adventist missionary couple, laid Helen to rest in Charcarita cemetery in Buenos Aires. “She longed for someone near and dear to share her grief, and yet none was near nor even knew of her loss,” Frank said of his wife. Thurston said that the blow fell hard on the Westphals.²⁴

Fred Sproed underwent a similar experience in Brazil in 1898. Having just arrived in Rio de Janeiro with an appointment to teach in Espírito Santo, he and his family had no home. Conveniently, his wife and children remained in the Brazilian capital while he attended a workers’ meeting in Curitiba. During his absence his young son, Harry, sickened and died.²⁵ More fortunate was F. L. Perry. When he departed Peru in January

1908 to attend the South American Union session in Argentina, he left a wife and child in Lima, both sick with malaria. For several weeks while they regained strength he remained away, promoting plans to open a mission in the Lake Titicaca region.²⁶

J. W. Westphal's administrative burdens in South America were made even heavier by the constant illness of Jennie, his wife. He frequently left her ill, once for an eight-month absence while he attended the 1909 General Conference session. When the next world convention occurred, he requested that she also attend—she had been in Argentina twelve years and her health had failed to improve. Once in the United States his concern for her well-being led him to request the assistance of another woman to help her in caring for her family while he administered the South American fields.

The Westphals received this concession, but when they sailed for Argentina in September 1913, they had not found anyone to help them. Jennie Westphal faced her uncertain future bravely. "I return to our field of labor with renewed courage and health to again take up the responsibilities and cares of life," she told Spicer. Her fortitude was commendable, but good health was not her reward for courage. When word reached her husband that the General Conference had approved the formation of the South American Division, he was in Córdoba, where he had taken her for a recuperative rest.²⁷

E. L. Maxwell in Lima, Peru, tried to ameliorate the trying life that women faced. The only house his slender resources would allow was a four-room structure with only one door and one window. The rooms formed a single row, with the door opening from one room to the street. The first room also had the only window in the house. A skylight permitted the sun into the second room; the third was completely enclosed, and the fourth was roofless.

"A little house with windows in the sides," he pled with Spicer, "looking out on a little green, perhaps a garden, a few feet square, and room for a half dozen chickens—such a home would go far toward making life more bearable for the sisters who are compelled to spend weeks and months alone with the children while the husbands are away in the mountains or on the sea. What can be done for us?"²⁸

With J. W. Westphal, Maxwell was more explicit, asking the South American Union president to build workers' homes providing ventilation and a modicum of comfort. "The cost of a few small but comfortable homes will not exceed the 'furlough fares' and 'funeral expenses' that we have been paying in the past," he predicted. Westphal sympathized, but had no money. However, he pledged support if the General Conference raised the issue.²⁹

It was more than coincidence when the General Conference designated the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering for December 1919, to build housing for missionaries. Maxwell voiced his concerns in an appeal to the entire Adventist community. "The erection of homes for workers is not a useless expense," he declared emphatically. By this time he had moved to the Caribbean where he served as the superintendent of the North Latin American Union. To his catalog of needs, he added those of his own workers. H. D. Casebeer, a worker in the Dominican Republic, echoed everyone's thoughts when he observed that missionaries could tolerate a lack of sanitation during a day's work if they could return to a clean home at night.³⁰

Pleas for improved housing expressed the belief that to maintain workers' health while keeping them in mission territory was more advantageous than shuttling them back and forth to the United States or wherever they had come from. The appeals worked unusually well. Sabbath school offerings on December 27 provided an overflow offering exceeding US\$33,000.³¹

TRIALS OF ECONOMICS, WAR, AND NATURAL DISASTERS

Sickness and death were not alone in plaguing workers. High costs of living, political disorders, and natural disasters, primarily earthquakes, also tormented them. Among the surprises awaiting G. H. Baber and his family in 1895 when they disembarked at Valparaíso, Chile, were food and housing costs which were astronomical compared to their income. Milk sold for twenty cents a quart, butter was priced at a dollar a pound, sweet potatoes cost a dollar a dozen, and strawberries were rare enough treats to go for eighty-five cents a dozen. After buying food at these prices, paying \$35.00 each month for rent and \$30.00 for every ton of coal, he had little left for other necessities. With conviction that providence had led him to bring his tools, he made furniture for his apartment rather than to buy what he could not afford.³²

But Baber's problems were not as bad as conditions other workers encountered in Iquique in northern Chile. T. H. Davis discovered wages were double or triple those of other places, but prices were commensurably high if not higher. Watermelons, selling for twenty cents elsewhere, retailed for as much as a dollar. H. F. Ketring paid twenty-five cents for each pail of water and the same price for an egg. For a piece of wood, only thirty inches long and the size of his wrist, he gave twenty cents. A. R. Ogden blamed exorbitant prices on the lack of local food production. Everything, even the water, was imported.³³

During the 1890s fluctuations in the Argentine economy also imposed financial problems on workers. A series of locust attacks sent prices of wheat flour soaring to US\$25.00 a sack in 1897. We may infer the effect this situation had on family budgets from a letter from Frank Westphal two years later, saying his monthly salary was US\$60.00; others were earning as low as US\$44.00. In 1897 E. W. Snyder was paying US\$9.00 a month for a home in the rural outskirts of Buenos Aires while N. Z. Town's rent cost US\$12.50 for a three-room house in the city. A year later, Lucy Post, an unmarried Bible worker, explained the havoc that the falling price of gold wreaked on her monthly check of US\$28.00. Living by necessity in the city, she paid US\$15.17 rent for "an empty room," a figure that devoured almost 55 percent of her salary. She declared that she had only US\$8.53 a month for living expenses. She was also giving \$1.50 a month in offerings to the church in addition to her tithe. John McCarthy complained he could not live on his earnings with currency values changing so rapidly.³⁴

Even after allowing for the possibility that some managed their money poorly, we still conclude that missionaries faced financial distress in many places. Converts, beginning a new lifestyle by abandoning their Saturday jobs and at times reducing their incomes, shared these difficulties; but unlike missionaries, they had no "homeland" to which they could appeal for help. Their new beliefs were often a severe test of faith.

Some converts became colporteurs, but this alternative was not open to everyone. For economic purposes as well as for health reasons, Stahl proposed a farm for the Indians in Peru where they could raise produce to sell in La Paz, Bolivia. C. E. Knight, newly arrived in Ecuador, attributed the slow growth of the church in that country to employment difficulties that converts faced. His solution was similar to Stahl's—a call to establish a 400-acre farm on which Adventists could earn a living.³⁵ As important as some workers visualized these proposals, church financed farms for converts did not materialize.

Sabbath-keepers faced bitter trials if called to military duty. Pedro Kalbermatter, one of Frank Westphal's early converts, endured imprisonment and abuse as a young army recruit in Argentina. After speaking in his own defense, he gained permission to practice his religion, even in the army. His experience coincided with a movement of political reform, which led some military leaders to view religious liberty as a right. Later rulings granted Sabbath privileges to other Adventist soldiers.³⁶

Workers and laymen alike were not prepared for the economic dislocations brought on by World War I. E. L. Maxwell, already suffering from living expenses that exceeded his salary by 20 percent, watched helplessly as even higher wartime

prices caused more deprivation. After less than three months of war, Stahl wrote that he could not find money for the needs of his family.³⁷

Brazilians felt the squeeze of war almost instantaneously. By early August 1914, with financial aid from the United States blocked, Spies faced widespread fear of a collapsing economy and closed banks. The situation relaxed sufficiently by the end of the month so he could retrieve funds from banks, but a month later prices shot up by 50 percent with no assurance for corresponding salary increases. To the good fortune of Spies and all Brazilians, the economy leveled off and Adventist workers adjusted to their new situation. A year later prices were still about 50 percent higher than prewar levels, but by then salary increases made it easier for Spies and other workers to buy such commodities as flour and kerosene.³⁸

Usually political disturbances did not alter the basic national climates within which Adventists operated, but they always created personal dangers and imposed extensive discomfort on both workers and laymen. Adventists entered Brazil five years after Dom Pedro's imperial government disintegrated, leaving Brazilians to fight among themselves for years, trying to reestablish order. Adventist workers regarded the repeated revolutions of the 1890s as hindrances but not as reasons to stop their church labors. "In spite of the revolution and all the troubles that are befalling this country," Spies wrote, "the Lord's work is onward."³⁹

F. H. Westphal barely escaped a catastrophe in 1896 when a revolution erupted in Uruguay on the day he left the country for Argentina. C. A. Nowlen and Pedro Peverini, who were canvassing in Uruguay, were not so fortunate. They lost their horses and were briefly isolated. E. W. Snyder had left his wife in Montevideo while he temporarily colporteured in Entre Rios, Argentina, but she later crossed the Rio Plata to find safety in Buenos Aires.⁴⁰

George Casebeer estimated a thousand deaths occurred during a nineteen-day Ecuadoran revolt in 1906. On a Friday afternoon Guayaquil fell under attack. Stray bullets repeatedly hit the Casebeer home, which was close to the fort, but no one was hurt. In 1911 W. W. Wheeler and John Osborne and their families stopped their meetings and remained in their Quito homes for two days while an uprising toppled the president. Later in the same year J. W. Westphal and Spicer cancelled their visit to Ecuador because of a revolution. Workers were still safe in 1914, but suffering economically from protracted disturbances.⁴¹

Earthquakes also threatened mission workers. In 1896 the worst shocks in twenty-five years sent the Babers and other residents of Valparaíso, Chile, scrambling

with their beds to the streets where they tried to rest until the danger passed.⁴² Ten years later on August 16, 1906, two thousand people died from falling debris as a much worse quake demolished the same city, eclipsing the fright and hardship of the earlier episode. William Steele and his wife, Millie, slept in the streets three nights. Dirt filled their food. “We were glad to have it even in that condition,” Millie said.

Three tremors had hit the city within a minute and a half. Fires destroyed what was left of many buildings, including the Steeles’ home. Looting was common, accompanied by shootings and stabbings. Thousands fled. Many of those who remained built shanties in the streets and plazas; some lived in tents provided by Argentina. A wave of smallpox swept through these squatter-communities where sanitation was virtually nonexistent. Tremors occurred every day for six weeks. “Valparaíso looks like the ruins of old Babylon,” F. H. Westphal said.

No Adventists died in the disaster. The Steeles lost everything, but friends who were about to take an opportune vacation in Scotland offered their home to the missionaries. From the wreckage Westphal and his colleagues salvaged enough church-owned equipment and books to keep going. Four months later, Millie Steele guessed that more had been done for “the truth” in that interval than in two years of ordinary work.⁴³

THE MIND AND SPIRIT OF ADVENTIST WORKERS

As early workers, both native and missionaries, traveled and planned for the advancement of the “cause,” they often had to parry opposition and witness the hardship that disrupted the lives of many converts. Although reports of these experiences sometimes appeared in the church papers, as a rule neither workers nor the rank and file members dwelled on these aspects of their lives. They were more prone to depict escape from trouble as miracles and evidence that God was leading them to success.

But Adventists could not overlook that religious differences played a role in the hardships they faced. Ramón Beltrán, an Ecuadoran by nationality who operated a small retail shop in Peru, fell victim of a Sunday law that forced him to pay a fine in 1907 before he could reopen his business. Police guarded his store to make sure that no customers could enter secretly.⁴⁴

Opposition from the combined power of the established church and the land-owners was extraordinarily brutal in Peru. Some estimated that the cost for every

school that Adventist teachers opened around Lake Titicaca was one martyred Indian.⁴⁵ But Adventists quickly discovered that Catholics did not possess a monopoly on violence or the capacity to persecute when they saw heretics intruding into their societies. Both Hector Peverini and Michelson Borges have pointed out that Protestants also aroused virulent opposition to Seventh-day Adventists in Brazil, even reaching life-threatening levels. Alberto Timm describes in detail how Protestant German colonists in southern Brazil reacted lawlessly to Adventist church-planting, often resorting to anti-Semitic sentiment because of Adventist teachings about the seventh-day Sabbath and diet that resembled Old Testament instruction to the Hebrews. With some surprise G. H. Baber, an early North American worker, observed after a series of meetings in northern Chile in 1899 that Protestant opposition was more bitter than Catholic resistance.

All of the bullying notwithstanding, Hector Peverini suggests that opposition differed in Argentina as compared to the resistance Adventists faced in Brazil. He admits that Adventism may not have always been welcome in Argentina, with Protestant clerics fabricating accusations to impede Adventism, but only rarely was opposition strong enough to block it.⁴⁶

From these experiences of personal calamities, heartache, and doom emerges the central question: Of what mind and spirit were these early Adventist workers in South America who possessed almost legendary tenacity? Struck with tragedy, the victims of bereavement and hardship provided insights about themselves as they wrote home with descriptions of their woes. From their comments we conclude that they were people of indomitable will who were undeviatingly committed to spread the gospel. Compelled by the conviction that Christ would soon come, they did not spare themselves. Many visualized the world's end in a few short years. Their own interests and those of their families were secondary to these convictions.

Self denial was a common virtue. Ivan Schmidt, the biographer of Brazilian pastor José Amador dos Reis, observed that pastoral responsibilities assumed new dimensions for this young minister, who was “always willing and eager to make one more contact or to make one more visit where he could give a Bible study to an interested person. For this reason he did not take into account the harshness of the times or even the lateness of the day.” After taking up a new assignment, Emilio Hoelzle encouraged fellow workers in a similar mood, “Let us give up ourselves, our comforts, and be active in carrying this blessed message.”⁴⁷ E. W. Thomann also illustrates this attitude. As he invited young missionaries to Peru, he told them, “He

who comes should bid his relatives farewell, expecting not to meet them again until the gathering of the elect of the Lord in his great day.”⁴⁸

Early workers regarded the gospel commission as their supreme responsibility. In September 1909 the editors of *Revista Mensal* published a set of statistics showing that Seventh-day Adventists surpassed other denominations in per capita giving and in producing missionaries, and that their membership was approximately doubling every decade. While denying any self-serving motive in publishing this information, the editors observed that “the fact is, however, that there is nothing in this world so well calculated to stimulate people to missionary activity as a belief that the world must be quickly warned in order to be prepared for the consummation of all things.”⁴⁹ The Brazilian Union incorporated the gospel commission into the second article of its constitution to explain its reason to exist. The purpose of the union, the document said, “is to proclaim to all men the eternal gospel of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.”⁵⁰

With such strong convictions, most workers regarded it disgraceful if they quit their mission posts in the face of trouble. F. H. Westphal met his infant daughter’s death with rare perseverance. With the event still vivid in his memory, he wrote years afterward that as his wife recounted “the details of our little one’s losing battle with death, our hearts bled, yet we had no desire to complain.”⁵¹ From Valparaíso, Chile, where he was already one month into an eight-month trip, J. W. Westphal wrote to Spicer, “What a day of rejoicing it will be when the work is done . . . No more long journeys, no more deprivations, no more separations. I expect to take a vacation then.”⁵²

Others expressed similar feelings. R. H. Habenicht said, “I did not come to South America with the idea of returning home again. I am not homesick, and my desire is to remain in this field.” Stahl admitted that at one time he wanted to go back to the United States, but he chose “to abandon for good the idea.” Of her work on the South American West Coast, Mary Westphal said, “‘Thy people shall be my people.’ I love Chile and the Chileans, and desire to remain among them.”⁵³

Those early workers did not foresee the many years their tasks would continue. Spicer himself alluded to how soon he expected Christ to return when, on a hurried trip to Jamaica in 1903, he commented that he was meeting with brethren “for the first, and perhaps the last time.”⁵⁴

Workers labored unremittingly. No one described those early trials better than E. H. Meyers, secretary of the publishing department of the South American Division during the 1920s. Speaking mainly about colporteurs, he declared that “[s]trange

languages, loneliness, isolation, delayed literature, empty purses, impenetrable forests, desert plains, mud, rain, cold, heat, hunger, fevers, beatings, thefts, arrests, imprisonment and the need to earn a livelihood, are words that together with many other similar terms, we should use to describe the story of our first labors.” But Meyers suggested that the single word “souls” caused the other descriptions to pale by comparison.⁵⁵

South America in 1916 stood on well-laid foundations, built by those who were willing to pass through earthquake, fire, and blood for the sake of what they called “the cause.” Perhaps that is one reason that they were also on the threshold of new experiences that even the most visionary would not dare to predict.

¹ W. C. White, “The Board of Foreign Missions,” *The Home Missionary*, II (August 1890), 175, 176; O. A. Olsen, “Our Foreign Mission Work, Its Organization, and How Supported,” *ibid.*, extra no. 2, III (December 1891), 1-4.

² W. H. Edwards, “Our Offerings to Foreign Missions,” *ibid.*, IX (October 1897), 208, 209; I. H. Evans, “The Foreign Mission Budget for 1908,” *RH*, May 14, 1908; A. G. Daniells, “A Plan to Double the Number of Our Workers in Mission Fields,” *ibid.*, April 23, 1908.

³ “Resolutions Adopted by the Thirty-Seventh Session of the General Conference,” no name, *ibid.*, June 24, 1909.

⁴ See *Sabbath School Worker*, 1912-1922, for descriptions of these offerings and statistical tables explaining appropriations.

⁵ W. T. Knox, “Mission Appropriations for 1915,” *RH*, November 26, 1914.

⁶ W. T. Knox, “Our Mission Offerings for 1920,” *ibid.*, November 13, 1919.

⁷ George F. Enoch, “On the Panama Strip,” *ibid.*, July 5, 1906.

⁸ Thomas H. Davis, “Ecuador,” *ibid.*, March 8, 1906; and “Ecuador,” *ibid.*, September 26, 1907. See Daniel Plenc’s short account of Davis in *Misioneros*, 63-72.

⁹ W. H. Thurston to L. T. Nicola, July 14, 1895, GCA/21, IL/1895.

¹⁰ F. M. Wilcox, “Summary of Mission Work,” *RH*, September 8, 1896; W. H. Thurston, “Brazil,” *ibid.*, December 15, 1896; H. F. Graf, “Brazil,” *ibid.*, February 9, 1897.

¹¹ W. H. Thurston, “Brazil,” *ibid.*, January 11, 1898.

¹² G. H. Baber, “Chile,” *ibid.*, January 9, 1900; H. F. Ketrang, “Chile,” *ibid.*, November 18, 1902; A. R. Ogden, “Northern Chile,” *ibid.*, May 12, 1903.

¹³ Mary Westphal, “Buenos Aires,” *ibid.*, March 24, 1896; John McCarthy, “A Voice from the Argentine Republic,” *ibid.*, August 14, 1900; F. H. Westphal, *Pioneering*, 81 ff.

¹⁴ E. W. Thomann, “How Can We Help Bolivia?” *RH*, June 23, 1903.

¹⁵ F. L. Perry, “En Route to the South American Union Conference,” *ibid.*, April 9, 1908; A. N. Allen, “Peru,” *ibid.*, July 22, 1909; and “Peru,” *ibid.*, July 6, 1911.

¹⁶ Stahl, *Land of the Incas*, 46; F. A. Stahl, “Needs of the Indian Mission Work,” *RH*, August 21, 1913; W. A. Spicer, “Good Words from Peru,” *ibid.*, November 20, 1913.

¹⁷ J. M. Howell, *Surely God Led* (Mountain View, Calif., 1973), 21, 25, 66. General Conference correspondence contains many references to workers whose hearts could not bear altitudes of 12,000-14,000 feet.

¹⁸ Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 98-101.

¹⁹ F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, April 27, 1913, GCA/21, IL/1913; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, July 6, 1913, *ibid.*; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, January 20, 1914, *ibid.*/1914.

²⁰ Stahl, *Land of Incas*, 40, 41, 131-136, 203, 204, 218.

²¹ Arthur Fulton, “Argentina,” *RH*, July 18, 1907; J. W. Westphal, “Elder B. C. Haak,” *ibid.*, January 21,

1915; F. W. Spies, "Dedication of the Porto Alegre (Brazil) Chapel," *ibid.*, July 3, 1913; and "Rio Grande do Sul Conference," *ibid.*, June 4, 1914.

²² Emilio Hoelzle, "Conferencia do Rio Claro," *RM*, July 1908; Waldemar Ehlers, "Conferencia de Santa Catharina-Paraná," *ibid.*, August 1909.

²³ Mary T. Westphal, "Chile," *ibid.*, April 27, 1911.

²⁴ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 38-40; W. H. Thurston "Brazil" *RH*, August 13, 1895.

²⁵ F. W. Spies, "Experiences in Brazil," *ibid.*, October 25, 1898.

²⁶ F. L. Perry, "En Route to the South American Union Conference," *ibid.*, April 9, 1908.

²⁷ J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, June 26, 1912, *ibid.*/1912; J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, August 24, 1913, *ibid.*/1913; Mrs. J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, September 25, 1913, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to T. E. Bowen, December 30, 1915, *ibid.*/1915.

²⁸ E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, April 26, 1914, *ibid.*/1914.

²⁹ E. L. Maxwell to J. W. Westphal, April 26, 1914, *ibid.*; J. W. Westphal to E. L. Maxwell, May 15, 1914, *ibid.*

³⁰ E. L. Maxwell, "How People Live in One Spanish Field," *RH*, October 2, 1919; H. D. Casebeer, "Homes for Workers in Santo Domingo," *ibid.*, October 2, 1919.

³¹ L. Flora Plummer, "The Record for Nineteen-Nineteen," *Sabbath School Worker*, August 1920.

³² G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, January 28, 1896.

³³ T. H. Davis, "Chile," *ibid.*, June 5, 1900; H. F. Ketring, "Chile," *ibid.*, November 18, 1902; A. R. Ogden, "Northern Chile," *ibid.*, May 12, 1903. When Davis moved to Ecuador, he found little relief from expensive food and transportation rates. T. H. Davis, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, August 9, 1906.

³⁴ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina, S. A.," *ibid.*, November 16, 1897; "Notes from Argentina," quotes from Snyder letter, *ibid.*, April 5, 1898; Lucy Post, "Argentina," *ibid.*, January 31, 1899; John McCarthy to F. H. Westphal, July 14, 1899, GCA/21, IL/1899; John McCarthy to Foreign Mission Board, July 26, 1899, *ibid.*

³⁵ F. A. Stahl, "Needs of the Indian Mission Work," *RH*, August 21, 1913; C. E. Knight, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, March 4, 1915; and "Ecuador," *ibid.*, May 27, 1915.

³⁶ Several references to this case appear in *ibid.*, 1908. See especially "Mission Notes," no name, July 30, 1908. Barbara Westphal also narrates the episode in *A Man Called Pedro* (Mountain View, Calif., 1975), 31-41. See the Spanish version, *Un hombre llamado Pedro: aventuras misioneras de un pionero* (Buenos Aires, 2008), 31-41. Kalbermatter told his story in "My Experiences in the Argentine Army," *The Youth's Instructor*, July 4, 1916. H. B. Lundquist referred to the impact of Kalbermatter's military experience in "An Argentine Hero of the Adventist Faith," *RH*, June 1, 1972.

³⁷ E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, July 1, 1914, GCA/21, IL/1914; E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, December 24, 1914, *ibid.*; F. A. Stahl to W. A. Spicer, October 14, 1914, *ibid.*

³⁸ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, August 6, 1914, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, August 27, 1914, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, October 5, 1914, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies to General Conference Committee, August 17, 1915, *ibid.*/1915.

³⁹ F. W. Spies, "Brazil," *RH*, November 2, 1897. See references to disturbances in A. B. Stauffer, "Report from Brazil," *ibid.*, February 20, 1894; R. B. Craig, "The Work in South America," *ibid.*, April 3, 1894; W. H. Thurston, "Brazil," *ibid.*, August 13, 1895; H. F. Graf, "Brazil," *ibid.*, June 1, 1897.

⁴⁰ F. H. Westphal, "Argentina and Uruguay," *ibid.*, February 9, 1897; N. Z. Town, "Argentina," *ibid.*, May 11, 1897.

⁴¹ George Casebeer, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, May 3, 1903; W. W. Wheeler, "Ecuador," *ibid.*, March 28, 1912; Mrs. John Osborne, "In the Uplands of Ecuador," *ibid.*, May 7, 1914; W. W. Wheeler to W. A. Spicer, August 15, 1911, GCA/21, IL/1911.

⁴² G. H. Baber, "Chile," *RH*, May 5, 1896.

⁴³ E. W. Thomann, "The Earthquake in Valparaiso, Chile," *ibid.*, October 18, 1906; F. H. Westphal, "The Earthquake in Chile," *ibid.*, November 1, 1906; William Steele, "Valparaiso After the Earthquake," *ibid.*, November 29, 1906; Millie Steele, "In the Valparaiso (Chile) Earthquake," *ibid.*, January 17, 1907; and

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"Progress in Chile," *ibid.*, April 4, 1907; F. H. Westphal to A. G. Daniells and W. A. Spicer, September 2, 1906, GCA/11, IL/1906.

⁴⁴ F. L. Perry, "Peru," *RH*, April 25, 1907.

⁴⁵ Alomía, "Comienzos de la Obra," 126.

⁴⁶ Borges, *A Chegada*, *passim*. Peverini, *En las huellas*, 205-224. Many of the reports carried by the *Review and Herald* and other church papers included accounts of events that workers could explain only by attributing their deliverance from disaster to divine intervention. The prime example is Peverini's *En las huellas de la Providencia*, in which the entire narrative is based on providential leading. "It is inspiring," Peverini states, "to remember the evidences of providential leading in the work of God and His church in South America through this century, and to face the future with our eyes on His promises and the power of Heaven." See his concluding chapter, "Hacia el triunfo final," 425-430. Alberto Timm has observed that both Lutherans and Catholics opposed Adventism in Brazil, but it was among the Lutherans that the Adventist colporteurs "found families receptive to the message and lifestyle of Adventists." *Igreja Adventista de Campo dos Quevedos*, 3. See chapter 2, "Igreja Adventista de Campo dos Quevedos" for specific cases of resistance and persecution. Baber reported his experience in "Chile," *RH*, January 9, 1910.

⁴⁷ Ivan Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis: pastor e pioneiro* (São Paulo, 1980), 53; Emilio Hoelzle, "Missão Paulista," *RM*, February, 1908.

⁴⁸ E. W. Thomann, "A Little About Peru," *RH*, March 29, 1906.

⁴⁹ "O progresso dos adventistas do sétimo dia," *RM*, September 1909.

⁵⁰ "Estatutos da Conferencia União Brasileira," *RM*, March 1916.

⁵¹ Westphal, *Pioneering*, 40.

⁵² J. W. Westphal to W. A. Spicer, February 23, 1909, GCA/21, IL/1909.

⁵³ N. Z. Town, "Organization of the South American Division Conference," *RH*, May 18, 1916.

⁵⁴ W. A. Spicer, "In Western Jamaica," *ibid.*, March 10, 1903.

⁵⁵ E. H. Meyers, *Reseña*, 13.



GROWTH DESPITE DIFFICULTIES, 1916-1926

FROM THE OUTSET of Adventist presence in South America, workers grappled with problems of continental organization. Combining the South American unions into a division was not a hasty decision; consequently, it surprised no one already working in that field. But the selection of Oliver Montgomery as president was not a foregone conclusion, and while he proved to be a wise choice, he was a relative newcomer to higher levels of church administration. During the seven years prior to his appointment to South America, he had served as president of three conferences in the United States. For the three years immediately prior to sailing for Argentina, he was president of the Southeastern Union with offices in Atlanta, Georgia.

Virtually nothing in Montgomery's experience had given him an international outlook, but he had shown talent as an administrator, a blessing that South America would come to appreciate. Approximately three months elapsed between his appointment and the actual organization of the South American Division. He spent much of that time acquainting himself with his new territory, traveling, conducting general meetings, and attending conference and union sessions.

Montgomery was not without good company on these trips. W. W. Prescott, a General Conference field secretary, and N. Z. Town, head of the General Conference Publishing Department, accompanied him. A. G. Daniells, the General Conference president, had planned to supervise the organization of the division, but when his duties would not let him go to South America, Prescott took his place. Town, as a former missionary to South America, gave invaluable assistance.

The traveling party spent the final days of December and nearly the entire month of January in Brazil, first visiting the church in Rio de Janeiro before moving south to São Paulo. Montgomery and his associates inspected the new training school in nearby Santo Amaro and the publishing house in São Bernardo on the opposite side of the city from the school. From January 6 to 23, the visitors participated in the annual session of the Brazil Union, headed by F. W. Spies, giving advice about organization as well as delivering devotional talks. The following week while their ship docked briefly in Montevideo, the men visited F. L. Perry, superintendent of the Uruguay Mission. The next day, January 30, they finally reached Buenos Aires, their destination.

While the group traveled or attended meetings, they took no time to rest. “We arrived at Buenos Aires on Sunday morning, January 30,” Prescott wrote back to Washington, “and proceeded at once to La Plata, one hour’s ride by train, where we found the workers’ meeting in progress, leading up to the biennial session of the South American Union.” For three weeks the three men helped J. W. Westphal conduct his union session before formalizing the division.

On February 6 Prescott interrupted the schedule to call delegates from Brazil and the Inca Union together to organize the division and install Montgomery in office. Thirty of the forty-two voting members of the group represented the South American Union; only four from Brazil and five from the Inca Union were present, with the remaining three from the General Conference, including Montgomery.

This overwhelming majority from southern South America did not mean that the division was a partisan creation. Before the delegates adjourned, they showed just how dear their commitment to the work really was. Following what Town called “a most animated discussion,” they voted to relinquish their furlough privileges in order to save the new division the enormous travel expenses incurred by sending missionaries home for rest. “We express our willingness to remain at our post of duty until God may call us elsewhere, or until the work is finished,” their resolution read.¹

OLIVER MONTGOMERY'S PRESIDENCY

With such a demonstration of self-denial, Montgomery could not spare himself from immediately launching his work. Hastily settling his wife and daughter in new living quarters, he plunged ahead with official duties. "At the close of the meeting in La Plata," Prescott said, "we started at once for the conference in Rio Grande do Sul." Following that session in Brazil, the party split. Prescott and J. W. Westphal returned to Argentina to inspect the school and sanitarium in Entre Rios while Town and Montgomery visited Paraguay. After the four men joined again at the school, they hurried south to Buenos Aires for a weekend of general meetings before catching a train for Chile.

Only with the aid of a cog track could the locomotive puff its way up the steep Andean grade to the 10,000-foot summit where the travelers took in some breathtaking views of the mountains. For them the trip was a technological treat compared to earlier journeys by mule that both the Westphals had made, but their real interests lay beyond the mountains at the training school at Púa, near Concepción.

It was already April 4 when meetings at this location ended, and if the men remained longer, they would miss their steamer up the West Coast to Peru and Bolivia. The trip north took a week. "We spent one night in a hotel," Prescott said, "three nights on the boat, and two nights on the train, and waited one day for a train." La Paz, Lake Titicaca, and Lima were on their schedule as they swept through the Inca Union, taking special pleasure in touring Stahl's Indian missions. In a rare moment of relaxation on their return trip down from Platería, Town and Prescott "were kindly entertained by Brother F. E. Hinkley, the director of the Harvard Observatory" in Arequipa.

Five days of meetings in Lima with E. L. Maxwell, head of the Inca Union, were Town's last appointments. From this point he turned north for the United States, but Prescott backtracked with Montgomery through Chile to Argentina for a division committee meeting. Never willing to pass up a chance to speak to an interested group, the two men arranged a meeting for twenty-five believers in Los Andes, their last overnight stop between Santiago and Buenos Aires.

Except for the territory north of Rio de Janeiro, hardly any Adventist activity in South America escaped Prescott's notice during the five months since he left New York. "I have visited every mission field and the most of the places where any special work is being carried forward," he wrote. In almost unbroken association with each other, he and Montgomery had educated themselves with detailed knowledge of the new division, and when they sat together in the ten-day, mid-year meetings in

May, they were amply prepared. Besides a budget for 1917 which included a statement of needs for additional workers, the committeemen discussed evangelistic plans. Of primary importance was the time they spent in devotionals. "We all felt the need of a special blessing from God as a preparation for the work before us," Prescott remembered. "An hour or more was spent each morning in studying the Bible and reading the Testimonies and in prayer."

Montgomery had been doing more than traverse the continent; he had familiarized himself with the field in order to give sound advice to subordinates. It was a practice that he continued. Two years after he arrived in South America, the Brazil Union officers asked him to reconnoiter the states of Goiás and Mato Grosso which they hoped soon to penetrate with Adventism. Montgomery complied, taking with him W. H. Williams, the division treasurer. The pair traveled by river steamer nearly 1,500 miles north from Buenos Aires to Corumbá, a Brazilian community facing Bolivia across the Paraguay River. Because they would pass through Austral Union territory for most of the journey, they asked J. W. Westphal to accompany them.

While traveling to Corumbá the party only skirted the border of Mato Grosso, but what they saw afforded them insights about the kind of region that the Brazil Union was contemplating to enter. At every community where the river boat stopped to replenish its supply of wood fuel, the ministers disembarked to size up the town. At one stop they hired guides to lead them several miles through the steaming heat to an Indian village where they developed firsthand impressions about the indigenous population that workers might encounter.

It was only a stroke of circumstance that Montgomery slept in the same hotel room in Corumbá that a former United States president, Theodore Roosevelt, had occupied during his hunting trip to South America. Roosevelt had forged two thousand miles north from that river town to the Amazon River. The inspiration from Roosevelt's journey was still fresh in Montgomery's mind. "It was while we were in the hotel at Corumba that Brother Williams and I gave a good deal of study to the map of South America," he remembered, many years later. "The more we studied and talked and planned, the more firmly fixed in our minds and hearts was the conviction that the time had come when the banner of this message should be planted the entire length of the Amazon River." At its next meeting, the Brazil Union voted to send colporteurs into Mato Grosso. "This was the beginning of our pioneering work in that great state," Montgomery wrote.²

In July, two years after their excursion into Mato Grosso, Montgomery and Williams crossed the continent by sailing down the Amazon River. Beginning at Lima, they ascended the Andes by train, and continued eleven days on muleback to a river port, where they began a nine-day canoe trip down the Pachitea and Ucayali rivers to catch up with a river steamer waiting for them at Chanta Isla. Eight days more to Iquitos and nineteen days to the mouth of the Amazon returned them to civilization. When they finally arrived in Buenos Aires, three months after leaving Lima, they had traveled thousands of miles through regions never before visited by Adventist workers.

Sleeping was not easy during the trip. The men lodged in *tombos*—small, overnight inns with only the barest comforts—along the mountain trails and in makeshift tents on riverbanks, protecting themselves with mosquito netting. “These tombos were all very much alike,” Montgomery later wrote, “and the beds for the most part represented six or eight hours of torture.”

As he edged along narrow ledges that dropped off a thousand feet or more, he was so frightened he would fix his eyes on the cliff at his safe side and give his mule free rein to pick its own way. “I used to look forward . . . when we would be off those mules and seated in a canoe where we would be in less danger,” Montgomery recalled. He changed his mind after his overloaded dugout shot twelve rapids during the first day. “I sat with my hands on the edge of the canoe, ready to spring into the water in case we were capsized or wrecked . . . At such times I wished that we were again back on the mules.”

Montgomery and Williams had been planning this trip ever since their venture to Corumbá, but they anticipated beginning at the mouth of the Amazon. After a set of meetings with the Inca Union committee in July 1920, they decided it was the opportune moment to travel the Amazon, even if they had to do it backwards from their original plans. For days Montgomery scoured Lima for advice about how to prepare. The counsel he received was clear and unanimous—do not go, it would be too dangerous. Eventually, the Peruvian government issued the men a safe conduct, wired ahead to all the *tombo* managers to request the best service for the travelers, and informed the British consul in Iquitos to expect visitors.

Once on the trail, the two men realized they had vastly underestimated their food needs. To survive they ate whatever food their guides could scrounge up—yucca, rice, eggs, and wild turkey, but they drew the line at turtle-egg omelets and pork. Everywhere they made their fellow travelers aware that they were Adventist

missionaries. At Iquitos the British consul, who was also serving as the American consular agent, entertained them warmly.

The next day the Peruvian prefect invited them to a special party. When they graciously declined to drink, asking instead for plain soda water, their host was so amazed he proposed a toast to honor their patriotic obedience to the United States Constitution, which at the time forbade the manufacture and sale of liquor. Before Montgomery and Williams left the reception, the prefect invited them to establish a mission school in the community, knowing that it would mean introducing Saturday observance and all the rest of Adventist practices.

Throughout their journey, the two men compiled a list of the *tombo* keepers and other persons who had met them at various places along the way, noting whether they spoke Spanish or Portuguese. These names they gave to the publishing houses in Buenos Aires and São Paulo. “A steady stream of our truth-filled literature was sent to these people, and we believe it had something to do with the hearty response later when workers entered these regions,” Montgomery concluded.

As exciting as the adventure was, Montgomery was not on an exploration trip. Since their trip to Corumbá, he and Williams had dreamed of the day when the South American Division would carry Adventism to the Amazon valley. Their venture in 1920 was a scouting trip that presaged a saga in division history—the legendary career of Leo and Jessie Halliwell and the river boat ministry they began. More than that, the division president was familiarizing himself geographically with the whole field, developing an appreciation for its dimensions and acquiring a sense of balance among the diverse needs of Adventist missions. In the years to come such an acquaintance with the division would be part of the foundation for all administrative decisions in South America.

Before completing his first meeting as the new president of the division, Montgomery faced the question of organizational refinement. The Brazilian delegates proposed to separate their field above Espírito Santo and Minas Gerais into a new union with a slate of three officers who would begin their work in 1917. Originally named the North Brazil Union Mission, it would receive operating funds from the annual General Conference appropriations to the South American Division.

Although they persuaded the division delegates to approve the motion, actually putting the North Brazil Union into effect was a different matter. John Lipke, the original choice to head the new union, was too busy as the director of the training school in São Paulo to assume his new responsibilities; consequently, for three years

the North Brazil Union remained a piece of unfinished business. Not until 1919 did the Brazil Union committee find a superintendent, Henry Meyer, who was president of the Rio Grande do Sul Conference.³

While the three-year delay in the actual formation of the North Brazil Union forced Spies and the other officers of the Brazil Union to continue supervising the northern churches, in the end the wait was a blessing. The original proposal to form a new union suggested that to cut Brazil's population approximately in half would be the best way to decide the boundaries. But the delay gave the officers of both the division and the Brazil Union a chance to take a second look at their action, and when Brazil finally divided, the lines were more equitable.

The new boundary between the two unions fell below Rio de Janeiro and through half of Minas Gerais. This division allowed many more church members in North Brazil than originally planned, which provided a better financial base for the new field. Even with that consideration, the Brazil Union in the south claimed 1,880 members as compared to 840 in the north, but in spite of the membership disparity, the number of workers in each union was about even, thus compensating the north for its larger territory and population. Within months the original Brazil Union changed its title to the South Brazil Union, and the North Brazil Union was renamed the East Brazil Union, names which are still in use, although the territories are no longer identical with their 1919 definition.⁴

The formation of a second union in Brazil was a significant organizational shift. Spies believed that the importance of the meeting when the decision was made was "perhaps greater than any previous meeting." The president of the Brazil Union had long agitated for this change to relieve him and his staff of extensive travel.⁵

For workers in the Andean republics, another change was probably equally important, even though it did not show on paper. Ever since Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia had joined to constitute the Inca Union Mission, E. L. Maxwell had chafed under his subservience to the South American Union, but that connection broke when the South American Division was created. The emancipated Inca Union now answered to the division, while the South American Union became the Austral Union, a term that better described its territory in the new division.⁶

Other organizational changes during the division's early years gave the new East Brazil Union five missions, all along the coast. An important characteristic of this field was the extensive amount of unorganized territory it included. The states of Amazonas, Ceará, Maranhão, Pará, and Piauí, all extending from South America's

hump west to Peru, remained unentered and unorganized. In the South Brazil Union the states of Goiás and Mato Grosso were unorganized territory.

These territorial shifts drew attention to Brazil's vast interior, including the Amazon River, and it was at this point that Montgomery and Williams journeyed to Corumbá at the request of the South Brazil Union to ascertain the possibilities of opening new Adventist missions. Three years later, in 1921, the Mato Grosso Mission became the sixth administrative unit in the South Brazil Union, along with the Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina conferences and the Paraná, São Paulo, and West Minas Gerais missions. In 1923 São Paulo rose to conference status.

Simply stated, by 1920 Brazil achieved the lines of territorial organization that it would keep with little alteration until late in the decade, when both unions penetrated unentered territory and rebuilt their administrative structure accordingly.

Less complicated were changes in the Austral Union after 1916, but here also the Adventist map showed vast regions excluded from formal organization. Attempts to parcel out these parts of Argentina to newly organized missions were only partially successful. The most significant change was to set Buenos Aires apart as a city conference, the first such experiment in all of Latin America. The city-conference was a forward-looking creation which would become useful in South America after urban evangelism produced large Adventist communities in the division's sprawling metropolitan centers, but for the time being, it proved to be premature. After only three years of trial, the Buenos Aires Conference expanded to include the entire province. Other changes dropped much of central and southern Argentina out of organized missions. The Chile Conference and the Alto Paraná and Uruguay missions underwent no change during the early years of the South American Division.

Other than cutting its ties with the former South American Union, the Inca Union underwent only one modification during the early phases of division history. Since the beginning of F. A. Stahl's labors around Lake Titicaca, missions for the Aymaras had been an appendage of the Peru Mission, headquartered in Lima. With the growth of both fields, this arrangement became too cumbersome to perpetuate, and in 1918 the Lake Titicaca Mission began functioning separately, directly responsible to the Inca Union.⁷

Briefly during 1917, talk circulated that the South American Division should embrace all of Spanish-speaking Latin America. At the time, most Spanish countries in the Greater Caribbean formed a loose unit called the North Latin American Missions, an organization whose communication and geographic complexities had

thus far defied any attempt to organize them into a successful administrative unit. Workers from nearly all places that would later constitute the Inter-American Division gathered in Panama in 1917 to discuss the issue. Montgomery probably had little to fear about an all-Spanish-speaking division. His hands were already full, having barely gotten acquainted with his territory. He was not interested in enlarging his duties, but admitted that joining all Spanish-speaking countries could be advantageous to some aspects of the church.⁸

Montgomery had presided over nearly all of the organizational changes beginning in 1916, although he had not masterminded them. Weighing heavily on his mind were those parts of the continent still untouched by Adventists. When the division council met in 1920 for the first time since the organizational meeting in 1916, Montgomery reminded fellow delegates that their work had hardly begun. He described the burdens on his heart. There were “great stretches of country in Argentina including state after state, where we are doing nothing as yet,” he said, continuing with a description of other parts of the continent. “[C]onsiderably more than one half of the entire republic of Brazil has never been touched by the third angel’s message . . . We have a good work established in the republic of Paraguay, yet there are many sections in that country that have not yet been touched . . . also many parts of Chile. The same is true of Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia.”⁹

We should not misconstrue Montgomery’s statements to mean that Adventism was totally unknown in the territories lying outside of formally organized missions or conferences. For years A. G. Nelson had lived in Punta Arenas, Chile, and had also labored in Tierra del Fuego as well as among shepherds in Patagonia. As a result of his persistence, Frank Westphal held a series of meetings in that southernmost Chilean community in 1918, baptizing six in the Straits of Magellan. The water was frozen, but he broke a hole in the ice to immerse the shivering candidates. To make matters worse, even though the ceremony occurred at 5:30 p.m., it was over two hours after sunset. The reward for this defiance of the cold and the darkness was a new officially organized congregation.¹⁰ In the backcountry in other parts of South America, colporteurs were leaving trails of Adventist literature that would later generate calls for workers.

OBSTACLES HAMPERING CHURCH PROGRESS

It was crucial for the new division to begin on a positive note, but as the new president toured his territory and engineered its reorganization, it seemed that he faced

serious economic problems that pointed ominously to the future. To Montgomery the geographic variety and the enormity of his field were serious challenges, but time showed that to men less gifted with stamina, the task of managing the South American Division could become an overwhelming task.

During Montgomery's presidency, 1916-22, a shortage of workers was a common complaint from many fields around the division. Instead of improving with time, the situation worsened and extended into the years after Montgomery left. At the end of 1925, the number of licensed employees in South America was eighty-nine fewer than four years earlier.¹¹

Some of the causes for this decline were related to World War I. The financial health of the church reflected economic climates in the United States as well as South America. Stating that the time had come for an aggressive program in South America, Montgomery submitted the division's budget for 1917 to the General Conference that included requests for several new workers, especially for Peru and the proposed North Brazil Union. In Washington, however, church leaders were wrestling with the world budget that was suffering from a world at war. Revenues of the world church were increasing, but needs were increasing more rapidly, which caused the 1916 Autumn Council to slash \$100,000 from requests by the world fields. Bearing its share of the cuts, South America had to shelve calls for workers and pare nearly \$7,000 from the budgets for Peru and the North Brazil Union. At the same time some parts of South America were suffering financial woes that were the result of World War I as well. Augusto Rockel, president of the Santa Catarina Conference, noted that reduced incomes of members in turn produced diminished church revenues.¹²

Failure to receive the financial support from the General Conference that they anticipated was a bitter pill for the new division officers, but they went on with their organizational plans even with only a partial fulfillment of their requests. With their 1918 budget they asked for twelve new men, half of them for Peru. "We feel that in view of the great needs of the field, that this is a very modest request," Montgomery told Spicer.¹³ As justifiable as South America's budget may have been, it added to the dilemma at the General Conference. World leaders were anticipating a debilitating drain on the church's resources as they simultaneously tried to keep up with expanding needs and reconstruct the church where the war had destroyed it. After the 1918 Autumn Council, General Conference Assistant Secretary J. L. Shaw told Montgomery that "even with the enormous increase in mission offerings, we are still not able to meet the calls from the fields."¹⁴

Vacancies in South America continued, hampering progress. For three years beginning in 1916, the Uruguay Mission was without a superintendent, forcing J. W. Westphal to administer that field in addition to his duties as president of the Austral Union. He confessed he could not “give the mission much help,” but anticipated that a new leader would soon take over.¹⁷ In May 1919, an exasperated Montgomery wrote to the General Conference that the Chile Conference had been without a president for more than a year.¹⁵ In other places the situation was worse. As he faced 1925, Roscoe T. Baer, president of the Austral Union, declared that for four years he had also directed the Buenos Aires Conference because it lacked a president.¹⁶

The situation was no better in Brazil. The major holdup for putting the North Brazil Union into operation was transferring John Lipke from his post as director of the training school at Santo Amaro to become superintendent of the new field. Spies would not release him for that assignment because financial resources were insufficient to support a new union in Brazil, and a satisfactory replacement to head the school was not available. As early as 1916, soon after the division began, Spies placed the responsibility for locating a school director in the hands of the General Conference, meaning, of course, that he expected a mission appointee to fill the position. Not until world headquarters sent T. W. Steen, a North American, to take over the school did the new Brazilian union get its director.¹⁸

After becoming the division’s field secretary in 1920, J. W. Westphal attended fifteen general meetings in Brazil in quick succession. Whatever encouragement he could give to Adventist congregations was a welcome blessing. “As one passes through these fields he is impressed with the workers,” he reported. Because many missions had neither officers nor offices, the South Brazil Union handled their business. In some instances the only church employee was a Bible worker.¹⁹ Without relinquishing his division post, Westphal himself filled in as president of the South Brazil Union for a year after Spies moved from that office to superintend the East Brazil Union in 1922.²⁰ After N. P. Neilsen took over from Westphal as the regular president of South Brazil, he found himself responsible for administering two additional missions which lacked directors.²¹

Helping to inflate the expenses of the church’s mission program was an inflationary trend affecting most of South America. Spies complained that the cost of living in Brazil had doubled during the first two years since World War I began. Salary increases, called war bonuses, mitigated the negative impact, but did not eliminate workers’ personal trials. Small salary growth in 1917 and 1918 provided only little

relief. Montgomery was sensitive to this financial problem and usually supported whatever benefits were available for his workers. When the General Conference treasurer suggested that one employee's salary exceeded policy, the division president defended the alleged pay violation with a six-page letter explaining the high living costs in South America. According to him, had it not been for the 30 percent war bonus, no one would have been able to make ends meet.²²

Montgomery had not heard the last of war bonuses. While he was in the United States in 1921, his treasurer suggested that the division should discontinue that measure, but Montgomery argued that because national economies in South America had not stabilized at their prewar levels, the bonuses were still necessary. Even though General Conference appropriations to South America in 1920 showed a sharp increase over the 1915 figure, dollars were not buying as many goods and services as they once did, a fact that translated into higher salaries but less purchasing power. Moreover, a post-World War I economic depression in the United States during 1920-1922 diminished church income, which resulted in less money than anticipated for workers' salaries.

Montgomery could defend war bonuses, but he could do nothing about the North American economy, where most of the mission funds originated. From world headquarters came instruction in 1921 that South America should not plan for expansion. At mid-year the General Conference approved six new appointments to the division on condition that world headquarters would not be responsible for salaries, while at the same time delaying action until the Autumn Council on five other calls involving salaries. Despite unquestioned needs in South America, the General Conference imposed a severe 28 percent cut in the division's proposed budget for 1922, but restored the appropriations in 1923. These actions had resulted from an approximate \$300,000 drop in world mission offerings from 1920 to 1922. Fortunately for South America as well as other world fields, the church recovered most of this loss by 1923 and surpassed previous totals by 1924.²³

Notwithstanding General Conference attempts to preserve a restored budget for South America, Division Treasurer Williams had to stretch dollars to keep pace with growing needs. At the 1924 Autumn Council he could not report much success. The lack of funds forced the church to abandon its mission in Punta Arenas, established after years of persistence, and to withdraw from outposts in northern Chile. Six conferences and missions were without leaders.²⁴

In dealing with salary problems, Montgomery demonstrated that he was more interested in the personal welfare of his workers than in his own administrative

comfort. Since his arrival in South America, he had maintained his office in Florida where the Austral Union and the publishing house were also located. For the sake of both, the division needed to move into its own quarters, preferably some distance from the Austral Union. Financial difficulties prevented an early solution to this question, but by 1921, plans were on foot to prepare a \$36,000 division headquarters in Buenos Aires.

However, after Montgomery learned of the North American postwar recession that could cost his workers their war bonuses, he advised the General Conference that he would forgo the new office building before he would recommend salary reductions. Despite this sacrifice, plans for the new building went on. But matters worsened, making it difficult for Montgomery to balance his construction program and the need for additional workers. After the new year began in 1922, he asked the General Conference to suspend all new appointees to the division until he could revise the budget.²⁵

Division officers knew that their financial austerity would set an example for the rest of South America. In 1924 they placed high rent areas off limits for mission and conference office buildings. Among other economizing measures, they resolved to travel less expensively, to reduce the number of telegrams, long distance telephone calls, and other communication costs, and to be sure each worker put in a full day's work at the office.²⁶ Compared to the cost of the new division office on Pino Street in Belgrano, these were really only token actions, but they told the constituency that South America's officers were committed to conservative spending.

Besides economic uncertainties caused by war, South America suffered from other disruptions. Westphal traced many problems in the Austral Union to loss of cattle and crop failures produced by rains, floods, and droughts, all following on the heels of a financial crash just before the war broke out. In 1917 one of the largest strikes in Argentine history combined with a drought to cripple business by bringing a near-halt to communication and transportation. The Argentine Conference considered postponing its session, but finally held its scheduled meeting in Paraná, October 25-November 5. It was hardly an encouraging occasion. Tithe had dropped, evangelists curtailed their efforts, and some workers found other employment.²⁷

More serious conditions in Brazil threatened the progress of the church. Slow recovery from wartime conditions dragged the country into prolonged depression, generating unrest among politicians, militarists, and bankers. A shaky financial establishment and wildly fluctuating exchange rates played into the hands of opportunists

who attempted to whip up popular movements of dissent. A. A. Cone, head of the division's publishing department, crossed over from Uruguay to Brazil in 1923 just in time to step into a revolution against the state government in Rio Grande do Sul. With banks and other businesses collapsing around them, and bands of plunderers taking advantage of the chaos, some Adventists protected church money by burying it. Only when A. C. Harder, the conference president, visited them were they willing to hand church money over so he could deliver it personally into proper church channels.

Conferences and missions in South Brazil were under pressure to raise more tithe or lose workers. A closely trimmed union budget at the year-end meetings in December 1922 emphasized an appeal by the General Conference to workers around the world to donate a week's salary for missions. Against this background the uprising in Rio Grande do Sul contributed nothing to workers' optimism, but Cone led a successful Ingathering campaign anyway.²⁸

From the round of annual conference and mission sessions in early 1924, N. P. Neilsen learned that tithe in South Brazil rose 41 percent in 1923 over 1922; East Brazil's income also shot up, but as Spies pointed out, the depreciating currency wiped out any gains in real value, and workers, who lived on constant salaries, found adjustment to unstable markets distressing.²⁹

Another scare erupted in July 1924, when army units in São Paulo rebelled, creating a three-week battlefield that engulfed the conference office. Fourteen shells landed across the street, but the Adventist center was untouched. From the South Brazil Union headquarters Neilsen wrote one of his reports to world headquarters while listening to cannon and rifle fire.³⁰

But the division could not blame all its troubles on World War I and its aftermath. Sometimes the General Conference could not find the right persons to fill openings in South America. No better example was the search for a division president after 1922. Driven more by events than by desire, Montgomery's effectiveness as South America's leader ended after the 1920 division council. After this gathering, the first since 1916, he spent much of the remaining year traveling and speaking in the United States, dealing with budget and personnel matters. Shortly after his return to Argentina he fell ill, and through the fall and winter of 1921 he remained under doctor's care, spending time in River Plate Sanitarium. In August he sailed back to North America for months of recuperation, some of it in the Washington Sanitarium.³¹ At the 1922 General Conference session, he was still planning to go back to South America—the delegates even reelected him—but his health would not permit his return.³²

Replacing him was Charles Thompson, a General Conference assistant treasurer, who sailed for South America in November 1922. Like Montgomery before him, the new president's first duties took him on hurried transcontinental trips to Brazil and the west coast of South America. By early June 1923, he could tolerate the demanding pace no longer. Writing to Spicer, he recounted his six months in his new position, stating he had not enjoyed a good night's sleep since his arrival and was thoroughly worn out. He felt he had no recourse but to resign. His last trip took him to Lima, where he sailed to New York without even returning to his office in Buenos Aires.³³

Not until May 1924, did P. E. Brodersen, secretary of the Bureau of Home Missions, leave the United States to pick up the broken pieces of the South American Division. Meanwhile, W. H. Williams held the division together, but because he also was absent during much of 1923, attending Autumn Council and tending to other duties, a leadership vacuum existed which no one could fill. Without any coordination from the division, union presidents acted independently, leading G. E. Hartman, treasurer of the Austral Union, to complain to the General Conference about the impossible situation in South America.³⁴ Brodersen's stay in South America was longer than Thompson's, but hardly more successful. When he traveled to the United States for the 1926 General Conference session, he made his return permanent.³⁵

The practical effect of these events was to leave the division without adequate leadership for six years. Workers were complaining and threatening to leave. After learning about Brodersen's departure, Wesley Amundsen, secretary-treasurer of the Bolivia Mission, told Spicer that South America had been headless for years. "We feel isolated, cut off as it were . . . Is it a wonder that the superintendents of mission fields grow discouraged and downhearted?"³⁶

It is doubtful that Amundsen was aware that the General Conference had already resolved the problem. Turning to Carlyle B. Haynes, president of the Greater New York Conference, church leaders in Washington placed the burden of reconstructing the organization and the morale in the South American Division on his shoulders, but even at that, the division would have to wait until November before he would be ready to sail.³⁷

Looking back at such an array of difficulties, later generations cannot help asking if South America enjoyed any progress at all between 1920 and 1926. For the majority of Adventist workers, many of them nationals, the misfortunes of division leadership were quite distant from their immediate tasks. What did affect them, however, was

the weakness in the division's ability to coordinate activities of the unions into a unified program. In practical terms, this meant presiding over a balanced distribution of employees, negotiating the most liberal budgets as possible, and providing central direction to evangelism and institutional development.

Notwithstanding the financial cutbacks South America sustained after World War I, from the inception of the the division forward to 1926, overall increases characterized both the size of South America's budget and the number of workers brought in from the outside. A dramatic rise in both of these categories of assistance from the General Conference in 1920 accounted for most of the advancement before 1926. To South America, the General Conference appropriated \$92,119 in 1918, most of which paid for worker's salaries. By 1921 this figure exceeded \$290,000, but declined \$38,000 in 1922. Not until 1926 did these funds exceed the 1922 level. At the 1925 Autumn Council the General Conference Committee approved more than \$305,000 for the next year. In 1918, 1920, and 1923, South America received a combined total of \$262,000 in Sabbath School overflow offerings, among them the denomination's first \$100,000 thirteenth Sabbath offering.³⁸ Money received from this source ordinarily underwrote capital projects rather than operational costs, but in some cases a thirteenth Sabbath offering would finance a new field for its first year.

Mission appointments during these years partially reveal the effect that General Conference appropriations had on employment practices. During its first four years, South America added fewer than ten overseas families each year, but in 1920 the number more than doubled to twenty-one. Cutbacks in 1924 dropped new appointments to eight families; the next year fourteen sailed for the division, and in 1926 twenty-seven joined the working force.³⁹ Of course, not all of these persons were filling new posts, but the fact remains that during the first decade of its history, the division placed calls for well over a hundred overseas workers. Some of the new appointees filled jobs vacated by others who had gone back to their home countries, and in some cases families were returning to their previously held positions.

At the time of its organization in 1916, South America consisted of three unions and fifteen conferences and missions. By 1926 eight more administrative units, including the division itself, were calling for personnel. The number of departmental jobs had increased, as had institutional positions in both education and publishing. The best estimates are only calculated guesses, but it is safe to say that relatively few of the new workers supported by the increase in General Conference base appropriations were actually full-time evangelistic personnel. In the case of both

finances and personnel, South America's difficulties resulted from inability to keep up with needs rather than actual declines.

J. W. Westphal perceived this trend before the division felt the impact of the sharp increase in the numbers of mission appointees, and accurately stated that South America faced a serious policy problem. Speaking at the division council in 1920, he cited the benefits the Austral Union enjoyed from the rising number of departmental leaders and institutional workers, but also warned his colleagues that vacancies still existed. "There is also a dearth of active field workers," he said, adding that "we cannot spare one of our institutional, departmental, or office workers; in fact, we should have more. But with the scarcity of field workers, there is the appearance of top-heaviness that is at times embarrassing. With a few additional field workers, the results in souls gained might be greatly multiplied. The comparative additional expense would be small when we consider that it will not require additional organization and that more fruit will be harvested. This is a question to which serious attention should be given."⁴⁰

Westphal's observations fit Brazil as well as the Austral Union. No one argued that organizing new fields was unnecessary, but the dilemma which church officials had to resolve was what to furnish first, leaders or field workers. Repeated references to vacant positions indicate that the division encountered trouble with both alternatives, showing that it formed new administrative units more rapidly than it could supply personnel to operate them.

Montgomery's convictions about placing calls for additional workers also affected the division's policies. He very quickly detected an anti-German sentiment, especially in Brazil, a byproduct of World War I. The Brazil Union was predominantly a German organization with church members and workers still retaining their ancestral language and customs. Understandably, German ministers were in demand, but because of the war, they were trapped in a hostile atmosphere. In Montgomery's judgment, a larger proportion of North American workers would divert these antagonisms. One of the key positions involved was the principal of the training school.

Matters became stickier in 1917 after German submarines sank two Brazilian ships and Brazil declared war. Spies, himself an American-born German, described the country as wracked with war crisis, and reported that because of their nationality, Adventist book salesmen of German origin had to quit their work. Violence sometimes erupted. Augusto Rockel, reported in *Revista Mensal* that he acquired a safe conduct which allowed him to travel throughout his field freely, but the

impact of war was evident. “. . . [O]n our trip we passed by many places devastated by fanatics whose sick zeal was translated eloquently by the truly sad scene that the ruins offered, which in the past were peaceful dwellings for man and domestic animals,” he wrote after one pastoral trip in 1918 that took him near to the border of Rio Grande do Sul.⁴¹

News about the preponderance of German workers among Brazilian Adventists reached the North American government, which in turn alleged to the General Conference that some ministers were spreading German propaganda. The government did not accuse specific individuals, but left the church to investigate, probably because the charges were not serious enough to create an incident. The General Conference reacted by requiring all workers to carry passports. Although Montgomery expressed surprise that questions had arisen about the loyalty of Adventist workers, he tempered his reaction by confirming that the United States embassy and the consulate in São Paulo had received similar complaints, but diplomatic officials had accepted explanations by church leaders about the situation.⁴²

In time the anti-German attitude subsided, but at least for the time being, Montgomery carried out his intention of bringing North Americans to Brazil. For the first decade of the division, mission appointment lists carried only an occasional worker from Germany to join either of the two unions in that country.

Beyond Montgomery's control were other circumstances favoring a larger proportion of North American workers. Not until World War I did direct transportation lines exist between the United States and South America. North American travelers to the southern hemisphere sailed via Europe, but during the war, direct communication developed between North and South America, which avoided hostile waters. Even before the war ended, Montgomery saw this trend as an encouragement for United States investors, tourists, and traders. At the 1918 General Conference he suggested that the church should take advantage of this new opportunity to promote its mission interests.⁴³

Closer to the heart of Montgomery's policies was his intention to hire enough workers to allow them to form teams of two or three in a single field. In so assigning ministers, he hoped to stimulate more rapid church growth and develop financial self-sufficiency more quickly.⁴⁴ He left South America before accomplishing that goal and his purpose was lost in the administrative shuffles that followed him.

The ultimate question about South America asks if the church's primary goal of evangelism suffered because of the myriad problems facing administration. After

the first four years of the South American Division's existence membership grew 71 percent, its highest level for any four-year period since Adventists entered the continent.⁴⁵ The percentage tumbled to forty-nine during the next four years, but beginning in 1924 it began to regain its lost momentum.⁴⁶ Reports for 1925 show that at the end of that year South America's membership reached 15,848, but the division, which had been the denomination's second largest field outside North America in 1920, had slipped to third place, about 1,150 members behind the Far Eastern Division. The European Division was far more numerous with more than 80,000 members.⁴⁷

URBAN EVANGELISM AND MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

Immediately after reaching his new post, Montgomery concluded that one of South America's greatest needs was urban evangelism. With only an exception or two, he saw the division's large metropolitan areas as virtually untouched fields. It was to become an oft-repeated theme. Two years later he told the division committee that "we believe it is high time that the large cities of South America should be provided with a strong, successful corps of workers . . . It is time for us to get into the very heart of our cities with a message that will appeal to the educated and the wealthy."⁴⁸ Others echoed the same conviction. Faced with the challenges of Buenos Aires's two million inhabitants, Roscoe T. Baer, president of the Austral Union, wrote in 1925, "Another crying need is that of more evangelists of experience to enter the large cities."⁴⁹

It was not as though ministers were not attempting city evangelism. When president of the Argentine Conference, Baer himself reported in 1919 that during the previous year workers had conducted an evangelistic effort in Rosario, Argentina's second largest city. Later, evangelists scheduled another series in a Buenos Aires theater, but a public strike stymied plans.⁵⁰

John D. Haynes, pastor of the Rosario church in 1919 and a new face in Argentina, soon set about to increase the sixty-member congregation by conducting public meetings. During the summer of 1920-1921 he organized an eight-week campaign in a large rented hall in the city. Assisting him were two Bible workers, two other "general men helpers," and G. W. Casebeer and J. M. Howell, both teachers from the training school in Entre Rios. Much to Haynes's delight, the local newspapers carried wide coverage of his meetings. At least one new member traced his conversion to these accounts in the media.⁵¹

Using the newspaper as a means to carry Adventism to the public was a new twist in urban evangelism, one that ministers would learn to take advantage of more effectively as time passed. Baer had promoted the idea during the organizational session of the division in 1916. An evangelistic series lasting forty evenings ran concurrently with the business session of the South American Union and the organizational meeting of the South American Division in the city of La Plata. Preachers also prepared written copies of their sermons, which Baer submitted to *La Argentina*, a local daily. He was almost euphoric with the results, making a collection of all forty papers and displaying them to division workers to show how the media could become an evangelistic tool.⁵²

As the North Argentine Conference prepared for its campmeeting in the summer of 1924-1925, H. B. Lundquist, Austral Union education and missionary volunteer secretary, submitted translations of a press release from the General Conference describing denominational history to the Paraná newspapers. More articles followed, and before the campmeeting ended, the editors were publishing daily reports of the evening gatherings, which were really evangelistic meetings.⁵³ It is doubtful that a large proportion of converts joined the Adventist church directly as a result of newspaper publicity, but the presence of Adventists in the media developed a feeling of freedom and openness that would have a positive effect on the denomination's image.

The organization of the Buenos Aires Conference in 1921 was a calculated attempt to create an urban-oriented ministry for one of the largest cities in South America, but it was an action that came before its time. Until it absorbed the entire province, the conference never had a president; consequently, workers in the city were responsible to Baer, who doubled as Austral Union president and head of the conference. Two ordained ministers and two Bible workers promoted evangelism in Buenos Aires in 1923. One of them, L. A. Rojas, baptized forty-six converts in 1924, an unusual figure in the context of baptismal records of those days.⁵⁴

Chile's cities did not match the size of Argentina's, yet they were well-known for their cosmopolitan atmosphere. Adventists had long concentrated their work in Valparaíso and Santiago, and with the stress on urban evangelism, these centers received new attention in the early years of the division. J. C. Brower, a recently arrived worker from the United States, found his assignment in Chile's largest port city comparable to life in North America. Valparaíso "is very much like Chicago, New York, or Cincinnati," he wrote in 1918. Over five years later, after W. E. Hancock, the conference president, baptized fourteen converts, the congregation in that city rose to eighty.⁵⁵

When Roscoe Baer moved to Chile in 1919 to serve for a year as conference president, he found about 110 members in the Santiago church. During his brief stay in Chile, he showed that his view of evangelism included more than preaching; socializing could also exert a positive sense of church membership. It was on October 5, 1919, a lovely spring Sunday that the Santiago members gathered in an olive grove outside the city for a day of special fellowship. Frank Westphal spoke, Baer baptized eleven new members, and the congregation celebrated the occasion with games, picture-taking, and enjoying a vegetarian picnic meal, a unique experience for many. Two years later the congregation numbered 150.⁵⁶

Similar to events in Argentina, Adventists in Chile were also enlisting the help of newspapers. Edgar Brooks, an editor in Casa Editora in Buenos Aires, summarized material published in the missionary paper, *El Atalaya*, for papers in Santiago. His work appeared in two dailies that reserved the prerogative to publish all or part of what he submitted to them.⁵⁷

Other large cities in the Austral Union such as Montevideo and Asunción were barely conscious of Adventist presence. Early in 1920 Santiago Mangold baptized seven in the Paraguayan capital, but observed that only meager results had come from the eighteen years that Adventists had been in the city. Mateo Leytes, a nurse who used health treatments as a means to gain the confidence of the people as well as to earn a living, was responsible for the small band of members, but for the most part, official denominational activity consisted of literature distribution during the 1920s.⁵⁸

Adventists had also been in Montevideo for many years but without appreciable results. "We have a church at Montevideo," J. W. Westphal said in 1919, "together with a building which serves as a dwelling for one family of workers, as a meeting place and an office." So few were the members in the Uruguayan capital that when the Uruguay Mission held its annual meeting in 1919, church leaders rented a movie theater in Rosario, over fifty miles east of Montevideo.⁵⁹ Continuing through the early years of the division, little Adventist activity took place in the Uruguayan capital.

Thanks to the Inca Union headquarters as well as that of the Peru Mission, Lima and its environs were well acquainted with the Adventist community, but it was the only large metropolitan center in the union where a church of any size existed. Soon after Montgomery's arrival in South America, E. L. Maxwell complained that the division diverted most of the money and personnel away from Lima into the Lake Titicaca region.⁶⁰ Through the 1920s only pitifully small groups appeared in

Quito, Guayaquil, La Paz, and Arequipa. It would be many years before Adventists in sizable numbers would populate the large cities of the Andean republics.

It was in Brazil that city evangelism made its best marks during the division's first decade. Spies ascribed at least some of this success to the use of tents. Richard Suessmann in Ponta Grossa, Paraná, was a case in point. During October and November 1916, he drew such large crowds that the local circus nearly folded. One night the manager of the traveling show complained that his audience was only three boys.

In 1917 R. M. Carter, field missionary secretary for the Brazilian press, moved into Juiz de Fora, the largest city along the southern border of the state of Minas Gerais. Beginning with his first convert, a shoe cobbler, the Adventist company grew until it became the central congregation in the state. In 1923 it was the site of the first church officers' meetings that Brazilian Adventists held.⁶¹

A new worker, Leo B. Halliwell, who joined the East Brazil Union for evangelistic purposes, began a long and distinguished career with a series of meetings in Bahia in 1924. His attempts to learn Portuguese and the customs of the people among whom he lived apparently paid off. Crowds packed into his rented hall so regularly that he did not need to advertise his meetings.⁶²

In Brazil's two largest cities, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Adventist evangelism showed signs of success. Far-sighted church leaders had forecast that São Paulo would become the economic heart of Brazil and had moved the training school and the press to its suburbs. Later, the Brazil Union established its headquarters in the city. When A. E. Hagen arrived in 1921 as a minister in the South Brazil Union, São Paulo's Adventist church numbered 130. In that city of 700,000, he was the only conference worker. After learning the language, he launched a vigorous evangelistic program, moving his tent from site to site. In addition, he held regular Sunday night meetings. Scores joined his baptismal classes. In 1926 church leaders entrusted this city with its potentially rich evangelistic future to José Amador dos Reis, the first Brazilian to be ordained to the gospel ministry.⁶³

Thirteen years after Spies baptized the first convert in Rio de Janeiro in 1897, Henry Meyer found only a small congregation groping for leadership. Between 1915 and 1918, E. C. Ehlers and F. R. Kuempel followed Meyer's ministry, building a large membership with repeated evangelistic meetings. These tent efforts brought enough new members to the church to allow the congregation to swarm twice; by 1922 three churches dotted Rio. During his visit to Brazil in 1925, N. Z. Town estimated that the sanctuaries in Rio would accommodate up to 600 persons.⁶⁴

Consistent evangelism in Brazil's cities yielded results. When Neilsen compiled his report for the South Brazil Union in 1925, he noted the numerous tent efforts his workers were conducting and their baptismal groups. In December, Kuempel brought in ten in Pôrto Alegre, Germano Streithorst baptized sixteen in São Francisco, Santa Catarina, and Hagen admitted the same number in São Paulo.⁶⁵ These accessions were not large, but when repeated by other evangelists over several years, the total reached a significant number.

The importance of this early emphasis on urban evangelism during the first ten years of the South American Division lay more in the objectives it set for future church growth than the number of new members it produced at the time. Division leaders knew they had hardly begun to evangelize the cities. Brodersen reminded the entire Adventist world of this fact when he discussed South America at the 1926 General Conference. "One of the crying needs of South America is for two trained city evangelists, one for Rio de Janeiro and the other for Buenos Aires," he said. "Buenos Aires has a population of 2,190,000, and Rio de Janeiro has a population of 1,442,000. We need these two evangelists to help us train our young men in the field—one for the Portuguese territory, and the other for the Spanish. Four years ago, at the General Conference, Elder O. Montgomery made this same appeal. Today, four years later, nearly four million people still call from South America's two largest cities."⁶⁶

As important as urban evangelism was, congregations in the big cities did not constitute the largest proportion of their membership. The majority of churches existed outside large municipal areas, and to pastor them, ministers still experienced pioneer conditions. Santiago Mangold recounted his itinerary through the Alto Paraná Mission in 1919 to conduct ordinances in several of the churches and to collect their tithe. During his trip he faced heavy rains and flooding. On one occasion he tied a small boat to his horse's tail while it swam for an hour pulling five passengers and baggage. Later, Mangold waded two hours through the water.

On a visit to Cañete, Chile, the next year, Mangold and Frank Westphal protected their near-empty purses by walking most of the way, one day covering fourteen leagues. One night they slept by an open fire. A second trip by Westphal to the same community was no different, except that he walked alone. He had already passed his sixtieth year, but he would not let his blistered feet rest. In April 1920, he began supervising his Ingathering campaign on foot. Through rain and heat he trudged, stopping to rest only after becoming dizzy. "After that I continued the journey, and walked about forty leagues," he said. "My feet became very sore."⁶⁷

From many corners of the division came inquiries about Adventism and calls for pastoral assistance. In 1918 word trickled down from Manaus, deep in the heart of the Amazon basin that readers of Adventist literature wished to learn more about the church. With no warning in 1924, a cluster of new, self-taught believers in Goiás asked the South Brazil Union to send a minister to baptize them. With no negative reflection on tent evangelism in Brazil, C. E. Rentfro reminded the Autumn Council in 1924 that old-fashioned literature distribution was still an effective evangelistic tool. He had baptized four hundred converts during his seven-year ministry, most of them prepared by colporteurs.⁶⁸

Growth rates in the Austral Union and the two Brazilian unions were similar. During the six years from January 1, 1920, to December 31, 1925, net membership increases in these three fields ranged from 36 to 39 percent.⁶⁹ Individual missions and conferences did not show such a consistent pattern; three even recorded losses during the period. Decline in the East Brazil Union in 1922 amounted to 5 percent of the total membership. The most severe membership reversals occurring in the East Minas and Pernambuco missions that lost a combined total of 284 members in one year. Not until 1926 did these two missions recover from these losses. Less abrupt was decline in the Bahia Mission with a drop of thirty-one in 1922.

Causes for this downturn are obscure, but we may speculate that in some instances missions lacked the consistent leadership they should have had to shepherd their members. After Brazil's reorganization into two unions in 1919, the appearance of three new smaller fields in the East Brazil Union caused a dearth of leaders, a situation which was hardly conducive to growth. Had it not been for the workers who baptized 526 converts in the Espírito Santo and Rio de Janeiro missions in the same period, the union would have been more seriously affected.

The only membership retention problem in the South Brazil Union took place in the Rio Grande do Sul Conference where, despite 357 baptisms during the years 1920-1925, a net loss of 105 members occurred. Although probably not a complete explanation for all the difficulties in Rio Grande do Sul, instability at the supervisory level was probably a factor in this decline.

By all measurements, the strongest Brazilian field was the São Paulo Conference. From the beginning of 1920 to the end of 1925 workers averaged 105 baptisms annually and a net growth of over seventy-seven each year, finishing the period with 1,088 members. It was the first field in Brazil to top 1,000 members. In contrast to

those regions suffering losses, São Paulo's leadership remained constant with H. B. Westcott occupying the presidency for the entire period.

Because Austral Union leaders repeatedly redrew their map, growth comparisons are difficult. The North Argentine Conference counted 1,251 members in 1920. Territorial partition the next year caused a transfer of eight churches and nearly 330 members to other fields, but by the end of 1925 the conference had again pushed above 1,000 and organized seven new churches. Although not a complete failure, attempts to carve an urban conference out of Buenos Aires and a larger territorial mission out of central Argentina were discarded in favor of more practical organization. A slow growth rate in the Buenos Aires Conference disappointed union leaders, one cause being the lack of a president. The Central Argentine Mission lost members. Finally, the union created a single conference by merging Buenos Aires Province with the capital city. When these two fields united in 1924, their combined membership was only eighty-nine more than at the end of 1920.

New members were not easily found in the Alto Paraná Mission. Most of the Adventists in this region were in the Argentine provinces of Corrientes and Misiones, but the territory extended far northward through Formosa, Chaco, and all of Paraguay. In the six years beginning in 1920, the increase of membership was 115, with the number of total members inching up to 503. During the same six years, Uruguayan membership increased by only eighty-six out of 115 new converts, another slow field.

Neither the Uruguay nor the Alto Paraná missions lay at the heartland of the Austral Union, and consequently, they did not receive as much attention as the Argentine strip from Entre Rios south to Buenos Aires. While church administrators recognized their scriptural injunction to go everywhere with the gospel, the overwhelming burden to preach in the more heavily populated parts of the country outweighed their resources to move into peripheral territories.

Because the Andean cordillera separated it from the rest of the Austral Union, the Chile Conference came to function with much more independence than any of the other missions or conferences in the field. Baptisms were not spectacularly high, but they were consistent, and when workers reported 160 converts in 1925, the figure pushed the total over the 1,000 level to 1,021. Chile's accessions that year were the largest number in any local field since the beginning of Adventist missions in South America.

During the ten years, 1916-26, membership in the South American Division more than tripled even though nowhere in Brazil or the Austral Union had increases been outstanding. It was in the Inca Union that Adventists scored their notable success.

In Peru membership skyrocketed from 514 at the beginning of 1916 to more than 7,200 at the end of 1926. Most of this gain was in the Lake Titicaca Mission. A breakthrough also occurred in Bolivia where the increase during the same period was about 780 members. Ecuador remained evangelistically stagnant.

The facts as of 1926 reveal the perceptive wisdom of J. W. Westphal's observation about top heaviness—growth in institutional and departmental personnel which left evangelists shorthanded and vacancies in leadership positions. The gains in Peru and Bolivia inspired the entire denomination, but these fields were the least capable of shouldering financial needs in the division. Despite increases, shortages of both money and manpower for denominational machinery in Brazil and the Austral Union were the legacy of the years 1920-1926, but South American Adventists were soon to hear a new call to action.

¹ Information in these paragraphs derives from Prescott's detailed description of his trip and meetings that appeared as a series in the *Review*, "Under South American Skies," February 17, March 23, May 11, June 8, and August 3, 1916. See also N. Z. Town, "Organization of the South American Division Conference," *ibid.*, May 18, 1916.

² Montgomery's account of his trip, appearing seventeen years after his death, provides the data for these paragraphs. In a nine-part series, he described his trip to Corumba and another journey down the Amazon. "Pioneering in South America," *ibid.*, March 9, 16, 23, 30, April 13, 20, 27, May 18, 25, 1961. Nearly twenty-five years later, his daughter, Martha Montgomery Odom, published her father's experiences in *The Making of a Missionary* (Washington, D.C., 1985), based on these articles.

³ N. Z. Town, "Organization of the South American Division Conference," *RH*, May 18, 1916; Oliver Montgomery, "Notes from Brazil—No. I," *ibid.*, February 15, 1917; and "Brazilian Union Council," *ibid.*, May 29, 1919; F. W. Spies, "Um novo campo de missão da União," *RM*, August 1916; and "North Brazil Union Mission," *RH*, December 26, 1918.

⁴ Oliver Montgomery, "Brazilian Union Council," *ibid.*, May 29, 1919; W. E. Howell, "General Meeting in Brazil," *ibid.*, July 29, 1920; *SDA Yearbook*, 1921.

⁵ F. W. Spies, "Uma importante reunião," *RM*, February 1919.

⁶ J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920.

⁷ This explanation of the organizational shifts in the early years of the South American Division is based on the *SDA Yearbook* for the years 1916-26. For the reorganization of Argentina, see Roscoe T. Baer, "The Argentine Camp-Meeting," *RH*, June 2, 1921. Data in the *Yearbook* do not agree with those in the annual *Statistical Report* because the reporting dates differ. According to the *Statistical Report*, the Austral Union included two extra missions, the Mendoza and the Magellan, and for a brief period the East Brazil Union maintained the Maranhão Mission. By 1926, the East Brazil Union had absorbed the Maranhão Mission as part of its unorganized territory. Not until 1927 did the *Yearbook* list the Mendoza and Magellan missions. Before that time they doubtlessly functioned as unorganized branches of the Austral Union. As late as 1926 these three missions reported fewer than seventy-five members.

⁸ Oliver Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, GCA/2I, GF/1917; Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, November 23, 1917, *ibid.*

⁹ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920.

¹⁰ A. G. Nelson, "Patagonia," *ibid.*, August 5, 1915; and "Work in Patagonia," *ibid.*, January 18, 1917; F. H. Westphal, "A Visit to Punta Arenas, Chile," *ibid.*, October 24, 1918.

- ¹¹ P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926.
- ¹² W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 5," *ibid.*, August 3, 1916; O. Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, July 12, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916; W. A. Spicer to O. Montgomery, November 1, 1916, *ibid.*; W. A. Spicer to F. W. Spies, November 1, 1916 *ibid.*; Fabiana Bertotti, *100 anos*, 44.
- ¹³ O. Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, July 23, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917.
- ¹⁴ J. L. Shaw to O. Montgomery and W. H. Williams, December 29, 1918, *ibid.*/1918; J. L. Shaw to O. Montgomery, January 30, 1919, *ibid.*/1919.
- ¹⁵ J. W. Westphal, "History of the Message in Uruguay," *RH*, July 24, 1919; and "The Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920.
- ¹⁶ O. Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, May 11, 1919, GCA/21, GF/1919.
- ¹⁷ Roscoe T. Baer, "General Meeting of the Buenos Aires Conference," *RH*, March 12, 1925.
- ¹⁸ F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, August 22, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916; F. W. Spies, "O novo director do Seminario," *RM*, February 1919; and "North Brazil Union Mission," *RH*, December 26, 1918.
- ¹⁹ J. W. Westphal, "The Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 14, 1921. Also see the *SDA Yearbook* for the years 1918-26.
- ²⁰ Charles Thompson, "The South Brazil Union Conference," *RH*, March 29, 1923.
- ²¹ N. P. Neilsen, "The Work in South Brazil," *ibid.*, May 15, 1924.
- ²² F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, July 26, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916; W. A. Spicer to O. Montgomery, November 14, 1916, *ibid.*; O. Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, *ibid.*/1917; O. Montgomery to W. T. Knox, June 3, 1919, *ibid.*/1919.
- ²³ O. Montgomery to J. L. Shaw and W. T. Knox, January 15, 1921, *ibid.*/1921; O. Montgomery to W. T. Knox, January 30, 1921, *ibid.*; J. L. Shaw to O. Montgomery, February 25, 1921, *ibid.*; T. E. Bowen to O. Montgomery and W. H. Williams, July 25, 1921, *ibid.*; General Conference secretariat to Charles Thompson and W. H. Williams, February 5, 1923, *ibid.*/1923. See the summary of church income in *Statistical Report*, 1940.
- ²⁴ W. H. Williams, "South America a Home Base," *RH*, January 8, 1925.
- ²⁵ O. Montgomery to J. L. Shaw and W. T. Knox, January 15, 1921, GCA/21, GF/1921; O. Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, December 29, 1921, *ibid.*; O. Montgomery to C. K. Meyers, January 10, 1922, *ibid.*/1922.
- ²⁶ South American Division Minutes, March 29, 1924/GCA. Hereafter this source is cited as SAD Minutes.
- ²⁷ J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918; and "Argentine Conference," *RH*, January 10, 1918; Oliver Montgomery, "The Annual Session of the Argentine Conference," *ibid.*, March 7, 1918.
- ²⁸ Charles Thompson, "The South Brazil Union Conference," *ibid.*, March 29, 1923; A. A. Cone, "The Revolution in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, and the Harvest Ingathering Campaign," *ibid.*, November 1, 1923.
- ²⁹ N. P. Neilsen, "Our Work in South Brazil," *ibid.*, May 15, 1924; F. W. Spies, "East Brazil Union Mission," *ibid.*, June 26, 1924.
- ³⁰ N. P. Neilsen, "South Brazil Union," *ibid.*, September 11, 1924; and "The Hand of God Protects," *ibid.*, October 23, 1924.
- ³¹ Montgomery folder, 1920, *passim*, GCA/21, 1920; Mrs. Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, March 20, 1921, *ibid.*/1921; Martha Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, May 4, 1921, *ibid.*; Martha Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, April 12, 1921, *ibid.*; J. L. Shaw, "Mission Board Notes," *RH*, September 8, 1921.
- ³² "The Story of the Conference," no name, *ibid.*, June 5, 1922.
- ³³ C. K. Meyers, "Workers Sent to the Fields in 1922," *ibid.*, January 18, 1923; Oliver Montgomery, "Important Changes," *ibid.*, July 26, 1923; Charles Thompson to W. A. Spicer and A. G. Daniells, June 10, 1923, GCA/21, GF/1923.
- ³⁴ C. K. Meyers, "To the Mission Fields in 1924," *RH*, January 1, 1925; G. E. Hartman to H. H. Cobban, January 10, 1924, GCA/21, GF/1924.
- ³⁵ W. A. Spicer, "Appointments to the South American Division," *RH.*, August 5, 1926.
- ³⁶ Wesley Amundsen to W. A. Spicer, August 7, 1926, GCA/11, GF/1926A.

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³⁷ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, July 11, 1926, *ibid.*/1926H; B. E. Beddoe, "Workers Entering Foreign Service During 1926," *RH*, February 10, 1927.

³⁸ W. T. Knox, "General Conference Appropriations for 1919," *ibid.*, January 9, 1919; SAD Minutes, April 8, 1924/GCA; *ibid.*, December 19, 1924; W. A. Spicer, "Report of the Autumn Council of the General Conference," *RH*, November 26, 1925; J. L. Shaw to O. Montgomery, November 14, 1921, GCA/21, GF/1921; O. Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, December 27, 1921, *ibid.* L. Flora Plummer, "Editorial," *Sabbath School Worker* (June 1919), 131; and "The Record for Nineteen Twenty," *ibid.* (August 1921), 227; and "The Record for 1923," *ibid.* (September 1924), 259.

³⁹ See the annual list of mission appointments published by *RH* during the years 1917-1927.

⁴⁰ J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920.

⁴¹ Bertotti, *100 anos*, 44. The report of the fifth session of the Brazil Union in 1920 included allusions to wartime difficulties, noting that adverse conditions forced some colporteurs from the field. "A quinta sessão de Conferencia União Brasileira," *RM*, June 1920.

⁴² Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, September 20, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1921; Oliver Montgomery to Frederick Griggs, July 13, 1917, *ibid.*/1917; J. L. Shaw to Oliver Montgomery, August 15, 1918, *ibid.*/1918; Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, October 9, 1918, *ibid.*; F. W. Spies, "Brazilian Union Conference," *RH*, March 14, 1918; and "The Brazilian Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 22, 1918.

⁴³ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ W. H. Williams, "Secretary's Report," *RH*, August 12, 1920.

⁴⁶ These data adapted from *Statistical Report* for the years 1920-1923.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1920-1925.

⁴⁸ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918; and "The South American Division Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920.

⁴⁹ Roscoe T. Baer, "Biennial Report of the Austral Union, South America," *ibid.*, September 10, 1925.

⁵⁰ Roscoe T. Baer, "The Work in the Argentine Conference," *ibid.*, May 22, 1919.

⁵¹ F. L. Perry, "Argentina, South America," *ibid.*, February 19, 1920; W. L. Borgan, "Newspapers in Argentina Advance the Message," *ibid.*, June 9, 1921; J. D. Haynes, "Rosario, Argentina," *ibid.*, July 14, 1921. W. L. Borgan promoted the notion of using newspaper accounts of evangelism in "Newspaper Work in South America," *ibid.*, September 11, 1924, which appears to be a more detailed description of the evangelistic series held in Rosario more than three years earlier.

⁵² W. L. Borgan, "Wide-Awake Newspaper Work in South America," *ibid.*, May 4, 1916.

⁵³ W. L. Borgan, "Newspaper Work in South America," *ibid.*, February 26, 1925.

⁵⁴ Roscoe T. Baer, "Progress in the Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, January 10, 1924; and "General Meeting in the Buenos Aires Conference," *ibid.*, March 12, 1925.

⁵⁵ J. C. Brower, "Valparaiso, Chile," *ibid.*, July 18, 1918; W. E. Hancock, "The Work in Chile," *ibid.*, December 20, 1923.

⁵⁶ Roscoe T. Baer, "My Impressions of the 'Shoestring Republic,'" *ibid.*, February 5, 1920; and "The Santiago Church Spends a Day Under the Olive Trees," *ibid.*, February 12, 1920; W. E. Hancock, "Chile," *ibid.*, December 21, 1922.

⁵⁷ W. L. Borgan, "Newspaper Work in Chile," *ibid.*, February 12, 1925.

⁵⁸ Santiago Mangold, "Paraguay, South America," *ibid.*, April 8, 1920; E. H. Meyers, "A Fruitful but Needy Field in South America," *ibid.*, May 12, 1921; and "Another Chapter of Canvassing in Paraguay," *ibid.*, February 23, 1922.

⁵⁹ J. W. Westphal, "History of the Message in Uruguay," *ibid.*, July 24, 1919; Oliver Montgomery, "Uruguay," *ibid.*, July 24, 1919.

⁶⁰ E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, November 23, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916.

⁶¹ F. W. Spies, "Camp Meetings in Brazil," *RH*, January 11, 1917; and "Meeting in Minas Geraes [sic],"

ibid., March 27, 1924; R. M. Carter, "Manuel—A Brazilian Colporteur," ibid., April 12, 1917; C. E. Renfro, "Seeking for Jewels in Brazil," ibid., September 29, 1921.

⁶² F. W. Spies, "Notes From the East Brazil Union Mission," ibid., August 21, 1924. For an interesting comment about the Halliwells' adjustment to life in Brazil, see chapter 2 in Olga S. Streithorst's book *Leo Halliwell na Amazonia* (São Paulo, 1979).

⁶³ F. W. Spies, "The Sao Paulo Mission," *RH*, March 31, 1921; Ennis V. Moore, "A Tract a Day is the Good Old Way," ibid., March 12, 1925; P. L. Brodersen to W. A. Spicer, February 7, 1926, GCA/21, GF/1926. Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis*, 83-85.

⁶⁴ H. Meyer, "Our Work in Rio de Janeiro," *RH*, April 13, 1922; N. Z. Town, "Brazil after Thirty Years," ibid., August 27, 1925.

⁶⁵ N. P. Neilsen, "Advancement in Brazil," ibid., April 1, 1926.

⁶⁶ P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," ibid., June 6, 1926.

⁶⁷ Santiago Mangold, "Alto Parana Mission, South America," ibid., August 14, 1919; F. H. Westphal, "Experiences in Chile," ibid., April 22, 1920; and "Harvest Ingathering in Chile," ibid., December 9, 1920.

⁶⁸ N. Z. Town, "A Door Opened by Our Literature in the Amazon Country," ibid., June 13, 1918; Augusto Pages, "Open Doors in Amazonas," ibid., October 31, 1918; N. P. Neilsen, "South Brazil Union," ibid., September 11, 1924; C. E. Renfro, "Circulation of Our Literature," ibid., January 8, 1925.

⁶⁹ Data for this paragraph and those that follow dealing with the statistics of growth in South America during the 1920s have been adapted from *Statistical Report* for the years 1920-1925.



TO THE ANDES AND BEYOND

PROBABLY NO PHASE of the growth of Adventism in the South American Division caught more attention than the missions among Indian peoples. Before the division organized in 1916, the work of Ferdinand and Ana Stahl among the Aymaras was already an Adventist legend. Not only did their schools and clinics circling Lake Titicaca symbolize Adventist missions to neglected peoples, but they had also become unexpected harbingers of social progress for Peru. Their impact served notice to Peru that repression of the Andean tribespeople was contrary to acceptable norms for modern governments. But if the Stahls had been the instruments of change, neither they nor Peruvians could overlook that Eduardo Forga had been a precursor.

The Stahls had not planned this outcome of their work, but they could not avoid it. Many Peruvians recognized their influence. It was not a coincidence that Severiano Bezada, senator from Puno and a virtual neighbor of the Stahls, was a leading light in the reform movement that advocated healing Peruvian social ills, which included abolishing repression of the aborigine population. Bezada and leaders of this movement introduced a proposal to revise Peru's constitution

to carry out reform and support religious liberty, and after they pushed the bill through congress in 1913, a story in the *West Coast Leader*, an English newspaper published in Lima, attributed their success to Stahl's "remarkable" work at Platería and other locations. H. Clay Howard, the United States minister to Peru, sent a clipping to the United States State Department as a reliable explanation of what had taken place.¹

The final stages of this movement occurred two years later when the Peruvian Senate approved the constitutional revision proposal after a notoriously stormy session. This action shortly preceded the creation of the South American Division. Heat from the debate and the tumult in the senate galleries had hardly subsided when Montgomery arrived to begin his division presidency. By this time Stahl was well aware of his influence on Peruvian politics. The Puno *La Unión* had carried stories about him and his work for more than two years, and a senator had told him that his mission at Platería was "the lever used to push the bill through the house." Stahl was not alone in realizing that he had helped to change Peru's constitution. In 1921, a Peruvian doctor told W. F. Jordan, the agent for the American Bible Society, that Stahl's "good work in the Puno district helped us to secure religious liberty."²

EVANGELISM AND EDUCATION AT LAKE TITICACA MISSION

Stahl's missions electrified the Adventist world. Probably many viewed the Lake Titicaca venture more romantically than realistically, but no one could deny the powerful inspiration emanating from Stahl's reports. J. M. Howell remembered that he decided to become a teacher among the Peruvian Indians after reading Stahl's stories in 1914 and 1915. One morning he interrupted his students in his Mason City, Iowa, school to point to a map of South America and tell them, "Within a year I hope to be there." For Howell and his wife their transfer to Peru was the beginning of a long mission career both at Titicaca and in other parts of South America.³ Typical of the attitudes of young mission appointees readying themselves for service in this difficult spot were those expressed by Orley Ford when he and his wife sailed from the United States in 1917. "We are glad finally to be off to our field," he wrote. "We do not plan on ever coming back. Our lives are dedicated to the work in Peru."⁴

While he was still in Argentina, only two weeks after he became president of the South American Division and before he had inspected his entire field, Montgomery placed the needs of the Indian missions at the top of his list of problems to resolve.⁵ In part, the impact of the Lake Titicaca Mission on the Adventist community stemmed from the large number of baptisms that Stahl and his successors reported.

When Montgomery became South America's president, membership in this Andean mission numbered 340. Rapid increase of converts boosted that number to almost 2,000 in 1919, according to General Conference visitor J. L. Shaw. Montgomery termed this membership growth "phenomenal" when he reported to the division council in 1920. By the end of the next year, baptisms in that one field exceeded each of the Brazilian and the Austral unions. At the end of 1925, the mission's official membership of 6,381 amounted to 40 percent of the 15,848 members in the entire South American Division.⁶

Medical care was the major method Stahl and his associates used to reach the Indians. Not long after Howell arrived, he wrote that he had helped Stahl and C. V. Achenbach, a North American mission worker, during three operations and had performed a minor surgery himself. "There is nothing romantic about the work here," he said matter-of-factly, "but we did not expect this." People in the Titicaca region often referred to Stahl as the "doctor," and men who worked under him enjoyed similar acclaim. Achenbach and Howell often traveled together on pastoral and clinical visits. During a single morning on the Patanelyi Peninsula, the pair treated thirty patients who complained of bad eyes, malaria, stomach ailments, dental problems, and other common maladies. After their work they sat down with the chief, who gave them a meal of hot milk, scrambled eggs, and red peppers.

During a single week Achenbach and Howell rode 118 miles in the saddle, treating patients along the way, including the wife of a prominent official in Puno, who showed his gratitude by giving Howell a Peruvian teacher's certificate that enabled him to appoint other teachers with legal credentials. Platería became a center for clinical service as well as for education. In 1918 alone Achenbach said 1,600 patients received treatment. "Our experiences are varied," he wrote. "We are called upon to extract bullets after a fight, to sew up gashes, to pull teeth, and to perform operations of different kinds."⁷

Missionaries found their work taxing, but they took time for socializing. On Thursday, December 9, 1915, soon after the Howells arrived, workers held a party for the Indians. Stahl and his colleagues chose the safer part to play—supplying the food, consisting of hot soup, barley biscuits, syrup, and a native dish—and left the Indians to furnish the music with their drums and flutes. Later, all of them joined in games.⁸

For his work, Stahl both earned accolades and stirred up opposition, but he did not allow either praise or criticism to damage his spirit. More often he was not reluctant to use both to publicize his program. During his fifth year by the Lake,

officials from Puno, including the head school director and the prefect, visited his mission to encourage him and to suggest that they incorporate Platería into a town to be an example of a community run on Christian principles. As tempting as this offer appeared on the surface, the missionaries listened but did nothing, believing it would point an incriminating finger on political and ecclesiastical institutions that had preceded them, which could spell trouble.⁹

As important as medical work was to Stahl's success in reaching the Indians, schools were his leading evangelistic tool. Baptisms occurred, not in small numbers customary to traditional evangelists, but by scores and sometimes hundreds. Fernando Osorio, a teacher in the Lima church school, told Maxwell in 1918 that 200 recently joined the church in the Titicaca Mission. E. F. Peterson, who replaced Maxwell as superintendent of the Inca Union, expected 500 baptisms in Peru during 1918, most of them from the Lake territory. After October 1, workers took in 175 new members before the year ended.¹⁰

W. E. Howell, secretary of the General Conference Education Department, was overwhelmed by what he saw in the Titicaca region during his visit in 1920. Attending the forty schools were more than 2,000 students, most of them taught by Indians trained at the central institution. During the week of meetings he held at Puno, fifteen delegations of Indians converged on the workers, stating that they were observing Saturday and no longer chewed coca and were ready for a teacher to establish a school among them. Howell spent another week visiting indigenous groups, only to encounter twenty-five more delegations that asked for schools. "It was the nearest to Pentecost and to a mass movement in search of the gospel that I ever witnessed," he reacted. At Pomata he preached to 500, at Esquinas the congregation was 800, at Ilave Pampa 1,000 assembled to hear him, and 1,500 listened to his sermon at Platería. "Such scenes can never be effaced from my memory," he wrote.¹¹

Other visitors were staggered by similar experiences. When R. L. Pierce, manager of North America's Southern Publishing Association in Nashville, Tennessee, toured the Titicaca Mission in 1921, he recounted how E. H. Wilcox, the head of the Lake Titicaca Mission, baptized 349 converts during a three-week trip through the field, 245 of them in one afternoon.¹² Wilcox later reported 917 baptisms for that year. On one of his trips around the mission in 1921, he baptized 267 without leaving the chilling water. W. H. Williams anticipated 1,200 new members in 1923, the largest number in the history of the field, but the figure turned out to be 955, still the highest annual total in the history of the mission up to that time. When Wilcox

returned to the United States to attend the Autumn Council in 1924, he reported that workers baptized 3,064 during the last four years at Titicaca. In one week he and a fellow worker had immersed 625 converts.¹³

Outwardly denominational dignitaries received these figures happily, but the singular character of church growth in this one relatively small region was not without problems. Church leaders from the mission to the division were always on guard about baptizing massive numbers of converts. Maxwell confided to Montgomery in 1918 that he thought many of Stahl's accessions were not solid and that the church books at Titicaca carried inflated figures.¹⁴

The question of baptismal readiness was not easily resolved. After Stahl left Titicaca, his successors imposed increasingly stiff conditions upon schools and converts, but the numbers rolled ever upward. Wilcox guessed he could have baptized 1,500 in 1921 instead of 917 if his examinations had been less strict. After baptizing 625 in one location in 1923, Williams admitted that "we have been working to cut down the baptisms . . . but as they answered the questions and we could see the deep conviction expressed in their faces, we could only say, 'Who can deny these baptism?'"¹⁵

Williams was not conspiring against evangelism, but like other workers, he wanted prospective members to understand the meaning of the rite. Shifting more of the burden of schools to the Indians' shoulders helped. By the time of Williams's visit to Peru, mission workers required Indians who asked for a school to construct a building for eighty students, to build a house for a teacher, and to collect money for equipment. These stipulations put the schools on a financially sound footing while forcing delays in responding to calls and allowing time to prepare a teacher. Despite these conditions, workers were amazed with the speed that the Indians complied.¹⁶

In the Titicaca region education and evangelism were practically indistinguishable. As the chain of schools grew, staffing became increasingly acute. Stahl's accounts frequently described the Indians around the Lake as pleading for help, which he was unable to give because of unavailable personnel. As he neared the end of his sixth year at the mission, he counted fifteen locations "where we ought to open up the work," estimating that in nine of these places more than 60,000 were waiting for Adventist teachers. "Everywhere it is the same story of the great need of Christ in the life," he wrote, "the need of the complete message that the great God of heaven has given us as a people, not to keep for ourselves, but to proclaim with a loud voice to all his children."¹⁷

Adventists were unquestionably touched by such appeals, but to fill the calls for workers was more difficult than to read about them in the *Review*. Montgomery was not long in learning that finding helpers for Stahl was both disappointing and costly. After eighteen months in South America, he feared that growth in the Lake Titicaca Mission would be faster than the division could handle. The Autumn Council of 1916 had already slashed \$3,000 from the Titicaca budget for 1917. The next year the division president assigned only half of the requested twelve North American recruits to Stahl's field. During Montgomery's first four years in the division, the General Conference granted nineteen workers for Titicaca, but only nine of them actually arrived in the field. Even the nineteen were fewer than Montgomery requested.

Not without some justification Maxwell complained from the Inca Union office as early as November 1916 that disproportionate allocations of money and personnel were going to the Lake Titicaca Mission. P. E. Brodersen echoed Montgomery's fear that the mission's rapid growth might militate against effective management. In 1924, soon after Brodersen assumed the division presidency, he warned that the rapid expansion of the Indian constituency was causing a growing financial burden and that he would have to raise more money both in and out of South America to safeguard the Inca Union's membership increases.¹⁸

THE BROKEN STONE MISSION

In some respects Stahl's public relations oversold his work. Perhaps more has been said and written about his Broken Stone Mission than any other single aspect of his Lake Titicaca experience. This Adventist conversation piece began soon after he moved from La Paz, Bolivia, to Platería. Ever curious about his surroundings, he completed a three-week reconnoitering of the Titicaca shore region, traveling by muleback southeast from Platería, circling north into Bolivia, and following the east side of the Lake back into Peru. During the final week of his trip, he entered the Umuchi district adjacent to Moho, a port community on the northeastern corner of the Lake, where he broke a stone in two pieces, giving one part to an Indian chief with a promise that he would send a teacher who would bring the other half of the stone and thus identify him as Stahl's worker. The intention was to fit the two pieces of stone together.

Stahl did not visit Umuchi again soon. When he finally went back, the old chief was not home and his wife did not know where the stone was, but by this time Stahl was so well-known that identification by the broken stone was unnecessary.

At the time of this second visit, he had no plans about whom to send as a teacher, but very soon the Indians themselves helped him to make up his mind. Soon they sent a delegation of twenty-two from the region that Stahl called the area of the “broken stone pledge” to Platería to plead for a teacher. The next month, April 1917, Ellis P. Howard and his wife, Pearl, moved to Oca-Pampa, a spot about ten miles from the port town of Moho. “The Indians of the Port are ready and we ought to establish a Mission there at once,” Stahl wrote W. W. Prescott. “This mission station at the Port would be only three miles from the place of the broken stone. We would like to call this Mission ‘Broken Stone Mission’ Moho.”¹⁹

Stahl had been under mild pressure from Washington to establish the “Broken Stone Mission.” T. E. Bowen, General Conference officer in charge of passports and travel services, told Stahl he hoped that someone could “be sent on over to answer that long standing call” because the reports of the Moho district made “wonderfully interesting reading.” A California Adventist agreed to help support a native worker, an offer the General Conference passed on to Stahl. Bowen told him the broken stone had created a stir, and Spicer repeatedly asked him to write about it, reminding him that Adventists had never forgotten the matter.²⁰ Although the Howards have been given credit for opening the first mission in what Stahl called the broken stone territory, it was Luciano Chambi, an Indian teacher, who took charge of the mission station at Umuchi in 1917 that officially became the Broken Stone Mission.

Much confusion has surrounded this incident. Adventists have assumed that when the teacher finally arrived the pieces of the broken stone were coupled in order to determine that he was really the one whom Stahl sent. The two pieces were not forgotten, but they were never used for that purpose. Chambi himself observed he did not need half of the stone. Besides, he never carried his half to the chief because Stahl had lost it during an Indian raid. The story of the broken stone became a myth, probably because of false assumptions that voluminous and enthusiastic publicity implied. When the *Review* carried Pearl Waggoner Howard’s story, describing how she and her husband took up duties at Moho, editors added a note saying they did not know if the Howards had taken the broken stone with them or not, but they would find out soon because they had written the missionaries about it.

Despite their good intentions to keep their readers informed about this story, the editors of the *Review* said nothing more about the broken stone for years. No explanations about the overly publicized incident appeared, allowing false impressions to persist for decades. In 1969, a half century after the incident, Indians staged

a “reenactment” of coupling the broken halves as part of a fifty-year celebration at the Broken Stone Mission. The *Review* carried the picture and story on its cover. Ironically, by that time the account had become so distant that no one seemed to notice that the celebration to commemorate the mission’s fiftieth anniversary actually occurred during its fifty-second year, two years late.²¹

How Stahl finally supplied a teacher for the Broken Stone Mission demonstrates the method workers would habitually follow to expand their missions. Budgets were always too small to expect foreigners to fill all the jobs, and some of the openings were at such high altitudes that white families would have never survived. Stahl and his successors came to rely heavily on Indians themselves to teach and to serve as evangelists. When Wilcox reported to the 1924 Autumn Council, he counted seventy-five schools with 110 native teachers. As impressive as those statistics were to demonstrate how effective the training of Indians had become, the mission was still not able to answer all calls for instructors. At the beginning of that year, Wilcox declared that Indians had built thirty schools and were waiting for teachers.²²

LIVING CONDITIONS IN THE TITICACA MISSION

Trying to fill the needs of a mushrooming mission was related to another difficulty church leaders experienced in their dealings with the Lake Titicaca Mission. Workers faced dramatic changes in lifestyle, a situation complicated by the perennial problem of health hazards. Their Andean homes were a far cry from what they had left behind.

J. M. Howell recalled their first living quarters with “two big rooms, no bathroom, no kitchen, no floor, no ceiling (other than a piece of muslin stretched across the upper part of the room), no real beds, and no cooking facilities. We did have a small range, and we bought ‘cow chips’ and used them for fuel.” At first his wife thought that was unclean, “but soon that feeling wore off.” The Orley Fords moved into a three-room home built of whitewashed adobe. The door was three feet high, and for flooring they laid slats from boxes, eighteen inches long, directly on the ground. To brighten her home, Lillian Ford spread scarves on boxes and hung curtains in the windows. Much to her delight she had a piano. C.V. Achenbach called his home a “cottage,” not much different from the Fords’ and the Howells’.²³

Returning to South America after the 1918 General Conference, Montgomery visited the Andean missions with J. W. Westphal and other division colleagues. “We found the work there in quite an embarrassing condition,” he wrote, “due to

the breaking health of the wives of some of the workers.” Earlier in the year, R. A. Nelson and his wife from Argentina were forced out because of failing health. J. M. Howell had spent five months in Lima for the same reason, and although he and his wife tried to resume their jobs in the uplands, they took a doctor’s advice and found other work. They had already buried their first two children in the Andes. At the time of Montgomery’s visit, the wife of L. J. Borrowdale, an English-born missionary, was in Arequipa recuperating, and Pearl Waggoner Howard had spent a time of respite in the same place.²⁴

Montgomery suggested a center at a lower altitude where mission workers could recover their breath after a period in Titicaca’s rarefied atmosphere.²⁵ Before this convenience became a fact, many more found a place in Arequipa to rest their frazzled bodies. Stahl went to the home of F. E. Hinkley, an Adventist who was director of the Harvard College Observatory in Arequipa. After their recuperative visit in 1918, Ellis Howard and his wife returned to their demanding regimen at Moho, only to spend another lengthy stay in Arequipa. Following this second trip to lower altitudes, they transferred to a different field.²⁶ By 1920 a rest home in Tingo, an Arequipa suburb at an elevation of about 7,000 feet, made it possible for workers to rest a few weeks each year. At the time, thirteen non-Indian families were employed in the Lake Titicaca region.²⁷

As fast as the mission grew, not until 1919 did it extend itself to the Quechua Indians. Beginning with his first visits from La Paz, Bolivia, Stahl had limited himself to the Aymara communities, although he had met Quechuas on his trip around Lake Titicaca when he broke the stone for the chief. His first visit to them in response to their request for a teacher took him across the Andean summit during a ferocious blizzard. His hosts had built a special hut for him and begged him to stay a year, but they had to settle for only a few weeks. During that brief stay he conducted meetings and taught the Indians to sing Christian songs. “Hearts were impressed,” Stahl recalled. “In one of the meetings an old chief was standing in the middle of the crowd, and I noticed that tears were streaming down his cheeks. Suddenly he raised his hand, and exclaimed in a loud voice: ‘O my people, heaven has come to us!’” The occasion was almost too much for Stahl’s emotions. “I had heard many strong expressions among these poor heathen people . . . but never had heard another expression that affected me quite as this one did . . . These words have kept ringing in my ears ever since.”²⁸

For more than five years, Quechua Indians had been calling for help when Stahl journeyed to visit them in 1919. On Amantani, an island in Lake Titicaca, he

found a thriving group of prospective Quechua members whom he examined for baptism. One by one he led sixty-six converts into the lake, with fellow believers kneeling on the shore as they entered and emerged from the icy waters. Following the Aymara model, Quechua schools began to appear on the Adventist map. By 1921, E. H. Wilcox reported two centers with 280 students, one of them taught by an Aymara couple. The next year Lake Titicaca Mission was operating five schools among the Quechuas.

At Laro, the primary station for the Quechuas, Carmen Vaca, a young Aymara girl, demonstrated the empathy that Christianity could generate among different tribes. Not yet 20 years old, she volunteered to move to a Quechua school, but only days after her arrival she packed her few belongings to travel forty miles farther to a more needy spot to assist another teacher. When her second colleague died suddenly, she found herself faced with the pastoral leadership of the Quechua community in addition to her school duties.²⁹

The phenomenon of Adventist work in the Titicaca region has been the object of scrutiny and research by both mission storytellers and academicians. They have been quick to attribute its success to the Stahls. The example of this indomitable family supplied the original inspiration and set the standards for achievement, but the Stahls could not furnish all of the energy or directly supervise all outposts.

However important was the influence of the Stahls, both Hector Peverini and Merling Alomía have reminded later generations that many of the workers in the *altiplano* were South Americans, some of them Aymaras, who had inspired Stahl himself to establish a medical-education movement among their enslaved people. Manuel Camacho was the acknowledged leader of Indian willpower, a person who was well acquainted with threats and incarceration even before the Stahls arrived. Luciano Chambi was an early student in Camacho's school and became a bright light in promoting education for his people.

Among the early converts to declare openly for Adventism was Petronila Peralta Vda. de Núñez, whose baptism in 1909 was the first in the Titicaca region. As a first cousin of the bishop in Puno and president of the Catholic Action of Puno, she represented the Spanish-speaking community. Her conversion incited widespread negative reaction, but her firmness in her convictions became a byword and aroused favorable inquiries about her newfound faith.

During the first decade of the Stahls' ministry, several families who were prepared at the training school and sanitarium in Argentina filled posts in the Titicaca

Mission. R. A. Nelson and his family were among them. Pedro Kalbermatter, a graduate of the nursing program at the Argentine campus, spent years with his wife and children braving the harsh conditions in the *altiplano*. On many occasions he faced the ferocity of attackers, once even engaging in a pitched battle against them to defend rights that the Peruvian constitution was supposed to protect. David Dalinger and his wife, also missionaries from the Austral Union, were no less the target of opposition and insults, but no less courageous in standing their ground against opponents. Adventism in the Peruvian highlands was a combined effort by many hands from both North and South America, all motivated by the original beckoning of the aborigines themselves.³⁰

THE PERU MISSION

Although E. L. Maxwell chafed under what he thought was an imbalance between the Lake Titicaca Mission and the rest of Peru—the Peru Mission—he did not allow his feelings to become an excuse to neglect other parts of the country. As superintendent of the Inca Union, he spent most of his time in Peru, but he was responsible for Ecuador and Bolivia as well. Overshadowed by Stahl’s spectacular successes, Maxwell nonetheless shared the perils and excitement of travel in the Andes. On his thirty-seventh birthday in 1915, he baptized three Quechua Indians at an elevation of 13,000 feet. When Montgomery visited the Inca Union in 1917, he joined Maxwell, C. E. Knight, and Stahl in the dedication of a church at Lanca in the Otao Valley, several hours into the Andes from Lima. It was the first church in the Peru Mission built exclusively from Indian resources. Maxwell’s eleven baptisms that day raised the membership to thirty-four.

Maxwell characterized Adventism as strong in Lanca, an observation E. H. Wilcox could agree to after his visit to that church in June 1918 to officiate with a communion service. His description of this “best-organized Indian church” provides insights into the habits of Adventist worship among the indigenous people of Peru. The services began at 1:00 p.m. to allow time for the members to assemble from their distant homes. While waiting, those who came early ate their lunch in the two-room church basement. Not until fifteen minutes before the Sabbath school was to begin did the upstairs sanctuary open. After a prayer to begin the meeting, the deacon presented a forty-minute talk about John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which he was eager to apply to his Peruvian surroundings after having just read it from cover to cover. From River Plate Sanitarium in Argentina one of the members of the congregation who

had enrolled in the nursing training course had written a letter that the Sabbath school discussed. Children participated in the Bible study by reciting verses.

Wilcox was especially intrigued by the offerings. The congregation waited until after their dismissal following four hours of worship before collecting money, and then passed the plate three times. Donations in the first round were to help establish a Sabbath school among fellow Indians “a day’s ride distant;” the second offering they devoted to a poor family in their own church; and the last went for general operating expenses. “With each collection the church secretary went with the man who took the offering and took the name of each one who gave and how much he gave in each offering,” Wilcox recounted. “We feel that if one church can be taught to do as well as these people in handling their own church affairs, more of our Indian churches can be trained to do the same.”³¹

Experiences such as this one helped reinforce the notion among Adventists that their missions were a benefit to society. Indians who read and understood even limited pieces of literature and who engaged in professional services were far more productive citizens than if they maintained their traditional life. Probably few Adventist workers dwelled on these matters, but the conviction that their program was socially advantageous helped to spur them on. Whatever Adventists may have sensed about the cultural impact of their work, they could never overlook their belief that it was the power and inspiration from the Bible that motivated such dramatic changes.

Some of Maxwell’s adventures showed that the excitement in Peru was not limited to Lake Titicaca. Only weeks before he left Peru, he penetrated deep into the Andean uplands, crossing icy streams and snowy passes at 15,000 feet. On some paths he could do no more than trust his horse for safety as it picked its way along two-foot ledges skirting 3,000-foot precipices. “The work in Peru is hard and dangerous,” he wrote, “but it brings returns.” Although most of the membership growth in Peru had taken place in the Lake Titicaca territory, Maxwell had built a constituency of more than 275 members in the Peru Mission before he returned to the United States in 1918. In Arequipa, Ignacio Kalbermatter, an Argentine worker, pastored a thirty-eight member congregation, which indicated that conversions among the Spanish people were gained with more difficulty than from among the Indians.³²

Consistent with Adventist traditions, church leaders fostered a concept of mission among all congregations, whether indigenous or urban. In the Lima church a member painted a likeness of Peru’s Central Railway leading to Laraos Yauyos, an Indian community with an Adventist school. Along the railroad a worker moved inch

by inch according to the number of Peruvian *soles* in the weekly mission offering. As poor as the Indian families were, the spirit of giving imbued them as well. In 1918 Wilcox witnessed the largest collection taken in the history of Platería when Indians improvised Malaysian costumes to wear while they read appeals for a thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering scheduled for that Asian field.³³ Observers could have easily concluded that the members giving this money probably needed it as much as the Malaysians, but anyone acquainted with Adventists would also know that a sense of international brotherhood was part of the stuff from which the denominational mindset was fashioned. Even the Andean tribespeople could not escape it.

By 1925 membership in the Peru Mission had crept upward to 638. Because the Lake Titicaca Mission dwarfed this figure with ten times as many members, it was easy to overlook the Peru Mission as the seventh largest among the twenty-one missions and conferences in the South American Division. After the first ten years of the South American Division, Peru, with its 7,000 members, claimed the largest Adventist community of any country in all of Latin America and the Caribbean.³⁴

MISSIONS IN ECUADOR AND BOLIVIA

Adventists did not fare as well in other parts of the Inca Union. Months after he arrived in June 1914, as superintendent of the Ecuador Mission, C. E. Knight noted that it was “difficult to make any perceptible advance.” When Wilcox, at the time field secretary for the Inca Union, visited the field in 1918, he observed that Adventism was “still in its infancy.” E. F. Peterson, the union president, and Wilcox conducted meetings in Quito in 1919, baptizing six, but membership was minuscule compared to Peru. During the six years from 1920 through 1925, workers added only ten new members while recording a net loss of eight. Membership on December 31, 1925, stood at only eighteen.³⁵ For their more than two decades in Ecuador, Adventists had next to no results.

The news from this northern corner of the Inca Union that brightened Adventist hopes most was an attempt to duplicate Stahl’s work in the Ecuadoran highlands. Driven from Lake Titicaca by weakening health, Ellis P. Howard and family arrived in Ecuador in November 1919, openly declaring their intention to establish a mission among the indigenous people. Howard had his eye on tribes located on the eastern watershed of the Andes, and trekked at least three times to Riobamba, one of Ecuador’s largest cities lying on the mountainous spine almost at the center of the country. Accompanying him on the last trip were Peterson and Stahl. Howard

pulled teeth and administered other rudimentary treatments that he learned so well in Peru, but by the end of 1920, he knew that to return to the United States was the only way his wife could regain her health.³⁶

The Howards' departure made room for Orley and Lillian Ford, also from the Lake Titicaca Mission, to pioneer an Indian outstation in Ecuador. They were no strangers to tragedy—they had buried their first child in the Peruvian Andes—but they had not suffered the broken health that had undone their predecessors, and so they moved almost jauntily into the 11,000 foot uplands to begin their work. By the end of the first year, they had established a clinic at Colta Lake lying astride the continental divide with Mount Chimborazo in the background. Up to a thousand patients were coming each month for treatment.

During his furlough in 1924, Orley's younger brother, John, filled in, who also found the clinic challenging. Near the end of his stint at Colta, he wrote with tongue in cheek that he had not attempted any major operation but had amputated a patient's finger, completed an obstetrical operation, and opened the stomach of a dropsy patient to remove ten quarts of water. After continued prodding by the Indians, he had helped them build a school which his wife maintained for fifteen students.³⁷

Of course the Fords hoped to use their medical program to reach the Indians evangelistically, but eight years among them produced few converts. During his first year at Colta, Orley remarked that he did only little church work; the clinic kept him busy. He did not realize that this trend would characterize his entire experience in Ecuador. The Fords' free medical help to the Indians drew the plaudits of prominent voices in the country, such as the editor of *El Telégrafo*, a Guayaquil newspaper, who called the couple "apostles of a truly charitable mission," but contrary to their hopes and those of the Inca Union, Colta Mission did not turn out to be another Lake Titicaca. After five years Ford reported only seven baptized Indians. Not until 1925 did he conduct his first baptismal class. Meanwhile, workers had little better results in Guayaquil and Quito. At the end of 1929, the Ecuador Mission reported only sixty-one Adventists. As barren as Adventists' evangelistic work had been in Ecuador, it had not been a wasted effort. Adventists discovered that driving in the proverbial opening wedge was a laborious and extended process in Ecuador, but leading Ecuadorans from many parts of the country came to know the Fords and respect their project in the highlands.³⁸

More than Ecuador, the Bolivia Mission resembled Lake Titicaca as a project for Andean tribespeople. It was a compelling desire to begin such work that had

compelled the Stahls to enter La Paz in 1909, but from the Bolivian capital they had never successfully established themselves among the Indians. When they moved to Platería in 1911, they did not intend to cut off all contact with Bolivia, but they found little time to go back. When the Inca Union formed in 1913, a reorganizational shuffle made the Stahls' separation from Bolivia official. He became the superintendent of the newly formed Lake Titicaca Mission, and Ignacio Kalbermatter, his treasurer in La Paz, also transferred to Peru. Replacing them in Bolivia was W. R. Pohle.

Similar to the workers in Ecuador, Pohle and his helpers enjoyed hardly any success. Not until 1919 did Bolivia organize its first church, a congregation of fourteen in La Paz. By the end of 1920, they developed a total membership of twenty-five, which represented the entire Adventist community after fifteen years since the first permanent worker entered the country. With such a slow-moving pace that characterized Adventism in Bolivia, no one would have predicted that 1921 would bring a dramatic turnabout.³⁹

The change began in 1920 when Reid Shepard and his wife, Ethel, missionaries from North America, moved from Lake Titicaca to Bolivia, intending to continue working among the Aymara villages. In order to fulfill their purpose, Shepard first sought approval from the minister of education to conduct Indian schools. He investigated several locations before settling in Rosario. Weeks later on a Friday afternoon he and his wife celebrated their arrival by moving into a newly prepared thatched roof house, reminiscent of their days at Lake Titicaca. The next morning Ethel Shepard lit a fire, only to see the roof also ignite. They saved some of their belongings, but not before the roof caved in on them.

The Shepards had planned to start a fire but of a different sort. They began their work after weeks of sparring with authorities over the right to conduct a school, but their tenacity combined with the determination of the local indigenous population for an education prevailed. "The Indians had a great desire to learn how to read and write," observes Samuel Antonio Chávez, Adventist historian of the early years of the denominational endeavor in Bolivia. Even so, the missionary teachers continued to make their case with local authorities in order to continue their project. The first school opened with thirty-four, an encouraging number that increased with time. At one point during the school year, more than sixty students were attending, but the term finished with fifty.

By May 7, 1921, workers in the Inca Union and division discovered how successful they had been when E. F. Peterson and J. W. Westphal spent three hours examining

prospective members after the regular morning Sabbath services. Just at sundown the ministers finished baptizing eighty-six Aymara converts and organizing the first Indian church, the Mauri River Indian Mission.⁴⁰

Growth was rapid, approximating the rate during the early stages of Stahl's missions in Peru. The beginning on the Mauri River served as a center from which Adventism branched out to other locations. The intention was to transfer Indian workers from Titicaca to help them. When T. L. Oswald, superintendent of the Bolivia Mission, visited Shepard in June 1922, membership had climbed to 172. Baptisms during 1922 and 1923 did not maintain the pace set in 1921, but Bolivia began 1924 with 271 members, most of them from the indigenous community. The idea to use schools as the opening wedge had worked. Chávez writes that "[e]vangelistic work went hand in hand with education. It can also be pointed out that Adventist education broke the soil and sowed the Word of God . . ."

Missionaries moved on to Collana to establish a second major mission where five hundred villagers were calling for a pastor. The four Indian teachers Shepard hired were hardly more than a gesture toward the sixty requests that came in 1925, but Oswald's funds were so low he could not even include the four in his budget. Somehow he dared to request the General Conference for eight teachers, including the four already working, assuring church leaders that their labors would result in two hundred baptisms and over \$700 in tithes and offerings.⁴¹

Like the Titicaca projects, the Bolivian missions always seemed to lie beyond financial reach. Money was scarce. If Oswald's predictions were correct, the annual giving capacity of each Indian member was pitifully low, perhaps no more than \$2.00. The per capita tithe for the entire Bolivia Mission in 1924, including overseas workers was only \$3.09. Offerings were frequently paid in kind rather than cash, creating a problem of converting values. Wesley Amundsen, treasurer for the Bolivia Mission, reported that he collected over a ton of potatoes as tithe, besides sheep, barley, and other produce.⁴²

Workers in both the Lake Titicaca Mission and at Colta encountered bitter opposition at times. The Shepards discovered that Bolivia was also a target for violence, despite the fact that the Bolivian Congress had enacted legislation protecting religious freedom in 1905. In 1923 and 1924 angered mobs attacked Collana, stealing sheep and potatoes, and destroying nine homes. About twenty victims from this melee were hospitalized. Later, the crowd stormed back, knocking down the walls of the Shepards' home, filling up the well, and vandalizing the church. An embarrassed government

sent out the cavalry, rounded up 125 of the culprits, and forced them to reconstruct the smashed buildings and to pay for other damages.⁴³ In a similar incident in 1926, the 6-year-old daughter of Manuel Quelca, an Indian worker, lost her life.⁴⁴

Baptisms surged upward by more than 300 in 1924 and 1925. The net increase from these conversions was 198, or roughly 66 percent. When Oswald and Amundsen turned in their 1925 report, they listed 523 members. Except for the handful of believers in Bolivia in 1920, this growth had occurred during the recent five years. Measured by their size and the inspiration they created in Adventist circles, the Bolivian indigenous missions still did not match the Lake Titicaca Mission, but the breakthrough to the Bolivian Indian population had taken place. After digging through the records of the Bolivia Mission as well as consulting non-Adventist sources about religious affairs in Bolivia, Samuel Chávez has suggested that Bolivian Adventists can attribute the success of their modern church to the Aymara converts who taught their own schools, which, in turn, were the backbone of the church.⁴⁵

THE STAHLs ENTER THE JUNGLES OF THE AMAZON HEADWATERS

The most significant spinoff from the Lake Titicaca Mission began in 1922, when Stahl himself moved to the jungle regions in central Peru to begin another Indian mission. Shortly before he returned to the United States, Maxwell suggested that a change for Stahl would be beneficial to the Lake Titicaca Mission. Younger colleagues of the pioneer worker quickly learned that he had little time for administrative niceties and frequently ignored such things as budgets and lines of authority. J. M. Howell, treasurer of the mission, once stood by helplessly as Stahl spent over \$2,000 on a trip for which only \$200 had been allocated. The division president took these incidents in stride, but it was understandable that disagreements arose among Stahl's assistants. After the 1918 General Conference session it was clear to the division that personnel changes were necessary in the Lake Titicaca Mission.⁴⁶

Although some friction had arisen, the dominant reason for Stahl's leaving was his wife's and his own weakening health. In 1920 the union committee replaced him with E. H. Wilcox, head of the colporteur program in the Inca Union since 1917. Ferdinand and Ana Stahl moved to Lima, where they busied themselves with less strenuous duties, regaining their strength after living at high altitudes since 1909.⁴⁷

Three General Conference representatives, J. L. Shaw, Charles Thompson, and W. E. Howell, accompanied the division officers as they made their rounds of union meetings in 1920. Their last stop was the Inca Union, where they had a chance to

tour Lake Titicaca and see for themselves what Stahl and his associates had done. Following the union session in June, Montgomery and Williams made their exploratory journey across the Andes and down the Amazon. Already the division council had discussed the possibility of establishing missions among the tribespeople somewhere in that river basin, and Montgomery told his workers that besides a corps of canvassers, a minister and one or two helpers should enter the region. After the division president and treasurer completed their Amazon journey, the Inca Union assigned the Stahls to become pioneers among the Campa Indians in the jungle.⁴⁸

“On the 11th day of August, 1922,” Stahl later wrote, “we moved into a small thatched house in a clearing of the great forest region of central Peru, to begin work for the thousands of savages who inhabit this region . . . As we entered our little hut out there in the wilds, amid that awful silence, far from any kind of civilization, the terrible thought came to us, ‘What if no one will ever come near us out here?’ But we encouraged ourselves in the Lord.”⁴⁹

With Indian guides Stahl had already scouted out the jungle in March 1921 sometimes crawling on his hands and knees through the tropical growth. Early on he earned the respect of the Indians when he clubbed a ten-foot venomous snake to death while his frightened native guides “began fleeing, dodging behind trees, jumping over logs and fallen branches.” He also observed the natives closely, even sitting on the sidelines of a wild drinking party until the revelers, stone drunk and completely exhausted, fell on the ground to sleep, scattered about like sticks of wood. His head swirling with ideas, he turned back to Lima, under no illusions about the difficulty of this new assignment. The spot he chose for a mission site was a crossroads of sorts, lying adjacent to roads carrying heavy Indian traffic to nearby salt mines. H. U. Stevens, later president of the Inca Union, recounted that after Stahl disembarked from the rafts that had carried him into the jungle, his first act was to kneel on the riverbank to pray.

From the corporation owning this land along the Perené River, Stahl wrung an agreement for 790 acres for a mission. For all of this he paid nothing. With this approval by the president of the firm and the manager of the coffee plantation in the interior, Stahl erected his home and other buildings at Metraro, structures that one visitor said looked “more like sheep corrals than the habitations of human beings.”⁵⁰

Metraro was 350 miles from Lima, a distance perhaps measured better by the two ranges of 15,000- and 12,000-foot elevation, twelve bridges, fifty-eight tunnels, thirteen switchbacks, precarious stream crossings, and narrow roads. By leaving Lima

early the first day, and traveling successively by train, stagecoach, automobile, and finally mules, one could cover the distance in three and a half days.⁵¹

Stahl and other workers invariably called the Indians savages. Among them he found some who had experienced cannibalism, yet for all of their ferocity, they were not complete aliens to civilization. Some of them bore Spanish names and could speak enough Spanish to enable Stahl to communicate. The Stahls' cook, the widow of an Indian warrior, spoke fluent Spanish that she had learned while she and her late husband worked for a Peruvian government road-building crew.

The Indians still hunted with bows and arrows, but machetes and even rifles were common possessions. Many of them worked on coffee plantations and thus earned an income, albeit a very small one. Indians were aware that the white man had taken advantage of them and were wary of strangers, whom, more often than not, they regarded as interlopers. River steamers, telegraph lines, and even automobiles had penetrated the jungle, giving the tribespeople limited exposure to twentieth-century civilization. All of these brushes with modernity made scant difference in the lives of Indians—they still painted their bodies and ate, danced, talked, and dressed much as their ancestors had before them. Not without reason Stahl and his associates called them “children of the forest.”

The Stahls' fears of isolation were not ill-founded. For weeks after they moved into their jungle shanty, they had no visitors. Among their few contacts with civilization were calls from English-speaking residents in Lima who had depended on Ana's nursing skills and wanted her back in the city. These were invitations she could not turn down, and for months Ferdinand faced the jungle alone. The spell broke one morning when an Indian couple stalked into Stahl's home, the father gruffly demanding that the missionary heal their baby who was literally gasping its last breaths. Ferdinand prayed, anointed the child, and waited wordlessly for half an hour while the mother sat weeping. When he peeked inside the blanket he saw a peacefully sleeping child, who shortly awoke, slipped from its mother's lap and began crawling across the floor. “Three days after this Indians began to come, in fives and tens and twenties,” Stahl remembered.⁵²

Assured of plenty of activity, Ana returned to her husband at Metraro, just in time to help him out of another crisis which demonstrated Stahl's commanding personality. Large crowds were attending church. Sarate, the local chief, who had initially responded cordially to the Stahls, rapidly became envious of them as he detected that his own influence was waning. Determined to break up these meetings,

he strode into the mission one Sabbath, only to be welcomed profusely by Stahl who vigorously shook hands not only with him but with each one of the fifty men accompanying him. Before he finished these greetings many were beginning to smile, but Stahl was not through. Leading them into the service, he cleared the front benches and asked them to take the best seats he could offer.

Stahl had seized the initiative, and before anyone could object he asked the chief to translate for him. His opening sentences welcomed the intruders and complimented them for their authority. Subtly, he compared his own insignificance to their reputations, but declared that his message was one of truth. The chief interpreted the entire sermon, which Stahl ended by asking the chief to advise his people to continue coming to the meetings. These final remarks were almost too much for Sarate who, by that time, was perspiring nervously, but he sputtered out the translation and sat down. After the service ended, Stahl inflicted the *coup de grace* to the chief's opposition by inviting him and his band to his house for lunch, which Ana served graciously. "Sarate left the mission looking rather thoughtful," Stahl wrote. "We never had any more difficulty."⁵³

In June 1923, the Stahls began a school with twenty-eight students, most of them boys. Teaching the classes was an Aymara Indian, Rufino, trained at Lake Titicaca, who well knew the evangelistic purposes of his assignment. As effective as the school had been in preparing Aymaras for baptism in the Andean highlands of Peru, results came much more slowly in Campa territory. By the end of 1924 membership had grown only to about fifty.⁵⁴

The Stahls did not confine themselves to Mentraro or to the Campa Indians. Among the persons Ferdinand had to convince were the officers of the corporation from whom he had secured a reluctant approval to enter the jungle. During Stahl's second year on the Perené River, the corporation president became so disenchanted with the Mentraro Mission that he vowed to close it, primarily because of accusations by his manager that the missionary was teaching the Indian workers to stay away from their work three days out of each week, resulting in losses of thousands of dollars of production. Learning that the official would be visiting a nearby plantation, a worried Ferdinand tried to talk with him, but was brushed aside curtly with a promise to talk about it the next day. Later that night as the corporation president was riding to the plantation headquarters, his horse stumbled, plunging him head first on the ground. With dirt and wood particles ground into his scalp, he spent a miserable night, and painfully waited for Stahl the next day.

Unexpectedly, the missionary turned up early. He looked at the injured man, said nothing about the mission, but went to work on his head, cleaning and dressing his wounds. When he was done, the grateful patient told him he no longer wished to move Metraro, assuring him whatever assistance the firm could render. Later, the corporation hired Stahl to become medical advisor to four of its five plantations, paying the mission handsomely for his services.⁵⁵

Often Ana remained at home alone while Ferdinand made his rounds among the villages and the coffee plantations, where he became known as the “doctor.” During a wave of influenza in 1924, he visited two colonies of workers, treating 280 patients and extracting thirty-three teeth, unaware that at Metraro his wife was battling for her life against a severe attack of malaria. His early arrival home probably saved her life.⁵⁶

By 1926 Stahl’s new mission had written another chapter of Adventist mission work among uncivilized peoples, but Stahl had accomplished little as measured by baptisms. After more than five years among the Campa tribespeople, he could report only seventy-two members, yet he captivated a General Conference audience with an account of his work in the Peruvian jungle. “Nothing interests our people more than the fascinating story of this miracle of missions in South America,” Carlyle B. Haynes wrote after listening to him.⁵⁷

The first impression from South America’s projects among indigenous peoples is the uneven character of the results. From Lake Titicaca came half the baptisms in the entire division, while converts in Ecuador and the Peruvian jungle did not even reach 100 by 1926. It is important to remember that Adventists entered the Lake Titicaca region because of a spontaneous request from Indians who had already acquainted themselves with the church’s teachings. The Aymaras around Puno had exerted more initiative to educate themselves than other indigenous groups, even establishing a school of their own before Stahl founded Platería.

Quechua Indians also petitioned for schools and workers, but only after observing missions among the Aymaras. After seven years in Peru and a career in South America that included service in Argentina and Brazil, E. H. Wilcox stated that the Quechuas had been less receptive to Adventism than the Aymaras. Although Stahl did not make the same distinction, he believed the Quechuas to be the more easy-going of the two tribes.⁵⁸

Whether or not tribal differences affected the rate of conversions, it was a fact that Quechua villages, extending from Titicaca north to Colta Mission in Ecuador,

never produced members in numbers comparable to the Aymaras. Reid Shepard's experience in Bolivia corroborated Wilcox's conclusion. Although Bolivian officials knew Stahl and requested him to establish missions among their tribespeople, the Bolivian Indians themselves did not originate an invitation similar to the one from the Aymaras to which Stahl responded in 1911 at Puno. However, once Shepard organized a mission among them, their early baptismal rate was comparable to that on the Peruvian side of the Lake.

When considering reasons for evangelistic success among indigenous groups, one cannot overlook Stahl's personality. From the outset, his colleagues recognized his peculiar capacity to relate to the aborigines. No other worker combined his talents to understand the nature of the people among whom he worked and to maintain poise and to control a wide variety of situations ranging from the squalor of the jungle to presidential palaces. In the structure of church administration, he never occupied a position higher than mission superintendent, but a thirst for wider responsibilities appeared to be the least of his desires. Others displayed greater administrative competence, but none of his colleagues equaled his skills in handling the mysteries of human nature.

Stahl was not the only one who understood the art of evangelism among Indians, but he had been the first to succeed. Many workers learned from his example, so after he left Titicaca baptisms did not decline. Montgomery's fears that Stahl's work would expand too fast to manage were justified. H. U. Stevens, superintendent of the Inca Union, referred to personnel needs in both the Lake Titicaca and Bolivia missions when he participated in a symposium at the 1924 Autumn Council. He and P. E. Brodersen again spoke about even more vacancies in the Inca Union when reporting to the 1926 General Conference session. Five stations lacked directors, some consisting of more than a thousand members with numerous schools and congregations as large as five hundred. A mission in Bolivia also needed a superintendent.

Stevens himself did not return to the Inca Union after that General Conference session, but left his position to F. L. Perry, who had headed the Peru Mission during the first decade of the century. During the transition a division worker, who visited the Inca Union, described the organization in Bolivia as "disintegrating." Conditions were also worsening in Lake Titicaca where, in addition to the five vacancies in mission directors, two more were anticipated because of health reasons.⁵⁹ Similar to fields in other parts of South America, Indian missions also suffered a need for additional workers.

Stahl was a master of public relations. None of his contemporaries among the Indian missions so powerfully captured the imagination of the entire Adventist world. Inca Union officers had planned to send Luciano Chambi as a delegate to the 1926 General Conference session, but at Stahl's suggestion, they cancelled Chambi's appointment in favor of Chave Mariano, an Indian girl converted at Metraro. Wherever Stahl preached—the missionary couple were also delegates and toured the United States while taking their furlough—the young Campa Indian added a vivid demonstration to his sermons about the value of missions.

The effect was dramatic. At the request of L. H. Christian, president of the European Division, the General Conference and the South American Division extended the Stahls' furlough to allow them to tour Europe, again moving large audiences with accounts of their exploits in the Peruvian jungles. Chave accompanied them on this unexpected venture, becoming the prime exhibit to substantiate Ferdinand and Ana's stories. As for Chambi, he delayed his trip to the United States until 1930.⁶⁰

One measure of the impact of Ferdinand and Ana Stahl is the Stahl Center at La Sierra University, the Seventh-day Adventist liberal arts institution in Riverside, California, which maintains a museum and a collection of literature about the world's great religions. It promotes cultural understanding and a spirit of global service through lecture series, humanitarian projects, and tours to the Lake Titicaca region as well as other places of interest among Adventist world missions. Among Adventist institutions in North America, the Stahl Center is unique.⁶¹

In addition to the unanticipated political influence that Stahl exerted, the success of the Lake Titicaca Mission spread to other corners of the non-Adventist world. Editors at Casa Editora in Buenos Aires quickly learned to include material about the church's projects among indigenous peoples when producing Spanish editions of their Ingathering paper. Businessmen wanted to know what Adventists were doing in South America.⁶² W. F. Jordan, secretary of the Upper Andes Agency of the American Bible Society, whose visit to Lake Titicaca Mission in 1921 gave him a surprising view of Platería and other missions, included a detailed description of the program in *Glimpses of Indian America*, which he published in 1923. "It seems to me," he wrote, "that the Adventists are using the logical and Scriptural method of approach. Preaching the gospel, unless it carries with it sympathetic help for the body as well, cannot be expected to accomplish much among this needy people."⁶³

Webster E. Browning, an officer of a Protestant inter-denominational mission committee for Latin America, also found his tour of Lake Titicaca impressive. "In a

large district where no other evangelical body has as yet planted its work,” he told his constituents, “[the Seventh-day Adventist church] has built up one of the best instances of constructive missionary education for the aboriginal population that can be found in South America.”⁶⁴ On his voyage to South America in 1924, Brodersen met a Methodist missionary who admitted that the Adventist church was the only organization to evangelize successfully among the Andean tribes, and encouraged the South American Division to send a representative to a congress of missions in Montevideo to share the secret of Stahl’s success.⁶⁵

Stahl and the work he initiated had become matters of international interest by the 1920s. When he appeared with his wife and Chave at the 1926 General Conference session, South America was writing a new chapter in the saga of missions in the continent’s interior.

¹ H. Clay Howard to Secretary of State, October 29, 1913, Records of the Department of State, 823.404/14. Hereafter this source will be cited as RDS.

² Stahl, *Land of the Incas*, 184. Also see chapters V, IX, and X. W. F. Jordan, *Glimpses of Indian America*, excerpted in “The Lake Titicaca Mission,” *RH*, March 13, 1924.

³ Howell, *God Led*, 16.

⁴ T. E. Bowen, quoting from Ford’s letter, “One of Many Missionary Departure Scenes,” *RH*, January 31, 1918.

⁵ Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, February 20, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916.

⁶ J. L. Shaw, “Among the Indians Around Lake Titicaca,” *RH*, August 12, 1920; Oliver Montgomery, “The South American Division Conference,” *ibid.*, August 12, 1920; *Statistical Report*, 1921; *ibid.*, 1925.

⁷ J. M. Howell, “Puno, Peru,” *RH*, January 27, 1916; C. V. Achenbach, “A Visit to the Peninsula,” *ibid.*, May 25, 1916; and “One Week’s Experience at La Plateria,” *ibid.*, June 1, 1916; W. E. Howell, “Titicaca Indian Schools,” *ibid.*, October 5, 1916; and “Medical Work Among the Indians Around Lake Titicaca,” *ibid.*, June 19, 1919.

⁸ J. M. Howell, “Two Days with the Indians,” *ibid.*, February 3, 1916.

⁹ F. A. Stahl, “Experiences in the Indian Work,” *ibid.*, December 7, 1916.

¹⁰ Fernando Osorio to E. L. Maxwell, quoted in “In the Inca Mission,” *ibid.*, December 26, 1918; E. F. Peterson, “Interesting Reports from South America,” *ibid.*, January 23, 1919.

¹¹ W. E. Howell, “School Notes in South America—No. 8,” *ibid.*, September 2, 1920.

¹² R. L. Pierce, “Delivered From Wicked Indians,” *ibid.*, November 3, 1921; and “Cheering Word from Lake Titicaca Mission,” *ibid.*, December 1, 1921.

¹³ News note, no name, *ibid.*, March 16, 1922; H. M. Colburn, “Wonderful Fruitage,” *ibid.*, March 1, 1923; W. H. Williams, “Lake Titicaca Mission Field,” *ibid.*, December 27, 1923; E. H. Wilcox, “Indian Believers,” *ibid.*, January 15, 1925; see *Statistical Report* for 1920–25. Colburn, as cited above, reported that Wilcox baptized 267 persons without leaving the water, but years later Wilcox reported that the figure was 262. See his memoir, *In Perils Oft* (Nashville, Tenn., 1961), 164.

¹⁴ E. L. Maxwell to Oliver Montgomery, January 12, 1918, GCA/21, GF/1918.

¹⁵ News note, no name, *RH*, March 16, 1922; W. H. Williams, “Lake Titicaca Mission Field,” *ibid.*, December 27, 1923.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

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¹⁷ F. A. Stahl, "Openings in the Lake Titicaca Region," *ibid.*, February 1, 1917.

¹⁸ W. A. Spicer to Oliver Montgomery, November 1, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916; E. L. Maxwell to T. E. Bowen, November 23, 1916, *ibid.*; Oliver Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, *ibid.*/1917; Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, July 23, 1917, *ibid.*; Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, July 6, 1919, *ibid.*/1919; P. E. Brodersen to B. E. Beddoe, July 22, 1924, *ibid.*/1924; P. E. Brodersen to B. E. Beddoe, September 10, 1924, *ibid.*

¹⁹ F. A. Stahl to W. W. Prescott, May 4, 1917, *ibid.*, IL/1917.

²⁰ T. E. Bowen to F. A. Stahl, February 1, 1917, *ibid.*, GF; T. E. Bowen to F. A. Stahl, February 24, 1917, *ibid.*; General Conference secretariat to F. A. Stahl, March 30, 1917, *ibid.*; General Conference secretariat to F. A. Stahl, June 4, 1917, *ibid.*; W. A. Spicer to F. A. Stahl, December 1, 1916, *ibid.*/1916; W. A. Spicer to F. A. Stahl, October 8, 1917, *ibid.*/1917.

²¹ Pearl Waggoner Howard, "The Delegation from Moha [sic] District," *RH*, July 12, 1917; Luis Alana, "Broken Stone Mission Celebrates Its Fiftieth Anniversary," *ibid.*, June 5, 1969. Stahl apparently regarded the matter with much less importance than church leaders in the United States. Even though he published his book, *In the Land of the Incas*, after he established the Broken Stone Mission, he failed to recount the story of his meeting with the chief when he broke the stone, referring to it only incidentally in the chapter in which he devoted a single page to his return visit to the chief years later. Almost as a postscript he included a few lines about the Howards' mission and Chambi's new assignment to Umuchi without a reference to the broken stone. The only specific statement in his book about the Broken Stone Mission is a spot labeled with that name on a map of the Lake Titicaca Mission. Despite Stahl's soft-pedaling of the story, many writers include the account: W. A. Spicer, *Our Story of Missions*, 278; R. A. Hayden, *From Football Field to Mission Field* (Washington, D.C., 1951), 276; J. M. Howell, *Surely God Led*, 44; Barbara Westphal, *Aventura nos Andes*, 74-77; Bent Axel Larsen, *Anna and Bent* (Mountain View, Calif., 1979), 96, 126-27. All of these authors except Spicer worked with Stahl in South America. Barbara Westphal's reconstruction of the story is the only one that suggests that the stones were eventually fitted together. She later corrected that detail in her explanation, "That Broken Stone—Footnote to History," *RH*, May 22, 1975.

²² E. H. Wilcox, "Indian Believers," *RH*, January 15, 1925.

²³ Howell, *God Led*, 22; Barbara Westphal, *These Fords Still Run* (Mountain View, Calif., 1962), 22, 23; C. V. Achenbach, "Another Indian Outpost Mission Established," *RH*, February 7, 1918.

²⁴ Oliver Montgomery, "An Advance in the Lake Titicaca Indian Mission," *ibid.*, January 23, 1919; Howell, *God Led*, 24, 66, 67.

²⁵ Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, October 2, 1918, GCA/21, GF/1918.

²⁶ News note, *RH*, October 2, 1919; Stahl, *Land of the Incas*, 9, 10.

²⁷ E. F. Peterson, "Recent Experiences in the Lake Titicaca Mission," *RH*, January 27, 1921; and "A Visit to the Lake Titicaca Mission Field," *ibid.*, August 18, 1921.

²⁸ Stahl, *Land of the Incas*, 201, 261-71; E. F. Peterson, news note, *RH*, November 27, 1919.

²⁹ F. A. Stahl, "The Indian Inhabitants of the Island of Amantani, in Lake Titicaca," *ibid.*, August 26, 1920; E. H. Wilcox, "Schools Among the Quichuas [sic]," *ibid.*, October 20, 1921; and "Indian Co-operation," *ibid.*, December 7, 1922; W. F. Miller, "A Girl Pastor Among the Quechuas," *ibid.*, April 16, 1925.

³⁰ See Alomía's accounts in "Comienzos de la Obra," and "Un Importante Centenario." E. F. Peterson mentioned two Argentine families at the mission when he and J. W. Westphal visited Puno in 1921. See his report, "A Visit to the Lake Titicaca Mission Field," *ibid.*, August 18, 1921. The best source for the Kalbermatters' story is Pedro Kalbermatter, *Veinte años como misionero entre los indios del Peru* (Paraná, Entre Rios, 1950). Barbara Westphal has recorded Pedro Kalbermatter's experience at Titicaca in her previously cited book, *A Man Called Pedro*. See also the Spanish edition, *Un hombre llamado Pedro*. Hector Peverini provides considerable data about both aborigine and other South American workers in *En las huellas*, 157-180. Regarding studies and research about Adventist missions, Charles Teel's sources reveal his reliance on scholarly studies by researchers in both Peru and the United States. See his article, "The Radical Roots of Peruvian Adventism," *Spectrum*, v. 21 (Dec. 1990), 5-18.

- ³¹ E. H. Wilcox, "A Visit to the Indian Church at Lanca, Peru," *RH*, October 17, 1918.
- ³² E. L. Maxwell, "In the Province of Canta, Peru," *ibid.*, March 14, 1918; E. L. Maxwell and F. A. Stahl, "Seventh Meeting," *ibid.*, April 25, 1918; Ellis P. Howard, news note, *ibid.*, November 21, 1918.
- ³³ Fernando Osorio to E. L. Maxwell, quoted in "In the Inca Union," *ibid.*, December 26, 1918; E. H. Wilcox, "Report from the Plateria Indian Mission," *ibid.*, October 31, 1918.
- ³⁴ *Statistical Report*, 1925.
- ³⁵ C. E. Knight, "Ecuador," *RH*, May 27, 1915; E. H. Wilcox, "Our Work in Ecuador," *ibid.*, June 5, 1919; *Statistical Report*, 1920-25.
- ³⁶ Howard reported his trips in a series of *RH* articles: "On to Ecuador," March 4, 1920; "Among the Indians of Ecuador," July 29, 1920; "Among the Indians of Ecuador," August 5, 1920; and "An Awakening Interest Among the Indians of Ecuador," September 9, 1920. See also news note, no name, *ibid.*, February 17, 1921; E. F. Peterson, "A Visit to Ecuador" *ibid.*, April 7, 1921.
- ³⁷ John Ford to Mission Board, no date, reprinted in *ibid.*, June 18, 1925.
- ³⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1929; H. U. Stevens, "A Week of Prayer in Quito," *RH*, October 25, 1923; H. D. Isaac, "Our Work in Ecuador," *ibid.*, August 7, 1924; Orley Ford, "Progress in Ecuador, South America," *ibid.*, July 14, 1927; and "Doubling Our Membership in Ecuador," *ibid.*, February 7, 1929; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926. For a general view of the Fords' experience at Colta, see Barbara Westphal, *These Fords Still Run*. Also see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 199-204.
- ³⁹ E. H. Wilcox, "The Colporteur Work in the Inca Union Mission," *RH*, January 1, 1920; E. F. Peterson, "Inca Union Mission Field," *ibid.*, January 8, 1920; *Statistical Report*, 1920.
- ⁴⁰ Reid S. Shepard, "Starting the Indian Work in Bolivia," *RH*, July 22, 1920; and "A Visit to the Community of the Indian Chief Tangara," *ibid.*, December 16, 1920; and "Our First Two Weeks in Rosario, Bolivia," *ibid.*, March 10, 1920; and "The Mauri Indian Mission, Bolivia," *ibid.*, July 28, 1921; W. R. Pohle, "Work Among the Indians in Bolivia," *ibid.*, February 10, 1921; E. F. Peterson, "Mauri River Indian Mission, Bolivia," *ibid.*, July 14, 1921. See the full account by Samuel Antonio Chávez, *Breve historia*, 85-100. Chávez includes a wealth of names of original participants in Adventist activities as well as copies of legal documents enabling the Shepards to establish themselves at Rosario. The quotation cited from page 92.
- ⁴¹ E. F. Peterson, "Progress in Bolivia," *RH*, July 21, 1921; T. L. Oswald, "The Mauri River Indian Mission," *ibid.*, October 5, 1922; and "The Bolivian Mission," *ibid.*, March 15, 1923; H. U. Stevens, "Bolivia Pleads for Help," *ibid.*, March 19, 1925; N. Z. Town, "Thirty Years' Progress in South America," *ibid.*, November 12, 1925; quotation taken from Samuel Chávez, *Breve historia*, 101. See his entire account of the expansion from Rosario, 101, 102 and the story of Collana, 118-132.
- ⁴² N. Z. Town, "Tithe Potatoes," *RH*, April 22, 1926; *Statistical Report* for 1924.
- ⁴³ H. U. Stevens, "Struggles for the Truth in Bolivia," *RH*, January 17, 1924; E. H. Meyers, "Mob Attacks Our Mission Station in Bolivia," *ibid.*, March 12, 1925. For a colorful description of events in Bolivia during this period see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 181-198.
- ⁴⁴ T. L. Oswald, "On Account of My Name," *RH*, December 23, 1926.
- ⁴⁵ *Statistical Report*, 1924; *ibid.*, 1925. In *Adventismo en Bolivia*, 63-132, Samuel Chávez provides a wealth of detail about the beginnings of Adventist missions among the indigenous tribespeople of Bolivia.
- ⁴⁶ E. L. Maxwell to Oliver Montgomery, January 12, 1918, GCA/21, GF/1918; Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, October 2, 1918, *ibid.*; Howell, *God Led*, 33.
- ⁴⁷ Charles Thompson, "Lima, Peru," *RH*, August 12, 1920. Wilcox has provided an account of his experience as head of Lake Titicaca Mission in his memoir, *In Perils Oft*.
- ⁴⁸ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920; H. U. Stevens, "Our Mission to the Churches," *ibid.*, October 1, 1925.
- ⁴⁹ F. A. Stahl, "Among the Indians of the Upper Amazon," *ibid.*, October 2, 1924.
- ⁵⁰ Stahl's second book, *In the Amazon Jungles* (Mountain View, Calif., 1932), provides a colorful description of his first trip into the jungle. References to the beginning of Metraro Mission are also found in his *RH*

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articles, "The Medical Work Makes Friends," May 29, 1929; and "Among the Heathen Tribes of the Upper Amazon," June 6, 1926. Also see H. U. Stevens, "Our Mission to the Chunchos," *ibid.*, October 1, 1925; and William Guthrie, "In the Wilds of Peru," *ibid.*, March 5, 1925. Barbara Westphal's *Aventura nos Andes e Amazonas* is useful for general impressions of the couple's work. For the incident regarding the ten-foot snake, see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 363. Pages 363-371 include other stories of Stahl's exploits in the jungle.

⁵¹ See William Guthrie's account in "In the Wilds of Peru," *RH*, March 5, 1925.

⁵² Stahl, *Amazon Jungles*, 47-51.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 55-57.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; F. A. Stahl, "Among the Heathen Tribes of the Upper Amazon," *RH*, June 6, 1926.

⁵⁵ F. A. Stahl, "The Medical Work Makes Friends," *ibid.*, May 29, 1924. A quarter century later, Stahl recounted the story in a two-part series, "Pioneering in the Amazon of Peru," *ibid.*, June 1, 8, 1950.

⁵⁶ Inez Hoiland Stevens, "Three Days with 'Doctor' Stahl," *ibid.*, December 11, 1924.

⁵⁷ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926.

⁵⁸ Wilcox, *Perils Oft*, 183; Stahl, *Land of the Incas*, 261.

⁵⁹ H. U. Stevens, "The Heroism of Missionary Work," *RH*, January 15, 1925; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926; P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926; unsigned cablegram from Buenos Aires to W. H. Williams, September 30, 1926, GCA/21, GF/1926.

⁶⁰ P. E. Brodersen to C. K. Meyers and B. E. Beddoe, March 2, 1926, *ibid.*; E. Kotz to Carlyle B. Haynes and W. H. Williams, October 21, 1926, *ibid.*; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, November 5, 1926, *ibid.* Chambi's name is included in the delegate list submitted by W. A. Spicer and C. K. Meyers, "Proceedings of the General Conference," *ibid.*, May 30, 1930.

⁶¹ Besides a director, an interdisciplinary committee representing religion, anthropology, sociology, and language operate the Stahl Center. See its Web site, <http://www.lasierra.edu/centers/stahl>.

⁶² Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, February 9, 1921, GCA/21, GF/1921.

⁶³ W. F. Jordan, *Glimpses of Indian America*, quoted in "The Lake Titicaca Mission," *RH*, March 13, 1924.

⁶⁴ Webster E. Browning, *Missionary Review of the World* (April 1924), quoted in "Providential Accomplishments among Inca Indians," *RH*, June 12, 1924.

⁶⁵ P. E. Brodersen to B. E. Beddoe, July 22, 1924, GCA/21, GF/1924.



INSTITUTIONS OF GROWTH, 1916-1926

PARALLELING THE INCREASE in church membership in South America was an enlarging number of institutions that served members and non-members alike. So characteristic were schools, presses, and medical centers to Adventism that probably most members and leaders thought that the church was derelict if institution-building did not occur. For many Adventists no clear distinction existed between direct evangelism and conducting schools, publishing literature, and treating sick patients. All of these activities were part of a single issue, the evangelistic mission of the church.

While schools became the chief evangelistic device among the indigenous people in the Inca Union, elsewhere book and periodical distribution remained the cutting edge of Adventism. "In our territory," the president of the East Brazil Union said in 1922, "you can go to many homes where the people are not as yet members of our denomination, but where the entire library consists of Adventist books."¹

Oliver Montgomery was not long in learning the important role that literature production and distribution played in the growth of the South American church. After working in the division for a year

and a half, he observed that J. W. Westphal had devoted the preponderance of his time to establishing institutions and writing for South American papers. Westphal had organized well, but Montgomery suggested that he could not have done that without neglecting his obligations in the actual field.²

Montgomery had raised a question for which one could offer only judgmental responses—that of a balance between membership growth and the formation of institutions. Unquestionably, part of Westphal's imprint on South America was a set of relatively well functioning institutions by the time South America began breaking into separate unions in 1910. Few possessed his administrative vision. Driven by a compelling interest in institutions, he invested in the infrastructure of the church, and in the years ahead his administrative direction would lead to one of the abiding strengths of South American Adventism.

CASA PUBLICADORA

Whatever church leaders thought about Montgomery's observation, the record shows that they continued Westphal's legacy of institutions. When the division organized in 1916, the publishing houses were perhaps the best-operated institutions in the entire field. They were producing a large amount of literature for both the church and the non-Adventist public. "I was agreeably surprised at the number and character of the publications," Prescott wrote after inspecting the Brazilian publishing house in 1915. "The manager of the office, Brother A. Pages, has set a high standard, and has been very successful in attaining it. But best of all, the literature is being placed in the homes of the people, as is proved by the fact that the office is printing editions of from five to fifteen thousand."³

Equally impressed was N. Z. Town, who also toured the plant with Prescott. "One of the most encouraging features of the work in Brazil is the success the brethren have had in establishing and developing their printing plant," he wrote back to the *Review*. What the men saw in São Bernardo was a twelve-acre compound of homes for workers and three structures for offices, equipment, a bindery, and a warehouse. "These are all one-story brick buildings, which are a credit to our work," Town remarked. "The garden and grounds are well kept, and everything about the place has an appearance of thrift and prosperity."⁴

As a minister in Argentina more than a decade earlier, Town had taken a special interest in literature sales and organized classes to train colporteurs, which had evolved into River Plate College. With this project he was so successful he worked

himself into a position in the Publishing Department of the General Conference, which he headed in 1915. With more than ordinary interest, he returned to his former field not only to help organize the division but to assess the condition of literature production and sales.

The Brazilian press had multiplied its capitalization over five times since it began in 1906; much of this growth had occurred in the three years prior to Prescott and Town's visit. In the two years before their tour, tens of thousands of doctrinal tracts, thousands of journals and books, most of them in Portuguese, had come off the presses. Seeing three presses, a folder, a stitcher, and other equipment in operation, Town reported that literature was virtually pouring out of the plant.⁵

As successful as Town and Prescott thought the Brazilian publishing house to be, R. L. Pierce, manager of North America's Southern Publishing Association in Nashville, Tennessee, believed serious problems hampered it. His visit followed Town and Prescott's by six years, and the plant had assumed the name of Casa Publicadora. The location was pleasant enough—a park surrounded by orange and lemon trees—but Pierce observed that “at the present time there is not a machine in that office which any of our publishing houses in the United States would think of using.” In his judgment, inefficient use of floor space was hindering productivity, yet the house was producing a surprising amount of books and papers.⁶

The church in Brazil had labored against great odds to provide printed materials in two languages. Not always were their efforts successful. “Our brethren have from the first been the publishers of their own literature in the Portuguese language,” Montgomery reminded the division council in 1920. The Brazil Union's sole German publication, *Rundschau*, disappeared during World War I to avoid suspicions of association with a national enemy. With a monthly circulation of only 1,000, the missionary paper, *O Arauto da Verdade*, ended its thirteen-year life in 1913, and for five years thereafter the publishing house produced no comparable journal.

Other than doctrinal tracts, such as *Faithfulness in Health Reform*, *The Second Coming of Christ*, *The Future Explained*, and others that appeared in editions from 500 to 10,000, the most significant attempts to reach the public with an Adventist journal were three special editions of a magazine devoted to World War I. The publishing house circulated 30,000 of the first number and 20,000 of the remaining two. In January 1918, E. C. Ehlers ended the five-year drought in Adventist periodicals by becoming editor of a new monthly missionary magazine, *Sinais dos Tempos*, which was circulating at 20,000 by December. For Brazil the new paper was a milestone.

With only a change in its name in 1923 to *O Atalaia*, it became one of the primary Brazilian publications. By 1925, it had a stable circulation of 13,000.

As the major source for Portuguese literature in the Adventist world, Casa Publicadora published translations of books for Brazilians, but Brazilian writers were also emerging. In 1909 the house published the first book in Portuguese authored by a Brazilian, William Stein, *Successos preditos da historia universal*. Among other originals were the first Portuguese hymnal, *Cantai ao Senhor*, in 1914, and a volume titled *O sabbado*, also by William Stein, in 1919. Stein had already left the press when this last book was published. Besides writing and editing books, he had translated at least a half dozen volumes into Portuguese.⁷

After its notable growth before 1915, the press suffered from unstable currency. From 1916 to 1920 operating capital increased only 1 percent while inflation reduced its actual purchasing power to half of its 1916 level. In order to reach more readers before World War I ended, Montgomery urged low-priced literature that discussed the conflict, but this market faded when the war ended. Although officers of the Brazilian Union planned to produce more large books instead of papers, tracts, and small books, they could not afford to do so without financial assistance, either by borrowing money or receiving grants.

It was a moment for a bold stroke, and Spies, president of the South Brazil Union, did not let it slip from his grasp. When reporting to the 1920 division council, he recounted how lack of funds had forced Casa Publicadora to scuttle plans to publish 5,000 copies of *The Great Controversy*. The plant's production schedule was already so full it could not handle additional work without more equipment, and to purchase more machinery was out of the question. Spies said he needed US\$20,000 which he would divide equally between operating capital and equipment, including a new linotype and another press, and proposed that publishing houses in the United States should help.

Listening to him were three General Conference representatives, W. E. Howell, J. L. Shaw, and Charles Thompson—these three men were visiting South America specifically to inspect the division and to offer counsel to the unions as well. With their concurrence, Casa Publicadora planned for expansion and sent a request to Washington for help. Following discussion at the Autumn Council, the General Conference Committee assigned the Southern Publishing Association in Tennessee to donate part of its earnings to assist the Brazilian house. South America itself would sponsor a Big Week to accumulate funds for the project. In 1921, less than a year

after Spies lodged his request for aid, R. L. Pierce inspected the South American houses to gather information and render technical advice as needed.

The role of the Southern Publishing Association was part of a larger plan to assist all denominational printing enterprises outside North America. Denominational leaders noted that only 20 percent of the church's publishing capacity served 87 percent of the world. To correct this lopsided condition, managers of publishing houses in the United States pledged to donate 55 percent of their net profits to the Missions Publishing Fund, a General Conference reserve to help plants such as Casa Publicadora. Other earnings were also a part of the package, such as income from Big Week and Big Day, both periods when salesmen conducted all-out drives to sell literature.

The plan went into effect immediately. Adventist presses around the world turned in requests for over \$227,000 in aid for 1922, and before adding profits from Big Week sales, the North American plants raised nearly \$182,000. From this figure the General Conference voted nineteen appropriations, with Casa Publicadora receiving \$23,200, far above the average donation.⁸

Part of the difficulty the Brazilian publishing house had been facing was the need to keep pace with its expanding market. In a sense, this situation was both a problem and an answer to Adventists' prayers. Growing sales meant success, but inability to fulfill literature needs implied that the press was inadequate. However successful South American publishing houses had been, they were not producing enough to suit Montgomery. Using a popular phrase of the time, he told the 1918 General Conference delegates that "one of the crying needs of South America today, to my mind, is more of the printed page," and he advocated more inexpensive literature, small books, pamphlets, and a paper for Adventist youth. Officers of Casa Publicadora listened but set aside this advice in favor of larger books.

By 1926 the South and East Brazil unions listed 5,000 members, more than the entire division when it organized ten years earlier. Improvements which Big Week funds were to pay for were not complete; meanwhile, on Casa Publicadora's aging equipment rested an ever increasing burden of furnishing literature for the enlarging church and providing merchandise for a more effective corps of canvassers. Sales dropped sharply in 1921, but later increases pushed the total to over US\$127,000 in 1926, prompting Division President P. E. Brodersen to tell the General Conference delegates that in the near future the publishing house would have to expand to stay abreast of demands from the market.⁹

Among Adventist leaders it was nearly axiomatic that distributing denominational literature was a precondition of church growth. One of the chief promoters of colporteurism in Brazil was R. M. Carter, a young licensed minister who arrived in Brazil in 1914. Soon afterward he began selling literature in Juiz de Fora, Minas Gerais. By the end of 1915, he had multiplied sales over five times, reaching a total of 27,000 *mil-réis*, the highest figure for any state in Brazil. At the annual meeting that year, the union committee appointed him to head all canvassing in the country, which would require him to concentrate only on a few larger states.¹⁰ Carter's spirited leadership spread all over Brazil, but not without a cost. Sales in the Brazil Union topped US\$159,000 during the first four years of the division, 1916 through 1919, of which \$69,000 was recorded in the last year, but when announcing this accomplishment, the leader of literature distribution in South America said that Carter's health was broken.

Although these sales pointed to success, Brazil's unstable currency forced Casa Publicadora to use page volume and inventories to measure the expansion of publishing industry. By 1924 the press was supplying canvassers with the first edition of a major book, *Our Day in the Light of Prophecy*, a fulfillment of Spies's earlier desire for large rather than small, inexpensive volumes. M. V. Tucker, manager of the press since 1922, warned that colporteurs would be busy only a short time because only 10,000 copies were available. Within two months half of the stock was gone and the house was planning another printing of 10,000.

Tucker expected the book to sell well, but he was producing copies cautiously for good reason. Previously, the first attempt to publish and sell *The Great Controversy* resulted in dubious success. Now, with a limited edition of a new title, salesmen would be able to test the market. Two years after the first edition of *Our Day* reached the public, the Brazilian house printed 50,000 more. Meanwhile, in Curitiba, canvassers were marketing *The Great Controversy* successfully.¹¹

To a degree, this growth depended on the confidence of church leaders in Brazil's future. As Tucker launched the sales of *Our Day*, his observations bore out the wisdom of J. W. Westphal, who urged twenty years earlier that Adventists should establish educational and publishing institutions near São Paulo because of the city's bright economic prospects. "The resources of this great republic are as yet barely touched," Tucker wrote. "Only man and his attitude to the great gospel commission will limit the possibilities of the work that can be done."¹²

To develop an effective corps of salesmen was also part of Brazil's formula for success. Because Carter had no immediate assistants when he took charge of literature

distribution for the Brazil Union, he had to spread himself over the entire country, including the newly formed North Brazil Union (the forerunner of the East Brazil Union), which delayed going into operation for three years after its organization in 1916. Frequently he relied on new Adventists to take up canvassing.

Carter's first convert, whom he identified simply as Manuel, was a case in point. When the missionary met him, he was a shoe repairman in Juiz de Fora, living in abject poverty. His furniture consisted of two homemade chairs, a pallet, and a box turned upside down for a table. Eight months later, he quit his cobbler's bench to become a colporteur, and during 1916 he delivered \$1,000. "A merchant remarked one day that he could not understand what it was that could work such a change in a person as had come to Manuel," Carter wrote.¹³ Previous to Manuel's experience, a 63-year-old Protestant minister read Adventist literature in a different part of Brazil, joined the church of his newfound faith, and immediately began selling books. In eight months he had converted forty-three persons at a single location.¹⁴

Brazilian canvassers were no exception to the Adventist practice of colporteur institutes. Many of the salesmen were uneducated persons, sometimes illiterate, who needed extensive help. Arthur Westphal, oldest son of J. W., conducted a training session for colporteurs when he organized the first congregation in the West Minas Mission in 1920.

In time, institutes became common, as was the policy to recruit students to spend their vacations selling literature. To encourage students, the Brazil Union inaugurated the scholarship plan in 1916, enabling them to pay their educational expenses by earning bonuses through literature sales. In 1924 the division committee recommended that training schools should offer a colporteur class. After that school year ended, forty students canvassed. Relying on their earnings, eleven students from one conference supported themselves during the 1925 school year. After an economic crisis hit the country the next year, forcing the training school to discontinue the final quarter of the year, many students went back into canvassing to earn a livelihood.¹⁵

Although Carter and others enthusiastically promoted literature distribution, the work was difficult. Colporteurs usually traveled by horse, carrying enough inventory to deliver books at the time of their sale. In rural Brazil they sometimes spent six or eight hours riding from one house to the next. This burdensome method made canvassers ready to adopt the subscription plan in 1922, a procedure allowing them to carry a sample book for display and to take orders for later delivery. According to

J. W. Wilhelm, the field missionary leader of the East Brazil Union, this new technique met with immediate success, enabling colporteurs to increase their sales.¹⁶

The record reveals how well Brazil's publishing program worked. During the years 1920-26 the regular literature salesmen increased only from seventy-eight to eighty-five. Training and enthusiasm played an important role in their effectiveness. C. E. Rentfro, on furlough to the United States in 1924 after baptizing more than 400 during his eight years in Brazil, told Autumn Council delegates that colporteurs were principally responsible for those conversions. At the same meetings, W. H. Williams estimated that two of every three members in the East Brazil Union resulted from canvassing. That literature was seeping into the corners of Brazil was becoming apparent. From a family in Manaus in 1918, a thousand miles up the Amazon, came inquiries about the Sabbath doctrine, a direct result of reading about Adventist teachings even though no colporteur had penetrated that far into the interior.¹⁷

CASA EDITORA

At the time of the division organization, Casa Editora occupied two buildings, the first only 432 square feet which served as a warehouse, and the second, a 1,500-square-foot structure that housed machinery. Before the building was wired for electricity in 1915, workers labored under gasoline or kerosene lamps, and a gasoline engine supplied power for the presses. By 1919 the press had five small power plants to run all the machinery and provide lights.¹⁸

In contrast to the Brazilian publishing house, Casa Editora emphasized periodical literature more than books, although over time books became a well-known product of the press. Early examples included a couple of small booklets that appeared in 1905 and 1909, and in 1910 a translation of John Loughborough's *El don de profecía en la iglesia evangélica* came off the press, which was the first publication that could legitimately claim to be a book.

Eventually, the Argentine publishing house became the major producer of literature for Spanish readership, but achieving that status was a complicated sequence of events. As a rule, literature sales were often higher in the Spanish-speaking countries of South America than in Brazil, partly because colporteurs from Argentina to Ecuador benefitted from imports of Spanish books from both the Pacific Press in the United States and the Barcelona Publishing House in Spain. These sources gave them a wide variety of titles to sell door to door. "Some of these books have had phenomenal sales," Montgomery wrote in 1919. During the years of World War

I Casa Editora published two volumes, *The World's Crisis*, which required 32,000 copies to meet the demand, and a 20,000-copy edition of *Armageddon*.¹⁹

Before Montgomery had completed a year in South America, the General Conference approved a branch of the Pacific Press in the West Indies. Immediately, questions arose about how best to supply Spanish literature for Latin America. Talk circulated about the feasibility of one source of books and papers for Spanish America. Complicating the debate was the fact that wartime exigencies were interdicting trade between Europe and the Americas, and consequently threatening South America's dependence on Spain for Spanish literature.

Another aspect of the question was whether or not to organize all of Spanish America into a single division. Although Montgomery agreed that consolidation might be beneficial, he was reluctant to consent. The upshot was a plan formulated in 1917 to establish a publishing house in Colón, Panama, from which literature would come for both the English and Spanish fields in the Greater Caribbean, leaving the Argentine house to continue its service to the South American Division.²⁰

With those questions settled Casa Editora could plan for its future with more certainty. Until 1918 it officially served only the Austral Union, but when E. W. Everest became the first full-time manager in November, church leaders began talking about furnishing literature to the Inca Union as well. In 1920 a governing board representing the two unions assumed control of the publishing house. The two-year interval beginning in 1918 allowed time to complete the necessary negotiations, to remodel the facility, and to expand floor space to accommodate additional equipment. After the decision to include all of Spanish-speaking South America within the service area of the press, Casa Editora Unión Sudamericana dropped the term "unión" from its name, a subtle recognition that it had become an institution of the division rather than only the South American Union.²¹

Hardly had the new organizational system begun and the publishing house settled into its renovated buildings when discussion began again for even greater expansion. "The increased business already done justifies enlargement and improvement of our printing plant, and makes necessary the increase of our operating fund," J. W. Westphal announced to the division council in 1920. A new linotype already on order for nine months, another press, and new book binding equipment were needs Westphal estimated would cost a minimum of US\$40,000. Because of its lack of equipment and space, Casa Editora was unable to fill current orders, and was contracting its typesetting to commercial printers in Buenos Aires.

Shaw, Thompson, and Howell, the three General Conference visitors who advised the Brazilian house to expand, also paid a visit to Argentina and counseled Casa Editora's manager to scrap plans to enlarge the present building. Instead, they advised Everest to construct a new plant. As a result, Everest increased his request for an appropriation from the General Conference to nearly \$54,000. After the Autumn Council decision to allocate profits from presses in the United States to other struggling enterprises, R. L. Pierce became responsible for Casa Editora in addition to Casa Publicadora. His tour in 1921 reinforced the opinion that adequate expansion was impossible on the present site, and that the press should move. At the time, Everest reported that his business occupied 3,500 square feet and employed seventeen workers, but rapid growth required more space. Pierce advised a new location large enough for homes for workers.²²

Reasons other than anticipated growth from literature sales in the Inca Union motivated Everest and his colleagues to plan for expansion. World War I taught church leaders in South America that they could not depend on overseas sources to assure them of uninterrupted literature supplies. Prompted by the wartime disruption of trade, they foresaw the need to plan for as much independence as the division could effectively develop. "The uncertainty in world conditions makes it imperative," Westphal stated. It was this argument as much as any other that convinced Shaw, Thompson, and Howell to urge Autumn Council approval for financial assistance and led to the help the Southern Publishing Association gave to both South American publishing houses. In all likelihood, the war also stimulated further book production at Casa Editora.²³

Casa Editora did not move far to relocate. Publishing leaders purchased a three hectare plot in the same suburb of Florida, this time on a paved street near two railroads. Despite their enthusiasm, they spent four years after Pierce's visit to rebuild. A general economic malaise in 1921 and 1922 reduced profits from the publishing house, and a fire in 1923 inflicted losses, but an upswing in sales by 1923 and support from the United States helped to keep hopes alive for the new plant. From the appropriations from the Missions Publishing Fund, Buenos Aires received more than US\$20,000, just \$3,000 less than the Brazilian house. During the first five months of 1923, sales from Casa Editora rose to \$47,000 as compared to \$28,000 during the same period the previous year. This increased production made for cramped space and even necessitated storing paper in the yard.²⁴

It was in October 1925 when the plant finally moved. "The new building looked a bit large when it was being put up, but now it seems that every available foot of space

is needed,” Brodersen told the 1926 General Conference session. “Our publishing house brethren tell us that they must install another linotype in order to keep up with their work.” After three months in the new facility, Everest wrote to Washington that space was already crowded. Equipment was running twenty-one hours daily to meet printing demands, and the working force had risen from seventeen to twenty-nine since 1921. The move had been an expensive one. Even with repeated contributions from outside sources, the plant still bore considerable indebtedness.²⁵

After the days of N. Z. Town and Max Trummer in Argentina, colporteurism had not been a consistent program. Not until 1916, when canvassers sold almost \$27,000, did sales in the Austral Union exceed the 1912 level. Roscoe T. Baer, president of the Argentine Conference, noted a quickening tempo as he approached the end of 1916 with twenty-five salesmen, more than Argentina had in the field “for some time.” The following year the Austral Union employed A. R. Sherman as full-time field missionary secretary. Recognizing that literature distribution had been neglected, he promoted colporteurism so successfully that annual sales more than doubled from nearly \$27,000 in 1916 to more than \$58,000 the next year.²⁶

During this banner year Casa Editora published no books, but emphasized papers, among them a set of sixteen, four-page leaflets, *Perlas de Verdad*, and the missionary magazine, *El Atalaya*, with one issue devoted to temperance that circulated 54,000 copies. Answering what Westphal called “persistent demands” for a hymnal, the press produced a 128-page edition of words with no accompanying music. Also, Casa Editora turned out 20,000 copies of *Armageddon* and 15,000 of *The Star of Bethlehem*. In 1918 book production resumed with over 32,000 copies of *The World's Crisis*.²⁷

Casa Editora entered the 1920s with only fifty-seven literature salesmen, a number that rose to eighty-three in 1926. The vast majority worked in Argentina. Partly responsible for this growth were publishing leaders who organized annual institutes both to inspire and to train canvassers. At the 1918 campmeeting in Rosario, Argentina, J. H. McEachern demonstrated the effect of these sessions when twenty took up colporteurism after he led them through an institute.²⁸

The cities were an attractive market for both full-time and part-time salesmen. In the Argentine capital ten regular colporteurs were working in 1923, the largest single group in the Austral Union except for the Chile Conference, which listed eleven agents. Although full-time canvassers formed the backbone of the literature distribution program, the part-time colporteur also played an important role.

Students used their vacations to sell, not only for personal scholarships, but in the case of the training school in Chile, to raise money to finish the chapel. Devoting one day a month to sell issues of *El Alalaya*, they collected over half their goal in four trips from the campus.

As part of their mission outreach, entire congregations sometimes agreed to sell a quota of magazines. In Valparaíso, Chile, J. C. Brower found that nearly every member was responsible for sales. The money that members earned was not always for personal use, even though most of them were poor. According to A. A. Cone, South America's home missionary secretary, not even a dozen of the 800 Chilean Adventists owned their own homes, "and yet Sister Plummer [General Conference Sabbath school secretary] says it is a constant amazement . . . to see how the offerings are coming up. Nearly every member of the conference sells our magazines and small books, and in this way they get money to secure our papers and meet mission offerings."²⁹

In peripheral regions of the Austral Union, colporteurs remained the primary method of Adventist advance. Intermittent reports indicated that canvassers in Uruguay enjoyed a degree of success, and in Paraguay literature distribution penetrated even to the Guaraní-speaking population.³⁰

Literature distribution in the Inca Union grew slowly. Workers entering Ecuador encouraged new converts to canvass, but because new members were few, the mission never succeeded in putting more than three regular colporteurs in the field before 1926, although many more attempted the work. However consistently L. G. Beans, field secretary in Bolivia, promoted literature sales during more than a half dozen years before 1925, official statistics show that the number of colporteurs seldom exceeded one person.

Of the four fields in the Inca Union, only the Peru Mission recorded significant progress in developing a regular canvassing corps by 1926. Probably the most striking breakthrough occurred in 1925, when the first regular indigenous book agents began working in the Andes. "The idea that colporteurs in the Lake Titicaca Mission can be self-supporting has perhaps occurred to very few of us," the division publishing secretary remarked after four of them began to work.³¹

That literature distribution occupied a special niche in the history of South American Adventists was a commonly held view among the division's leaders. Frequently they reviewed their past with references to Nowlen, Stauffer, and Snyder, the first denominationally sponsored literature workers to venture into the continent. In 1919, on the eve of dramatic expansion in South America's publishing plants,

Westphal nostalgically reflected what the early days had been when he had learned his first lessons in printing from R. H. Habenicht's wife, Della. He had never seen inside a publishing house before she agreed to teach him, but "many things he had to learn alone, some of them on his knees before the Lord," he remembered. The task was not easy for either Westphal or his tutor. He recalled that they worked, "shivering with the cold and with fingers stiff, during the winter months." Sometimes they were warm only if they turned the crank of the press.³²

The work that the original trio of colporteurs began in 1891 evolved into nearly US\$850,000 in sales during the years 1922-26. Since the Big Week plan went into effect in 1921, the denomination had raised \$1,000,000 for special appropriations. Of the \$148,000 devoted to South America from these funds, \$30,000 went to Casa Publicadora to double its production capacity, and the Argentine house received \$80,000 to build a new facility and four homes for workers. South America had set what Brodersen thought to be the denomination's record for quick sales when a student, rather than an experienced colporteur, garnered three scholarships instead of only one in just two weeks as he rang up 15,300 Chilean *pesos*, equal to US\$1,800. "Both houses are being blessed most wonderfully," Brodersen told the 1926 General Conference session.³³

RIVER PLATE SANITARIUM

Ever since R. H. Habenicht began surgery on his dining room table, medical outreach had also been an important part of South American Adventism. By the time the South American Division organized, the hard-working doctor had performed hundreds of operations and had established an excellent record for patient recovery. River Plate Sanitarium was employing approximately thirty-five persons, two-thirds of them nurses in training. "The general influence on the public is good," Habenicht reflected in 1916. "From the government down, we are held in high esteem."

During the fifteen years he had already spent in Argentina—the greater part of his professional life—Habenicht had shown himself to be a versatile person, preaching, teaching, and even farming if necessary. Now fifty years old, he devoted most of his time to the job he had come to do, practicing medicine and managing the sanitarium, but he was keenly aware that the institution he headed was more than a health-care unit. "In our work we do not judge results by the number of patients, nor by the number of operations and recoveries," he told delegates to the division's organizational meeting. "The great question is, 'What is being done for the souls of the sick and dying?'"

It was not just a rhetorical question. “Few ministers in the field have a regular congregation of thirty to fifty people,” Habenicht said. “Such we have nearly all the time.” Eleven patients became members of the church because of the sanitarium’s evangelistic program, and enough employees had also been baptized to raise the number of converts to at least fifteen. For Habenicht this record was not good enough. Blaming himself, he complained that in addition to the regular evening worship in the sanitarium, he had little time for spiritual work, and hinted that the sanitarium needed a full-time chaplain.³⁴

At the first division-wide council meeting in 1920, J. W. Westphal reported progress in Habenicht’s endeavors. From its earnings the fifty-bed sanitarium had paid over US\$3,300 in tithe to the Austral Union and had doubled its capitalization in four years. J. L. Shaw, who spent five days on the grounds after the division session, was surprised to see the sanitarium in such good condition. Among the eucalyptus trees decorating the campus was a new wing, furnishing the medical staff with additional space for a well equipped operating room and two treatment rooms. G. B. Replogle, a physician associated with River Plate since 1910, had become a specialist in bacteriology and was in charge of the improved laboratory. Also a member of the staff was Carl Westphal, who had taken the medical course in Chile before transferring to River Plate.

One of the greatest causes for satisfaction was the institution’s contribution to church work. Of the sixty-three nursing students who had begun their training at the hospital, fifty-four had already graduated, and thirty-two were denominationally employed. The sanitarium was exerting an undeniable international impact with its nursing graduates who represented fourteen nationalities and twelve languages, and worked in seven countries.³⁵

By 1920 Habenicht’s career in River Plate Sanitarium was nearly over. Montgomery, who was himself near the end of his South American service, agreed with J. L. Shaw in 1921 to allow the doctor to return to the United States, but his departure from Argentina did not occur until the next year. Finally, because of failing health, the founder of River Plate Sanitarium resigned in 1923 to return home after twenty-two years of hard and demanding work. His rest was a brief one. Less than three years later in September, 1925, he died in Brazil, where he had gone shortly before with the hope to fill out his last years by helping to establish Adventist medical work in that country. Not yet sixty years old, he was worn from a life of constant activity. Pedro Kalbermatter, who graduated in the first class of

nurses in 1912, observed that Habenicht accomplished as much in eighteen years as many doctors would in forty.³⁶

Although Carl Westphal replaced Habenicht immediately, finding physicians for service at River Plate was not easy. The root of the problem was the oft-repeated story—the difficulty foreign-educated doctors encountered when trying to revalidate their credentials in Argentina. Habenicht never earned an unrestricted right to practice, but he eventually received a near-equivalent permit, although he enjoyed few if any privileges beyond those his provincial license gave him. Long before he left Argentina, church leaders tried to remedy the licensure problem by searching for prospective medical students among Adventists, but except for Carl Westphal their attempts were futile.

Nels Johnson, who arrived in Argentina in 1916, requested financial support from the General Conference to enroll in the National University's medical course, and so qualify to supervise River Plate Sanitarium as an Argentine doctor, but leaders at world headquarters denied his petition, explaining that no funds were available.³⁷

J. W. Westphal tried to change the minds in Washington, immediately writing General Conference secretaries about his "regret" over their decision, but nothing came from his appeal, and the Austral Union and the division had to find a different solution. Habenicht's declining health did not make their problem easier. Among Adventists, Spanish-speaking doctors were scarce, and even though Montgomery found one at the sanitarium in Massachusetts, he did not succeed in transferring him to South America. Meanwhile, Carl Westphal had earned his medical degree, and in 1920 he joined the River Plate Sanitarium to begin a long career on that campus.³⁸

Besides Replogle, H. E. Herman, a North American, joined the sanitarium staff in 1920, hoping to complete the Argentine qualifying process in mid-1923. He and medical supervisor Westphal planned to swap places as soon as Herman met the requirements. A year later the newcomer was still battling tests in Buenos Aires. By 1926 he passed half of them, but so damaged his health that he had to spend a recuperative vacation in Córdoba. Eight years after his arrival he was still without recognition and returned to the United States permanently. Westphal remained as medical supervisor. Later, Herman wrote that he had not earned even partial success before learning that it was nearly impossible for an alien to crack the protective barrier that Argentina erected around the medical profession.³⁹

Staffing the sanitarium with doctors was not the only problem facing the South American Division. A series of financial setbacks beginning in 1921 pushed the

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institution to near-collapse by 1924 and presented a major threat to the young medical director. Brodersen and Baer inspected the sanitarium and met with the employees after the accounting office issued the July financial statement, but they left the meeting more pessimistic than encouraged. Losses from January 1921 to December 1923 approached 36,000 Argentine *pesos*, and although in 1924 this trend slowed to a fraction of its previous rate, the outlook was still bleak.

Brodersen thought that the change from Habenicht to Westphal had hurt the institution, but if this transfer of authority may have caused any damage, it stemmed more from the new director's lack of acquaintance with the public than for any other reason. Only three years out of medical school when he took charge of River Plate, Westphal was rapidly gaining public confidence.

Brodersen's belief that the institution needed more equipment was not an ill-founded commentary on the sanitarium's financial slide. Both technological and professional advances had made new treatments possible, but the sanitarium did not modernize. Several years had elapsed since management had made improvements, and patients were going elsewhere for treatment, which made it possible for doctors with private practices nearby to compete with the Adventist institution more effectively.

The most important need was a simple matter of public relations—installing a telephone system so patients and their families could communicate with the hospital. Much to the concern of both Brodersen and Baer, they learned of instances when persons checked in for treatment before their telegrams reached the admitting office telling about their intended arrival. Also demoralizing to both employees and the surrounding communities were whisperings, whether from fear or by design, that the institution was soon to close and turn over its facilities to the training school.

Brodersen and Baer did their best to shore up the sagging morale among the sanitarium workers and promised to raise money for equipment. First on Brodersen's list were a telephone system and a diathermy apparatus for which he requested US\$1,500. "We have only this one medical institution in the immense territory of the Austral Union," he wrote to world headquarters, "and we deem it very unwise to close down this only institution of its kind, realizing that it takes only an action of a board to decide its termination, while it requires a great deal of strenuous work and no small amount of money to start a similar work in another place."

Arguing persuasively that River Plate deserved the money, Brodersen also pointed out that tithes from sanitarium earnings had totaled more than double the amount of appropriations that the General Conference had already given to

the institution. Of the nearly 7,500 patients treated since 1908, charity services had cost about 94,000 Argentine *pesos*. Other community benefits were discounts to Adventists and institutional workers.⁴⁰

Two years later at the 1926 General Conference session, Brodersen was pleased to announce that the improvements he requested had taken place, but his optimistic report could not hide the reality that all was not well, even yet. Apologizing for operating losses continuing through 1925, he disclosed that River Plate Sanitarium still could muster a medical staff of only two doctors, while its nursing corps had increased to nineteen and its bed capacity to sixty. The diathermy was installed, but the medical staff still worked without other electrical equipment, including an X-ray. Only recently the long-awaited telephones had been wired. "Imagine an institution of this kind getting along without a telephone in this day and age!" Brodersen exclaimed to General Conference delegates. Unfortunately, the diathermy did not function well; consequently, the sanitarium launched a fund-raising campaign to replace it and to purchase other equipment.⁴¹

River Plate Sanitarium was nearing the end of its second decade when Brodersen delivered his report. These years had not passed without difficulty, but his remarks clearly signaled to the rest of the church that South American Adventists believed their institution represented considerable emotional and material investment and they were far from permitting it to die.

HEALTH-CARE PROJECTS IN PERU AND BRAZIL

An example of the influence of River Plate Sanitarium was Pedro Kalbermatter, a young Argentinean, and his wife, Guillermina, who settled in the Lake Titicaca Mission in 1919. Both had graduated from the nursing course. Together they weathered a stormy career in the Andes that took them beyond medical duties in clinics and outstations to life-threatening experiences while preaching, teaching, and protecting the Indians they had gone to serve. The couple's tenacity was demonstrated by twenty-five legal suits they faced at one time because of their work.⁴²

Unlike the Kalbermatters who went to the Andes with the benefit of nurses' training, others did not, but seldom did they leave this field without learning to administer rudimentary health care. After F. A. Stahl's experience, the local population regarded education and medicine as an integral part of Adventist missions. In 1918 workers in the Lake Titicaca Mission gave 3,000 treatments. When W. H. Williams wrote to Europe searching for mission appointees for Lake Titicaca, he

laid down the stipulation that anyone contemplating a career in the Andes would, by definition, operate a medical dispensary.

J. D. Replogle, son of River Plate physician, G. B. Replogle, once described to his father just how taxing such a responsibility could be. "Sabbath is usually strenuous," he wrote home to Argentina from Ilave Mission, near Puno. After the preaching, he tried to rest for half an hour, "which many times is broken into by dispensing medicine to one or two sick persons." Squeezed into a full day of meetings were listening to personal woes, discussing the possibilities of a new school in the mountains, and conducting a baptismal class. He also pulled teeth and administered more medicine. "I wonder sometimes what Moses did with so many people," he reflected wryly.⁴³

Clinics in the Titicaca Mission were far from elaborate. At each central station the director equipped a room with a chair, bench or box for the patient to sit on, and a wash pan, tray, tooth forceps, knife, needle, and medicines. Patients did not leave without cotton moistened with oil stuffed into their ears which, with their eyes, had been washed. Indians constantly complained to the mission nurses about their eyes being filled with pus, a condition derived from poorly ventilated huts that were filled with smoke from open fires. According to E. H. Wilcox, Stahl treated this malady by mixing a bucketful of boric acid and shooting it into the Indians' eyes with a hand syringe. Tooth extraction was common. Wilcox found that because of habitual use of coca leaf, mouths of dental patients were already deadened, and pain from yanking a tooth was only minimal. When epidemics of typhus and smallpox broke out, the mission nurses vaccinated thousands. While treatments were free, patients paid small fees for medicines.⁴⁴

Motivated partly by the abject health condition of the tribespeople, but more by the needs of missionaries themselves, Theron Johnston sailed for Peru in March 1920 to treat workers rather than return them to the United States. As the first Adventist doctor in Peru, his practice rapidly succeeded. In February 1923, about three and a half years after arriving, he established a clinic in Juliaca. He was the only physician in town, and it was not long before the local army garrison and employees of the Peruvian Southern Railway learned how much they needed him. His clinic opened dramatically when the railroad brought his first patient, an accident victim with both legs nearly severed. Following Habenicht's example, he converted his reception area into an operating room and operated on the dining room table.

Johnston intended to continue treating workers, but his own health broke before he completed five years, and he returned to the United States. Temporarily the clinic

closed, but reopened with the arrival of Bernard Graybill, who left North America for his new post in November 1925. To assist the new doctor and the Inca Union, the General Conference donated US\$7,000 for the Juliaca Clinic.

Of supreme importance to Graybill was the moral support of General Cooper, president of the corporation that controlled the Peruvian Southern Railway, mines, and other property. He promised to send his company's medical cases to the Adventist clinic. To capture Cooper's confidence was no small accomplishment, but Johnston's reputation with the Juliaca Clinic could not claim all the credit. Cooper was the reluctant giver of land for Stahl's new mission along the Perené River whose resistance to the Adventist project changed abruptly after the mission director treated his injured head.⁴⁵

Although the Juliaca Clinic began as a personal enterprise by Johnston, the division soon listed it as an official denominational medical center. With origins no less dramatic than those of River Plate Sanitarium, it became the second Adventist health-care unit in South America, and while it never became as well-known or as large as the Argentine institution, it fulfilled an equally important role in the community it served.

Notwithstanding the financial reversals at River Plate Sanitarium, the division committee recommended in April 1924 that South American workers establish two medical training centers, one each for the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking territories, and that specific education for work in the Inca Union should be part of the program. From the onset, Montgomery had discouraged self-supporting nurses. Because the committee was contemplating a division-wide plan that would align treatment rooms and dispensaries with evangelism in many cities, medical centers were necessary to train staff for outlying urban missions. Of course, the Argentine hospital fulfilled half of that measure, but at the time, Brazil lay completely untouched by Adventist medical outreach.⁴⁶

Years would pass before Adventists would establish a hospital in Brazil, but inspired by prospects of medical evangelism, John Lipke interrupted his ministerial and administrative career to return to the United States to earn a medical degree at the College of Medical Evangelists in Loma Linda, California. Already forty-five years old when he began the course, and fifty when he returned to Brazil to set up a practice, he and the division shared a hope of establishing the desired medical center. Only weeks before he and Brodersen traveled from the United States to Rio de Janeiro following the 1923 Autumn Council, Habenicht passed away in São Paulo, leaving an inexperienced Lipke as the only Adventist physician in the country.

Lipke did not find his new tasks easy. Brazil validation procedures for foreign-educated doctors required them to pass examinations that amounted to taking the medical course the second time. Although authorities granted him a temporary permit to practice, by the time the 1926 General Conference session convened in June, the only progress he had made was to travel to the United States to take a post-graduate course and wait for appointment to the teaching faculty of the Adventist medical college, hoping Brazilian officials would waive their lengthy validation process on the strength of his professorial standing.⁴⁷

Despite the perennial licensure problem, South American Division leaders were optimistic in 1926 about the prospects of their medical ministry. With a newly established unit in Peru, a well established River Plate Sanitarium, and high expectations in Brazil, South American Adventists were readying themselves for a bright future for their health-care projects. Their regret was their tardy response to their opportunities. "The doors are standing wide open in South America for us to carry on medical work," Brodersen said in his final report about the division. "We have been slow to enter. We are anxious to step right in without delay, as a kind Providence may open the way for us."⁴⁸ Before Brodersen's successors enjoyed the fulfillment of those words, they would learn that the doors were not nearly as wide open as they appeared, but hardly discouraged, they found that other aspects of their work, such as education, also needed promotion.

¹ H. Meyer, "East Brazil Union Mission," *RH*, June 22, 1922.

² Oliver Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917.

³ W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 1," *RH*, February 17, 1916.

⁴ N. Z. Town, "The Literature Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, March 23, 1916.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ R. L. Pierce, "The Publishing Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, September 15, 1921.

⁷ A. Pages, "Relatorio das sessões da comissão executiva da União-Brazileira," *RM*, April 1913; N. Z. Town, "The Literature Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, March 23, 1916; W. H. Williams, "The Annual South American Executive Committee Council," *ibid.*, March 13, 1919; Oliver Montgomery, "Our Literature in South America," *ibid.*, June 26, 1919; J. Berger Johnson, "A Word From Brazil," *ibid.*, January 22, 1925; Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 63-65; Lessa, "Produção de literatura," 31; Vieira, *Vida e obra*, 198-201.

⁸ Oliver Montgomery, "South American Publishing Houses and Their Needs," *ibid.*, April 28, 1921; R. L. Pierce, "The Publishing Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, September 15, 1921; H. H. Hall, "The Missions Publishing Fund," *ibid.*, March 30, 1922.

⁹ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918; P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *RH*, June 6, 1926; *Statistical Report*, 1920-1927.

¹⁰ N. Z. Town, "The Literature Work in Brazil," *RH*, March 23, 1916.

¹¹ M. V. Tucker, "The Publishing Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, February 21, 1924; and "Our Literature in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 24, 1924; J. Berger Johnson, "The Great Controversy in Brazilian Territory," *ibid.*, May 20, 1926.

- ¹² M. V. Tucker, "The Publishing Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, February 21, 1924.
- ¹³ J. H. McEachern, "Publishing Department," *ibid.*, September 2, 1920; R. M. Carter, "Manuel—A Brazilian Colporteur," *ibid.*, April 12, 1917.
- ¹⁴ N. Z. Town, "The Literature Work in Brazil," *ibid.*, March 23, 1916.
- ¹⁵ A. L. Westphal, "West Minas Geraes [sic] Mission," *ibid.*, October 7, 1920; C. L. Banier, "With Our Brazilian Colporteurs," *ibid.*, February 11, 1926. Banier was home missionary leader for the South Brazil Union. T. W. Steen, "Brazil Training School Items," *South American Bulletin*, II (December 1926), 8; P. E. Brodersen to C. K. Meyers, November 5, 1924, GCA/21, GF/1921; SAD Minutes, April 1, 1924/GCA.
- ¹⁶ Oliver Montgomery, "Notes from Brazil—No. 3," *RH*, March 1, 1917; J. W. Wilhelm, "Colporteur Work in the East Brazil Union," *ibid.*, November 23, 1922.
- ¹⁷ C. E. Rentfro, "Circulation of Our Literature," *ibid.*, January 8, 1925; W. H. Williams, "South America a Home Base," *ibid.*, January 8, 1925; N. Z. Town, "A Door Opened by Our Literature in the Amazon Country," *ibid.*, June 13, 1918; *Statistical Report*, 1920, 1926.
- ¹⁸ J. W. Westphal, "In the Austral Union," *RH*, September 18, 1919.
- ¹⁹ Oliver Montgomery, "Our Literature in South America," *RH*, June 26, 1919; J. W. Westphal, "In the Austral Union," *ibid.*, September 18, 1919; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 24. The Barcelona Publishing House did not have a printing plant but contracted its work to commercial presses. "Safeliz Publishing House," *SDA Encyclopedia*, second rev. ed., v. 2, 519.
- ²⁰ General Conference Secretariat to Oliver Montgomery, January 11, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917; Oliver Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, *ibid.*; Oliver Montgomery to W. A. Spicer, November 23, 1917, *ibid.*
- ²¹ Walton J. Brown, "A Historical Study of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Austral South America," June 1953, 274-276, unpublished manuscript from which the author extracted his Ph.D. dissertation. See also Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 31-33.
- ²² Brown, "Historical Study," 277-278; J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920; E. W. Everest, "Spanish Publishing Work in South America," *ibid.*, May 5, 1921; R. L. Pierce, "The Buenos Aires Publishing Plant," *ibid.*, September 22, 1921; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 29-32.
- ²³ J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920; Oliver Montgomery, "South American Publishing Houses and Their Needs," *ibid.*, April 28, 1921.
- ²⁴ Brown, "Historical Study," 278-282; H. H. Hall, "The Missions Publishing Fund," *RH*, March 30, 1922; N. Z. Town, "Progress in South America," *ibid.*, August 9, 1923. Casella and Steger provide an interesting account of the new facility in *Cien años*, 33-38.
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⁴³ J. D. Replogle to G. B. Replogle, quoted in "Ilave Mission, Peru," *ibid.*, August 19, 1920; W. H. Williams to W. K. Ising, June 9, 1926, GCA/21, GF/1926; Ernest F. Peterson, "The Message Established Where Inca Sun Worship Prevailed," *RH*, June 12, 1919.

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⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



EDUCATION, 1916-1926

“WE BELIEVE,” OLIVER Montgomery told delegates to the 1918 General Conference session in San Francisco, California, “that we should work as rapidly as possible to the end of developing Latin Americans to labor for Latin Americans.”¹ Montgomery was not enunciating a revolutionary idea, but until he became president of the South American Division, Adventist education in that field was still embryonic. Only in Argentina had the training school concept made genuine headway. For years a small school had struggled in Chile; barely months before he arrived, a small group had gathered at Santo Amaro about ten miles outside São Paulo to begin a training school for Brazil. When Montgomery spoke at San Francisco, workers had established another educational center for the Aymaras at Platería, Peru, bringing South America’s total number of training schools to four.

By the end of the division’s first decade in 1926, the picture was much different. Colegio Adventista del Plata had gained approval for junior college status, Brazil Seminary offered a well organized program, the Chilean institution had relocated on a new campus, the Platería school had moved to Juliaca, and a fifth school had

begun in Lima. Measured by secular standards of advanced education, these five institutions were still weak and unpromising, but Adventist leaders were willing to stake the future of the church on them. Pouring its funds and moral support onto these campuses, by 1926 the division developed the makings of an educational system that, in a sense, would become the institutional heart of the Adventist church.

RIVER PLATE COLLEGE

The years immediately following the division's organization were mixed for the Argentine school. Its eighteenth term, ending in November 1917, was difficult. Enrollment dropped from 125 to eighty-nine. During the previous two years, the school's prospects appeared bright. More than forty students were baptized, and H. U. Stevens, the school's director, was leading a construction program. When the 1917 term opened on March 5, tuition was pegged 20 percent higher and cafeteria charges also went up. Although educational costs were still low, living expenses were high, which helped to produce a shortage of money in the school treasury. The school administration kept doggedly on, however, improving the farm by spending money on livestock and a new barn. In spite of all the financial negatives, the year ended on a happy note when fourteen graduated, the largest class in its history. Six students completed either the secondary or one of the special courses; five went directly into denominational employment.²

Economic hard times during that year in Argentina—drought and strikes—had not helped the school. Enrollment climbed the next year, but still remained low, only 105 with eight graduates. Stevens's last year, 1919, saw campus unrest break out, creating "concern and even anxiety" among the faculty. J. W. Westphal finally stepped in during September to conduct a revival and baptized twenty repentant malcontents. One month later, Stevens left the school to become the secretary of education for the division. With a master's degree from the University of Chicago, he had worked tirelessly to improve the school's offerings and the plant, but after eight years a change was welcome.³

Stevens's transfer marked a turning point in the institution's development. Replacing him was J. S. Marshall, a new appointee from the United States who sailed to Argentina in 1919. Several new members also joined the staff at the same time, among them a new dean of men, J. M. Howell, who had several years of experience in Peru, and W. H. Wohlers, another mission recruit from the United States, who took over the farm. Nationals, including Camilo Gil and Mrs. E. de Marisco, gave

balance to Marshall's faculty. A year after the new director took charge, the school separated from the sanitarium and became subject to its own control board.

After visiting the campus in 1920, General Conference Secretary of Education W. E. Howell appeared pleased with the school's four programs—teacher-preparation, secretarial training, ministerial, and Bible work—but Westphal did not try to hide the school's deficiencies when he reported at the division meetings. "Attendance . . . has not materially changed," he said matter-of-factly. Enrollment had risen from the low of eighty-nine in 1917 to 172, although only sixty of that number were secondary students. "Its needs are many," Westphal admitted about the school. "Chief among these is a dormitory for boys. The present one is unhomelike, and is rapidly becoming unfit to live in." The institution was also short on faculty housing, and both the dairy and bakery needed improvements. On the positive side was an apparently greater awareness of the benefits of education and the improved capacity of the school to provide instruction in Spanish. Westphal said that "the future is more promising."⁴

The next few years bore out Westphal's predictions. As Marshall refined the school's program, enrollment rose until it hovered around 200. His capacity to organize a team of instructors and an industrial program brought new prosperity to the campus. One of the most encouraging signs showing that professional education was exerting an impact on the River Plate basin was the steady increase in the proportion of students enrolling in secondary and worker-training programs. Since the school's inception the primary grades had attracted the largest number of students, but in 1922 the ninety students in the higher levels nearly matched the ninety-four enrollees in the lower grades.⁵ From that point on academic upgrading occurred consistently.

Austral Union leaders viewed the turnaround with relief. "We believe we have solved the problem of workers for this part of Latin America," Roscoe Baer wrote after the 1922 school year ended. "We shall probably need one or two executives and two evangelists, to lead out in the work, but all other classes of workers we shall be able to provide."⁶

With enrollment holding steadily around 200 and with a growing proportion of students in the worker-training courses, the school board officially requested post-secondary status in 1924. The petition was a minimal one, asking for a status equivalent to a North American school offering two years of post-secondary courses. During its December meetings, the division committee approved the plan, but actual upgrading was not immediate. Brodersen told the 1926 General Conference session

that “no time should be lost . . . in raising the River Plate school to a junior college. The authorizing organizations have already voted this, but shortage of funds has necessitated a postponement.” Whatever Brodersen’s complaints may have been, the school was on its way up the ladder of the educational hierarchy. Students were already enrolled in college-level courses, and Marshall’s title had changed to president. In 1925 the General Conference *Statistical Report* listed the school as a junior college.⁷

Marshall’s workload was probably the heaviest of any faculty member. Besides directing the school, he taught in three divergent fields: teacher training, science, and history. Responding to two recommendations from the division committee, he made staff changes to reduce his own assignments while strengthening the overall program. George Casebeer’s departure from the school in 1922 had left the ministerial training program without a career pastor as a teacher, a deficiency that Marshall corrected in 1925 when J. H. Roth, for years a conference president, transferred to the faculty. A year after he joined the faculty, a new teacher began teaching history classes and some of the Bible courses, which enabled Roth to implement more effective ministerial training and Marshall to devote more time to management. These changes were responses to recommendations from the division the previous school year that not only should experienced instructors teach prospective ministers and Bible workers but that students should receive academic credit for field work.

Almost in the same breath the division committee went on record favoring medical training programs for both the Spanish and Portuguese regions in South America. Although the Argentine sanitarium had offered a nursing course for years, it had been outside the school’s purview. In 1926 Marshall brought this academic orphan under the umbrella of the junior college by including Carl Westphal as a faculty member in charge of science classes and nurses’ training. As Marshall began his first year with the title of president of the junior college in 1926, he had become more truly an administrator by limiting his teaching responsibilities to teacher training. The school’s new status as a junior college was not a recognition by Argentina that the institution was post-secondary but rather a denominational authorization to offer post-secondary classes. By necessity, instruction continued along Argentine patterns. Marshall had succeeded well in building an effective instructional program. In 1926 only three Adventist schools outside North America had a larger secondary enrollment than Colegio Adventista del Plata.⁸

In addition to sharpening the school’s academic offerings, Marshall also improved the industrial program. W. H. Wohlers, farm manager, played a leading role,

by earning national acclaim for his accomplishments. At the 1923 Rural Exposition in Paraná, he walked off with high honors for the products of the school farm, primarily the livestock. Ramón Isasi, coordinator of the exposition, was so impressed with the school and its philosophy that he soon became an Adventist. Thanks to Wohlers, even the school's cows had become tools of evangelism.

News about the school reached the ears of the editors of a Buenos Aires magazine that published a story about the Adventist campus, singling out the farm for special attention. Wohlers was successfully taking advantage of a location already well-known for its agricultural output to draw plaudits for his farm buildings, his herd of Holstein cattle, and the butter, cream, and cheese he was producing. If putting the school farm on Argentina's agricultural map were Wohlers's only contribution, it would have been enough, but during his final two years at River Plate, he stepped into the classroom to teach math. His wife also kept busy as the director of the school's cafeteria until sickness drove her from the post.⁹

Large-scale construction began in 1924, primarily to relieve the cramped living quarters in the dormitories. New homes for faculty also were part of the plan. Two years later, Colegio Adventista del Plata consisted of fourteen buildings and a faculty of twelve. It had become one of the division's educational mainstays. E. H. Wilcox, who had moved from Lake Titicaca to the presidency of the North Argentine Conference, remarked in 1926 that graduates from the school were serving the church in every major field in South America except Ecuador.

C. P. Crager, the division's secretary of education, saw this missionary spirit in action when spending two days on the campus in 1926. During his stay, the male students staged one of the important social functions of the year, a formal entertainment honoring the ladies. When the time came for the food, they announced that instead of enjoying something to eat, they had donated twenty Argentine *pesos* for the Week of Sacrifice offering in support of missions. Obliging, the ladies joined the plan by delivering the money to the church treasurer.¹⁰

STRUGGLES AT THE CHILEAN SCHOOL

Not as encouraging were events in Chile. "This school ought to have better facilities, and we hope that they can be provided in the near future," W. W. Prescott reported about the school in 1916. At the time, two main structures comprised the school, the larger one housing the dormitories and classrooms while the kitchen, dining room, laundry, and offices occupied the smaller building. So peripheral to

the Austral Union was this institution that during the first ten years of the division's history church leaders mentioned it only obliquely. Soon after his arrival in South America, Montgomery himself appeared to question why the school existed, suggesting that it should merge with the union school, a statement that could be interpreted to mean that Colegio Adventista del Plata was the official institution in the Austral Union.¹¹

In 1919, after only four months as president of the Chile Conference, Roscoe T. Baer summarized the school's history succinctly. "The Conference operates a ten-grade school at Pua," he wrote. "In the past this school has struggled, sometimes succeeding and sometimes bordering on failure." But he held out hope for the school, echoing Montgomery's comment following the annual conference session in Santiago in March 1919: "For many years the outlook has not been so good for that institution as it is today."

One of the reasons for optimism was what appeared to be an end to a string of rapidly changing school directors. C. E. Krieghoff's second stint as head of the school lasted just three years. His successor, J. C. Brower, who took charge in 1917, remained in office only two years, and his successor, Nels Johnson, left the post after only one year, although he remained on the faculty. When W. W. Wheeler, the former Bible instructor at the Argentine school, arrived, prospects of experienced leadership cheered Chilean Adventists, and enrollment soared to fifty-six, the highest total in years. In a rare reference about the school in an official statement, Montgomery spoke briefly but hopefully about it at the 1920 division meetings. "The Chile school," he said, "under the directorship of Brother W. W. Wheeler, [is] making . . . good advancement."¹²

More dramatic events than Wheeler's leadership were to occur before Chilean Adventists would be satisfied that progress was genuine. W. E. Howell's evaluation of the school's success was honest but pessimistic after his visit in 1920. Enrollment had dropped severely and in his opinion the climate was too cold—he toured the campus during early winter—the soil was infertile, the buildings were in poor repair, and the location was too far from its constituency. He was quick to recommend a new location a few hours north near Chillán. Two years earlier the school had received approval for a complete secondary program, but had been unable to offer the additional classes because of lack of funds. It is "growing toward the twelve-grade rank," Howell commented graciously, but estimated another two years before it would achieve that goal.¹³

With more than a trace of triumph Howell announced the next year that the Chile Conference had sold Púa Training School and invested the money in property seven miles from Chillán where the climate was better and an abundant water supply made irrigation of farm crops feasible. To add to the good prospects for the school, C. P. Crager, an experienced educator, had replaced Baer as conference president. Despite this brightened outlook, Chile's disappointments were still not over. Wheeler's departure perpetuated the discontinuity in leadership, and Crager remained in Chile only two years before returning to Argentina as division secretary of education.¹⁴

The plans for Adventist education in Chile began to disintegrate. W. E. Hancock, Crager's successor, later wrote that the school was fighting debt caused by escalating construction costs. The young men were living in a renovated barn, and the ladies' dormitory was really the building intended for administration. C. U. Ayars had come from the United States to head the school, expecting an enrollment of sixty to begin the 1923 year, but only thirty-five registered. Promotion of the school brought more students, raising the enrollment above sixty, but Ayars was feeling the pressure of coping with a financially strapped school that offered few work opportunities for students.

To help raise money to complete construction on their chapel, students spent one day each month selling *El Atalaya*, and donated their commissions. "As a force of teachers," Ayars wrote, "we are willing to struggle on, doing what we can with the facilities we have, if some means can be supplied to install industries to enable the students to attend school." To encourage him and his faculty, the division advanced the school 20,000 *pesos* in 1924 to aid construction.¹⁵

So discouraged were the Chile Conference leaders and the school administrator that they began considering another move still farther north. Hancock wanted the campus near Santiago, and in 1926 located adequate acreage near San Bernardo, only minutes away by train from the capital. Despite instructions from the division to wait, he signed a contract to sell the property at Chillán, but at the last minute an unfulfilled technicality in the title prevented the actual sale. The unconsummated deal cost the Chile Conference more than 6,000 *pesos* in fines, but the Chillán property had been saved. Hancock interpreted this abrupt change in his plans as divine intervention, and the conference immediately went on record as favoring the Chillán site after all.¹⁶

Enrollment had already taken an upward turn in 1924 when it reached seventy, and for 1926 it touched ninety. Ayars remained at the school long enough to see this

favorable trend begin, and then moved on to Peru in 1926. The school's future was finally brightening. The Chilean government had just designated the institution as one of the country's model schools because it conformed to recent education legislation. J. M. Howell, the new director, took full advantage of this honor by entertaining many visitors from state-operated schools. Now completely supportive of the Chillán campus, Hancock greeted this wave of prosperity exultantly, even though the student body was growing too fast for the school's housing capacity. "The young men are having to find rooms in the principal's house, and in the farmer's cottage," he said.¹⁷

Relocating Chile's training school from Púa to Chillán proved to be the turning point in the institution's history. Despite delayed construction on proposed buildings, lingering doubts about the location, and the school's debt, farsighted church leaders saw better prospects for the school at the new site. Within five years the faculty nearly doubled, increasing from six to eleven, allowing Howell to departmentalize his staff more efficiently. Enrollment was still predominantly at the primary level rather than in the secondary and worker-training classes, but by 1926 Colegio Adventista de Chillán had passed its crisis point and had become an unquestioned part of South America's educational program.¹⁸

BEGINNINGS OF THE BRAZIL TRAINING SCHOOL

Almost simultaneous with the organization of the South American Division was the founding of Brazil's first training school. W. W. Prescott detailed this newest enterprise in South America, scarcely eight months old, when he, Town, and Montgomery arrived in January 1916. On more than 350 acres of rolling land near São Paulo, his eye met good pasturage, much timber, banana plants, and vegetable cultivation. "We were favorably impressed," he wrote back to the *Review*.

Prescott also found a hard-working, energetic, and dedicated staff. John Lipke, superintendent of the São Paulo Mission, and Paul Hennig were conducting classes in a house that had come with the property. J. H. Boehm and his wife were managing the school and overseeing construction and agricultural projects. Years later Brazilian educator Orlando Ritter characterized Lipke as a problem solver, Boehm as committed to agriculture and furnishing work opportunities for students, and Hennig as a "true walking encyclopedia," capable of teaching almost everything. They had first lived in tents but had made enough progress at the time of Prescott's visit to allow students to move from tents to buildings, which would later become the barn and chicken houses. Besides attending Lipke's and Hennig's classes, students had cut a

road through the property, drawn timber, burned brick for construction, and installed a water pump. "Such pioneer life is rather strenuous," Prescott remarked, "but we heard no word of complaint. All seemed to be thankful at the prospect of having a school where workers could be prepared for carrying this message to the people of Brazil."¹⁹

Prescott, Town, and Montgomery were en route to Argentina to organize the South American Division and intended their visit as an opportunity to introduce the future division president to the Brazil Union committee which was in session at the time in Santo Amaro. On the agenda was a half-day inspection tour of the new school. So impressed were the members of the committee that they collected and pledged three contos to add a dairy industry to the campus.²⁰

In September, Montgomery returned to the campus to attend the annual meeting of the Brazil Union committee. Not much at the school escaped his searching eye. So pleased was he with Boehm's progress that he sent a major article with pictures to Washington, describing the two-story bakery, laundry, and apartment building, as well as the nearly completed main structure, a multi-purpose complex that housed the dining room, kitchen, chapel, and dormitory. Reaction to the school from the Brazilian Adventist community was already prompting changes in plans. Enrollment had risen from the original eighteen to thirty-five. "At first it was thought by the brethren that not many girls would attend the school," Montgomery wrote, "but we find that one third of the present attendance is young women." To make room for these unexpected students, some of the boys moved into the attic. Among the topics the union committee discussed was the school's future and its financial condition, advocating further promotion in the churches and a fund to assist worthy students.

News of the school also aroused favorable responses from the São Paulo public. "An industrial school is a new thing in Brazil," Montgomery said, observing that influential persons in the nearby city were more than curious about the Adventist project. From the office of the director of agriculture for the state of São Paulo came numerous varieties of seeds, a valuable contribution to the school's farm. The head of the horticulture station in São Paulo donated fourteen hundred fruit and ornamental trees. Already the farm was supplying much of the food consumed by the school family. "The establishment of this training school marks the beginning of a new era for the work in Brazil," Montgomery told *Review* readers. "From its doors we expect to see a stream of earnest and consecrated workers going forth into the field."²¹

Another cause for a sense of accomplishment was the employment of the first Brazilian as a teacher. Shortly after Brazil declared war against Germany in World

War I, F. W. Spies, president of the Brazil Union, asked Albertina Rodrigues da Silva to join the teaching faculty to offer classes in history and geography. For two years she had been working at the publishing house as a translator. She was 22-years-old, educated in some of the best schools in São Paulo, recently baptized, and engaged to Henrique Simon, a young student preparing for the ministry, whom she soon married. For Albertina Simon it was the beginning of a long, productive career in Adventist education in Brazil.²²

Without any fault of his own, Lipke found himself at the center of a dilemma involving the training school. At the September meetings Montgomery attended in 1916, the Brazil Union formed the North Brazil Union and elected Lipke president. As superintendent of the São Paulo Mission, he had assumed control of the school, but he was not a trained educator. Leaders of the Brazil Union began searching for another school director almost immediately. Their unsuccessful probe reflected the wider problem affecting the entire division—the lack of workers. As it turned out, Lipke never moved to North Brazil.

The immediate reason was the lack of funds to pay the salaries of workers in new fields. Spies launched a campaign that called every church member in Brazil to donate 150 *réis* each week for a year, which would have brought in the amount needed to establish the North Brazil Union. Meanwhile, the school would not release Lipke for his new post; consequently, he remained until after the 1918 term when T. W. Steen arrived from North America to become the new director. This change allowed Lipke to resume administrative assignments in South Brazil briefly, after which he left to study medicine in the United States.²³

Steen inherited an improving program. Enrollment had risen to sixty-three during Lipke's last year as director. Problems in living space persisted. Some male students were still living in the attic, but the General Conference donated US\$10,000 for a new dormitory and another US\$1,500 for the director's home. Additional student housing was a main topic when the union council met to discuss the school at its year-end meetings in December 1918. During the school's fifth year, 1919, forty-four new students raised enrollment to seventy-six, emphasizing again the need for more living area. During that year, the new dormitory went up, and when matriculation day arrived in 1920, enrollment jumped to 136, mostly secondary level students.²⁴

According to W. E. Howell, the Brazilian Seminary's location was one of the best in the Adventist world. The natural beauty of its surroundings and its two dormitories, one of them incomplete but liveable, had stimulated rapid growth,

almost too fast for the fledgling institution to handle. Although it had furnished work opportunities for many students—even the ladies had worked in the vegetable gardens—and had earned a reputation as an industrial school, Steen converted to a cash plan in 1921. When the opening enrollment dropped to sixty-five in April, Howell apologetically explained that the new financial arrangements had probably precipitated the decline, but saved Steen from complete embarrassment by assuring *Review* readers that he expected 115 before the year ended, and that the cash plan would eventually benefit the school.²⁵

Steen's idea was revolutionary to Adventist education. Denominational schools had traditionally based their appeal on allowing students to work and earn money to enable them to attend. This practice avoided the necessity of students coming to school with cash in hand, which also was a way of accommodating the poor who desired an education. Steen's plan required students to pay for everything in advance, which would eliminate the poor, but later data show that he did not enforce the rule without exception. During the first year of his experiment, three of every four students paid in advance, but enrollment reached 105, missing his expectations by ten.²⁶

Spies reported after the school's fifth year in 1919 that thirteen former students of Brazil Seminary were working for the denomination, but not until three years later did the first students who completed the entire worker-training course graduate. Five men and four women comprised the class. Of the male students, three entered the ministry, one joined Casa Publicadora as a translator, and the last remained at the school to head the agriculture department. One of the women graduates also joined the faculty, two became church school teachers, and the last entered evangelism as a Bible worker. That the training school could help to relieve the shortage of workers was evident. H. B. Westcott, president of the São Paulo Conference, reported in 1924 that of the thirteen workers in his field, seven were products of the seminary.²⁷

Enrollment skyrocketed in 1924 to 233, approximately a third of whom were secondary or worker-training students. The school had discontinued its cash payment plan, and Brodersen observed during his tour of the campus that the majority of the students earned their way by working in the school industries. To assist students, Steen operated the seminary on a twelve-month schedule, allowing 100 to work during vacation. Also of importance to the business office was canvassing, a ready-made industry that allowed students to bring cash to the campus. Brodersen noted that forty had chosen this means to earn money for their educational expenses.

The student body dropped to 172 in 1926 when a financial crisis hit, forcing students out of school because they could not pay their bills. Many of them went into colporteuring. Five of the faculty also left the campus. By the last quarter of that school year, conditions became so acute that Steen canceled classes for the rest of the year. These problems were short-lived. The following year an enrollment of more than 200 helped an encouraged faculty to return to normal educational life.²⁸

Progress at Santo Amaro had been relatively fast. Steen gave nearly a decade of leadership. As a gifted organizer and recognized educator, he placed Brazil Seminary on solid footing very early in its history. By 1926 the faculty equaled the size of its sister institution in Argentina and was departmentalized into a dozen fields. So impressive were its gains that Brodersen predicted at the 1926 General Conference session that soon the school would follow River Plate in requesting junior college status. “We must raise our standards of work in South America,” he told delegates to the world convocation, “and educate our workers sufficiently to labor for the cultured classes. Our schools are our only hope . . . we must strengthen the hands of our educators.”²⁹

TITICACA NORMAL SCHOOL

Unique among Adventist training schools in South America was Titicaca Normal School that began officially in 1923 after several months of construction. “School opened in the new building the first of February, 1923,” B. L. Thompson, the school director, wrote. “The building was entirely without windows or doors or warmth.”³⁰

What began that day in such adverse surroundings had been a half-dozen years in the making. It all began unexpectedly in 1916 when C. V. Achenbach and J. M. Howell answered a call to treat the injured wife of the regional Inspector of Education who lived in Puno. Howell had been in Peru only a few months and was baffled about how to conduct school for the hordes of Indians who flocked to him. His original mission assignment was to teach, but conditions differed so radically from his North American background that he had made little headway.

Achenbach and Howell eased the woman’s pain and remained as overnight guests in the inspector’s home. The next morning the grateful husband issued Howell a life certificate to teach anywhere in his district and to appoint teachers. It was the opportunity Howell had been waiting for, a turning point in the history of Adventist education at Lake Titicaca.³¹

Trying to herd 175 students, unaccustomed to the niceties of education, through a school term tested Howell’s innovative talents. Aymara teachers were already

conducting schools, and Stahl had advised him at the outset to use Indian assistants, but he was not satisfied. Long before he completed his first school year, Howell wrote that the native teachers in the surrounding territory were good, but they should come to Platería for a summer school for professional development.³² Who originated the summer school idea is unclear, but that summer session was the first formal attempt to train indigenous teachers to achieve levels above the instruction they offered in the ordinary schools. It was also the beginning of what would grow into Titicaca Normal School and later Colegio Adventista del Titicaca, and eventually a branch campus of Universidad Peruana Unión. Howell's life certificate and his right to authorize Indian teachers had paved the way to establish summer training sessions.

Because of his wife's illness, Howell did not remain long in the highlands, but the concept of a training center for Indian teachers had fired the imagination of those he left behind. Among the other workers who picked up on his success was Stahl himself. Taking advantage of his status as one of the delegates from South America to the 1918 General Conference session, he encouraged denominational support for a training school in the Lake Titicaca Mission. The small beginning at Platería was too spartan to fulfill the need, and according to Stahl, only US\$7,000 would be enough to buy the land and pay for construction of a new school.

At the same time, other events outside the mission also encouraged Adventists to pursue the idea for a training school. Sympathetic thinkers in the university and leading lights in Lima, including government dignitaries both in and out of the Peruvian Congress, had noticed what was taking place at Platería and wanted more information on which to base favorable legislation to make education of the tribespeople easier. E. F. Peterson, F. C. Varney, and H. B. Lundquist received invitations to furnish data to the government. When W. E. Howell visited Titicaca in 1920, the strong enthusiasm for a training school convinced him that the plan was feasible. Before he left, mission and union leaders decided to establish an institution for teacher education.³³

The search for land began immediately. Not until June 1922 after visiting about twenty sites, did church leaders purchase two sections of land in Juliaca. Meanwhile, the summer school became larger and an institution in itself. For six months the teachers conducted their own schools at substations and then spent five months at Platería for additional training. W. F. Jordan, secretary of the Upper Andes Agency of the American Bible Society, visited the 1921 summer session, and

again in December 1924. Obviously impressed, he left descriptions of the training school in a book, *Glimpses of Indian America*.

According to Jordan, eighty-two teachers and prospective teachers crowded into an unfinished adobe building that they had helped to construct before they could begin classes. “The rainy season had begun when I arrived” he said, “The mud floor was damp. Doors and windows were wanting. The American missionaries sat in their overcoats and wraps. The students were gathered around tables and seated on backless benches. It would be hard to imagine a normal school working under less favorable conditions. I spoke to them three times with my overcoat on, and this was their summer . . . Sunday there was no school session, and students could be seen, singly and in groups, sitting on the sunny side of buildings, rocks, and slopes, struggling with the intricacies of Spanish grammar, a language foreign to them, grappling with problems in arithmetic, or studying a geography, history, or Bible lesson. There was a greater percentage of these students applying themselves to their work than would be found during a holiday in any school of the homeland.”³⁴

Jordan described the selection of teachers as a mildly competitive process. Teachers in the outlying schools would select their best students to attend the central school at Platería. Here workers scrutinized them, sending the most promising ones a step further to the teacher-training course. Housing and meals were the students’ responsibilities while attending school. Usually their families brought their food while friends allowed them to sleep on the mud floors of their huts.

By the time the Juliaca training center opened, the school directors shortened the summer session to four months, beginning in December and ending in March. The regular school year lasted twenty-four weeks, from May through October. While the normal school was under construction, students worked free. Later, C. U. Ayars reported that the school required ten hours labor each week from each student, but also provided them an equal amount of time for paid work. The mission retained teachers on salary while attending the summer session, which enabled them to pay for their books and tuition. Actual cash exchange was minimal with each student paying \$7.50 and a matriculation fee of \$1.50. They usually brought their own food from their homes, but placed it in a common depository from which they drew a weekly supply each Sunday. A communal kitchen with individual ovens gave the students a chance to prepare their own meals from dried mutton, barley, rice, potatoes, and other garden products.³⁵

The school building was one hundred feet long, built partly from materials produced on the grounds. Ideally, the school planned that either two boys or a married

student and his wife should live in a room seven feet square. Even with those arrangements, dormitory space was at a premium, but it became even more so when 100 students matriculated. "Unless we can soon get something better for dormitories, it will be impossible for us to hold the situation," B. L. Thompson remarked. Two missionary families lived above the thirty-two dormitory rooms. For classroom space, teachers used halls and two small rooms. At least partial relief from these crowded conditions came after the December 1923 Sabbath school overflow offering funded additional dormitory space to accommodate 200 students, but enrollment went up still faster. The 1925-1926 summer session drew 260 Indian teachers.³⁶

Students found ample work to fulfill their ten-hour weekly quota to help pay for their tuition. Agriculture was the school's first industry. Where hardly any farming had occurred previously, the school's fields produced a good barley crop. By 1926 the farm also maintained more than one thousand sheep and a small dairy herd. The school was also experimenting with rug and furniture manufacturing.³⁷

This record was encouraging, but mission leaders realized that their school needed much refinement. The confidence that the Peruvian government had extended to them and which they had advantageously used in arousing denominational support for the training school translated into responsibilities. Trained educators as part of the teaching staff, such as the Argentine and Brazilian schools enjoyed, had not been common in the Lake Titicaca program. W. E. Phillips, secretary of the Inca Union, reminded division officers that the model status that Lima's officials had tagged on the Juliaca institution would not prevent government inspectors from scrutinizing Adventist schools for the Indians. He warned that they would not overlook the lack of uniformity in textbooks, curriculum planning, and schedules. "We must get a man in here at once to keep our educational work from going to pieces," he warned the division president and treasurer.³⁸

These fears notwithstanding, no one, not even the Peruvian government, could deny the impact of the school on the local population. In 1926, after four years of operation, 539 students enrolled in Titicaca Normal School during both the summer session and the six-month term, and the school produced a graduating class of eleven. Six buildings comprised the school plant and the faculty had grown to nine, including industrial supervisors. While it had the largest enrollment of any training school in the South American Division, its offerings were exclusively at the primary level. Because many of the summer session students were already teachers, the number of former enrollees who had entered denominational employ was already large.³⁹

LIMA TRAINING SCHOOL

J. M. Howell's summer schools at Titicaca had been in full swing for two years when Adventists in Lima also began exploring the possibilities for an institution for the non-Indian sector of the Inca Union. In part, the idea stemmed from the missionaries' need to educate their own children without sending them back to their home countries. Stahl faced this dilemma with his 11-year-old son. Only months after Spicer advised him not to send the boy to the United States, the division committee, meeting in conjunction with the Austral Union mid-year session during June 1917, voted to establish an elementary level training school in Lima.⁴⁰

It was April 30, 1919, before the Inca Union accumulated enough means to begin the school in four rented rooms in Miraflores, a Lima suburb. Meanwhile, Fernando Osorio had started a small school for Peruvian Adventists, but it gave way to the new project. From the church came 1,650 Peruvian *soles* to support the new school. After one week of classes, only eight students were attending, but the tiny endeavor ended the year with fifteen. In these tight quarters no one could expect much growth, but within three years the school had moved into larger quarters.⁴¹

H. B. Lundquist, who started the school one year after his arrival in South America, suffered a rude interruption in 1920 when he contracted a severe case of typhoid. Teaching responsibilities fell into J. M. Howell's hands. Ironically, he and his wife had been forced down to Lima from Titicaca because of health reasons. Both Lundquist and Howell transferred to Argentina after that year, making room for C. D. Striplin, another newcomer to South America, to take charge.

Lundquist began the school enthusiastically but growth had been slow. Twenty students the second year and between thirty-five and forty the third were fewer than leaders had hoped. W. E. Howell from the General Conference Department of Education predicted that the Inca Union would have to manage its money well to support two schools. However, even with less growth than hoped, the Lima school expanded from the original four rooms to two buildings in 1922 and purchased over nineteen acres in 1923 in Miraflores. The expectation was even more growth and erection of a new set of buildings.⁴²

Eduardo Forga, who had died in 1915, had willed a gift to Adventism in Peru, which union officers spent on the land to which they planned to move the school, but construction did not begin at once, primarily because of the lack of sufficient funding. Not until its annual meeting in 1925 did Inca Union officers vote to erect buildings, but once the decision was made, events moved rapidly. With more than

US\$10,000 from the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow of 1925, Striplin put up three structures that made it possible for him to move the school in 1926 to its new location. During that school year enrollment reached forty-four with twelve in the secondary classes, but these figures were still below the hopes of Inca Union leaders. Fewer than five graduates had completed the training course, and only a handful of former students had entered denominational employment.

Growth in spite of the school's impoverishment was evident in the director's annual report that year. The faculty, usually only three or four, had risen to seven, and for the first time laboratory facilities were available to students. The library, a perennial problem in all of the early Adventist schools, did not exceed 160 volumes.⁴³ Years would pass before the school developed the program that its founders envisioned, but for the time being they satisfied themselves with limited accomplishments. Time would show that the more elusive success appeared, the greater became the workers' persistence.

According to Montgomery, Peruvian law placed hardly any restrictions on curriculum, but required each school to emphasize one field. Although the Inca Union's original intention was to establish a music school, from its beginning Lima Training School possessed a decided industrial character and was known in Adventist circles as Lima Industrial Institute. Lundquist tried two industries, a cabinet shop and shoe manufacturing. Neither was a success. After purchasing farmland in 1923, school administrators turned to agriculture. Three years before actually moving to the new tract of land near Miraflores, the faculty planted alfalfa, potatoes, and corn to provide work opportunities for students and to generate income for the school.⁴⁴

The Lima school was the only one of the five Adventist institutions in South America claiming to be industrial, yet it was probably the least industrial of any, at least during its early years. All schools maintained farms and provided work opportunities for students, hoping to supplement the institutional treasury with cash. While programs of this sort attracted both admiration and curiosity from the public at large, they were traditional to Adventist education. Students on Adventist campuses rarely came from well-to-do homes, and educators knew they had to provide them a chance to work.

Church leaders and institutional managers saw industrial establishments on school campuses as necessities rather than goals in themselves. They existed to help achieve ultimate institutional purposes which J. W. Westphal aptly described in his final Austral Union report to the division in 1920. Referring specifically to Colegio

Adventista del Plata, he declared that “the school is working for the one purpose of preparing gospel workers for the harvest field.” If he had applied his statement to all of South America’s training schools, he would have been no less true.

Such a purpose was not just a decision of the school administration or the controlling boards. It was a matter of church policy, as the division committee acknowledged by its action in 1924, when it declared that education at the training schools should concern itself especially with preparing Bible workers and ministers. Even with a view of broadening the industrial nature of Lima Training School, Striplin similarly acknowledged that the school’s purpose was to train teachers who would establish “feeder” schools for Lima.⁴⁵ With all of their industries, Adventist training schools proposed to educate for denominational professions rather than to produce skilled laborers.

AN OVERVIEW OF ADVENTIST EDUCATION AND YOUTH WORK

Not without some truth is the observation that Adventist education was narrowly conceived as compared with its state-supported counterpart, but founders of Adventist schools never considered themselves in competition with state institutions, although the practical effect of education was never lost upon them. Comparing enrollment figures with graduates, it is safe to speculate that many students in Adventist training schools also recognized that education in a general sense was beneficial even if it did not lead to denominational employment. While the essential purpose of Adventist schools was to train workers, no one could discourage the benefits to the individual or the church at large. No church leader would ever say that illiterate members were more beneficial to the church than literate members.

Adventist education maintained its peculiar stamp by limiting the range of its programs. Curricula usually consisted of a basic secondary component—math, science, history, language, often music, and possibly geography—coupled with vocational classes. Superimposed on these offerings were professional training courses leading to careers in the ministry, teaching, secretarial work, and at River Plate College, nursing. Adventist youth wishing to prepare for other jobs would more advantageously attend non-Adventist institutions. Training for the ministry was the only program that was exclusively denominational.

Educational success during the division’s first decade was mixed. The most sophisticated program existed on the Argentine campus where training courses had been first conducted. It was well-known that Argentina, as a nation, held a deep concern for education that extended far back into the nineteenth century, and the Adventist

community probably benefitted from that popular appreciation for learning. Unlike River Plate, the Brazilian school did not attain post-secondary status during the first decade of the division's history, but its faculty developed a well organized and effective curriculum. On both of these campuses administrative stability played an important role during the 1920s. Marshall in Argentina and Steen in Brazil, men with obvious organizational and administrative skills, headed the faculties for an extended period, each building a program that gained the confidence of the constituency.

Besides stable leadership, both the Brazilian and Argentine institutions enjoyed larger support bases than the schools in Chile and Peru, a fact that translated into more operational money. Although in no case could administrators depend on an affluent constituency, success of the schools in Brazil and Argentina reflected their economic setting. Besides an Adventist community measured by the thousands in both locales, Southern Brazil and the riverine corridor in Argentina extending northward from Buenos Aires were more economically advanced regions than either southern Chile or Peru.

During its first decade the South American Division erected the framework of its educational program. Except for temporary emergency closures, the five training schools that existed in 1923 continued an unbroken record of service to the division and became the central institutions for South American church growth. H. U. Stevens discussed this role for education when he delivered his first report as the division's secretary of education.⁴⁶

Stevens visualized the development of an educational system in the South American Division as beginning at the top and working downward. If this pattern held true, training schools that produced denominational workers of various kinds were to be the first concern of church leaders. The role of primary schools was to foster literacy and to help preserve the young in Adventism, matters of significance but secondary to the purpose of worker-training programs. What Stevens saw in 1920 was an "urgent" need for church schools, or the second phase of the evolution of the division's educational system. Official reports for that year indicated only fourteen in South America, excluding the Indian substations in Peru. Although Argentina's training school had been in operation for years, only three congregations in that country sponsored elementary education. The remaining eleven were in Brazil.

The year 1920 proved to be pivotal for South American Adventist education. The division had begun four years earlier without a secretary of education or any encouragement from the General Conference to appoint one. Montgomery was not

long in urging more unity among the schools, probably motivated in part by South American countries that were raising their educational standards. But he deferred establishing a new department at the division level. Instead, he depended on the unions to strengthen their own programs. Events changed at the 1918 General Conference session when denominational leaders recommended departments of education and youth ministry, called Missionary Volunteers at the time, at the division. H. U. Stevens was elected to head both in addition to his responsibilities as director of the Argentine training school, but the next year he left the training school to head the new Department of Education.⁴⁷

Montgomery was already laying plans for the division council for 1920, the first gathering of its kind since he had come to South America. He had hoped for three years that the General Conference secretary of education would attend, and had already decided that the sessions would center on a “special study and shape up of the Educational work,” as he wrote to J. L. Shaw. “Of all the different departments, this one seems, at this particular time, to need special consideration.”⁴⁸

Representing education at the division’s first education council, March 5-8, was General Conference Secretary of Education W. E. Howell. Directors of all the training schools were present as were other faculty and departmental leaders. Among their conclusions were decisions to allow no school to offer post-secondary classes and to list worker-training courses as electives. Howell left the meetings convinced that one of South America’s prime needs was more elementary schools.⁴⁹

For all of the emphasis on worker-training courses and the need for church pastors in South America, the schools were not producing ministers. By 1920 South American conferences and missions employed no more than three native ordained pastors from the Latin sector of church membership and about a half dozen from the German membership. The route to ordination did not lead directly from the schools to the ministry. The experience of José Amador dos Reis in Brazil suggests that the path to the ministry for most aspiring preachers led first from the classroom to colporteur. From that point forward, professional development was more of a mentoring process than a formal educational experience. Dos Reis began to sell Adventist literature in 1911; two years later he became a Bible worker, and after three more years he received a credential as a licentiate, or a licensed minister, a clear sign that he was on track for a pastor’s career. He attended the Brazil training school for one year, returned to active work, and in 1920 was ordained. Obviously, his ministerial preparation was primarily practical, on-the-job training.

Not many biographies inform later generations about ministerial education during the early decades of South American Adventism, but reports by the workers themselves lead to the conclusion that the experience of José Amador dos Reis was more typical than exceptional. Only with the passage of time did the academic component of ministerial education gain importance.⁵⁰

The forward surge of education in South America after 1920 attests to the significance of Howell's visit and the education council. Besides inspecting the training schools and cultivating a sense of unity in the division's educational program, he placed his blessing upon the construction of a plant for the teacher-training program at Lake Titicaca and urged Chilean Adventists to move their school to an improved site.

Emphasis on teacher-training resulted in a steady increase in the number of elementary schools from fourteen in 1920 to fifty-six when the 1926 General Conference met, not including those serving the tribespeople in the Inca Union. Especially revealing were their locations. Only four conferences and missions in southern Brazil and one conference in Argentina had claimed schools six years earlier; in 1926 only geographically peripheral missions and newly entered fields were without them.⁵¹

Although Howell's visit stimulated elementary education, South America had not been waiting for this inspiration from above in order to act. C. P. Crager, who had entered the Austral Union in 1916 as the secretary of education, left a deep impression on the entire division by supervising the translation of the McKibbin Bible textbooks into Spanish. This series, produced by Alma McKibbin, one of the early elementary school teachers in North America, had become central to Adventist primary education, and Crager's precedent-setting accomplishment did not pass unnoticed during Howell's visit. "For such a population," he wrote, referring to the Spanish-speaking countries in both Europe and the Americas, "with a language now become so popular and widespread in its use, the day ought not to be too long delayed when a school literature of our own should be developed."⁵²

Such progress was inspiring even though church administrators knew that the 1,500 pupils in Adventist schools were only a fraction of potential enrollment. That they were dealing with a people who craved educational advancement became evident to church leaders as the movement to establish schools gained momentum. "There are young people who are nearly out of their teens and still cannot read or write," an anonymous writer to the *Review* described conditions in the Upper Paraná Mission in the Austral Union. "Many of the parents are unable to read and so cannot

teach their children. I have seen parents weep as they watch their children growing up without receiving an education.” Conscious of the evangelistic value of Adventist education, and pleading for schools, the unidentified writer warned the church not to “neglect the children of our own people, and let them go out the back door of the church as fast as we bring new ones in the front door.”⁵³

Before 1922 closed, South America’s officers devised a method of financial support of primary education. From the division’s educational fund local congregations could acquire appropriations to supplement their own investment to build and equip schools, and to pay teachers’ salaries.⁵⁴ The intention was to distribute money to the most needy places.

Not always were elementary students mere children. So strong was the thirst for learning that J. M. Howell found adults in their twenties sitting side by side with youngsters in the lower grades when he began teaching at Colegio Adventista del Plata. His was not a unique experience. So much advancement had occurred by 1924 that H. B. Lundquist, then education secretary for the Austral Union, wrote that a new chapter in the division’s history had begun. Within four years fifteen congregations had established schools in his field, sometimes at sacrificial cost. Among the numerous examples he cited was the church in Valparaíso, Chile, where, “with very little urging,” members pledged an additional 375 *pesos* a month to support their teacher. In Paraguay, Lundquist learned of two congregations who erected school buildings before receiving an assurance that teachers would come. Members in one church vowed to eat black bread and water if necessary to save money to pay for the education of their youth.⁵⁵

Stories of increasing needs as well as progress were also coming out of Brazil. According to Frederick Griggs, at the time General Conference secretary of education, churches in that union were operating eleven primary schools in 1918, which were more than any other field, but the country was so large that it was easy to overlook them. During his visit in 1920, W. E. Howell noted a church school only “here and there.” With W. E. Murray heading the Education Department in South Brazil, Spies expected educational expansion.⁵⁶

Churches in the East Brazil Union, even without a department of education, still reported three church school teachers in 1922; two years later the region had five primary schools besides one family school. By 1925 the figure rose to eight. L. G. Jorgensen, head of the youth program, also shouldered the responsibility of encouraging elementary education. “Our educational work in Brazil is far behind

what it should be,” he wrote, “and not until we begin to train our base of supplies will the work ever be finished.” He counted about 200 students in the schools, but hoped that he could raise that figure to 300 the next year. Fifteen calls for teachers that he could not fill were resting on his desk.

Brazilian educators did not wait long to correct the situation. For twelve days in March 1926, twenty-five teachers, including prospective instructors, converged on the training school at Santo Amaro for the first institute to be conducted in Brazil. Assisting Jorgensen and his wife in the discussions were W. E. Murray and his wife and G. B. Taylor of the training school faculty. Nearly 650 Brazilian youngsters showed up that year in twenty-seven Adventist schools, an increase from eleven schools and 239 pupils since the division voted its educational plan in 1922.⁵⁷

Elementary education in the Inca Union was predominantly a movement of Indian schools. The number of schools fluctuated, depending on the availability of instructors. By 1926 the Lake Titicaca Mission reported eighty schools and ninety-eight teachers. This type of school had gotten a much later start in Bolivia, but Adventists established twenty-six by the same date. Similar to the training program in Juliaca, a summer school session for teachers in the Bolivian schools was also customary. Lillian Ford conducted Ecuador’s lone Adventist elementary school, and by her second year, 1926, attracted government attention. Because it was associated with the Colta Mission, the school reflected the pattern in Bolivia and at Lake Titicaca. In the Peru Mission, where the traditional church school existed, six of the eleven congregations were able to sponsor a primary education program by 1926.⁵⁸

Weighing heavily on the minds of educational leaders in South America was the fact that their advancements were only a beginning and that the majority of Adventist children and youth remained unenrolled in church-sponsored primary or secondary schools. Ministering to the spiritual needs of this group was the Missionary Volunteer Department, commonly known as MV, which also cultivated loyalty to the church with youth activities under the auspices of individual congregations. Conscious of the scarcity of materials in Spanish to plan programs for youth, Roscoe T. Baer formed a committee in 1915 in the Argentine Conference to promote MV activities. During the first weekend in August, the following year, C. P. Crager, the newly arrived leader of youth activities, conducted the first Missionary Volunteer convention in the Austral Union at Crespo.⁵⁹

No one expected Missionary Volunteer societies to take the place of education, but their activities bore an educational stamp. Bible reading and studying

denominational history with an emphasis upon missions were some of the leading activities that the societies planned. Division officers also encouraged reading denominational literature with annual “reading courses,” and saw to it that copies of books were available in both Spanish and Portuguese. For some young people the program was the only youth-oriented contact they had with the church, and consequently its evangelistic importance loomed large.

With the promotion of H. U. Stevens to the division office, Missionary Volunteer activities spread throughout the continent. From September 3 to 10, 1921, South American congregations held the first MV Week by conducting youth-oriented meetings, with baptisms planned as the converts were ready. Taking note of the disproportionate number of Adventist young people still unenrolled in training schools or church schools, the division committee voted in 1924 to sponsor another MV Week, instructing workers to lead out in a systematic plan to encourage spiritual growth among young people.⁶⁰ It was a tacit reminder that Adventists were progressively seeing their schools as a substitute for public education.

Long before elementary education gathered momentum in South America, youth programs were already in place. Probably because both Missionary Volunteer and education departments dealt with the same age group, one person usually headed both of them. Education demanded more of their attention, but Missionary Volunteer societies were easier to organize than schools because they were less expensive. Local MV chapters measured participation and growth of their activities with formal organization and reporting systems.

The movement to organize youth activities in South America caught on first in the Austral Union, but by 1914 the number and size of the Missionary Volunteer program was equally strong if not stronger in Brazil. Until C. P. Crager took charge of that department in the Austral Union in 1916, Max Trummer carried the load in addition to leading the colporteur work. In 1919, the year Stevens became MV secretary of the division, South America counted sixty-three societies with 948 members. Although the number of official groups increased slowly, their size grew significantly. In 1922 sixty-seven societies reported approximately 1,200 members; four years later membership jumped to 2,300, although the number of societies increased to only seventy-two. Offerings that the youth collected were usually dedicated to missions among indigenous people. One of their most notable projects occurred in 1925 when they gathered the equivalent of US\$2,000 to establish a mission in the Amazon basin.⁶¹

If youth leaders in South America could look upon the first ten years of the division with justifiable satisfaction for the growth in education, they would have been awestruck with what lay ahead. No one disputed the belief that the next generation of South America's leaders was already walking the halls of the division's schools, or that the church's future lay in the hands of teachers, but in 1926 no one foresaw clearly the turbulence and the testing the next two decades would bring.

¹ Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918, 50-53.

² H. U. Stevens, "River Plate Academy," *RH*, May 24, 1917; and "Eighteenth Year of Argentine College," *ibid.*, March 7, 1918; C. P. Crager, "Closing Exercises at the Colegio Adventista del Plata," *ibid.*, March 14, 1918.

³ H. U. Stevens, "Revival in the River Plate College," *ibid.*, March 11, 1920; J. J. Nethery, "Professor H. U. Stevens" [obituary], *ibid.*, September 17, 1931.

⁴ W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 5," *ibid.*, July 29, 1920; J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920; *Statistical Report*, 1920; Brown, "A Historical Study," 378-386.

⁵ *Statistical Report*, 1922.

⁶ Roscoe T. Baer, "Commencement Exercises at Puiggari, Argentina," *RH*, February 1, 1923.

⁷ *Statistical Report*, 1925, 1926; Roscoe T. Baer, "Our Educational Institutions in the Austral Union," *RH*, November 6, 1924; SAD Minutes, December 19, 1924/GCA; *SDA Yearbook*, 1926, 246; Brown, *Chronology*, 113.

⁸ *SDA Yearbook*, 1922-1926; SAD Minutes, March 29, 1924/GCA; *ibid.*, April 1, 1924; Brown, "A Historical Study," 383-386; *Statistical Report*, 1926.

⁹ N. Z. Town, "Appreciation of Seventh-day Adventist School Work in Argentina," *RH*, October 1, 1925; *SDA Yearbook*, 1920-1926; Brown, "A Historical Study," 393, 394.

¹⁰ E. H. Wilcox, "Argentina," *RH*, May 6, 1926; C. P. Crager, "A Social Evening at Our Junior College," *ibid.*, September 30, 1926; Brown, "A Historical Study," 395-397; *Statistical Report*, 1926.

¹¹ W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 4," *RH*, June 8, 1916. Oliver Montgomery to Frederick Griggs, July 13, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917. We may draw an inferential view of the unimportance of the Chilean school by its absence in statements by Adventist dignitaries. No references to the school appear in Prescott's report of the Austral Union meetings that he attended in Argentina in 1916. J. W. Westphal omitted the school from his summary of the Austral Union when he spoke to the division council in 1920, and his successor, Roscoe T. Baer, ignored the topic when he reported at the 1924 meetings. Brodersen devoted only two sentences to it in his address to the 1926 General Conference. W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 3," *RH*, May 11, 1916; J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920; Roscoe T. Baer, "Biennial Report of the Austral Union. South America," *ibid.*, September 10, 1925; P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926.

¹² Oliver Montgomery, "A Good Meeting in Chile," *ibid.*, July 24, 1919; Roscoe T. Baer, "My Impressions of the 'Shoestring Republic,'" *ibid.*, February 5, 1920; Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920; *SDA Yearbook*, 1916-1920; Brown, "A Historical Study," 441, ff.

¹³ W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 2," *RH*, July 1, 1920; and "School Notes in South America—No. 3," *ibid.*, August 19, 1920.

¹⁴ W. E. Howell, "A Glimpse of Our World-Wide Educational Work," *ibid.*, November 17, 1921; see also pertinent sections of *SDA Yearbook*, 1920-1923. For a succinct account of the struggles at Púa and the move to Chillán, see Peverini, *En las huellas*, 132-136.

¹⁵ W. E. Hancock, "Our School in Chillan," *RH*, December 20, 1923; E. U. Ayars, "Our Work in Chillan, Chile," *ibid.*, January 24, 1924; and "School Work in Chile," *ibid.*, October 30, 1924; SAD Minutes, August 19, 1924/GCA.

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¹⁶ Brown. "A Historical Study," 459-465.

¹⁷ Howell, *God Led*, 77; W. E. Hancock, "Six Months of Progress in Chile," *South American Bulletin*, II (October 1926), 2, 3; *Statistical Report*, 1924, 1926.

¹⁸ See data in *SDA Yearbook*, 1922-1926 pertaining to Chile Training School, and enrollment figures in *Statistical Report*, 1922-1926.

¹⁹ W. W. Prescott, "Under South American Skies—No. 1," *RH*, February 17, 1916. Orlando Ritter, "John Lipke," in *A Educação Adventista no Brasil*, 179-185, furnishes biographical information about Lipke, Boehm, and Hennig. See Peverini, *En las huellas*, 125-129, for a brief history of the beginnings of the training school in Brazil.

²⁰ P. Hennig, "Relatorio de 4ª Conferencia União-Brazileira," *RM*, March 1916.

²¹ Oliver Montgomery, "Notes from Brazil—No. 1," *RH*, February 15, 1917; and "Notes from Brazil—No. 2," *ibid.*, February 22, 1917.

²² See Fabiana Amaral's brief biographical sketch, "Albertina Simon" in *Educação no Brasil*, 187-199.

²³ F. W. Spies, "A nova Missão-União Brasileira," *RM*, December 1916; Oliver Montgomery, "Notes from Brazil—No. 1," *RH*, February 15, 1917; and Brazilian Union Council," *ibid.*, May 29, 1919; F. W. Spies, "North Brazil Union Mission," *ibid.*, August 22, 1918; and "North Brazil Union," *ibid.*, December 26, 1918; F. W. Spies to W. A. Spicer, August 22, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916.

²⁴ John Lipke, "Brazilian Training School," *RH*, January 9, 1919; Oliver Montgomery, "Brazilian Union Council," *ibid.*, May 29, 1919; F. W. Spies, "Our Brazilian Training School," *ibid.*, January 29, 1920; *Statistical Report*, 1920.

²⁵ John Lipke, "Brazilian Training School," *RH*, January 9, 1919; W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 6," *ibid.*, August 6, 1920; and "A Glimpse of Our World-Wide Educational Work," *ibid.*, November 17, 1921.

²⁶ News note taken from T. W. Steen letter, *ibid.*, April 13, 1922.

²⁷ F. W. Spies, "Our Brazilian Training School," *ibid.*, January 29, 1920; C. P. Crager, "The Closing Exercises at Our Brazil Training School," *ibid.*, May 17, 1923; H. B. Westcott, "Sao Paulo Conference," *ibid.*, November 13, 1924. For a carefully researched account of the early years of the Brazilian Seminary, see Joubert Castro Perez and Fabiano Amaral, "O Ensino Teológico no Brasil," in *Educação adventista*, 127-135.

²⁸ T. W. Steen, "Brazil Training School Items," *Bulletin*, II (December 1926), 8; *SDA Yearbook*, 1926, 224; *ibid.*, 1927, 238; P. E. Brodersen to C. K. Meyers, November 5, 1924, GCA/21, GF/1924; *Statistical Report*, 1924, 1926, 1927.

²⁹ P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *RH*, June 6, 1926; *SDA Yearbook*, 1926, 224.

³⁰ B. L. Thompson, "Lake Titicaca Training School," *RH*, October 23, 1924.

³¹ Howell, *God Led*, 36, 37; C. V. Achenbach, "One Week's Experience at La Plateria," *RH*, June 1, 1916; W. E. Howell, "Titicaca Indian Schools," *ibid.*, October 5, 1916.

³² J. M. Howell, "School Work Around Lake Titicaca," *ibid.*, January 18, 1917.

³³ F. A. Stahl, "Lake Titicaca Indian Mission," *ibid.*, September 26, 1918; Fernando Osorio to E. L. Maxwell, quoted in "In the Inca Union," *ibid.*, December 26, 1918; Ernest F. Peterson, "Inca Union Mission," *ibid.*, March 13, 1919; W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 8," *ibid.*, September 2, 1920; and "Educational Notes," *ibid.*, December 6, 1923.

³⁴ Editors of the *Review* quoted passages from Jordan's account in "The Lake Titicaca Mission," *ibid.*, March 13, 1924. Jordan's book, *Glimpses of Indian America*, was published in 1923 by Fleming H. Revell.

³⁵ E. H. Wilcox, "Indian Co-operation," *ibid.*, December 7, 1922; B. L. Thompson, "Lake Titicaca Training School," *ibid.*, October 23, 1924; E. U. Ayars, "At Titicaca Normal School," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926.

³⁶ E. H. Wilcox, "Lake Titicaca Normal School," *ibid.*, March 22, 1923; and "Lake Titicaca Training School," *ibid.*, April 3, 1924; B. L. Thompson, "Lake Titicaca Training School," *ibid.*, October 23, 1924; H. M. Colburn, "Training Indian Evangelist-Teachers," *ibid.*, July 23, 1925; E. U. Ayars, "At Titicaca Normal School," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926.

- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ W. E. Phillips to P. E. Brodersen and W. H. Williams, April 26, 1926, GCA/21, GF/ 1926.
- ³⁹ For statistical data, consult *Statistical Report*, 1926, and other years since 1923.
- ⁴⁰ W. A. Spicer to F. A. Stahl, September 19, 1916, GCA/21, GF/1916; E. L. Maxwell to W. A. Spicer, October 19, 1916, *ibid.*; Oliver Montgomery to W. W. Prescott, July 22, 1917, *ibid.*/1917; Oliver Montgomery, "South American Division Committee Council," *RH*, November 1, 1917.
- ⁴¹ Alomía, "Comienzos de la Obra," *Theologika* v. 1, no. 1 (1983), 129; Brown, *Chronology*, 83, 84; news note, no name, *RH*, July 10, 1919; H. B. Lundquist, "The Industrial Institute," *ibid.*, March 22, 1923; Oliver Montgomery to T. E. Bowen, May 11, 1919, GCA/21, GF/1919.
- ⁴² W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America," *RH*, June 24, 1920, and "School Notes in South America—No. 9," *ibid.*, September 16, 1920; and "Good News From Peru," *ibid.*, November 3, 1921; H. B. Lundquist, "The Industrial Institute," *ibid.*, March 23, 1923.
- ⁴³ Alomía, *Breve historia*, 41, 42, 68; N. Z. Town, "In the Inca Union," *ibid.*, December 10, 1925; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926; *Statistical Report*, 1922-26.
- ⁴⁴ C. D. Striplin, "The Lima Training School," *RH*, November 8, 1923.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; J. W. Westphal, "The Austral Union Conference," *ibid.*, August 12, 1920; SAD Minutes, March 29, 1924/GCA.
- ⁴⁶ See Steven's comments in "Our Schools in South America." *RH*, July 1, 1920.
- ⁴⁷ Oliver Montgomery to Frederick Griggs, July 13, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917; J. L. Shaw to Oliver Montgomery, July 23, 1918, *ibid.*/1918; Frederick Griggs, "Department of Education of the General Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918; Oliver Montgomery, "The South American Division Conference," *RH*, August 12, 1920.
- ⁴⁸ Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, November 18, 1919, GCA/21, GF/1919.
- ⁴⁹ W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 2," *RH*, July 8, 1920.
- ⁵⁰ For the complete story of José Amador dos Reis, see Ivan Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis*. Especially informative are chapters 2 through 5.
- ⁵¹ For data, see *Statistical Report*, 1920, 1926.
- ⁵² W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 6," *RH*, August 5, 1920.
- ⁵³ "Alto Parana Mission," no name, *ibid.*, August 10, 1922.
- ⁵⁴ SAD Minutes, December 11, 1922/GCA.
- ⁵⁵ Howell, *God Led.*, 72; H. B. Lundquist, "Harbingers of Progress in the Austral Union," *RH*, May 8, 1924; *Statistical Report*, 1920, 1924.
- ⁵⁶ Frederick Griggs, "Department of Education of the General Conference," *General Conference Bulletin*, 1918; W. E. Howell, "School Notes in South America—No. 6," *RH*, August 5, 1920; F. W. Spies, "The South Brazil Union Conference," *ibid.*, March 17, 1921.
- ⁵⁷ H. Meyer, "East Brazil Union Mission," *ibid.*, June 22, 1922; F. W. Spies, "Among the Churches in the East Brazil Union," *ibid.*, October 2, 1924; L. G. Jorgensen, "Unfortunately, No!" *ibid.*, April 29, 1926; and "Teachers' Institute at the Collegio [sic] Adventista, Brazil," *ibid.*, May 20, 1926; *Statistical Report*, 1922, 1926. For commentary on this period in Brazil, see Roberto César de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Fundamental no Brasil" in *A educação adventista*, 32-34.
- ⁵⁸ C. P. Crager, "Progress in Bolivia," *Bulletin*, II (April 1926), 6; Mrs. Orley Ford, "Colta Mission School," *ibid.* (December 1926), 6; *Statistical Report*, 1926.
- ⁵⁹ M. E. Kern, "Report from Argentina," *RH*, February 24, 1916.
- ⁶⁰ H. U. Stevens, "Missionary Volunteer Week in South America," *ibid.*, March 9, 1922; SAD Minutes, December 25, 1922/GCA; *ibid.*, March 27, 1924; Brown, "A Historical Study," 659, ff.
- ⁶¹ H. U. Stevens, "Missionary Volunteer Department," *RH*, August 12, 1920; P. E. Brodersen, "Report of the South American Division," *ibid.*, June 6, 1926; SAD Minutes, December 25, 1922/GCA; Brown, "A Historical Study," 659, ff. See *Statistical Report*, 1908-1915.



ERA OF SELF-SUPPORT

ALTHOUGH P. E. Brodersen may have officially planned to return to South America after the 1926 General Conference session to resume his presidency, his family was suffering poor health, and before the session ended it became clear that he would remain in the United States. The South American Division had been without an effective president since 1920. Given this leaderless condition, the division had progressed remarkably thanks to strong personalities at the union and local levels, but workers sensed that the leadership vacuum at the top could not exist much longer without serious damage. Denominational leaders were aware of the problem and urged Carlyle B. Haynes to take charge of South America.

A month after the world conference closed Haynes consented, telling Spicer he would be ready to sail after Autumn Council. In September he wrote again, describing the work ahead of him as “staggering,” but he was eager. It was no coincidence that while attending the General Conference session he reported South America’s evening meeting for the *Review*, and had already made his feelings known about the exciting happenings in that division.

According to Haynes, as Stahl recited his experiences in the Peruvian jungle, the men on the platform were “leaning far forward in their chairs, with tense faces . . . almost holding their breath.” No less captivated was the audience. “It is not too much to say,” Haynes exclaimed, “that the entire audience discovered for the first time that there were backs to their chairs only when Brother Stahl completed his report . . . There has been no more fascinating and thrilling story related at the Conference than that covered by Brother Stahl’s report.”¹

Haynes brought a long record of urban evangelism to his new post. His campaigns in many of the large cities in eastern United States had earned him a reputation as one of the church’s most powerful speakers. Neither had his pen been idle. Already the author of widely read books and articles, he poured out his thoughts as easily on paper as he did in the pulpit. Administratively, he was no novice. During World War I he headed the General Conference War Service Commission and became well-known in Washington’s political and military circles. For four years previous to his arrival in South America he had presided over the Greater New York Conference, North America’s only city-conference. Dynamic, well-known, and experienced, he came to South America, at age forty-four, his administrative prime. Not one to allow initiative to slip into other hands, he was quick to take charge and to leave no doubts about who was in charge. For South America the dearth of presidential presence was over.

HAYNES INTRODUCES “SELF-SUPPORT”

South America did not have long to wait before discovering how Haynes viewed the division. His first salvo appeared in the January 1927 edition of the *Bulletin*, the division paper. Appropriately, it was on the front cover where no one would overlook it. “More than larger appropriations,” he asserted, “more than an increased laboring force, more than better equipment, more than new institutions and mission stations, do we need the Spirit of the living God upon sincere, surrendered, regenerated hearts. In this way God will finish His work in South America.”²

The next month he fired his second blast, which was at once a reaction to the annual division meetings and the theme of his presidency. “The brethren in charge of our union organizations, each one confronted with most perplexing problems of administration and finance, came to the meeting with the conviction that the work in South America must be conducted and organized in such a way as would the most quickly provide for its rapidly growing interests.

“The appropriations made to this field by the General Conference will never be adequate to take care of its constantly enlarging needs. The field itself must be brought to the place where it becomes its own base of supply.”³

After sitting with union and local committees during his first tour of the division, Haynes was more convinced than ever of the truth in his prior articles, and in the May 1927 issue of the *Bulletin*, he wrote his most succinct statement keynoting his administration. “Standing out above every other need the one that impresses me most deeply, aside from the gracious gift of God’s spirit, is the need of a change of mental viewpoint which will enable all of us in this continent to stop looking to North America for increased financial support and increased supply of workers, and begin developing our own South American resources of men and money.

“So long as we keep looking to North America to supply our every need I am convinced that we will not do full justice to our own unlimited possibilities in this southern continent. I am also convinced that we will be blinded to the wealth of South American resources, and our hands weakened in developing them, until our viewpoint is changed and we begin to believe we can supply many, if not most, of our needs of men and money from within our Divisional territory.”⁴

Verbally moving to every major aspect of the church in South America, Haynes argued that the division was doomed unless it became willing to pay its own way in the cause of world Adventism. He saw nothing but a negative mindset in South American that was blocking advancement.

Self-support, as Haynes referred to his convictions about the division’s greatest administrative need, was a topic he would not let his subordinates forget. Always pressing, sometimes chiding, he drew denominational attention with his strident comments about it. The titles of his articles in the *Bulletin* spoke for themselves. “Developing Our Own Resources,” “Divine Possibilities,” “South American Support for South American Work,” “Self Supporting, Self-Propagating Churches,” “Establishing Churches and Supplying Their Needs,” “Shall We Change This?” and “Working Toward Self Support” were all hard-hitting statements about South American independence from North American financial support.

Haynes never equated self-support with schism. Unity with the rest of the church on matters of doctrine, administrative procedures, and spiritual objectives, were an unquestioned part of South American policies as well as the Adventist world movement. In his opinion, financial independence was simply a method to

relieve the church at large of the responsibility to pay for the gospel's advance in fields that he judged capable of depending on their own resources.

In time he shifted his emphasis from administration to the local congregation, calling for members to develop sufficient spiritual maturity to conduct their own affairs without paternalistic pastoral care. "Now, what is the matter? Well, *something* is," he upbraided South American Adventists in one of his monthly manifestoes. "To continue to pay the expenses of gospel work from mission funds after . . . a church has been established is little short of a calamity," he continued in another. "It is doing worse than wasting the Lord's money. It is actually using the Lord's money to hinder the progress of the gospel."⁵

Haynes's pressure for self-support had its effect. It was catching on like a "contagion," he told Oliver Montgomery, who had become a general vice president of the General Conference. Such an unlikely place as Peru's new mission in the upper Amazon conformed, but with dubious enthusiasm. After baptizing sixty in Iquitos, Stahl wrote that he aimed "to make every church and mission self-supporting, but as this is all new work we need help at this time to place teachers where the many demands are made for them."⁶

E. L. Maxwell, after returning to South America as president of the Austral Union, also caught the spirit. After conducting the 1929 annual session of the Austral Union, his first as president, he was quoted by Haynes as saying that "one of our conferences has already reached the desired goal of self-support. Two others are closely following." According to Haynes, Maxwell recommended to his committee that "we should make definite plans looking to self-support in all the fields of the union."⁷

For all of Haynes' promotion of self-support and financial independence, the records tell a different story. At the 1927 Autumn Council he told the General Conference Committee that he hoped the time would soon come when he would be able to recommend cuts in operating subsidies to his division, but for the time being South America needed help.⁸ During his presidency the General Conference raised base appropriations—the annual appropriation to the divisions—from US\$299,555 to US\$353,789, or an 18 percent increase of US\$54,235. At the same time South America's net membership grew nine percent, or a rate only half as much as the increase in General Conference appropriations. Instead of independence, the division was headed for greater dependence on North American money, the opposite from what Haynes was advocating.

Haynes tempered the contradiction between his words and his budgets by manipulating funds. The world divisions divided General Conference base appropriations

according to their own discretion, which allowed some, like the Inter-American Division, to spread the funds to the unions in proportion to membership. However, South American Division officers left it to the division committee to decide the size of allocations to the unions. This policy allowed Haynes more discretion in distributing base appropriations around to benefit those unions that were least likely to generate self-support quickly. Because all union leaders regarded their fields as undermanned, sharp competition for money arose.

While the money distribution policy did not eliminate inter-union competition, it encouraged self-support in those fields in which resources were more plentiful. During Haynes's years, all unions enjoyed increases in their subsidies, but their portion of the available money reflected Haynes' view of self-support. At the beginning of 1927, the Austral Union, with 21 percent of the division's membership, took 24 percent of the General Conference appropriations. Three years later the same field claimed 26 percent of South America's membership, but its slice of the budget had diminished to 23 percent. A similar trend appeared in South Brazil where a 3 percent proportional increase in the union membership did not bring any percentage increase in the amount of General Conference money it received.

The East Brazil Union, whose share of the budget was 4 percent higher than its portion of the membership in 1927, still enjoyed a 2 percent margin in 1930. The Inca Union, where membership constituted 48 percent of the entire division in 1927, received only 37 percent of available base appropriations, a difference of 11 percent. By 1930 the gap had narrowed to 5 percent, reflecting a proportional rise in appropriations.⁹

In spite of Haynes's agitation for self-support, he did not refuse General Conference money, but controlled its distribution to force the less needy to depend more on their own resources. When he returned to South America after the 1929 Autumn Council with a 5 percent increase in base appropriations, the division committee voted a special thanks to the General Conference and pledged to use the money advantageously for the work.¹⁰ Although Haynes denied that any field was incapable of self-support, he knew that South America's unions and local fields could not immediately become financially independent.

For his promotion of self-support, Haynes at first drew solid support from the General Conference. Spicer, world president at the time, who was more than a casual reader of the *Bulletin*, commended the South American president for his articles. "These

are fine,” he wrote. “It is an educational move you are making . . . I want to talk up the development toward self-support in all the divisions.” Spicer had more in mind than what he termed a good idea. Like many of his colleagues, his eye was turned warily toward the shaky world economy and confided to Haynes that “if the crisis should be sprung upon us in this country, nobody knows whether it would reduce our funds or increase our funds at the old home base.”¹¹ Later in 1928 Haynes presented his convictions about self-support in a paper to church leaders in Europe, prompting B. E. Beddoe, associate secretary of the General Conference, to request him to submit an article to the *Review* where the entire Adventist community could read it.¹²

Unavoidably, self-support, if translated into action, would lessen the number of mission appointees to the division and compel an increased dependence on South American personnel. But Haynes’s comments must be put into the context of an expanding mission program and a general upsurge in mission appointments throughout the Adventist world during the latter half of the 1920s. Within a five-year period, 1926-1930 inclusively, eighty-two families went to South America under mission appointment. Most of these took place while Haynes was president of the division. Ironically, his initial assertions about utilizing more South American workers came immediately after twenty-six families arrived in 1926.

To emphasize how self-support affected the working force, South America began listing national workers as mission appointees if they transferred from their native region to another field with decided climatic differences. In this fashion, eighteen South American families responded to calls in 1927, ten of them moving from Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil to Bolivia, Peru, and other parts of Brazil. W. H. Williams, the division treasurer, estimated that every appointment of a South American worker as a missionary instead of a European or North American saved US\$2,000.¹³ At that rate, the division economized US\$20,000 in 1927.

That pace did not continue, although during the next three years, 1928-1930, seventeen South American families assumed duties in places other than their native countries. During the same three years, forty-eight families entered South America from the United States and Europe.¹⁴ The figures fluctuated from year to year, but the overall trend supported Haynes’ declarations that South Americans should depend more on themselves to do their work.

In time, church leaders in Washington became less enthusiastic about the effect of self-support on employing workers. While Spicer commended Haynes for educating South Americans to pay their own way and to depend more on

their own human resources, he was dubious about how workers in the division were reacting to that practice. While the numbers show that many mission appointees were going to South America, it was also true that by the end of 1927 so many workers were permanently returning to the United States that the General Conference president asked for an explanation for what appeared to be a house-cleaning. From Buenos Aires, Haynes defended himself by pointing out that many workers had arrived in South America about the same time and so their furloughs came near-simultaneously. Most affected was the Austral Union.¹⁵

Haynes's response explained why missionaries were on furlough but not why so many were on permanent return. After E. L. Maxwell returned home before completing even three years as president of the Austral Union, M. E. Kern, chairman of the Home Commission, discarded all subtlety by telling Haynes that his public statements suggesting that nationals should assume positions of leadership had complicated relationships between North Americans and local workers. Months earlier, Haynes had justified the extra expense that foreign workers cost the division, but blamed the bad blood Kern had alluded to on a few imprudent North Americans who flaunted their benefits of higher salaries and furloughs.¹⁶

Despite the questions Washington raised about how the division handled its personnel, or why mission families were returning home, no one could discount the effect Haynes's repeated emphasis on self-support was having on the workforce. Shortly before he left the division in 1930, he told the General Conference that the proportion of North American workers in South America was decreasing while employment of nationals was increasing. Official statistics substantiate his claim, despite the large number of mission appointments to South America. During the five years inclusive from 1926 through 1930, the number of workers in the division increased by 323, excluding canvassers, the majority of whom were South Americans. All of these numbers add up to a single conclusion: positions in church employment were multiplying more rapidly than at any previous time, and South Americans were filling them at a higher rate as well.

One of the most conspicuous examples of what Haynes meant by self-support in terms of personnel was José Amador dos Reis, distinguished as the first Brazilian ordained minister. The ceremony occurred in Rio Grande do Sul in 1920. Six years later in June 1926 he became pastor of the São Paulo congregation, one of the largest non-institutional Adventist churches in South America. Supported strongly by the São Paulo Conference, within two years he laid the cornerstone for a new

550-seat sanctuary that would also house the offices of the São Paulo Conference. Commenting about this development, the *Revista Adventista* said, “Certainly the conclusion of this project means the biggest forward step for Adventist work in all of Brazil at this time.” The young Brazilian had become one of the most prominent congregational pastors in the South American Division.¹⁷

Everywhere dos Reis worked he raised membership and planted new congregations. By the time he settled in São Paulo, he was turning many heads in Brazil with his evangelistic talents and his dedicated service. It was not long until he received inquiries about becoming the president of the conference, an offer that he turned down in favor of continuing his evangelistic activities. Ivan Schmidt, his biographer, points out that even though dos Reis was favorable to the “nationalization” of church administration, he did not need much time to give his answer.¹⁸

During his tour of the division in 1929 and 1930, A. G. Daniells observed the growing trend to depend more on South Americans to become denominational employees. This former General Conference president found the diminishing proportion of overseas workers gratifying, indicating that worker-training programs were effective. “It is just as it should be,” he remarked after visiting the Brazilian and Austral unions. “The Lord is raising up men and women from among His people in this continent to carry forward His work in behalf of their own countrymen.” In 1930 the division employed seventy-two ordained ministers, of whom fewer than five were native Hispanic or Brazilians of Portuguese descent. However, among the fifty-seven licensed ministers, usually regarded as ministerial interns, about a third were from the Latin sector of the church population. It would not be until later in the 1930s that this part of the membership achieved a significant leadership role in South America.¹⁹

South America’s organizational map also reflected Haynes’s influence. After his first round of union meetings, he redrew mission and conference boundaries in every union. The changes represented consolidation and more administrative units, both where moves would improve management.

South Brazil’s Paraná Mission united with the Santa Catarina Conference, forming a single mission with 1,360 members at the end of 1927. Churches in the state of Minas Gerais, split between the South and East Brazil unions, united as a single mission in East Brazil. The territory of the Rio de Janeiro Mission was reduced to the city and its immediate surroundings, while the rest of the state became part of the newly formed Rio-Espírito Santo Mission. Responding to long discussed possibilities

of a mission in the Amazon basin, the East Brazil Mission officially organized the Lower Amazon Mission. The Peru Mission, consisting of most of the country except for the Titicaca region, divided to make room for the Amazon Mission of Peru. This new creation reflected Stahl's progress in the northern transmontane corner of the country. Other smaller missions in both Peru and Bolivia, more or less extensions of existing administrative units, were also approved.

The Buenos Aires Conference in the Austral Union, already enlarged from its original municipal borders to include Buenos Aires Province, became even larger, extending over three more territories. The last major alteration in administrative boundaries during Haynes's four years in South America occurred in his final year, 1930, when the North Argentine Conference divided with the extreme northern provinces to form a separate mission with only a handful of members. Entre Rios, Santa Fe, and Córdoba provinces constituted this new Central Argentine Conference.

Personnel changes were also part of the scene. Under repeated urging from Haynes, E. L. Maxwell, the first head of the Inca Union, returned to South America in late 1927 to assume the presidency of the Austral Union which had been left vacant for two years after Roscoe T. Baer's departure. E. H. Wilcox, with experience in both Peru and Argentina, became the superintendent of the East Brazil Union, and F. L. Perry, a former pioneer of Adventist missions in Peru, replaced H. U. Stevens as head of the Inca Union in 1926.

Haynes could not take credit for engineering all of these changes so soon after his arrival, but he was party to them and agreed with them. Helping him to anticipate needs and to understand South America's peculiarities were W. E. Howell, who had toured much of the continent in the interests of Adventist schools, and Oliver Montgomery. Their familiarity with the division made them appropriate representatives from the General Conference during Haynes's first cycle of meetings.²⁰

HAYNES'S EMPHASIS ON EVANGELISM

Vital to self-support was membership growth. Because of his background in urban evangelism in the United States, Haynes visualized membership campaigns in the division's large cities as a key to church growth in South America. Even before he sailed for Argentina in 1926, he told Spicer that he hoped to build a large English-speaking congregation in Buenos Aires that would improve the financial base in that union. Filled with urgency about evangelizing all of the urban centers, he returned to the United States after only eight or nine months to attend the

1927 Autumn Council. "Our evangelistic work," he addressed the delegates, "[is] the building up of a strong, substantial, vigorous constituency in those republics, and especially in the great cities of the republics, which ultimately, under God, can take the chief part of the burden of this missionary work off you in North America, and carry it ourselves in South America. To me that is our outstanding problem."

Enumerating city after city in South America with populations measured by the hundreds of thousands and sometimes by the millions, he assured his colleagues that "there is money in South America," but Adventists in that continent needed inspiration to depend on their own resources. For the present, he asked for evangelists, money, and the time to develop a self-supporting constituency.²¹

Other workers in South America were similarly convinced that urban evangelism was the key to the division's growth. W. E. Hancock, president of the Buenos Aires Conference, spoke about the two million inhabitants of the city where the "one lone evangelist . . . has never held an effort on any scale that would be counted a real effort in the large cities in the States."²²

Following his first tour of the division in 1927, Haynes decided to launch his long-anticipated evangelistic series in Buenos Aires in April of the next year. Spending about US\$10,000 on meetings for the English-speaking community, he organized the "Haynes' Bible Lecture Committee of Buenos Aires" with Hancock as chairman. He advertised with elaborate handbills. About 400 attended the opening meetings in Prince George's Hall on April 8. By mid-May the audiences had dwindled to ninety or fewer, and Haynes moved the meetings to Belgrano. Later, with only thirty or forty coming, he left for Europe, placing Hancock in charge of completing the effort. Despite this disappointing outcome, Haynes was optimistic. The *Buenos Aires Herald*, an English daily, had carried nearly all of his sermons, and he had stirred up widespread discussion in the Anglo community.²³

Haynes attempted no more efforts, but urged his subordinates to conduct meetings. "The preeminent business of a preacher is to preach," he admonished, "regardless of the accident that he might be occupying an executive post." Conference presidents and mission superintendents took his advice seriously. During the five years prior to Haynes's meetings, Chile's membership had grown by more than 400 members, making the Chile Conference the largest field in the Austral Union. Hancock, conference president at the time, partially attributed the church's success to moderating political conditions and improved economic stability. Taking advantage of this climate was Walter Schubert, who baptized seventy-five in 1926. Hardly past

mid-year, 1927, he completed another series with a baptismal class of sixty, and was planning more meetings in Valparaíso. By the end of the year, the Santiago congregation was the largest Spanish-speaking church in the denomination. While Haynes was division president, Chile's annual baptismal rate never dropped below 200.²⁴

From the beginning of Adventist presence in South America, the Austral Union had been the heartland of the church. Despite Haynes's and Hancock's burden for Argentina's capital, as a fruitful evangelistic field the Buenos Aires Conference still lay in the future. The year of Haynes's campaign brought only forty-one baptisms in that field, a testimony that the strength of the union still existed in the rich farmlands to the north. During the years 1927 to 1930, workers in the North Argentine Conference produced more conversions than any other field in the Austral Union with the exception of Chile. In 1929 ministers baptized only seventy-four, but their totals hovered between 171 and 191 in the other three years. During 1927 J. W. Westphal and C. P. Crager, both holding offices at the division level, conducted separate efforts lasting three and six months.²⁵

E. L. Maxwell was struck with the different evangelistic style between the pioneering days in Peru and what he found in Argentina after returning in 1927. Ministers who were once accustomed to stirring up inquiry on their own now "have to hurry to take care of the interest already existing," he wrote. In one month workers in the Austral Union reported 150 baptisms, the majority of them in the Chile and North Argentine conferences.²⁶

Only one other field in the Austral Union, the Alto Paraná Mission, baptized more than 100 converts in a single year during the Haynes presidency. Reports from the remaining smaller fields showed converts joining the church at an annual rate from zero to ninety-six. At the end of 1930, Chile, with 1,771 members, and North Argentina, with 1,514, led the union. Small but steady gains gave Buenos Aires 635, Alto Paraná 578, and Uruguay 393. Far on the periphery were the Magellan, Mendoza, and Tucumán missions, with twenty-two, sixty-two, and sixteen members, respectively. While this last group represented only a tiny part of the union's constituency, the rate of growth had been high—83 percent in the case of the Magellan Mission.

From the 2,320 baptisms occurring during the years 1927 to 1930, the Austral Union added 1,476 members, or a net increase of 64 percent. Although this rate was not spectacular, it enabled the union to build a firm constituency of 4,991, the second largest field in the division.²⁷

Haynes's emphasis on evangelism in Brazil was immediate. In January 1927, with less than two months' experience in the division, he, with Montgomery and W. E. Howell, conducted the yearly union meetings in South Brazil, stressing soul-winning. After the next business sessions in December, the division president commented that "we look for big things in Brazil." During the latter half of the 1920s, annual accessions ranged from 124 to 241 in the São Paulo Conference, which consistently produced the most baptisms in the South Brazil Union, but this was not enough to satisfy Haynes. While at the 1926 Autumn Council, he had singled out São Paulo as a place where the workers needed help. The church "could be three times as large as it is with just a little more work," he said.²⁸

After his English effort in Buenos Aires, Haynes expressed hope that big city evangelism would spread to São Paulo. Meetings on the scale that he wished did not occur, but under the pastoral leadership of José Amador dos Reis, growth was steady. He baptized seventeen in June 1928; by the end of the year the membership of the São Paulo Church exceeded 300, which made it necessary to launch a major church construction program. The new 550-seat facility not only allowed for more growth but became the conference headquarters as well. W. L. Burgan, of the General Conference public relations staff, called the proposed building a "sumptuous temple," but for South Brazil's leaders the US\$35,500 they paid for the land and the paving as well as the furnishings, it was a bargain. Only a ten-minute walk from the center of the city, it not only housed conference offices in the basement, but had room for a church school as well.

On May 18, 1929, the São Paulo members dedicated their new sanctuary, an event that drew little attention outside South Brazil until A. G. Daniells visited the city late in the year. "It is the neatest and best planned church outside and inside that I have seen in any mission field," the well traveled former General Conference president wrote. Responding appropriately, the *Review* published a large, front page picture of the congregation gathered on the steps. By the time this news reached North American readers, the church surpassed 400 members.²⁹

Despite his constant prodding, Haynes had early expressed satisfaction with the progress of evangelism in Brazil. In addition to the São Paulo Conference, the Rio Grande do Sul Conference and the Santa Catarina-Paraná Mission also established records of more than 100 baptisms each year. Even though the growth of the South Brazil Union during his presidency was 34 percent, 8 percent lower than the Austral Union, net growth from the 1,689 baptisms during the same

period was 70 percent, or 1,192 members, 6 percent higher than the Spanish-speaking field. Evangelism was widespread in South Brazil, involving division, union, and conference administrators.

During the Brazilian winter of 1929, N. P. Neilsen, union president, R. R. Breitigam, secretary of the division Home Missionary Department, and E. V. Moore, president of the São Paulo Conference, all conducted efforts in Brazil's interior. Brazilian pastors Jeronymo Garcia and Emilio Gutzeit also held meetings. Contributing to the South Brazil Union's success was its consolidation of five fields into three that were more easily administered, each exceeding 1,000 members and reporting more than 100 baptisms a year. Besides these three fields, the union included three other missions carved from interior states, which added only ninety-nine members to the union's total of 4,652 at the end of 1930.³⁰

The East Brazil Union presented a far different setting for evangelism from that in South Brazil. With fewer workers, E. H. Wilcox, superintendent of the northern field, faced a geographically larger region containing more coastal cities. Just inside the union's southern boundary was Rio de Janeiro, a city some called the most beautiful metropolis in the continent and another focal point of South America's urban evangelistic movement. After worshipping with the three Adventist congregations in the Brazilian capital in 1927, G. W. Schubert, a German-born, newly elected field secretary of the General Conference on tour through South America, expected the city to have six congregations in the near future, but at the end of Haynes's presidency, the number had grown to only four.³¹

With pride Haynes announced that during 1927 every administrator in the East Brazil Union held at least one effort, but with some justification Wilcox complained that his territory was the largest in South America, and that in many cases mission superintendents with only one assistant were trying to cover their field. Sometimes these missions were as large as unions in the United States. "The insistent cry that comes for more help in our local field is heart-rending," Wilcox said.³²

The most productive fields in the union were the Rio de Janeiro and Rio-Espírito Santo missions. More satisfying to Haynes than the three churches in the Brazilian capital was the "strong leader,—an evangelist who is doing excellent work there," a situation that the division president saw through self-supporting eyes. "That city is soon to become, I believe, a strength to all the interior work," Haynes wrote, "because of the money it will raise among its members." One of the churches was actually at the union headquarters in Niteroi, across the bay from Rio, where the membership

was less than fifty in 1928. Repeated evangelism both in that community and in Rio itself gave the church 239 baptisms during 1927-30. The most productive year was 1929 when R. J. Wilfart and Domingos Peixoto conducted meetings, bringing 108 new members into the church.³³

Already with the largest membership of any field in the East Brazil Union, the Espírito Santo Mission absorbed most of the territory of its neighboring Rio Mission in 1927. Membership growth in this newly formed Rio-Espírito Santo Mission was both disappointing and inspiring during the next three years. After a loss of 110 in 1928, a record 179 baptisms the next year raised the mission total to 956. Lacking only a small margin to become the first field in East Brazil with 1,000 members, the mission faltered again, not reaching that magic total until 1932. Even with these ups and downs, this mission consistently remained the largest field in the East Brazil Union.³⁴

From its origins in the southern corner of the country, the geographical advancement of the Adventist church in Brazil was northward. Growth in the Bahia and Pernambuco missions represented this trend. Reorganization in the Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo missions in the southern tip of the East Brazil Union in 1927 helped to consolidate those fields and allow church leaders to concentrate on the coastal strip extending north around the bulge.

Leo B. Halliwell, who was to become a legend along the Amazon during a missionary career spanning four decades, began his service in Bahia in 1921, immediately after his arrival in Brazil. With no organized congregation in the city of Bahia when he became the mission director, he immediately began evangelizing with the assistance of Gustavo Storch, the mission secretary. By the end of 1927 the mission claimed 189 members with a substantial congregation and church school in the headquarters city. Three years later the mission, consisting of the states of Bahia and Sergipe, numbered 258.³⁵

Farther to the north lay the states of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Paraíba, and Rio Grande do Norte, comprising the much larger Pernambuco Mission. Here baptisms had declined before Haynes arrived, but during his years this field grew from 308 to 400 members. Only eleven converts joined the church in 1925, but E. P. Mansell, mission director, turned the trend around with fifty-nine baptisms in 1928. Wilcox attributed his success to his rudimentary medical ministry that inspired widespread confidence in his program. The next year was the mission's best evangelistic year during Haynes's presidency when seventy-two baptisms brought the membership to 395.³⁶

The most striking indication that evangelism in East Brazil was pushing northward came during the annual meetings in January 1927, when the union committee asked John L. Brown, superintendent of the East Minas Mission, to move to the mouth of the Amazon River to establish the Lower Amazon Mission. Brown's stay in the tropics was short-lived. Less than a year later broken health forced him into furlough, and the union requested Halliwell to leave Bahia to replace him as head of the new mission on the world's largest river.³⁷

Brown had baptized twelve during 1928, a figure that Halliwell matched in 1929, bringing the membership of the mission to thirty-six. It was the smallest of East Brazil's fields, but in time it would become denominationally known because of Halliwell's river launches that plied the Amazon and its tributaries.

Besides moving northward, Adventism in Brazil was also penetrating westward. Representing this geographical trend was the Minas Gerais Mission. This new entity began operations in 1928 after being formed by uniting the West Minas and East Minas missions. In 1926 West Minas, as part of the South Brazil Union, reported fewer than sixty members. At the end of 1928 the membership of these combined fields reached 219; two years later the total reached 319. However, that remarkable achievement did not assure the mission's longevity, for at the end of 1930 it merged with its neighbor, the Rio de Janeiro Mission, to constitute the Rio-Minas Gerais Mission and so become the second largest field in East Brazil.³⁸

Compared to growth rates in the South Brazil and Austral unions, membership increases in East Brazil were significantly lower. During Haynes's presidency workers in this field baptized 1,035 converts but recorded a disappointing net growth of 565, or 55 percent. A 30 percent increase from 1,888 to 2,453 members in four years reflected the union's low retention of its accessions.³⁹

Urban evangelism as it was practiced in many of South America's large cities was virtually unknown in the Inca Union. By the end of Haynes's term in 1930, Ecuador's tiny Adventist community numbered only eighty-three. Converts were few and hard to find. But when Orley Ford saw six awaiting baptism in Quito in 1927, and a score or more prospective members scattered elsewhere, he saw a modicum of progress among the white population. During 1928 G. A. Schwerin concentrated on Guayaquil, Ford held meetings in Cajabamba, and Ramón Redin, a national worker, conducted a series in Quito. Twenty-six converts from these efforts made up the largest annual increase in the history of the mission up to that time. Two years later in 1930 workers set another record by baptizing twenty-eight. These figures were

large by Ecuadoran standards, but they could not hide the fact that this northwestern corner of the division was the slowest growing field in South America.⁴⁰

Although Adventists in Bolivia outnumbered those in Ecuador, membership in the non-Indian sector was considerably smaller. Not until 1939, nine years after Haynes left South America, did the Bolivia Mission decide to organize a church for white members, and then only after it appeared that seven baptisms would raise the congregation to sixteen.⁴¹

Non-Indian congregations spread about Peru, although the leading centers were in Arequipa and Lima. Workers in the Lake Titicaca Mission held meetings for the Spanish-speaking sector of Puno in 1928, but it was Iquitos, deep in the northeastern interior, that became the site of another urban church in Peru. As part of the new working force that the Inca Union assigned to the Amazon Mission of Peru were the son of J. W. Westphal, Henry, and his wife, Barbara, newlyweds, both in their twenties, and fresh from the campus of Pacific Union College in North America. One of their first major duties was a massive effort in the Alhambra Theater in Iquitos during 1928. "The Alhambra Theater is the biggest, finest thing in Iquitos," Barbara wrote home, "but it is really an old barn. The front is built of wood, but the sides are made of kerosene cans, and the roof is sheets of corrugated iron."⁴²

Evangelism in this jungle city was a far cry from that in sophisticated centers such as Buenos Aires and São Paulo, but the crowds were enormous. On opening night, April 23, Barbara estimated that 3,500 squeezed into the 3,000 theater seats and another 1,500 returned home because they could not find room. Attendance held up well. Between 3,000 and 4,000 packed the auditorium again on May 9, the last night of the series. Newspapers, *El Eco* and *El Dia*, carried lengthy accounts of Westphal's sermons and issued editorials about the happenings at the Alhambra. V. E. Peugh, superintendent of the Peru Mission, crossed over the mountains from Lima to visit Iquitos after Westphal completed his meetings. During his visit in June, over sixty converts joined the church, pushing the local congregation to more than 100 members.⁴³

Rather than growing during 1926-30, membership in the Inca Union dropped. When Haynes entered South America, the union reported 8,034 Adventists, but four years later the figure had sagged to 7,340, despite more than 3,600 baptisms. The problem surfaced in the Lake Titicaca Mission where a general purging of about 3,500 names from the membership lists occurred in 1929.⁴⁴ Despite this major setback, the division at large retained 30 percent of its new members while growing from 16,897 to 19,546 in the same period, a 16 percent increase.

Haynes's constant agitation for self-support and his program of urban evangelism were two sides of the same coin. Of course, converting people to a belief in the saving power of Christ was the purpose for the church's existence, but in the process of soul-winning, self-support resulted from evangelism. From the beginning of his presidency, Haynes linked self-support to membership growth in urban areas, where evangelists would baptize new members of means who would benefit the church economically.

Haynes denied that this policy meant neglecting the poor indigenous population. The contrary would be true, he argued, because the tribespeople, constituting only a minority of the continental population, would enjoy a concentration of money and workers among them. If any part of the division suffered neglect, it would be the majority in the urban regions, Haynes claimed. Urban evangelism, in his view, was the first step in developing the division's ability to penetrate the continent.

At the 1930 General Conference session, he discussed his "master plan" for South America, dropping sentences and phrases that expressed the direction that church growth in the division should follow, asking delegates to the world meetings to "re-discover" South America. His statements were hardly oblique allusions to his policies.

"While the Indian work in South America is perhaps more spectacular than the other work being carried forward," he said, "it is by no means the most important . . . The Indian work . . . is impressive in the evidences it shows of God's wonderful and providential guidance. But so also is the work in the great cities and republics . . . And our strength in South America is in the conferences, churches, institutions, and constituencies outside the Indian fields.

"Our greatest problem is that of our cities, the establishing of this message in these great centers of population . . . We believe that members of Seventh-day Adventist churches everywhere, in mission lands as well as in homelands, should supply their own needs and requirements, without consuming mission funds upon themselves, and that mission funds should be used for new work in soul saving."

Haynes called for General Conference subsidies to continue, if not actually to increase, but explained that these should be truly evangelistically spent, not squandered on routine operations.⁴⁵

The Haynes era was a turning point in the history of South American Adventism. For the first time since Montgomery a division president seized the initiative in molding the organization and its many parts into a rational, comprehensive unit. He sought a balance between the ethnic groups composing the South American church.

He inspired his subordinates to believe in themselves and to aspire to a legitimate independence within the framework of world Adventism. He was aggressive and tireless, a man of vision, but not a visionary. He did not always get what he wanted, but he was always hopeful and not easily deterred.

His report to the 1930 General Conference session indicated that he believed his presidency had been only partially successful and that his ideas were only beginning to catch on in the division. But he was convinced that not only South Americans but the entire Adventist world had much to learn about the principles of operating a global program among peoples in widely diverse conditions that shaped their social and psychological makeup as well as their financial capabilities. In a sense, his horizon extended beyond South America to include the world. His forceful manner goaded and sometimes jarred his workers, and as anyone can imagine, not all reactions to his leadership were positive, but in 1930 probably few would deny that the South American Division had changed for the better.

When Haynes sailed from Peru in March, 1930, to attend the General Conference session, he was making his last trip to the United States to represent South America. Already the world depression was raising doubts about what lay ahead. For N. P. Nielsen, who moved upward from the presidency of the South Brazil Union to succeed Haynes, the next decade would be an ordeal by fire in which the principle of self-support would be tested to the utmost.

¹ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, July 11, 1926, GCA/11, GF/1926, folder H; Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, September 16, 1926, *ibid.*; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *RH*, June 7, 1926.

² Carlyle B. Haynes, "The New Year," *Bulletin*, III (January 1927), 1, 2.

³ Carlyle B. Haynes, "A Larger Evangelism," *ibid.* (February 1927), 1, 2.

⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes, "Developing Our Own Resources," *ibid.*, III (May 1927), 1, 2.

⁵ Haynes's articles appeared regularly on the front page of the *Bulletin*. The titles selected here appeared from 1927 through 1929. The quotations are from "Shall We Change This?" IV (June 1928), and "Working Toward Self Support," V (January 1929).

⁶ Carlyle B. Haynes to Oliver Montgomery, February 19, 1928, GCA/21, GF/1928; F. A. Stahl, "God's Marvelous Providences in the Mighty Amazon Valley," *Bulletin*, V (February 1929), 2, 3.

⁷ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Austral Union Session," *ibid.*, V (April 1929), 5, 6.

⁸ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Call for Greater Evangelism," *RH*, November 24, 1927.

⁹ The comparisons in the preceding paragraphs have been adapted from data in *Statistical Report* for the years, 1926-30; SAD Minutes, December 16, 1926/GCA; *ibid.*, November 26, 1929.

¹⁰ Editorial note, no name, *Bulletin*, V (December 1929), 8; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Division Council," *ibid.*, VI (February 1930), 1, 2.

¹¹ W. A. Spicer to Carlyle B. Haynes, May 7, 1928, GCA/11, GF/1928, folder H.

¹² Carlyle B. Haynes to B. E. Beddoe, March 7, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929; B. E. Beddoe to Carlyle B. Haynes, March 26, 1929, *ibid.*

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¹³ W. H. Williams to J. L. Shaw, B. E. Beddoe, and E. Kotz, March 17, 1927, *ibid.*/1927.

¹⁴ See the annual lists of missionary sailings reported by the General Conference secretary to the *Review*, 1920-1930.

¹⁵ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, April 1, 1928, GCA/11, GF/1928, folder H.

¹⁶ M. E. Kern to Carlyle B. Haynes, August 15, 1930, GCA/21, GF/1930; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, January 12, 1930, *ibid.*

¹⁷ RA (B), July 1928, quoted by Ivan Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis*, 99. Also, see pages 83-103 of Schmidt's book that describe the São Paulo pastorate of dos Reis.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁹ *Statistical Report* for years 1926-1930; *SDA Yearbook*, 1930; A. G. Daniells, "Ministerial Institute, Brazil, South America," *RH*, April 10, 1930; and "Our Ministerial Institute in Argentina, South America," *ibid.*, May 1, 1930.

²⁰ For these organizational changes see *SDA Yearbook* for the years 1926-31; *Statistical Report* for 1926; *ibid.*, 1927. See Montgomery's reports of meetings, "Visiting South America," *RH*, April 21, 1927; and "The Austral Union," *ibid.*, May 12, 1927; and "Visiting South America," *ibid.*, July 7, 1927; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Austral Union Meeting," *ibid.*, May 10, 1928; Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, May 22, 1927, GCA/11, GF/1927, folder H.

²¹ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Call for Greater Evangelism," *RH*, November 24, 1927.

²² W. E. Hancock to W. A. Spicer, January 21, 1927, GCA/11, GF/1927, folder H.

²³ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, April 30, 1927, *ibid.*; Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, May 20, 1928, *ibid.*/1928; Carlyle B. Haynes to Oliver Montgomery, February 19, 1928, *ibid.*/21, GF/1928; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Buenos Aires English Effort," *RH*, August 30, 1928.

²⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Chile Conference," *ibid.*, June 7, 1928; and "Moving Forward in South America," *ibid.*, June 28, 1928; W. E. Hancock, "An Awakening in Chile," *ibid.*, May 6, 1926; Oliver Montgomery, "Progress in Chile," *ibid.*, September 1, 1927; *Statistical Report* for years 1926-1930.

²⁵ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, April 30, 1927, GCA/11, GF/1927, folder H; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Austral Union Meeting," *RH*, May 10, 1928.

²⁶ E. L. Maxwell, "Progress in South America," *ibid.*, November 29, 1929.

²⁷ These data have been adapted from *Statistical Report* for the years 1926-1930.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, for the years 1926-1930; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The South Brazil Union," *RH*, May 31, 1928; and "The Call for a Greater Evangelism," *ibid.*, November 24, 1927; Oliver Montgomery, "Visiting South America," *ibid.*, April 21, 1927.

²⁹ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Buenos Aires Effort," *ibid.*, August 30, 1928; Ennis V. Moore, "Sao Paulo, Brazil," *ibid.*, September 13, 1928; W. L. Burgan, "Baptismal Scene Advertised in Brazil Newspaper," *ibid.*, December 6, 1928; N. P. Neilsen, "Dedication of a Church in Sao Paulo," *ibid.*, September 19, 1929; A. G. Daniells, "Templo Adventista, Sao Paulo, Brazil, South America," *ibid.*, April 24, 1930. See Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis*, 83-103 for an account of evangelism and church construction in São Paulo.

³⁰ *Statistical Report* for the years, 1926-1930; N. P. Neilsen, "Progress in the Sao Paulo Conference," *RH*, January 2, 1930.

³¹ G. W. Schubert, "Travels in South America-No. 1," *ibid.*, August 18, 1927.

³² Carlyle B. Haynes, "Moving Forward in South America," *ibid.*, June 28, 1928; E. H. Wilcox, "A Mighty Work Through Meager Forces," *ibid.*, September 8, 1927.

³³ Varner T. Johns, "Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *ibid.*, May 24, 1928; news note, no name, *ibid.*, May 16, 1929; *Statistical Report* for years 1926-1930.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, for years 1926-1932.

³⁵ E. H. Wilcox, "The Bahia Mission, East Brazil," *RH*, February 2, 1928; L. G. Jorgensen, "New Churches in Brazil," *ibid.*, January 2, 1930; *Statistical Report* for years 1926-1930. See Streithorst, *Leo Halliwell na Amazonia*, 30-34.

³⁶ E. H. Wilcox, "Public Efforts in Brazil," *RH*, February 14, 1929; *Statistical Report* for years 1925-1930.

³⁷ Oliver Montgomery, "Visiting South America," *RH* April 14, 1927; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The East Brazil Union Meeting," *ibid.*, May 24, 1928; and "Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, March 14, 1929. Halliwell states "in 1929 Mrs. Halliwell and I were asked to go this district," a small contradiction with Olga Streithorst who says, "Near the end of 1928 Leo B. Halliwell . . . received a call to transfer to Belém where he would be the president of the Mission." See Leo B. Halliwell, *Light Bearer to the Amazon* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1945), 7; and Streithorst, *Leo Halliwell*, 44. Both are right. The decision to ask Halliwell to go to the Amazon occurred in December 1928, but he did not actually move until 1929. Halliwell simply associates his move with the call.

³⁸ *Statistical Report* for years 1926-1931.

³⁹ *Ibid.* for years 1926-1930.

⁴⁰ Orley Ford, "Progress in Ecuador, South America," *RH*, July 14, 1927; and "Doubling Our Membership in Ecuador," *ibid.*, February 7, 1929.

⁴¹ R. A. Hayden, "White Church Organized in La Paz, Bolivia," *ibid.*, December 14, 1939. The slow growth of membership in Bolivia is a theme in Samuel Chávez, *Adventismo en Bolivia*, 40-60.

⁴² Barbara Westphal recorded her experience in *A Bride on the Amazon* (Washington, D.C., 1948). See pages 55-59 for a description of the meetings.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; V. E. Peugh, "The Work in the Inca Union Mission," *RH*, May 10, 1928; and "Through the Jungles to Iquitos—No. 4," *ibid.*, January 17, 1929; W. L. Burgan, "Newspaper Work in Peru," *ibid.*, May 31, 1928.

⁴⁴ *Statistical Report*, 1928, 1929.

⁴⁵ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The South American Division," *ibid.*, June 11, 1930.



TRIAL BY ORDEAL: THE GREAT DEPRESSION

IT WOULD BE inaccurate to characterize the decade of the 1920s as an economic boom for the church, but the ten years were prosperous when compared to the trials of World War I and the Great Depression of the 1930s. The economic reversals of the 1930s were a worldwide condition that did not spare the Adventist church. Denominational leaders watched helplessly as church revenues declined and administrative budgets shrank. In some places local leaders grimly faced sharply diminished purchasing power with the smaller amounts of money they had. In the soul-searching that followed, they examined every church program to ascertain its affordability

From evangelism to salaries, nothing was exempt from their probing eye. Financially prostrate, struck by a storm of political consequences that partly resulted from economic distress, and unable to foresee an end to their trouble, South American Adventists had perhaps never experienced anything more conducive to despair, or, for that matter, single-mindedness. The turbulent years of the Great Depression provided unprecedented inspiration to claim the biblical promise, “My strength is made perfect in weakness.”

The church both wept and rejoiced as it at once endured its deepest wounds and enjoyed some of its finest triumphs.

Because the majority of Adventist mission funds originated in the United States, all world fields were unavoidably affected by economic trends in the North American Division. Although the financial slide in the United States began in 1929, a quirk in the church calendar delayed its negative impact on the divisions' budgets until 1931. General Conference budgets, routinely approved during Autumn Council, were based on estimates projected from reasonable estimates of income. Because Council delegates voted appropriations for 1930 before the New York Stock Exchange crashed and triggered the Great Depression, they were already on their way home, carrying approved budgets by the time the economic plunge began. Not until the 1930 Autumn Council met to consider appropriations for 1931 did denominational budgets reflect the economic dislocations of the world economy.

THE GENERAL CONFERENCE REACTS TO THE DEPRESSION

Attitudes emanating from Washington were somber during the year preceding the 1930 Autumn Council. The treasury put out the word that the church estimated a decrease of US\$450,000 in revenues earmarked for missions, and consequently the Autumn Council faced the possibility of reducing appropriations for world missions in 1931 by that figure. To help meet this exigency, the budget committee "borrowed" large sums from reserves to pour into operating expenses. By clamping a halt on major construction projects, \$100,000 was available from the Missions Extension Fund; from the Ministerial Internship reserve the denominational treasurer drew \$60,000, and another \$50,000 came from the Big Week fund, a reserve connected with literature distribution. Other smaller transfers enabled the budget committee to propose only a six percent cut in base appropriations to the world divisions for 1931.¹

Budget estimates were always calculated guesses, but for 1931 they were anyone's guess. Church revenues designated for foreign missions held up surprisingly well during 1930, slipping about US\$140,000, less than a third of what the treasurer had forecast. Mission offerings plummeted \$370,000 in 1931, still less than feared, but financial reports for 1931 indicated that the treasurer's predictions were not completely ill-founded. The next year, 1932, proved to be the worst single year for the church during the Great Depression as the decline exceeded \$625,000. In 1933 it slipped another \$300,000.²

Another graphic way to view this sharp decline in donations for missions is to compare per capita giving before, during, and after the Great Depression.

Combining all offerings from around the world, more than \$4,100,000 was gathered for missions in 1929. Although this was the highest dollar figure the church had ever reached, the per capita rate had peaked three years earlier at \$14.35, after hovering between that figure and \$13.25 throughout the 1920s. By 1933 the rate sank to \$7.11 per member. During 1940 Adventists gave more than \$3,800,000 for missions, a figure that surpassed the 1933 level by over \$1,000,000, but still remained less than the amount for 1929. That the effect of depression still lingered in 1940 was evident in the per capita rate, which was still an anemic \$7.58, a small forty-seven cents more than that of their bleakest economic year. The reason for the rise in total donations was the increase in denominational membership rather than an increase in per capita giving.³

Before the 1931 Autumn Council met, H. H. Cobban, General Conference assistant treasurer, warned the world fields that they would have to exist on current income because special funds would not be available to make up the heavy loss in revenue for missions.⁴ Notwithstanding this pessimistic note, the budget committee scraped another \$215,000 from General Conference reserves to help meet requests from the divisions for 1932, but even with that recourse the committee felt compelled to cut operating appropriations 10 percent. Even these reductions were not enough. At the 1932 Spring Council, the General Conference Committee broke tradition by placing financial matters on its agenda, issues that usually constituted the primary topic during the Autumn Council. The result was an additional 8 percent slash from mission funds.⁵

Desperate church leaders in Washington encouraged increased giving to regular Sabbath school offerings, and promoted Weeks of Sacrifice and Midsummer Offerings with six-figure goals, but despite these promotions, donations fell short. Denominational officers again relied on reserves to support the 1933 missions budgets, but at the same time forced another drop in base appropriations to the world divisions. When church administrators from around the world gathered for the 1933 Autumn Council, hope was all but gone. "We have made drastic wage cuts at home and in foreign fields, have curtailed expenses in every possible way, have drawn more and more on the working capital, and yet we have had to cut our world budget five times in three years," wrote General Conference Secretary M. E. Kern.

Economic conditions were both bad and uninterrupted, a double curse that had forced belt-tightening to the extreme. Kern's vocabulary expressed the gloom at world headquarters. "Foreboding," "perplexity," "budget sorrows," and "disappointment,"

were his descriptions of the budget-making sessions of the 1933 Autumn Council. For four consecutive years church revenues had declined, but fearful that another setback would bring collapse to the church in some fields, the committee held the line, predicting that the Great Depression had bottomed out. Church leaders recommended a balanced budget by virtually repeating its 1933 proposals for 1934.⁶

That the downturn might halt provided the only optimism to economically besieged church leaders. For the Adventist world the budget committee's report at the 1933 Autumn Council, showing only that the denominational financial condition had not worsened, was the first omen of relief since the beginning of economic trouble in 1929. Church leaders left the session with a glimmer of hope that the worst was over and that they had somehow avoided a worse disaster than what they had already endured. It was this paradoxical emotion of combined despair and hope that swept the Autumn Council. An inspired Kern quoted almost triumphantly a set of anonymous couplets to close his financial report of the meetings, conveying to the Adventist world a sense of both the turbulence that the church had experienced and the hope that leaders dared to think about. "We rejoice that even in these years of great adversity the truth of God is marching on," he wrote, and continued

On the far reef, the breakers recoil in shattered foam,
While still the sea behind them urges its forces home;
 Its song of triumph surges o'er all the thunderous din.
The wave may break in failure, but the tide is sure to win.
The reef is strong and cruel. Upon its jagged wall
 One wave, a score, a hundred, broken and beaten, fall,
 Yet in defeat they conquer; the sea comes flooding in.
Wave upon wave is routed, but the tide is sure to win.⁷

SOUTH AMERICA COPES WITH FINANCIAL REVERSALS

In the context of the precipitous drop in General Conference income, subsidies to South America were not out of line. In 1930 the division had already taken a US\$7,500 reduction in its base appropriations for operating the division office and the four unions, but the following year the cut exceeded \$18,600; for 1932 the figure slumped nearly \$31,000 and in 1933 it decreased more than \$37,000. Additional deletions from the budget finally took the division's total operating funds down to \$211,293 in 1935 as compared to \$334,841 in 1929.⁸

South America's reaction to its lower subsidies from the General Conference was to freeze the percentages allocated for each union. For example, the US\$80,347 which the Austral Union received in 1930 was the same proportion of the total it got in 1933, although the amount dropped to \$58,784. From 1930 through 1933 only slight variations in those proportions occurred. The first took place in 1931 when the division office gained three-tenths of a percent by slicing a tenth from each field except the Austral Union. In 1935, when South America received US\$211,293, its smallest appropriation from the General Conference since early in the 1920s, the division committee voted the Inca Union and the two Brazilian unions larger proportions.⁹

Because every field suffered losses measured in actual dollars, it may be argued that proportional increases or decreases in the financial pie were academic, but the scarcity of money produced keener competition for what was available, a situation that made even small changes in the percentages significant. I. H. Evans, a General Conference representative to South America's annual meetings in January 1935, noted that compromises were necessary when forming the division budget. The financial arrangements agreed upon at those sessions gave the division headquarters US\$12,000 less for operating than in 1930, but that share represented 1 percent more of the total funds available.

Officers of the Austral Union could argue that their field suffered the severest financial blows in the division. The low point in dollars for this field came in 1935 when its subsidy descended to \$49,671, more than a \$30,000 loss from its high year. Because that figure remained constant for the next three years while the division's total budget rose, the Austral Union's percentage continued to slip in comparison to the allocations to other fields.

Measured in both dollars and percentages, 1934 was the fiscal nadir for the other three unions. East Brazil's subsidy slipped over \$21,000, the Inca Union's \$50,000, and South Brazil's \$20,000. Although the division's budget reached its lowest figure in 1935, these three fields received dollar increases that year, also representing higher percentages. The first dramatic shift in proportions occurred in 1936 when South America's committee approved an increase of more than \$23,000 in the operating budget for the division office.

Changes in allocations to the unions after 1936 reflected increases in General Conference subsidies, but the upward swing was slow. Church officers did not expect a quick return to the pre-1930 levels. In December 1935, Roger Altman, South America's treasurer, told workers that "financially the outlook is encouraging,

although strict economy is still the watchword. Probably we will not be able to look for greatly increased appropriations from the General Conference for some time, so as the South American fields grow in strength they will need to plan on a fuller measure of self-support year by year.”¹⁰

Events demonstrated the truth in Altman’s prediction. By 1941 South America’s operating support from world headquarters had inched up to \$246,917, still a smaller amount than it had received during the last half of the 1920s.¹¹ Meanwhile, division and union officers had devised new methods of dividing their money. While they had never approved allocations pro rata according to membership, neither had they ignored the number of Adventists in any field. Their decisions struck a balance between a given union’s economic competence and its need to expand into new regions.

With their subsidies diminishing after 1929 and their percentages fixed, at least for the time being, union officers could only hope to maintain their programs and to avoid as many inequities as possible. At the January 1935 division meetings, they recognized that of all South America’s unions, East Brazil faced the most challenging obstacles to church growth, and voted to study ways to furnish that field with a greater portion of operating funds. Consistently, East Brazil’s base appropriation had been the second smallest in the division, even though its general population was the largest. At their next session in December, representatives from the other three unions agreed to relinquish part of their budgets in favor of East Brazil.¹²

Another year passed before South America felt the full impact of this decision. Acknowledging that East Brazil still lacked adequate money, the division council split that vast territory, forming a new North Brazil Union from the states of Ceará, Piauí, Maranhão, Pará, Amazonas, and the territory of Acre. This action left the East Brazil Union with the remaining states along the coast. Now with an additional union, South America would have to divide its money differently. Increases from the General Conference furnished some of the funds for the new union, but with a much smaller region in which to spread their money and concentrate their efforts, leaders of the East Brazil Union also agreed to a reduction in their budget in favor of the new field.

The effect was immediate. In 1937 the combined budgets of these reorganized fields absorbed a higher percentage than the former East Brazil Union had ever enjoyed except for 1935. A year after this development, the division assumed even more control over distribution of funds by reducing union subsidies to a bare minimum and retaining more than 40 percent of all operating appropriations at headquarters to be disbursed at the discretion of division officers.¹³

Before the Great Depression ran its course, the division learned the bittersweet of trouble and success. Overwhelming odds, against which church leaders wept and struggled, only made their accomplishments more joyful. After surviving repeated reductions in South America's budget, N. P. Neilsen, the division president, poignantly unburdened his heart in 1932, reminding his colleagues that they were "passing through times of great perplexity," but they should lose neither their courage nor faith in God.

"He is still the Leader of this movement, and He is not taken by surprise by any condition which may arise in the world . . . His work must continue to go forward, and it will. Prosperity is not the greatest blessing to the church, rather, it is during times of distress and persecution that the church has grown strong spiritually. So it may be with us . . . It cannot be my brethren, that the Lord intends that His work shall retrograde, or stop during a time of crisis. No, I cannot believe it. There must be some way out of our difficulty . . . we have a mighty God. He still leads the hosts of Israel forward. I believe there is a solution to all our problems. There is a way out. So we will press forward with faith in God."¹⁴

As brave as Neilsen sounded, the depression years proved that his words were more idealistic than realities could measure up to. Already a plethora of problems that almost defied solution swirled around division and union officers. Besides the central issue of financial reversals, they dealt with questions of nationalism, both secular and ecclesiastical, that sometimes erupted virulently and threatened church unity. Another related problem was church policy affecting salaries and furloughs for overseas workers.

In spite of these fractious influences, which Neilsen and his associates were never able to dispel completely, the division grew by 69 percent, or 13,418 members, during the ten years beginning with January 1931. Had it not been for the single unifying purpose of evangelism, we can only conjecture if the church would have emerged from its economic ordeals intact or if it would have succumbed to divisive forces from within.

Nowhere in the Adventist world did a single set of solutions satisfy the financial emergencies facing the church, but similar conditions in all fields produced similar decisions. Because extensive administrative streamlining had characterized the Haynes years, South America had few organizational refinements left that would have been economy measures. However, the division eliminated three missions by combining units in the East Brazil and the Austral unions. In 1931 the Minas

Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio-Espírito Santo missions reorganized their boundaries to form two units instead of three. The following year the Bahia and Pernambuco missions joined, becoming the Northeast Mission. These reorganizations reduced East Brazil's missions to four instead of the prior six and lessened administrative expenses. The last change took place in 1934 when the Austral Union juggled the Central Argentine Conference and the Alto Paraná, Northwest, and Cuyo missions to form one conference and two missions, a reduction of one administrative unit.¹⁵

These alterations in the Adventist map diminished the number of administrators and released workers for actual field work, but of greater importance than reorganizing a few conferences and missions was the question of how smaller base appropriations would affect salaries. At stake were the questions of which workers to release and to decide how many of them South America could lose without collapse. Union reports from 1930 through 1935 reveal that the division suffered a 30 percent loss in licensed missionaries and ordained and licensed ministers.

Figures varied from field to field. Most drastically affected was the Austral Union which cut 37 percent of its employees, or thirty-four salaries, eighteen of them licensed missionaries. During the two years, 1933-1934, the union employed seven fewer ordained ministers than in 1930, but by 1935 it had restored four ministerial positions. Nearly as hard hit was the Inca Union, which lost 35 percent, or twenty-eight workers, almost all of them licensed missionaries. Although slight fluctuations occurred from year to year, an overall decline of only one licensed minister enabled the Inca Union to maintain its pastoral force nearly intact throughout the Great Depression.

In some respects, the South Brazil Union suffered most. Among the seventeen salaries the union eliminated by 1935 was only one licensed missionary. Its ordained ministry declined steadily from twenty-one in 1930 to thirteen in 1935. Because this category of worker led the pastoral and administrative phases of the church, this decline meant that the union lost 38 percent of its key personnel, which created one of the most serious leadership vacuums in the division.

East Brazil's case was unique. During the five years ending in 1935 the workforce diminished by only one. Its staff of ordained ministers actually increased by two and its licensed missionaries by one, while losing four licensed ministers.

Only a few patterns emerge from these figures. From the combined three categories of salaried workers—licensed missionaries, licensed ministers, and ordained ministers—the division lost seventy-nine by the end of 1935, fifty-five of whom were licensed missionaries. These figures tell us that South America as a field tended

to terminate first those workers who were not directly involved in pastoring and evangelism, although that rule of thumb did not hold true in South Brazil. By 1936, the first year of increased operating subsidies, approximately 20 percent of licensed and ordained ministerial positions had vanished, compared to 40 percent of the licensed missionaries. By allowing fewer losses in ministerial ranks, South America was deciding which class of workers was most germane to the division's goals. To shield pastors and evangelists was to protect the constituency, which was the church's base. In most instances the decline in employees was not steady. Fluctuations from year to year and from field to field varied. Some unions dropped to their low point in some categories of employees as early as 1931.

Not until 1940 did South America regain the number of workers that it had employed in 1930. After ten years of depression and recovery, the division listed 275 workers as compared to 266 at the beginning of the decade. Even with this recovery, the ministerial ranks were favored over the licensed missionary. At the beginning of the Great Depression, South America's corps of ordained ministers numbered seventy-two; in 1940 this category reached ninety-four, an increase of twenty-two. The number of licensed ministers rose by six, while the force of licensed missionaries remained nineteen lower in 1940 as compared to 1930. The size of the working force in South America had regained much of the ground it had lost during the financially lean years, but it emerged from the Great Depression in reconfigured form.¹⁶

THE HUMAN SIDE OF THE DEPRESSION

Behind these cold statistics is the human side of the Great Depression. Before economic reversals hit South America, Kern warned the division treasurer to call new workers only with caution because cuts in the budget were certain. From his hasty trip through South America in late 1930 and early 1931 to assist N. P. Neilsen's accession to the division presidency, Carlyle B. Haynes found suffering a common experience in the Adventist community, especially in Brazil, where a devaluating currency, a collapsed coffee market, and a distressed banking industry plagued the country. He left his former field with a pessimistic view of economic conditions.¹⁷

Through 1931 Neilsen repeatedly complained about the painful results of the Great Depression.¹⁸ By 1932 South America terminated nine national workers, returned six mission appointees to their home countries permanently, and cancelled four calls to fill other vacancies. Other losses diminished the total of church employees from 266 to 202, the largest drop in South America during the Great Depression.

After the first two rounds of budget reductions, Neilsen still clung to the hope that he would lose no productive employees, but he could not shake his apprehension when the 1932 Spring Council ordered another cut. "We called such members of our Division Committee together as were within easy access, and prayerfully studied the situation to see what could be done to solve our problems," he wrote. "We found ourselves in great perplexity and did not know what to do."¹⁹

Prolonged discussion led to one conclusion—ask the General Conference for more money. Neilsen prepared a seven-page statement, complete with statistics and explanations to justify the argument that South American workers could not tolerate more subsidy reductions. Complicating the situation were eight unstable national currencies that made satisfactory living conditions difficult and successful financial planning impossible.

The bone of contention was the General Conference policy of establishing its own currency exchange rate for each country, a rate which was usually lower than either the official or current market rates. Because income, including salaries, was based on these lower values, both workers and the organization lost money. Months earlier, Neilsen cited his own case to describe the price that workers were paying to maintain this policy. Measured in Brazilian currency, he would personally sustain a loss exceeding 50 percent of his salary because he could collect only 5 *mil-réis* to the dollar from the church treasury when the banks were paying twelve. The difference of 7 *mil-réis* would revert to the division treasury. This situation, multiplied by the number of workers, translated into acute personal sacrifices and jeopardy of health, not to mention simple lack of comfort. "Purchasing power . . . has *decreased* anywhere from 30 percent in Argentina, Bolivia, and Peru, to 97 percent and 100 percent in Brazil and Chile, respectively," Neilsen declared.

Neilsen recognized that in a fluid economy fluctuations in currency exchanges might be disadvantageous to the church and that the organization needed a protective reserve. He did not propose that church leaders discard the system, but he argued that the existing practice enabled the church to cut its losses at the expense of workers, who bore the cost of the policy. When he wrote, a hypothetical appropriation of US\$1,000 to Brazil would cost the General Conference only \$300 because of the differences in denominational and official exchange rates. Neilsen urged a smaller margin in the church exchange rate. During 1931 he also protested against transferring all gains in exchange from the world divisions to the General Conference, giving Washington the authority to redistribute funds originally earmarked for specific fields.

Making for even more hardship were other conditions. Unlike the United States, where the cost of living had declined sharply with the deepening depression, living costs had increased in South America. A worldwide tendency by governments to impose high tariffs on imported goods pushed prices up still more, especially in those countries that manufactured few consumer items. Workers in South America faced the pinch on three counts—prices were going up, salaries were not increasing according to inflation, and purchasing power was diminishing. Additionally, subsidies from the denomination's headquarters in Washington were shrinking. Because of economic disparities among South American countries, a uniform salary rate was not feasible, thus destroying the denominational practice of attempting to maintain at least a semblance of equality among employees.

Neilsen was not bitter, but he was at his wits' end. "And now we must reduce our force still more?" he wrote. "Now, if we could be granted some consideration on this exchange rate and it could be brought a little nearer to the actual we could still continue to go forward; but if not—then we know not what to do. You must help us solve the situation for we seem to be unable to do it." In a separate letter, Neilsen told Kern that his only choice was to lay off more workers if the General Conference did not revise the "conference" exchange rate.²⁰

Neilsen's straightforward complaint spurred action. Rather than alter exchange rates in the middle of the year, Washington granted the South American Division permission to draw up to US\$12,000 from the General Conference Exchange Reserve to pay bonuses to financially beleaguered workers. Neilsen's acknowledgment of this concession was a model of restraint. "Let me say that we were very thankful to receive the cable," he told C. H. Watson, the General Conference president. "We took the surplus funds we had on hand and by drawing a little more than \$5000.00 on the \$12000.00 which the cablegram mentioned we would be able to carry our present working force . . . without branching out into any new work."²¹

The division did not rely entirely on concessions from the General Conference to make up for its losses. In addition to the petition to Washington for more money, the committee asked Neilsen to appeal throughout the division for more economy. "Every field leader must adjust his budget accordingly," he admonished, "so as to avoid running the work into debt and jeopardize it for the future. We must study economy and lessen our operating expenses." Specifically, he suggested that they should not think about opening new fields or new programs, or even conducting evangelistic meetings in large cities. Short efforts, really no more than church

revivals, would have to be enough. Traveling second or third class might be necessary. Unproductive workers should be terminated, and earnings might go down.

Neilsen's appeal was more a call to courage than an optimistic prediction of the future. It was also a clarion call for brotherhood between church employees and the constituency, and that suffering was a common woe. "Our own dear lay members have had their earning powers greatly reduced during these times," he reminded his men, "and when they know that we, as workers, are willing to sacrifice together with them, it will have a greater influence upon their liberality, than if they fail to see the same spirit of sacrifice in us . . . We must talk courage to our people . . . Face facts and talk courage, may be a good motto."²²

At best the solution was only a stopgap that would assist the division through 1932. After South America suffered its largest subsidy reduction in 1933, Neilsen and his fellow workers found themselves facing the same situation again. When the General Conference urged South America to add only one worker, C. L. Bauer, division treasurer, felt compelled not only to refuse, but to remonstrate that South American church employees were not treated fairly, even though the conference exchange rates were higher than the previous year. For one week's earnings in the United States a worker could buy possibly two suits, but in South America an equivalent purchase would require nearly two weeks' salary. "This morning I went to the market myself," Bauer recounted, "and I find that you could buy no cheaper today than you could two years ago." With the cuts they were already trying to cope with, he bluntly predicted that many workers would soon be "in need of clothing and they will not be able to buy it from their allowances."²³

After the massive cutback of sixty-four workers in 1931, South America lost only fifteen during the next four years. While Neilsen and his associates wrenched the division and union budgets every way possible to conserve money, the human problems they faced proved to be the most difficult. Time would demonstrate that competition for employment would become keen. Not everyone could or would choose to be as magnanimous as Argentine minister-nurse Pedro Kalbermatter, who terminated himself and continued in the same place as a self-supporting worker to help ease the crimped Inca Union budget.²⁴

The General Conference did not urge world divisions to send missionaries home. Employment for workers returning permanently to the United States was hard to find. As a matter of record, world headquarters encouraged world divisions to hold their overseas personnel in the field. Looking ahead not only to the difficulties of

employing returned missionaries, but also to furlough expense, delegates to the 1931 Autumn Council recommended that divisions lengthen all terms of mission service, an action that not only delayed furloughs during the Great Depression, but also avoided the crippling effect that a wave of accumulated furloughs would have after financial recovery.²⁵ As the record shows, not all workers postponed their furloughs, but fewer employees took them.

When considering financial arrangements for 1932, the division committee recognized its option not to accept missionaries back into service after their furloughs, but Neilsen assured world headquarters that South America would not send overseas workers home just to balance the division budget. Actual events did not always follow those good intentions. J. T. Thompson was a case in point. After the Inca Union terminated him from head of the Peru Mission during his furlough in 1933, C. L. Bauer raised the question of how to handle employees who had nowhere to turn for security. South America eventually reassigned Thompson to the Austral Union as home missionary secretary. "We have struck rock bottom so far as any more cutting in expenses is concerned," Bauer told Kern. "So from now on it will mean that we will have to sacrifice more and more workers from year to year . . . We are hopeful that there will be a turning point before the end of 1933."²⁶

Only days later Bauer broached the inevitable question of balance between national workers and mission appointees, warning that if rumors of additional slashes in operating subsidies were true, difficulties lay ahead because the division would have no choice but to send overseas employees home. Of importance was the fact that nationals were becoming more restive about terminating workers from their own ranks while retaining missionaries who were at a disadvantage both culturally and linguistically.²⁷

This was not the first sign of a problem that had no clear answer. In spite of the diminishing proportion of missionaries in South America, for years trouble had been brewing about the number of overseas workers. Because of the scarcity of money, the Great Depression fueled the debate. The General Conference as well as national workers were objecting to expensive furloughs for overseas employees, who were drawing higher salaries. During the five years preceding the 1931 Autumn Council, forty missionaries returned permanently to the United States, the majority having served fewer than seven years and some fewer than four. "This reveals an appalling situation as to the stick-to-itiveness of quite a number of foreigners who go into the mission field," Associate Secretary Kotz told division officers.²⁸

Church leaders obviously wished to maintain a balance between national and overseas employees, and deplored the hasty withdrawal of mission appointees who had traveled thousands of miles at great expense. They also expected to get a reasonable return from their investment in missionaries and consistently fought the notion that the Great Depression was an opportunity for a pullout of overseas workers. World headquarters did not intend to sever the flow of mission appointees to world fields, even during the years when money was the hardest to come by. During the peak four years of 1926-29, the General Conference sent an annual average of 178 missionaries to world fields; from 1930 through 1935 the average sank to 104. A 35 percent cutback in mission appropriations had produced a 42 percent drop in mission appointees, but the workers kept going. "We can rejoice," General Conference Secretary M. E. Kern wrote in 1936, "that neither the Great War, which engulfed the whole world twenty years ago, nor the Great Depression, which followed after, has stopped the onward march of the advent message."²⁹

Yet, while church leaders stuck to their guns about maintaining their missionary appointment program, they also applauded local personnel when they assumed greater responsibility. They looked favorably at the growing national character of the South American church. While on his tour of the division in 1929 and 1930, A. G. Daniells reported a heartening majority of nationals in church employ, many in administrative positions.³⁰ Hardly had the division imposed the first round of budget reductions before Washington reminded the division that "not only on account of the financial depression . . . but also on general principles, we must look forward to the time when we place more of the locally trained workers in higher official positions . . . sometimes we as leading men are very slow to move in that direction."³¹

Complicating the question were many workers during the 1920s and 1930s who were European immigrants rather than native South Americans, some even entering their adopted country before their conversion to Adventism. Their birthplaces ranged from France to Russia, but the majority was of German origin and formed a valuable linguistic tie between the church and immigrant communities. Because most of these workers entered denominational service after reaching South America, church leaders disallowed the furlough policy for them, arguing that immigrants had deliberately changed their home country and that furloughs applied only to persons actually called from one country to another to occupy a denominational position. To their dismay, these employees found themselves regarded as nationals although they viewed themselves as overseas workers.

Some German-born members of the General Conference staff urged South America to grant furloughs to European workers for the sake of equality among the brotherhood, but division officers replied that their treasury could not tolerate the expense. Bauer predicted that a liberalized furlough policy would cost US\$25,000 and in addition would provoke the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Adventist laity to withhold their tithes and offerings in protest.

The issue became more thorny with the issue of service in tropical or Andean regions. Neither Neilsen nor Bauer could see any substantial difference between assigning a worker from Argentina to the Amazon and hiring a new person from Europe or the United States for the same job, but the Argentinean would not be eligible for furlough, but the European or American would. To compensate for this inequity, the division granted leaves of absence—which, for practical purposes, were furloughs—to South Americans serving in cultural and climatic regions differing sharply from their original environment. The matter of furloughs for immigrant workers remained unanswered.³²

By definition, the leave-of-absence policy admitted that furlough time was more than a concession to missionaries to return to their homeland to renew family ties; it was also for rest and recuperation following stressful labor. The policy was also filled with irony. Without even leaving their country, workers from South Brazil could earn what amounted to a furlough after working a term in the Amazon basin. To complicate the matter, the division frequently encountered more difficulty persuading South Americans to labor in difficult fields within their own continent such as Amazonia and the Andes, than to employ workers from the United States for the same positions.

POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS FROM THE DEPRESSION

Adding to the complexity was a wave of revolutions beginning in 1930, followed by an intensified nationalism that swept the continent during the decade. Argentina's ruling Radical party finally met its demise in 1930 with the installation of a more conservative government under José Uriburu. In a military revolt in 1930, Sánchez Cerro chased Augusto B. Leguía from the Peruvian presidency, but perpetuated the government's longstanding struggle against the revolutionary *apristas* before an assassin ended his life in 1933. In the face of economic decline, Bolivia not only lost one president in favor of another in 1930, but also lost its three-year Chaco War against Paraguay, 1932-1935.

Chile's troubles with President Ibáñez came to a fitful end in 1931 when he fled to Argentina, leaving the country in the hands of Arturo Alessandri. The new president vigorously supported constitutional freedoms, but meanwhile, the economy went wild. Probably the most serious revolt erupted in Brazil. Determined to smash the political *modus operandi* that saw Minas Gerais and São Paulo dominate the government by alternating their favorite sons into the presidency, Getulio Vargas marched out of Rio Grande do Sul with an army to begin a new era in Brazilian history.

In one way or another, the Great Depression helped to spawn these upheavals. Worsening relations with mining firms in Bolivia and Chile and foreign investors in Peru and declining fortunes in the agricultural communities in Argentina and Brazil, especially coffee in the latter case, all reflected the plunge in the world's economy. Frustration and mistrust bred more of the same. It seemed futile to onlookers and participants alike, but stability was the elusive commodity all factions were battling for, whatever the price.³³ With traditional caution, Adventists tried to keep an arm's distance from these chaotic events, but they could not be completely indifferent to political trends. After his hasty tour of annual meetings in the waning months of 1930 and early 1931, Carlyle B. Haynes reported that revolutions had prompted much uncertainty, but in some cases prospects for the division were probably bettered. In the main, however, unsettled conditions did not benefit the church.³⁴

Personal safety was the immediate concern. The fighting in Bolivia claimed more than a thousand lives during 1930, and when hostilities erupted against Paraguay, deaths multiplied. R. R. Breitigam, the division's home missionary secretary, passed through Bolivia in 1932, observing that the country was "stirred with a war spirit," and that more than thirty Adventist youth, including several teachers, had responded to the government's conscription program. Eventually five hundred or more church members from indigenous communities served in the army.

One obvious victim of the war was Francisco Brouchy, head of the Bolivia Mission, whose Paraguayan birth singled him out as a hostile alien and forced him to leave the country. The national economy, already suffering dislocations, sustained further damage by the war. Prices shot up and money values sank. To help alleviate the chaos, the division voted a war bonus to workers varying from 15 to 25 percent of their salaries. Two years after the conflict began, the problem was still so acute that the division requested a special appropriation of 50,000 *bolivianos* to continue the bonuses.³⁵

For most of the depression decade, division and union officers felt little danger in the Austral Union, but they kept an uneasy eye on Chile, where abrupt

changes aroused doubts about the country's future. But trouble eventually erupted in Argentina, where a rash of anti-Americanism broke out late in the decade after a diplomatic clash with the United States over meat exports. Even before that turn of events, the division investigated the possibility of converting itself into a legal entity in order to avoid problems of conducting its business as a branch of a United States organization.³⁶

Sánchez Cerro's sudden takeover of Peru's presidency in August, 1930, turned out to be the beginning of a period of turmoil. Cut off from the rest of the country by the revolt of the army garrison in Arequipa, all of southern Peru, including the Lake Titicaca Mission, could only wait until the political fire burned out. The next episode coincided with the Inca Union annual meetings in February 1931 when about a hundred persons died after rebels staged another uprising. After the smoke had blown over, Haynes boarded ship for the United States, and Neilsen and other visiting workers found passage to Mollendo en route to Titicaca and La Paz. Finding that port closed, they sailed on to Arica, Chile, from where they backtracked by rail to Juliaca and Puno.³⁷

Neilsen's discomforts in Peru were small compared to those resulting from the revolution that brought Getulio Vargas to the Brazilian presidency. From October 4 to November 30, 1930, the economy came to a near-standstill as the new government declared a national holiday and all banks closed. Many students from the training school were trapped in war zones. Because the military commandeered trains to transport fighting men, J. L. Brown and his wife spent three days instead of the usual eight hours traveling from Curitiba to Santa Catarina. With infantry regiment barracks about three hundred yards away and machine guns firing constantly from their installations only fifteen yards from his home, José dos Passos, a pastor in Belo Horizonte, spent a horrifying Sabbath on October 4. Cannon and gunfire riddled his house and debris dropped onto his family before they fled to a nearby mining town.³⁸

Brazil's new ship of state did not find smooth sailing. A devaluating currency, rising prices, and a collapsed coffee market caused more than mild dissatisfaction. In some places, fighting started over again. For Adventists, however, these problems were secondary to the fortunes of the church. Among the objectives of the new government were commitments to revise the constitution and to study ecclesiastical matters. To confirm Adventist loyalty, a delegation of four met with Vargas on February 12, 1932. Heading the group was J. L. Brown, the division leader of the Publishing Department; the remaining three were all from the Rio-Minas Gerais Mission:

E. M. Davis, superintendent; Saturnino de Oliveira, field missionary secretary; and Domingos Peixoto, an ordained minister. Stressing church-sponsored humanitarian projects, they discussed Adventist outreach programs in Goyaz and Amazonia and the training school near São Paulo. Obviously interested, the president asked questions that led to a conversation about religious liberty. Before leaving, the four men presented Vargas with a copy of *Patriarchs and Prophets* and expressed hope to establish a sanitarium similar to those in other countries.³⁹

Especially in Brazil, revolutionary events produced an intensifying nationalism that rubbed off on Adventists. That attitude, aggravated by dissatisfaction over benefits that missionaries received, such as furloughs, higher salaries, and other allowances related to transoceanic travel, developed into a major problem, and national workers were becoming increasingly vocal. A sense of nationalism was most visible in South Brazil and less noticeable elsewhere, but nowhere was the sentiment absent. By 1935 the division was so affected that W. E. Murray, in his second year as president of the Austral Union, suggested that the General Conference allow South American fields to name their own candidates for administrative positions.⁴⁰

Not all church leaders in South America shared Murray's views. Mixups in calls from the South Brazil Union prompted the division treasurer to discourage South American fields from selecting their own mission appointees, but he realized that adding North Americans for some positions was nearly impossible. "South Brazil is almost closed to us," he wrote. "The Austral Union is rapidly becoming so. The East Brazil Union is almost as bad as South Brazil . . . The Inca Union is still able to use a number of North American workers although the national feeling . . . is intense." Employing Argentineans in the Inca Union had made the situation more tolerable, but that option was not a complete solution because South Americans seemed more eager to return to their home turf than North Americans, and so contributed more than their share to transportation expenses.⁴¹

North Americans were not oblivious to these conditions. When Neilsen tried to find a replacement to head the East Brazil Union in 1936, he talked unsuccessfully with about fifteen candidates, but each one "apparently" had reasons to decline. Some General Conference personnel blamed this reluctance on the discussion in previous years that advocated employment of nationals for responsible positions, an allusion to Haynes's promotion of self-support. The uncommonly large number of vacancies in administrative posts in Brazil concerned L. H. Christian, whose four-and-a-half-month tour of South America began in November 1937 and led him to

nearly every corner of the division. He found, however, that in some cases Brazilians wanted missionaries from their northern neighbor and could not understand why the General Conference did not fill openings.⁴²

Paralleling these observations were those of William A. Butler, an associate secretary of the General Conference Home Missionary Department, whose seven-month tour of South America coincided with Christian's, but extended through June 1938. Admitting that nationalism permeated the continent, he sensed it more strongly in South Brazil where "there does not seem to be the proper balance between the foreign missionary and the national workers . . . Strong, yet sympathetic foreign workers are needed in this union." Whether imbalance was a cause or a result of ecclesiastical nationalism, Butler did not say, but he had laid his finger on an issue that the division was trying to correct "with as little friction as possible."⁴³

As much as everyone seemed to deplore the ever-widening gulf between Brazilian Adventists and the United States, no one was able to stop the drift. Brazilian politics did not help. Still suffering from internal disturbances, the country experienced another dramatic shift in 1937 when Vargas created the Estado Novo and the federal constitution underwent more changes. The effect was electric. If applied to the letter, Articles 3 and 4 would have restricted Adventist meetings and schools. Other laws excluded aliens from some positions and required all organizations to consist of 67 percent Brazilians, which meant that membership could include no more than one-third foreigners. Later legislation demanded that preachers speak in Portuguese, although allowing translation into other languages.⁴⁴

Vargas was aiming some of these measures at German communities, but because the strength of the Adventist church in South Brazil had always derived from those very sources, the church was inevitably affected. Before all of this legislation went into effect, Domingos Peixoto led another Adventist delegation to the president to reaffirm the denomination's belief in constituted authority and religious liberty. The six-man party included no North Americans and only one German; the remaining five all bore Portuguese names. One was a lawyer. Adventists wanted their beliefs well-known and were taking no chances for misunderstanding. Shortly after their conference with the president, *A Noite*, a Rio de Janeiro daily, carried their prepared statement about religious liberty on its front page.⁴⁵

Ministers could not avoid the political tension while fulfilling their routine activities. An example was the experience of Roberto Rabello, pastor of the Curitiba congregation for three years beginning in 1934. In the course of an evangelistic

series of meetings in Curitiba, he delivered an evening sermon on the struggle between capital and labor as a sign of the end of the world. The next day a policeman escorted him to the security office where other police planted themselves on either side of him to prevent an escape from the interrogation that was to follow. The interrogator pointed to some leaflets that Rabello had distributed to invite the public to hear the lecture. For good reason the police were more than just curious. On the same night of Rabello's sermon about capital and labor, a communist plot erupted in Rio de Janeiro with the intention of overthrowing the government of Getulio Vargas. After the police discovered that Rabello was an Adventist preacher talking about the coming kingdom of God, they let him go peacefully.⁴⁶

Another General Conference visitor to South America in 1939, J. A. Stevens, head of the Sabbath School Department, reported widespread and strong nationalism, especially in Brazil, but tempered his observations with explanations for its existence and suggested ways to rectify its negative influence. Justified or not, he thought, it had weakened the church because it had destroyed a sense of global brotherhood. In a separate paper to the General Conference secretary, he became much more specific, blaming workers two decades earlier for cultivating an aggressive nationalistic spirit long before the revolutionary events of the 1930s and asserting that Brazilian church leaders had exaggerated the legal implications of the federal constitution to support their nationalistic attitudes.⁴⁷

Stevens's second report was a bombshell that burst in response to Brazilian nationalism in the church. Already the opening salvos of World War II were echoing in their ears, and division officers thought they detected national workers throughout the field working more harmoniously and speaking less about small issues. But Stevens pointed out that ecclesiastical nationalism was not dead. By 1940 the situation became so virulent that the São Paulo Conference pushed a petition through the division committee requesting the General Conference to create a Brazilian Division by separating it from the South American Division. Neilsen dutifully passed the document on to Washington, where the General Conference gave it polite but short attention. With this rejection the denomination's highest decision-making body reminded Brazilians that as a matter of policy the church organized as few divisions as possible and that Brazil did not have sufficient institutions to justify separating from a division that was functioning satisfactorily.⁴⁸

J. E. Weaver and E. D. Dick, later representatives from world headquarters, testified that the General Conference response did not kill nationalism in South America,

but for the time being, it had subsided to a lull. Causes for a separatist movement still remained very close to the surface. Both Weaver and Dick identified segregated budgets as the prime contributor to dissension.

Segregated budgets resulted from an attempt to find better methods to analyze expenses of the world fields. In this spirit the General Conference ordered treasurers around the world to separate the accounting for missionaries from national workers, and if necessary, to keep two sets of books. This policy would furnish statistics for costs incurred by missionaries and thus reveal specifically how much the missionary program was actually costing the world fields. The plan was part of the recovery from the Great Depression and was meant to inspire the divisions to analyze their own resources better and to generate more support from within for their own programs, and conversely, to lessen their dependence on help from North America. If bad economic times returned, division leaders might thus avoid sharp cutbacks similar to what they had undergone during the years 1930-35.

Notwithstanding these commendable intentions, ever since their appearance on January 1, 1938, segregated budgets were a disaster. Already smarting from what they believed to be inferior treatment in comparison to their overseas peers, national workers strenuously opposed segregated budgets, viewing the double accounting procedure as an attempt to conceal alleged preferred treatment that missionaries received. The practice became especially sensitive when missionaries themselves—the ones who reputedly benefitted by the system—usually presided over the committees where crucial decisions were made. Sometimes committee chairpersons convened meetings exclusively for missionaries, which only fueled suspicion.

Even though the General Conference rescinded its mandate only one year after imposing segregated budgets, South America clung to the practice in order to give the plan a fair chance to accomplish its intended purpose. In spite of explanations that church administrators offered, negative reaction worsened. Weaver's and Dick's open denunciation of the practice came close to a demand that the division scrap it, but the damage had already been done. Citing contradictory provisions in published financial policies that vitiated their own purposes, Dick implied that the General Conference was responsible for the administrative malaise and he advocated a sweeping overhaul of all procedures as soon as South America installed a new president. Dick's careful analysis and frank discussion was the first creative approach to the problem General Conference officers had heard from the dignitaries they had sent to South America. In that sense it was good news,

even though Dick had pointed a finger straight at the General Conference itself. His reference to different leadership for the division was not a threat to Neilsen. Both his and Weaver's reports came on the eve of the 1941 General Conference session, and Neilsen had already served notice that he would be leaving the division presidency. He was approaching his seventieth birthday and had completed more than a decade as president during some of the division's most tumultuous years. Whatever refurbishing the division was to have would be left to R. R. Figuhr, Neilsen's successor.⁴⁹

Despite these problems, the division's woes during the Great Depression and the latter half of the 1930s were more a product of the times than of problems within the church. Nationalism in a variety of forms was a global phenomenon. To see it invade the realm of religion should have been no surprise. Ironically, economic and political conditions converted well-intentioned ideas that missionaries expressed during the 1920s and even earlier into divisive attitudes during the 1930s.

No one could deny that to encourage nationals to think about administering their own field was a legitimate objective. A commonly held goal of all missions was to prepare native leadership to assume control of church activity wherever it spreads. Adventists in South America were no different. For them the practical advantage of national workers assuming responsibility for local work was obvious. When Brazil Seminary sent its first students into church employ, *Revista Mensal* described the situation as more encouraging than any other news in the country. "Instead of great delays and difficulties in obtaining workers from other countries, who at best have to learn the language and living conditions, we are now ready to produce workers, born in the country, who know the people, their language, their customs, and can go directly to the people with the third angel's message." The forceful emphasis by Haynes on self-support, almost from the day he set foot in the division, became a denominational byword, and although he aroused questions, denominational leaders more often than not agreed with him. From his vantage point, training national workers was the division's "biggest problem."⁵⁰

When promoting self-support, Haynes spoke in terms of ideals, pointing South Americans to a time when their field would be financially competent to support its own organization. After the debilitating drain on the General Conference treasury during the Great Depression, church officers also concluded that world divisions must shoulder more of their own operating expenses. Segregated budgets were a preparatory step toward that eventuality and were consistent with the ideal that

Haynes enunciated. Denominational leaders in Washington hoped that in time the world divisions would be self-supporting, as a related action by the 1937 Autumn Council expressed with a recommendation that all divisions “hasten” a “well-trained national ministry.”⁵¹ Altman had already forewarned South American workers at the annual division meetings in December 1935 that they needed “to plan on a fuller measure of self-support year by year.”⁵²

Out of necessity the principle of self-support emerged from the depression in strengthened form, and exerted an economic impact on the division. By 1940 South America employed more workers with approximately US\$90,000 less subsidy than in 1929. J. Berger Johnson, manager of Casa Editora and a visitor to the Central Argentine Conference in October 1938, was struck with the financial vitality of the field, one of the strongest in the division, he observed. In 1937 it received only US\$700 in support, a figure which implies that overseas assistance was virtually non-existent. A comparison of that figure with \$49,617, the allocation for the entire Austral Union, provides an idea of how dependent on outside aid other missions remained.⁵³ Self-support also registered notable gains in less well-off fields. According to H. B. Lundquist, the Inca Union imported only one of three new workers in 1938, a marked contrast with conditions twenty years earlier when all of its employees came from outside the union or the division.⁵⁴

During the depression, the church was drawn inexorably in opposite directions, a deeper spirituality and an unavoidable materialism. Alert to providential guidance, Neilsen and his associates looked to economic reversals as opportunities to exercise greater trust in divine leading, but at the same time scarcity of money forced them to measure everything they did in monetary terms. Very soon after the world’s economy began its downward trend, General Conference leaders recognized the devastating effect statistical measurements might exert on spiritual health, making it an agenda topic at the 1931 Spring Council.⁵⁵

The case of South Brazil illustrates the impact of the depression on the church. Until the creation of the North Brazil Union in 1937, South Brazil consistently received the smallest operating subsidy and was the only South American field that lost more ordained ministers than any other category of worker during the depression. It was also here that nationalism developed its most virulent form within the division. It is not possible to prove a cause-effect connection between low subsidies on one hand and job losses and a heightened sense of nationalism on the other, but it is difficult to see them completely unrelated.

Against the background of the tumultuous 1930s it is arguable that Brazilian nationalism benefitted the church because it proposed to discard or at least minimize the most expensive commodity on the division's shopping list—the missionary. Besides higher salaries and furloughs, missionaries represented a gamble because no one knew if they would adapt to a new environment with differences in diet, language, standard of living, and sometimes greater threats to health. That some failed only strengthened the nationalists' arguments.

But as long as the General Conference furnished a substantial operating subsidy, the division could not expect to be cut loose, administratively. All of the arguments favoring self-support and nationalism notwithstanding, South America's base appropriations were its present financial security, at least in one sense. Had world headquarters withdrawn financial support, the missionaries they paid for would also have returned home, leaving vacancies which would require the division to fill with locally raised money. It is doubtful that South America could have borne that expense. Overseas personnel may have occupied positions that nationals wanted—Dick called the situation an unholy desire for office—but a mitigating factor was that missionaries were not an expense to the division because the church at large paid for their service. However pertinent their opinions were, nationalists did not convince the church to change fast. Not until the next generation did national workers assume control of South America.

CHURCH OFFERINGS AND MEMBERSHIP GROWTH

Fluctuations in church revenue prodded church administrators to become extremely cost-conscious. In every major category of giving, collections fell. During the four years following 1929, tithe in South America dropped US\$50,000, about 30 percent. Over half of that decline occurred in 1933. The record for per capita tithe in the same period was even worse, falling 48 percent—from US\$9.13 to \$4.74. By 1936 the division collected more tithe than at any previous time, but the revival lasted only three years. In 1939 another slippage set in, and by 1940 tithe barely exceeded the 1932 level while the per capita rate dipped below that of 1933.

The bleakest point of the Great Depression, 1933, was also the low point of the decade for local church funds, with the result that South American congregations had much less money to pay their bills. The same was true with revenue for world missions. In 1930 Sabbath school offerings surpassed US\$50,000; three years later the figure dropped below \$39,000. Although an upturn began after 1933, full recovery

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was not immediate. By 1940 South America's Sabbath school collections sank again, this time to US\$38,800, slightly less than the 1933 level.

Perhaps the most encouraging monetary news in the division during the 1930s was the rise in donations to home missions. Although the giving pattern was irregular, its direction was up from the approximately US\$8,500 in 1929. Despite the Great Depression, significant increases occurred in 1931 and 1932, and in 1934 the total topped \$16,000. The impressive year was 1937 when South American members gave nearly \$30,000 to home missions, but by 1940 this fund had dropped again to less than \$12,000.

These figures show that offerings did not grow commensurably with membership. Adventists actually donated less money to the church in 1940 than in 1930, even though their numbers had increased by 69 percent, all of which translates into much smaller individual offerings. Looking back at those statistics, it is only a speculation that with improved economic conditions, members compensated for losses during harder times by spending according to family needs.⁵⁶

Sometime in 1933 or 1934 the Great Depression hit bottom and business picked up in South America. Bolivia and Paraguay were still tangling in the Chaco War, which ended in 1935, but economies in the rest of the continent gave reason for hope. Brazil's coffee market was recovering, as was Argentina's agriculture, and from Chile to Ecuador, conditions on the West Coast improved.

For the division, financial wounds were long in healing. Even though national economies had begun to pull out of the doldrums, the church continued to suffer because its members faced continually rising costs of living. Church workers experienced progressively diminished purchasing power because they did not receive salary increases. Leo B. Halliwell described what he faced in North Brazil when he told Neilsen in 1937 that during the prior six years hotel rates had risen by 50 percent, lubricating oil by about 75 percent, and fuel oil by more than 150 percent.⁵⁷

Church growth statistics also provide insights into the impact of the Great Depression on the South American Division. During the years 1931-1935, the years of shrinking budgets and dwindling working forces, the church grew about 13 percent more rapidly than during the previous five-year period. Similarly, in the five years following 1935, after the worst of the economic problems had passed, membership increases slipped nearly to its growth rate before the financial troubles began.

This overall pattern of growth represented different trends among the unions. Because of its larger membership, the Inca Union tended to skew the numbers

during the earlier years of the division. At the beginning of 1926 it amounted to nearly half of the division members, but by the end of 1940 that proportion slipped to slightly less than a third. This decline resulted from not only the huge drop in the Inca Union but the fact that other fields added converts at more rapid rates. The large losses in Peru in 1929 and later in Bolivia during the Chaco War and its aftermath hampered growth, but the best record of membership increase for the Inca Union coincided with the Great Depression. Meanwhile, the Austral Union grew by nearly one and a half times between 1926 and the end of 1940, with its peak years also during the Great Depression. At the same time the Brazilian unions increased by 181 percent, but their accession rates declined slightly in the years of deepest depression, 1931-1935.⁵⁸

The profile of South America's membership growth during the Great Depression was not unique. The entire Adventist world passed through a similar experience. Division officers were quick to realize that in some ways difficult times favored them. "It just seems like the old world is in one awful tangle," Neilsen wrote to Washington. "It is much easier now than at some time when prosperity is abounding, to reach the ears of the people with the message."

At world headquarters leaders were not oblivious to what was happening. After the worst was over, W. E. Howell, secretary to the General Conference president, told South America's treasurer that "we have had some hard lessons to learn in the depression, and I trust we have learned them well enough to be intrusted with a little more prosperity again financially. The Lord has shown us that the winning of souls is not directly conditioned upon the state of our finances, for we have won many more souls in the time of financial leanness than we did when funds were more abundant."⁵⁹

That South Americans emerged from the Great Depression in an optimistic mood became clear at the division council in December 1936. Encouraged by upswings in sales of literature and tithe income, leaders focused on the unfinished business of fulfilling the gospel commission rather than economizing to meet financial exigencies. The secretary of the East Brazil Union reminded the gathering that only thirty-six workers lived in that field, which meant that the 36,000,000 inhabitants in East Brazil were served by one worker for every million people. Among the unreached were 140 indigenous tribes in the Amazon basin. A mission on the Araguaia River, established in 1927 deep in Brazil's interior, received special attention. On the other end of the demographic spectrum, ministers in urban centers were experimenting with radio evangelism. Before the ten-day council ended, the delegates split the East

Brazil Union, creating the North Brazil Union to encourage improved administration of church activities in the Amazon region.⁶⁰

For years church leaders in Brazil sensed that evangelism needed to spread northward and westward. Despite the shortage of workers and money, this trend advanced even during the Great Depression. In 1934 the first general meetings for Adventists in Mato Grosso took place. South Brazil Union President E. H. Wilcox noted with obvious satisfaction that two former students of Brazil College, Renato Bivar and Waldemar Ehlers, assumed preeminent roles in the meetings, a sign that the school was producing effective workers.⁶¹

At the end of 1940 the division claimed 32,964 members, a net increase of 13,418 since December 31, 1930, or 69 percent over the ten-year period. Contributing to this growth was a membership retention rate that improved during the years 1931-1935 over the previous five years. Noticeably lower was the net growth during the five years 1926-1930, inclusive, which represented only 37 percent of baptisms. This small increase resulted in part from the general cleansing of membership lists in 1929 in the Lake Titicaca Mission which produced a large loss in that field and brought the division average down. Elsewhere in South America the membership retention rate ranged from 61 to 72 percent of baptisms. During the years 1931-1935, retention averaged nearly 65 percent, but slumped to 50 percent from 1936 to 1940, largely because of slowing growth in the Inca and Austral unions. For the entire decade of the 1930s, South America retained 57 percent of its baptisms, a record that left some room for improvement.

Fewer employees during the years of financial reverses meant more work for each person. In 1925 each ordained and licensed minister in South America was responsible for 150 members. By 1930 that ratio had risen by only two members, but in 1935 each minister averaged 253 members. At the beginning of the next decade, 1940, the ministerial corps had grown proportionally faster than the members, dropping the ratio to one minister for every 210 members, still fifty-eight above the 1930 level. Improved technology that allowed for more rapid transportation and communication probably enabled ministers to shepherd more members effectively, but no one could overlook the obvious—during the Great Depression, administrators, pastors, and evangelists increased their work loads by more than 65 percent as measured by the number of members they had to oversee.

Again, the pattern varied from field to field. Because of severe losses of both ordained and licensed ministers in South Brazil during 1931-1935, ministers in that

field sustained the heaviest increase of responsibilities. Within those five years the ratio of members to each minister rose from 155 to 451, the highest in the division.

Related to the ratio of ministers to members was the number and size of congregations. South America organized thirty-nine congregations during the five years prior to the Great Depression, twenty-one during the five years of deep depression, and thirty-four in the five years after 1935. During the five years before the Great Depression, the average number of members per congregation dropped from ninety-eight to ninety-seven; from 1931 through 1935 the average church grew to 120, an increase of twenty-three, but in the next five years congregations added an average of only seven members. Neilsen's counsel that field workers should aim their evangelistic plans toward current congregations rather than open new territories had a visible effect on the pattern of church growth.

These statistics suggest that while church growth flourished during the depression, the loss of ministers and other workers forced church administrators to change their traditional evangelistic tactics by slowing the geographical spread of the church in favor of building upon and solidifying existing congregations. Probably no figures demonstrate this better than the increase of church buildings. Even though money was hard to come by and denominational revenues declined, South America constructed thirty-one sanctuaries from 1931 through 1935, the same number as the previous five years. Church buildings went up more rapidly than new congregations appeared. During the darkest depression years, the division had whittled the number of congregations that did not possess their own churches from 55 to 45 percent. A slower rate of membership growth after the depression allowed for even more catching up in church construction. At the end of 1940, 228 of South America's 256 congregations worshiped in their own sanctuaries.⁶²

Especially in the urban centers, the division encourage construction of large churches. In addition to the splendid "temple" in São Paulo that went up during the pastorate of José Amador dos Reis, similar buildings began to adorn other cities. On November 26, 1932, Adventists dedicated their first church in Buenos Aires. Located near the entrance of Palermo Park, it also housed the offices of the Buenos Aires Conference.⁶³ Hundreds of Adventists assembled on March 27, 1937, to dedicate an architectural gem in Rio de Janeiro. A pleased Gustavo S. Storch, director of the Rio-Minas Gerais Mission, wrote that the church was "beautiful, both inside and out. The pews, pulpit, furniture, a grand piano, and the indirect lighting system add to the dignity and beauty of this house of worship."⁶⁴

Usually these large buildings served more than one purpose. Commenting on the construction trend, N. P. Neilsen observed that the new churches surrounded Adventism with an aura of stability and strength, something that was especially important in South America where large ecclesiastical structures had long been associated with religious life. E. D. Dick, who was in Montevideo, Uruguay, on December 14, 1940, explained that church buildings also served administrative purposes. The new church in Montevideo featured a 400-seat auditorium and a basement full of Sabbath school rooms and chapels for children and youth. Builders also installed a kitchen for the convenience of workers attending meetings. An elevator in the tower led to a worker's apartment on the second floor and the conference offices and the Book and Bible House on the third floor. After the dedication during the Sabbath morning worship service, a special afternoon inauguration attracted an overflow audience. "Practically the entire seating . . . was taken by non-Adventists," Dick wrote. Among the visitors was the British ambassador to Uruguay. "The entire service was broadcast," Dick added. "We . . . believe that this will be a steppingstone to a large work in this 'Gem State'."⁶⁵

That city churches served not only as administrative centers for conferences but as evangelistic halls as well was evident in the way pastors raised money for construction and later used the buildings. Neilsen buttressed his request for General Conference aid to the Rio church by arguing that South American society viewed church buildings as a symbol of firmness and solidity; moreover, Adventist progress had never been satisfactory where attractive churches did not exist.⁶⁶ In the case of Montevideo, the local congregation worked and saved funds, and churches in Uruguay's interior added donations "to establish a representative church in the capital city." Casa Editora, the Austral Union, the division, and the General Conference also contributed.

In some respects the Great Depression encouraged the trend for urban evangelism that Haynes had promoted in spite of Neilsen's early counsel to reduce evangelism in favor of church revivals. With few funds to spread out geographically, pastors could utilize the city congregation as an evangelistic center from which to reach large numbers. It was a trend that marked the entire division.

Probably no one symbolized this better than Walter Schubert, whose steady preaching took him from Chile to the presidency of the Central Argentine Conference in 1932 and on to the same position in the Buenos Aires Conference three years later. This last move followed a resolution by the division to make 1935 South America's

best evangelistic year. To set the tone in Buenos Aires, the division committee appropriated 7,279 Argentine *pesos* for a large city effort.⁶⁷

Slightly more than two years before Schubert arrived in Buenos Aires the Belgrano and Central congregations united, stimulating marked growth in the months that followed. Utilizing this new body as a base, Schubert began “a special series of conferences” in 1935, packing the church on Sunday nights as the main floor and the balcony overflowed into extra chairs that were brought in for the occasion. Attendance averaged around 500, with an expectation of eighty baptisms. From April through July, Schubert preached on Sunday and Wednesday nights. A month after beginning this series in the Palermo church, he rented a theater in the west part of the city to hold meetings on Saturday and Tuesday nights. From the division offices, Neilsen watched the goings-on, remarking that since dedicating the new Palermo church Adventism had taken on a new impetus.

Baptisms in the Buenos Aires Conference jumped dramatically from sixty-three in 1934 to 156 the next year. Only once before—in 1932—had baptisms topped 100; during the next five years, accessions dropped below 100 only once. When Schubert filed his 1940 report, he declared 1,375 members in the conference, approximately 900 in the city distributed among five congregations and nine smaller companies.⁶⁸

Simultaneously in other cities around the Austral Union evangelists also conducted efforts. Juan Pidoux, Victor Aeschlimann, David Dalinger, Juan Bonjour, Juan Riffel, Neils Wensell, W. A. Emenputsch, and Benjamín Bustos were among the preachers holding efforts in the Argentine cities of Bahia Blanca, Rosario, Santa Fe, Tucumán, Salta, Mendoza, and San Juan. In Chile, Eliel Almonte and Samuel Fayard evangelized in and around Valparaíso and Viña del Mar, and Teodoro Block and Luis Rojas in Santiago. Luis Griott in the Antofagasta region raised up new groups of Sabbath-keepers.⁶⁹

Urban evangelism in Brazil was slower, but the conversion rate was the highest in the division. Efforts during 1931 included meetings in Pires do Rio, Goiás, and others in Rio Grande do Sul in the South Brazil Union. Jeronymo Garcia baptized thirty-eight in Ribeirão Preto, São Paulo State, between October 1930 and February 1932, but after listening to year-end reports at the South Brazil Union meetings in December 1932, Oliver Montgomery observed that no truly large-scale efforts had taken place in two years.

During 1931 in the East Brazil Union, Domingos Peixoto concentrated on Rio de Janeiro, José dos Passos on Belo Horizonte, and Luiz Braun in Juiz de Fora. More

evangelists were conducting meetings in other cities in the interior of Bahia and in Maceió, the capital of Alagoas. According to H. B. Westcott, superintendent of the East Brazil Union, workers in his field planned twelve efforts for 1932. Following a series of meetings in Recife by Gustavo S. Storch and Oscar Castellani, thirty-four new members raised the congregation to 150, and led to the acquisition of the city's first Adventist church.⁷⁰

These and other efforts in urban areas were gratifying, but South America's leaders knew that they were only beginning to reach the metropolitan public. The elusive cities were one of the subjects of H. B. Lundquist's observations at the division's annual council in 1936. In the South Brazil Union alone, he said, more than fifty communities with a population above ten thousand still lay untouched by Adventists. Although the church had established itself in many of the major cities of the continent, W. E. Murray, president of the Austral Union, pointed out that much remained undone. As the 1930s neared their close, E. H. Wilcox, president of South Brazil, reported that work in the cities was growing, one example being the central church in São Paulo, which had divided and swarmed many times.

E. D. Dick, General Conference representative to the year-end meetings in South America in 1940, was impressed with the progress of urban evangelism in the division. During that year forty-nine buildings went up in the division. "The work, originally started in the rural sections, is now taking root in the large cities," he reported. Besides the fourteen groups in Buenos Aires, ten Adventist congregations and companies worshiped in São Paulo. Adventist churches existed in all capital cities in South America except Asunción, but plans were on foot to purchase property for a sanctuary in the Paraguayan capital.⁷¹

Among German immigrant communities, a potentially dangerous dissident movement flared up during 1932-33, the two years following L. R. Conradi's defection from the church. Besides his quarrel over the doctrine of the sanctuary, he rejected the church's belief in Ellen White's claims to inspiration. Despite his extensive correspondence with German-speaking Adventists in Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, few went to his defense, although Neilsen confided that some families in the Central Argentine Conference were "troubled on the Sanctuary question, possibly because of the propaganda of Bro. Conradi." G. W. Schubert, father of South America's Walter Schubert, and an associate secretary of the General Conference, prepared a tract to counter Conradi's teachings. Son Walter distributed a batch of his father's papers among his German members in Argentina, but observed that

the tangential movement was already subsiding. Division officers never regarded it as a strong threat, partly because Conradi's almost immediate affiliation with the Seventh Day Baptists alienated South American Adventists.⁷²

In spite of economic problems and nationalism, the church did not collapse. Probably no stronger unifying influence existed than the evangelistic purpose that constituted the church's *raison d'etre*. As pronounced as the materialistic tendencies became during the 1930s, they served to emphasize the virtue of the gospel commission and the ultimate goal of all workers, no matter what their personal background or what their salary and perquisites. To the credit of everyone involved, reverence for biblical injunctions to carry the message of salvation proved to be far more influential than mundane problems. The story of South America's growth when all economic conditions pointed to decline is a story of one of the division's greatest triumphs.

¹ H. H. Cobban, "A Call for Sacrifice," *RH*, November 20, 1930; M. E. Kern, "Report of the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee," *ibid.*, November 27, 1930.

² These figures are adapted from financial tabulations in "Total Foreign Mission Offerings—1921-1935," in *Statistical Report*, 1935.

³ *Statistical Report*, 1940.

⁴ H. H. Cobban, "The Situation We Face at the Present Time," *RH*, August 13, 1931.

⁵ E. Kotz, "Report of the Autumn Council of the General Conference Committee," *ibid.*, November 26, 1931; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, May 8, 1932, GCA/21, GF/1932.

⁶ E. Kotz, "Report of the Spring Council, 1932," *RH*, May 26, 1932; and "Report of Autumn Council," *ibid.*, November 24, 1932; F. M. Wilcox, "A Crisis in Our Missionary Operations," *ibid.*, June 23, 1932; C. H. Watson, "Shall We Go Forward? An Appeal From Our Mission Board," *ibid.*, June 30, 1932; I. H. Evans, "The Midsummer Offering," *ibid.*, June 22, 1933; M. E. Kern, "The Autumn Council of 1933," *ibid.*, December 14, 1933.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ These data have been adapted from actions pertaining to the division budget, SAD Minutes, 1925-1935/GCA. The figures do not include base appropriations for special operating expenses pertaining to institutions or other non-routine projects.

⁹ See *ibid.* for actions pertaining to annual budgets.

¹⁰ Roger Altman, "The Division Committee Council," *Bulletin*, XII (February 1936), 1.

¹¹ SAD Minutes, 1925-1941/GCA, actions relating to annual budgets.

¹² *Ibid.*, January 8, 1935/GCA; *ibid.*, December 11, 1935.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 1936-1939, actions relating to budgets; *SDA Yearbook*, 1937, 176, 180.

¹⁴ N. P. Neilsen to the Brethren, June 28, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder.

¹⁵ *Statistical Report*, 1930-1936; *SDA Yearbook*, 1933-1936.

¹⁶ These statistics have been adapted from data in *Statistical Report*, 1930-1940.

¹⁷ M. E. Kern to C. L. Bauer, August 3, 1930, GCA/21, GF/1930; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, July 28, 1931, *ibid.*/1931; Carlyle B. Haynes, "Meetings in Brazil," *RH*, April 2, 1931.

¹⁸ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, April 21, 1931, GCA/11, GF/1931, folder N; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 18, 1931, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, July 31, 1931, *ibid.*

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¹⁹ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, July 11, 1932, *ibid.*/1932; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, J. L. Shaw, and M. E. Kern, May 10, 1932, GCA/21, GF/1932.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen's Memorial to the General Conference Committee, May 10, 1932, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, September 14, 1931, *ibid.*/1931; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, May 8, 1932, *ibid.*/1932; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, June 29, 1932, *ibid.*

²¹ SAD Minutes, July 4, 1932/GCA; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, July 11, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder.

²² SAD Minutes, May 5, 1932/GCA; N. P. Neilsen to The Brethren, June 28, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder.

²³ C. L. Bauer to E. Kotz, April 14, 1933, *ibid.*/21, GF/1933.

²⁴ SAD Minutes, September 11, 1933, 1933/GCA. Even after Kalbermatter's termination the *SDA Yearbook* listed him as an honorary minister.

²⁵ M. E. Kern, "The Autumn Council of 1933," *RH*, December 21, 1933.

²⁶ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, January 29, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder; C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, July 24, 1933, *ibid.*/21, GF/1933.

²⁷ C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, July 27, 1933, *ibid.*

²⁸ E. Kotz to N. P. Neilsen and C. L. Bauer, October 14, 1931, *ibid.*/1931.

²⁹ M. E. Kern, "The Secretary's Report," *RH*, May 31, 1936.

³⁰ A. G. Daniells, "Ministerial Institute, Brazil, South America," *ibid.*, April 10, 1930; and "Our Ministerial Institute in Argentina, South America," *ibid.*, May 1, 1930.

³¹ E. Kotz to C. L. Bauer, July 22, 1931, GCA/21, GF/1931.

³² G. W. Schubert to C. H. Watson, March 3, 1931, *ibid.*; E. Kotz to C. L. Bauer, August 25, 1931, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, September 14, 1931, *ibid.*; C. L. Bauer to E. Kotz, September 30, 1931, *ibid.*; E. Kotz to N. P. Neilsen and C. L. Bauer, October 14, 1931, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, February 3, 1933, *ibid.*; H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, July 6, 1941, *ibid.*/1941. See Halcyon Westphal Wilson, *Three Generations of Pioneer Women* (Victoria, BC, 2006) for the impact of the Great Depression on family life. The author is the daughter of Henry Westphal and granddaughter of J. W. Westphal. Pages 66-113 discuss health issues, deprivation, and salary reductions. In spite of the decision to delay furloughs, Henry Westphal and his wife, Barbara, took a furlough from Peru in 1933 for health reasons.

³³ Readers will find one of the most informative summaries of political and economic troubles in South America during this time in Huber Herring's old but very reliable *A History of Latin America*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 582 (Ecuador), 601 (Peru), 623, 624 (Bolivia), 662-665 (Chile), 742-746 (Argentina), 796-797 (Uruguay), 817, 818 (Paraguay), 858-862 (Brazil).

³⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The South American Division Committee Meeting," *RH*, March 26, 1931.

³⁵ Carlyle B. Haynes to M. E. Kern, August 28, 1930, GCA/21, GF/1930; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, August 16, 1932, *ibid.*/1932; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, March 9, 1933, *ibid.*/11, GF/1933, Neilsen folder; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, June 5, 1933, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, January 8, 1935/GCA; *ibid.*, July 28, 1936.

³⁶ C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, November 3, 1932, GCA/21, GF/1932; H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, January 22, 1939, *ibid.*/1939; SAD Minutes, July 29, 1936/GCA.

³⁷ J. T. Thompson, "Peru's Revolution," *RH*, December 11, 1930; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, March 1, 1931, GCA/21, GF/1931; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, April 21, 1931, *ibid.*/11, GF/1931, folder N.

³⁸ N. P. Neilsen's address to the 1930 Autumn Council, GCA/21, GF/1931; Charles Allen Rentfro, "The Revolution in Brazil," *RH*, December 25, 1930; J. Berger Johnson, "When Thou Passest Through the Waters," *ibid.*, February 12, 1931; J. L. Brown, "Itinerating in the South Brazil Union," *Bulletin*, VII (May 1931), 2, 3.

³⁹ Carlyle B. Haynes, "Meetings in Brazil," *RH*, April 2, 1931; J. L. Brown, "A Visit with the President of Brazil," *Bulletin*, VIII (May 1932), 2, 3; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 18, 1931, GCA/11, GF/1931, folder N.

⁴⁰ W. E. Murray to A. W. Cormack, June 18, 1935, *ibid.*/21, GF/1935.

⁴¹ Roger Altman to H. T. Elliott, April 6, 1937, *ibid.*/1937.

⁴² N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, August 26, 1936, *ibid.*/1936; H. T. Elliott to Roger Altman, May 3, 1937, *ibid.*/1937; L. H. Christian to J. L. McElhany and General Conference Officers, undated, *ibid.*/1938.

⁴³ "Report of William A. Butler in a Visit to the South American Division," *ibid.*

⁴⁴ C. A. Rentfro, translator, "Restrictions Against Political Activity of Foreigners in Brazil," [pertinent paragraphs from Articles 3 and 4 of the Brazilian Constitution], August 22, 1938, *ibid.*/11, GF/1938, SA folder; Jose Moraes to J. L. McElhany, no date, received at General Conference May 20, 1938, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to J. L. McElhany February 15, 1939, *ibid.*/1939; Charles A. Rentfro to J. L. McElhany and E. D. Dick, October 29, 1939, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Charles A. Rentfro, "Special Committee Visits President of Brazil," *RH*, November 10, 1938.

⁴⁶ Léo Ranzolin, *Uma voz dedicada a Deus: a vida de Roberto Rabello* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 2007), 19.

⁴⁷ J. A. Stevens to J. L. McElhany, September 11, 1939, GCA/11, GF/1939, SA folder; J. A. Stevens to E. D. Dick, "Statement Re Situation in Brazil," November 13, 1940, *ibid.*/21, GF/1940.

⁴⁸ H. O. Olson to E. D. Dick, June 24, 1940, *ibid.*; A. W. Cormack to N. P. Neilsen, November 27, 1940, *ibid.*; "Request for a Brazilian Division," *ibid.*/11, GF/1941, SA folder; SAD Minutes, January 1, 1941/GCA.

⁴⁹ For data about the issue of segregated budgets, see E. D. Dick, "Proceedings of the Autumn Council," *RH*, December 2, 1937; Roger Altman, "Segregation of Budget," *Bulletin*, XIV (February-March 1938), 6, 8; J. E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, GCA/11, GF/11; E. D. Dick to Fellow Officers, February 20, 1941, *ibid.*/21, GF/1941.

⁵⁰ "Seminario Adventista," *RM*, February 1919; Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, January 13, 1929, *ibid.*/11, GF/1929, folder H.

⁵¹ E. D. Dick, "Proceedings of the Autumn Council," *RH*, December 2, 1937.

⁵² Roger Altman, "The Division Committee Council," *Bulletin*, XII (February 1936), 1.

⁵³ J. Berger Johnson, "Central Argentine Conference," *RH*, January 12, 1939.

⁵⁴ H. B. Lundquist, "The Inca Union Mission," *ibid.*, February 2, 1939.

⁵⁵ C. H. Watson to N. P. Neilsen, June 4, 1931, GCA/11, GF/1931, folder N.

⁵⁶ These figures have come from *Statistical Report*, 1929-1940.

⁵⁷ N. P. Neilsen to J. L. McElhany, October 27, 1937, GCA/11, GF/1937, folder N.

⁵⁸ These numbers have been derived from *Statistical Report*, 1925-1940.

⁵⁹ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, February 3, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder; W. E. Howell to C. L. Bauer, June 3, 1934, *ibid.*/21, GF/1934.

⁶⁰ H. B. Lundquist, "Progressos na Divisão Sul-Americana," *RA* (B), February 1937. For encouraging news about South America's improving financial condition, see N. P. Neilsen, "Revista Geral de Nossa Divisão," *ibid.*, July, 1937.

⁶¹ E. H. Wilcox, "Reuniões Geraes em Matto Grosso," *RA* (B), September 1934.

⁶² The foregoing data are adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1925-1940.

⁶³ N. Z. Town, "Rejoicing in Buenos Aires," *RH*, February 2, 1933.

⁶⁴ G. S. Storch, "Dedication in Rio de Janeiro," *ibid.*, May 27, 1937; W. E. Murray, "Work in the Cities," *ibid.*, July 22, 1937.

⁶⁵ N. P. Neilsen, "Revista Geral de Nossa Divisão," *RA* (B), August 1937; E. D. Dick, "Dedication of Montevideo Church," *RH*, April 10, 1941.

⁶⁶ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, March 11, 1935, GCA/11, GF/1935, Neilsen folder.

⁶⁷ SAD Minutes, January 4, 7, 1935/GCA.

⁶⁸ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 26, 1935, GCA/11, GF/1934-36, Neilsen folder; N. P. Neilsen to J. L. McElhany, July 30, 1936, *ibid.*/1936; J. L. Brown, "Church Growth in Buenos Aires," *RH*, February 15, 1934; N. Z. Town, "Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, June 27, 1935; J. Berger Johnson, "Buenos Aires Conference Session," *ibid.*, January 9, 1941; *Statistical Report*, 1932-1940.

⁶⁹ W. E. Murray, "Evangelism in the Austral Union," *RH*, December 12, 1935.

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⁷⁰ N. P. Neilsen, “Evangelism in South America,” *ibid.*, September 24, 1931; Jeronymo G. Garcia, “Evangelism in Ribeirao Preto, Brazil,” *ibid.*, May 26, 1932; H. B. Westcott, “The East Brazil Union Mission,” *ibid.*, October 20, 1932; N. P. Neilsen, “Church Dedication in Recife, Brazil,” *ibid.*, December 28, 1933.

⁷¹ H. B. Lundquist, “The South American Division,” *ibid.*, February 18, 1937; E. H. Wilcox, “South Brazil Union,” *ibid.*, September 28, 1939; E. D. Dick, “Progress in South America,” *ibid.*, March 20, 1941; “An Evening With the South American Division,” report at General Conference led by N. P. Neilsen, *ibid.*, June 2, 1941.

⁷² See letters in GCA/21, GF/1932 and 1933: N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, January 27, 1932; C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, October 25, 1932; E. Kotz to N. P. Neilsen, January 18, 1933; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, March 9, 1933; E. Kotz to N. P. Neilsen, April 3, 1933; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, April 19, 1933; C. L. Bauer to E. Kotz, April 24, 1933; N. P. Neilsen to E. Kotz, May 18, 1933.



SOUTH AMERICA'S HEART ATTACK

THE CATASTROPHIC TUMBLE South America's finances took after 1930 seemed even worse because of the apparently bright future that had seemed to lie immediately ahead. In both membership and reputation, the division had grown substantially during the Haynes years, and it was easy for workers to visualize economic troubles as diametrically opposed to their fondest hopes.

"Missionaries must necessarily go beyond the bounds of civilization with our message," Neilsen wrote in 1930, shortly before becoming division president. "They must leave far behind the comforts and conventions which we enjoy in civilized lands. They must go into the wild jungles of earth, far removed from the din of civilization, with the message of love. There they must establish their mission station and build their homes. It is difficult for us fully to comprehend what this means."¹

Although Haynes believed his most serious administrative problem was to preach the doctrine of self-support convincingly to South Americans, the Adventist world probably viewed Indian missions and difficulties in maintaining them as the division's most urgent issue. For two decades the church had been working among

the Andean tribespeople, and as much as Haynes promoted urban evangelism as a means to stand South America on its own financial feet, he could not escape the appeal that Indian missions held for Adventists everywhere.

Emblematic of this attitude were E. H. Meyers's comments in his article titled "South America's 'Heart Attack'," that appeared in the *Review*, May 5, 1927. Affirming his faith in providential openings for Adventist missions in the heart of South America, the secretary of the division's Publishing Department spoke boldly of five principal points at which Adventists were attacking the heart of the continent. "We know little of this benighted land," he admitted, referring to the continent's interior, "except that there are many savage and semisavage tribes hidden away in the valleys and woods and among the rocks of this great geographical center of the continent, extending from the border of civilization in Brazil to the headwaters of the Amazon in Peru, and from the Guianas on the north down into Paraguay and Bolivia on the south.

"Having seen some of these people in their terrible superstition and ignorance, which exists still more intensified farther inland, and knowing the miraculous and blessed transformation in the lives of some who have been brought in contact with the loving Saviour, we long to have the light carried to the very center of this stronghold of darkness. Humanly speaking, this is a tremendous and hazardous task, but the 'jungle,' too, is included in the 'every tribe' of the gospel commission."²

INDIAN MISSIONS IN THE INCA UNION

Indian missions may have earned much favorable publicity for South America, but they also were the source of a continuous concern for division leaders. The Lake Titicaca Mission was already facing a crisis before Carlyle B. Haynes sailed from the United States in 1926. Five mission directors were scheduled to leave on furlough and two more were planning to terminate for health reasons. More troubles than Haynes anticipated were waiting for him when he began probing the operations of the Inca Union soon after his arrival in the division.

This field had expanded rapidly; at the same time it was South America's most expensive field, but, financially, the least productive. Without realizing it, Inca Union leaders were soon to learn their first lesson in self-support from Haynes. Despite a need for replacements, the division president's first reaction was to cancel all calls for workers to the Lake Titicaca Mission, explaining that the budget would not permit new personnel.³ The situation was critical. F. E. Bresee, Lake Titicaca's

superintendent, bemoaned the dearth in station leaders, complaining that no one responded to calls to fill five vacancies. After the number of openings reached seven and workers were left with no hope in sight, G. A. Schwerin, a local station director, echoed the same sentiments. "When I arrived in the field I found it full," he remembered. "When I leave I find it empty."⁴

Official reports show that by the end of 1927 the Inca Union had suffered no loss of workers. This sudden reversal did not mean that Haynes had changed his mind about furnishing workers to the field. Instead, with delays he had bought time to emphasize his convictions about self-support. Two years later at a meeting of overseas workers in Juliaca he drove home his point that within three years Lake Titicaca should be paying its own way. By that time, however, he was conscious of an even more serious difficulty, that of an inflated membership. Noting the wide gap between Sabbath school and church membership, he had been suspicious ever since landing in South America that Lake Titicaca listed more members than were actually a part of the church.

More than two years of observation taught Haynes that most of the mission directors were young and inexperienced, and when placed in remote stations with huge congregations that sometimes exceeded a thousand, they were more prone to overlook apostasy rather than to remove names from the membership books. After large numbers of backslidden members accumulated, missionaries preferred to ignore the problem, because to clean up church rolls would probably mean a large statistical loss for which they would be blamed.

At the Juliaca meeting in 1929, Haynes confronted the issue. After prolonged discussion, workers admitted the problem and agreed to reclaim as many wayward sheep as possible by personal visitation and to conduct revival meetings during July and August. Haynes anticipated a purging approximately 3,000 names. To avoid alarm, he alerted the General Conference, warning that such a large loss might precipitate a decline in North Americans' interest in South America, but whatever the repercussion, he felt he could not allow the situation to continue.⁵ Haynes's announcement jarred denominational leaders, but rather than remonstrating, they encouraged him to set the church books straight. His fears were not unfounded. When filing their final reports for 1929, Lake Titicaca workers erased more than 3,500 names from church lists. The year's 311 baptisms meant a net setback of 3,231 members.

It was a bitter lesson for church leaders in indigenous regions. Over the next two decades membership in the Lake Titicaca Mission remained problematic. Reports

showed that losses occasionally outnumbered accessions, but no large purges occurred comparable to the spectacular drop in 1929. The entire division felt that loss, which amounted to nearly 18 percent of South America's membership. Even with 2,165 baptisms in 1929 in South America, the division membership fell more than 1,800. By 1950 the Lake Titicaca Mission reported more than 9,000 baptisms since 1929 while membership rose from 4,045 to 7,979, but by that time the Lake Titicaca Mission represented only about a seventh of the division's members, and its membership fluctuations did not affect the division as dramatically as in 1929.⁶

Contemporaneous with the shocks from Lake Titicaca, the loss of the head of the Inca Union created a leadership crisis. V. E. Peugh, who had directed the Peru Mission since arriving in the country in 1926 and had recently become superintendent of the union, returned suddenly to the United States in 1929, leaving a vacancy that caused anxiety even to Haynes. After interviewing every likely candidate in South America without success, he turned to the General Conference for help. From November to February he repeatedly called to Washington, admitting that heavy turnover in workers and breakdowns in health added to the complicated crisis. Finally the division turned to one of its own men, L. D. Minner, whose experience as director of the Peru and Bolivia missions made him no stranger to the field.⁷

If Haynes was suspicious from the beginning that all was not well at Lake Titicaca, he did not allow his doubts to prevent new missions, but Stahl's plans for a project headquartered in Iquitos appeared too ambitious, even to the aggressive division president. Delaying calls to this proposed field, he studied Stahl's plans, finally approving a reorganization of Peru. At the Inca Union meetings in April 1927, the union committee created the Amazon Mission of Peru and two other outstations, one in Bolivia, and the second in the first range of mountains between Lima and Ayacucho where Pedro Kalbermatter would take charge. In Iquitos, Stahl was to separate from the Perené Mission in the jungle and develop a river launch program, while depending on Henry Westphal and his young bride to conduct evangelism.⁸

After this action the Inca Union's Indian missions consisted of five branches: (1) Lake Titicaca Mission, (2) the newly established Amazon Mission of Peru, (3) stations in the Peru Mission, including the Perené Mission and its successors in the jungle of the Amazon headwaters, (4) a tiny mission in Ecuador, and (5) projects in Bolivia. Of importance was the inspiration that Lake Titicaca had given to other missions. Stahl himself had moved on to the Perené River and later to Iquitos, seeking to emulate previous successes. Workers who had trained at Titicaca entered Ecuador and Bolivia

to duplicate what they had learned, and others journeyed to the Inter-American Division where they established Indian missions similar to the Stahl model.

Evangelistic results were mixed. After the membership losses at Titicaca in 1929, publicity about the field was noticeably restrained. Eventually, financial woes struck the mission, and the eight or nine overseas station directors dwindled to four. By 1933, thirty-three Indian schools closed. At the end of 1938, G. F. Ruf, superintendent of Lake Titicaca, cautiously reported to the Adventist world that his field contained approximately 6,000 members and maintained contact with about three times that number, but he could not baptize them because their personal habits violated denominational lifestyle standards.⁹

Old times seemed to have returned in 1939-40 when workers baptized more than 1,000. Jenaro Morán, a licensed minister who witnessed an impressive ceremony in the Umuchi region, recounted that after prolonged study in a sequence of classes the converts assembled for examination. "On Sabbath the believers went to the shores of Lake Titicaca where the baptism was to be held. Many of those present said that not since the days of Pastor Stahl had they seen such great interest in the gospel in that place. And that day, Pastor Stacey [the new superintendent of Lake Titicaca Mission] had the joy of adding two hundred six souls to the church by baptism in the space of a single hour and a half."¹⁰

The mission's annual report in 1940 listed 6,579 members, a gain of 288 out of 647 baptisms. This 45 percent retention was much less than the average rate established during the eleven years since January 1930, when Lake Titicaca added 2,534 members from 4,107 baptisms, or a net gain of 62 percent.¹¹

Maintaining Metraro Mission, otherwise called Perené Mission, fell on William Schaeffler's shoulders after Stahl moved to Iquitos. Years later his wife, Olga, recalled their years in the North Peruvian jungle, stating that for ten years they toiled among the tribespeople, deflecting harassment from slave traders, fighting epidemics, and establishing new stations near Santiniari and at Sutsique. At their final site they built a school, a church, and a two-story home, besides another dwelling to accommodate visitors. About 250 baptized Campa Indians gravitated to the mission to form an Adventist village.

The Schaefflers' lives were filled with excitement, much of it unasked for. After an airplane crashed in a nearby river, friendly Indians guided the pilot and two passengers to the mission, where they enjoyed palatable meals and clean beds until they found a way back to civilization. The missionaries' hospitality paid off unexpectedly

when officers from the Peruvian air force heard the story and suggested they needed a landing place in the jungle for emergencies. They volunteered to carry mail, supplies, and even passengers for the mission, free, if Schaeffler would clear an airstrip. He did not need a second invitation. With his Indians he cut a swath 1,650 feet long and 400 feet wide, and by 1933 had saved three flights from disaster.¹²

Stahl had established a school at Metraro, which the Schaefflers planned to continue, but because they moved to Santiniari, a vacancy still existed which Rufino Pacho, an Aymara teacher from the Lake Titicaca Mission, filled. During his trip from Lima to Iquitos in 1928, V. E. Peugh, superintendent of the Peru Mission, stopped at several jungle stations to visit isolated workers. At Metraro he found more than eighty students attending classes. After worshipping with more than 300 and watching a baptism of thirty-six converts, Peugh was so moved he immediately dashed off a report to the *Review*, recounting what he had witnessed and confessing that he had wanted to be a part of the jungle ministry ever since it began. Another stop at Cascadas gave him a personal view of the station directed by a Campa Indian couple and Samuel Condori and his wife, also Aymara teachers.¹³

Originally, these jungle stations were under Stahl's jurisdiction, but beginning in 1930 reorganization placed part of the region under the Peru Mission with headquarters in Lima. This action lessened Stahl's territory, but still allowed him to ply upstream from Iquitos to indigenous communities in the bush. In August 1929, before the territorial lines were redrawn, Stahl visited Cascadas and Metraro, baptizing more than 200 converts.¹⁴

The next year Stahl made one of the most memorable journeys of his career when he traveled more than 1,500 miles on the *Auxiliadora*, a small river boat belonging to his mission. Division approval of the Amazon Mission of Peru included permission for Stahl to purchase a launch to probe the network of streams in the Amazon headwaters. Drawing only two feet of water, the *Auxiliadora* took Stahl along the Amazon and Ucayali rivers. For one who had survived muleback sorties across the Andes and through the jungle, the riverboat was almost an extravagance. "It seemed a wonderful thing to me to be able to travel into the wilds with such a degree of comfort," he wrote. "In the evening I would be able to rest in our wired cabin while clouds of mosquitoes and poisonous insects buzzed fiercely outside."¹⁵

The *Auxiliadora* was only a brief luxury. During its meetings at the end of the year, the division committee voted to sell the craft. Years later H. B. Lundquist explained that the boat was too expensive, requiring a crew of five or six. However, disposing

of the *Auxiliadora* did not eliminate the need for a river craft. Talk continued for years about how useful a launch would be, but the Iquitos-based mission continued without one.¹⁶ Unstymied by the loss of the boat, Stahl pressed on into the jungle anyway, sometimes traveling in small canoes. In 1933 he entered the territory of the Cashibos where no one had been able to work previously. Two years later he cracked the barriers to the Cocamillos when he baptized one of their chiefs and twelve tribesmen.¹⁷

As diligently as they worked in the interior jungle during the early 1920s and later at Iquitos, the Stahls never produced an establishment that equaled what they accomplished at Lake Titicaca. By the end of 1933, membership in the Amazon Mission totaled 497, including a large church in Iquitos, which was hardly a jungle congregation. When the Stahls left South America in 1938, baptized members in their mission reached 537, a net growth of only forty from 314 baptisms in six years. Quite the opposite was the trend in the Peru Mission, which included the remaining parts of Peru outside the Lake Titicaca Mission and the Upper Amazon Mission. At the end of 1940, this field claimed 1,692 Adventists, an increase of more than 1,000 since the beginning of 1927.¹⁸

Fernando and Ana Stahl's accomplishments may have been less spectacular in the jungles than at Titicaca, but their personal impact was nonetheless as dramatic. No one described their influence more eloquently than Catosho Machari, a Campa Indian who had been a guide for Stahl and who was still alive in the 1970s when the Peruvian evangelist Alejandro Bullón went to interview him.

"I found him seated before a small fire inside his hut," Bullón wrote.

"I want you to tell me about Stahl,' I said to him. 'You were his guide.' He looked up and blinked like he was trying to recall the memories. Outside the afternoon breeze fluttered the leaves and the monotonous sound of the cicadas indicated it was three p.m.

"Quickly his eyes became watery and two tears rolled down the wrinkles that time had carved in his cheeks. Silence. I felt a lump in my throat for having disturbed the peace of that old man. But his voice, shaking with emotion and years, rescued me from my plight.

"HE LOVED US,' he said. Three words. Only three. But they expressed everything Stahl meant to the Campas."¹⁹

Two years after he settled in Iquitos, *La Región*, a newspaper published twice-weekly, commended him for his civilizing influence among the tribespeople, and urged that Adventist pastors conduct all missions among the Indians. Of course,

not enough pastors were available, but already indigenous teachers and spiritual leaders were responsible for some of the outstations. In December 1931, the division committee adopted the goal of placing management of local missions in the hands of natives who would answer to the superintendent in Iquitos. When R. A. Hayden assumed Stahl's position, his was the only overseas family in the Upper Amazon Mission. Assisting him were four Peruvian families and seven other national workers.²⁰

A similar ratio between missionaries and nationals existed in Bolivia, where workers patterned their evangelism after the educational model in Lake Titicaca. During the first half of the 1920s, the Bolivian system took root, and when Haynes arrived in South America the mission reported 789 members concentrated in the surroundings of La Paz. By the end of 1931, the Adventist community had grown to 1,905, and the overseas missionaries had all moved from the outstations to departmental positions.²¹

Two results emerged from this rise in membership—a widespread conviction that Bolivia needed its own training school and a desire by the division officers to integrate the indigenous membership more effectively into Adventism. Beginning on February 23, 1929, at Collana Mission, Bolivian leaders conducted a four-day general meeting for Indians among the five stations in the region. Of the 600 who attended, some walked four days before arriving. Among the visiting delegations was the brass band from Rosario, whose members carried their instruments three days in order to play for their fellow members. It was the first such gathering for indigenous members in Bolivia. Always willing to test an experiment, mission officers set up a literature display, selling books worth US\$167 in gold, an event they took as a demonstration that the Indian constituency would read voluntarily. Nine years later, with Adventists much more scattered, mission officers experimented further by holding four district meetings. Attendance varied from 230 to 700, and book sales totaled 10,000 *bolivianos*.²²

Because indigenous evangelism in Bolivia depended on primary schools, teachers were vital. To answer this need, the Collana Mission, forty miles from La Paz, opened a training school in 1929. Against the hostile conditions that prevented its growth, the struggling school could hardly do better than fight a losing battle. Two years later the campus moved to Cochabamba. There, Francisco Brouchy, head of Bolivia's missions, gathered Indian teachers and evangelists for a week's institute in 1932, observing that "we hope . . . we will be able to supply all our needs through the workers developed in our school at Cochabamba."²³

Like its Peruvian example, the Bolivia Mission began in the Andean uplands and expanded deeper into the interior. At their 1927 meetings, the first which Haynes attended, Inca Union leaders approved a new mission in the Yungas, appointing a minister-nurse originally from South Africa, Joseph D. Replogle, to head the project. A recently established medical program at Chulumani with an Adventist doctor provided the impetus for the new mission that Replogle headed. Success was quick. Three years later in May 1930, L. D. Minner, head of the Bolivian Mission, spent two weeks in the area, worshiping with about 200 members at the medical center in Chulumani and witnessing a baptism of eighty converts.

If the structure of the Bolivia Mission brought back memories of Lake Titicaca Mission, so did the pattern of rapid membership growth, but the experiences of Bolivian Adventists also reflected the unsettled political and military conditions of the 1930s. At the time of the Chaco War in 1932, Adventists numbered nearly 2,400 and comprised ten organized congregations besides other groups. Relying on its indigenous population for support, the Bolivian government conscripted thousands of men, aged eighteen to thirty-five. Enrollment at the Cochabamba school dropped, and many mission teachers marched off to war. Colporteurs found few males left in the cities.

Bloodshed was acute. In that wretched struggle, more than 50,000 Bolivians perished. One estimate cited 1,000 Adventists among the victims, but the official reports show the figure to be closer to 500. Large numbers of newly baptized members made this price of the three-year war less visible. Whatever the figure actually was, it was the beginning of a half decade of retrogression for the Adventist community. Another loss of 900 members in 1937 dropped the Bolivia Mission to 1,905, exactly where it had been at the end of 1931. Although an increase in 1938 raised the total above 2,000, disappointments were not over. By the end of 1940, two more years of decline depressed the membership to 1,865. Bolivia's negative growth after 1936 contributed to the sluggish increases in the Inca Union.²⁴

But the story of the Bolivia Mission was not all negative. Two decades of concentrated education and evangelism had produced a relatively large constituency in Bolivia—in the Inca Union only the Lake Titicaca Mission was bigger. Another of its noteworthy aspects was its Indian character. R. A. Hayden, a departmental leader in the Bolivia Mission, noted that congregations of indigenous members existed all over Bolivia, but not until 1939 did the first exclusively “white” church organize.²⁵ While the thousands of members in Peru and Bolivia brought a sense of fulfillment

to church leaders, evangelism's comparatively limited advancement in the urban centers indicated that Adventism had hardly begun in some areas.

As optimistic as union and mission personnel tried to be during the fifteen years of the presidencies of Haynes and Neilsen, events in Ecuador brought little encouragement to workers in that northwestern corner of the division. For his annual report in 1934, Francisco Brouchy, recently chased from Bolivia because of the war, could offer only a hope that conditions would improve. "Our work started in Ecuador over twenty-five years ago," he said, "and we are still wandering from one hall to another. Our mission headquarters are also changed from one place to another, and the greatest desire of our brethren in this country is, that we have some kind of a building to house our offices and also the church in whatever city we may build."²⁶

Only a month earlier Brouchy had complained that Adventism was not progressing well in Ecuador. In his opinion the band of workers was too small. One employee divided his time among the mission office, the Book and Bible House, and the Guayaquil church. Another spent most of his working hours visiting scattered and isolated members, and Brouchy himself not only headed the mission but led other departments and supervised the mission's seven colporteurs as well. Only one worker devoted his time to encourage new converts. "What can we do?" Brouchy exclaimed. "We will do what we can, and ask the Lord to accomplish that which we cannot."²⁷

The brightest prospect for Ecuador during the 1920s had been Colta Mission, but after nine years, membership in the entire country barely exceeded sixty. When the Orley Fords left South America in 1929, Joseph D. Replogle and his wife replaced them. For three years they headed the Ecuador Mission, but after the outbreak of the Chaco War, Brouchy and Replogle traded places. Peace between Bolivia and Paraguay also brought the Replogles back to Ecuador while Brouchy moved to the Inca Union to become a full-time evangelist. During these changes, membership rose from sixty-one to a high of 126 in 1935, but the next year dropped to 113. The most productive year was 1931 when thirty-four baptisms raised the mission from eighty-three to 108 members.²⁸

With Replogle back in charge, an all-out drive for converts in 1937 saw the returned Brouchy conduct an effort in Manabí, while Julio Espinosa led another evangelistic series in Babahoyo. Attendance at Brouchy's meetings began at 400, and continued enthusiastically; crowds at Espinosa's sermons were consistently too large for his meeting place. A jubilant Replogle described these events as a "new day" for Ecuador, but at the year's end, the preachers baptized only twenty-three.²⁹

Replogle could not forget his long experience ministering to indigenous peoples. Hardly returned to Ecuador from Bolivia, he visited with the country's president to request permission for an Indian mission at Arajuno. Two years later William Schaeffler and his wife transferred from Peru to Ecuador to begin a project among the Jibaros at Sucumbios. Elsewhere, advancement was slow in spite of all efforts, but by the end of 1939 the mission was constructing a large church in Quito and hoping to establish an elementary school. On the eve of the 1941 General Conference session, membership had inched up to 131.³⁰

As the mission was approaching the end of 1939, Inca Union President H. B. Lundquist's account of Ecuador revealed volumes about how slowly Adventism had been going. A dozen colporteurs were proceeding from "door to door in the populous cities," he said, "crawling under the stilted houses in the country, turning the pages of the book with one hand and killing mosquitoes and insects with the other."³¹ Better days lay ahead for Ecuador, but they were far in the future.

For three decades the Inca Union had amazed the Adventist world with its evangelism among indigenous peoples. In spite of the erratic growth in the Lake Titicaca and Bolivia missions, as this field entered the 1940s, approximately one of every three members in the South American Division lived in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru, and one of every four was an aborigine from this same region. Evangelistically, this statistic represented an astounding accomplishment and an incontrovertible argument in favor of the transforming power of the gospel. Unfortunately, it also translated into a financial problem. As early as 1924, P. E. Brodersen expressed concern over the financial implications of the rapid growth of the indigenous constituency, and told the General Conference that the division needed more assistance to pursue evangelism. His argument was a simple one—more members meant a stronger base of financial support.³²

Statistics in 1940 show improved collections in the Inca Union, but totals remained far below division averages. During the sixteen years since Brodersen's observations, tithe from this field increased from 8 to 9 percent of the division's total, mission offerings grew from 12 to 21 percent, funds for local church work picked up from 30 to 40 percent, and Sabbath school offerings remained at 15 percent.³³

Seen against the principle of self-support, members in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru enjoyed fewer church benefits because they could afford less. Although Adventists traditionally cultivated generosity toward the economically disadvantaged, financial

egalitarianism has never been a church goal. The Inca Union was a prime example of that practice. In 1940 the fourteen ordained ministers in that field averaged 775 members as compared to 295 for the rest of the division. For the record, South Brazil also averaged above 700 members for each ordained minister in spite of its relative wealth, but reasons other than financial exigency contributed to that skewed figure.³⁴ As the poorest region in the division, the Inca Union also suffered the skimpiest service.

ADVENTISM PENETRATES BRAZIL'S ARAGUAIA RIVER AREA

Every union in the division included indigenous peoples, but outside of Peru and Bolivia, Adventism made little impact on them by the time Haynes arrived. During his presidency, new evidence of South America's "heart attack" appeared in the eastern part of the continent. The symptoms had been long in the making, dating from 1918, when Oliver Montgomery and W. H. Williams had scouted Mato Grosso by river boat and recommended that Brazil establish missions in the interior.

In 1924 the South Brazil Union received a request from Goiás for a worker to baptize four prospective members. At the time, the church had done nothing in the region. Facing a dearth of laborers, Neilsen, the union president, felt helpless. Unable to establish a strong presence in Goiás, the best the South Brazil Union could do was to gesture toward the region, and so sent one worker. This lone representative was Carlos Heinrich, a South American nurse who also carried special certification for a limited medical practice. Penetrating westward to the Araguaia River and ranging nearly to the state of Maranhão, he and his family spent weeks at a time treating the sick, preaching, and teaching eager learners.

The Cherentes tribesmen knew him, and his reputation spread to the Chavantes and other groups along the Araguaia, "I thank our good Father for the privilege of carrying this clear light of truth to these souls," he wrote to Neilsen on October 3, 1925. "But that which rejoices my heart is that my great desire is being fulfilled. That is, to carry the message of the return of Jesus to the Indians of Brazil." Wherever he traveled he left new Sabbath-keepers and a thirst for the gospel. Indigenous communities repeatedly called on him to send teachers.³⁵

In November 1924 J. Berger Johnson from the Brazilian publishing house traveled more than a thousand kilometers from São Paulo into Heinrich's territory to follow up requests for baptism. It was the first trip by an Adventist minister to Goiás. In a stream near Pires do Rio, he baptized two men, the first converts to Adventism in

that part of Brazil. Responding to Heinrich's letters a year later, Neilsen also journeyed to "the end of the railroad," he said, and organized two Sabbath schools.³⁶

Unable to ignore Heinrich's appeals, in 1926 the South Brazil Union voted to send A. N. Allen to build a mission station. The division had already given its approval. Allen, a career missionary in his mid-40s, had begun his denominational service in Honduras and continued in Mexico, Peru, Cuba, and among Spanish-speaking Adventists in the American Southwest before joining the faculty of Brazil's training school in 1926. His inclination to stay at the vanguard would not permit him the sedentary pleasure of teaching very long.

Allen's first move was an epic journey into the heart of Brazil, leading from São Paulo to Leopoldina on the Araguaia River, proceeding north by river craft to Belém on the Amazon, and finally south by coastal steamer to São Paulo. His journal tells the tale of a twentieth-century *bandeirante* on a mission of Christian humanitarianism. Starting in April 1927, he traveled first by rail, next by horse, and then alone in canoes with Indians that no other white men trusted. He violated warnings that so exposing himself meant death, all the while doggedly persisting and risking his life in perilous river rapids. Finally, he nearly died from malaria before reaching a degree of relief in Belém. During his flirtations with disaster, he located a site for an outstation to serve the uncivilized tribes along the Araguaia.³⁷

The next year he retraced his steps to a spot on the Araguaia near Piedade, 200 kilometers downstream from Leopoldina, where he established the long anticipated mission. With him were his wife, Luella, and Alvin, his son, besides Emilio Gutzeit and his wife, Antonio Pereira, and Alfredo, a Carajá Indian who had traveled to São Paulo in 1927 to see if the missionary's descriptions of civilization were true. Living in temporary quarters until they could erect permanent buildings, the party fended off wild beasts and reptiles while making friends with the Indians. A year later in 1929 the missionaries completed a chapel and school buildings. Also joining them were Allen's daughters, Lula and Esther, and Charles A. Rentfro and Ernesto Bergold. Esther had just graduated from the training school in São Paulo. Rentfro was a member of the training school faculty, and Bergold was a missionary who began instruction for native men and women in segregated classes.

Perpetually on the prowl, Allen rubbed shoulders with Indians, learned about their way of life, and built bridges of trust and friendship while dropping simple messages of the gospel. Accompanied by his son and Bergold, he circled Ilha do Bananal in February and March 1930. They camped along the river banks, ate off

the land, and visited both indigenous villages and Brazilian ranchers. Six weeks and hundreds of miles later the trio returned to Piedade, sick and tired.

Opinions in South Brazil were not unanimously favorable to Allen's project. When he returned to São Paulo for conference committee meetings in January 1929, he also brought a request to purchase land for his mission. Neilsen broke the news that a growing opposition was arguing that the union should spend its evangelistic money more advantageously in cities rather than on adventures in the backcountry. In a rare moment of anger, Allen vented his exasperation in his journal, but he probably spoke for all workers who ventured into the wilds when he complained that Adventists would never have had a foreign mission if church leaders had held similar attitudes. He added that it was a love for lost souls, not a spirit of adventure that had compelled him to sacrifice home and family and risk his life.

Allen had a solid supporter in Neilsen. Six months before Allen's appearance before the conference committee, Neilsen had visited the Araguaia Mission, and he did not leave any question about his commitment to pioneer projects among Indian settlements. Only days after Allen's discussion with him, the division committee approved the purchase of land and appropriated US\$2,000 from the September 1928 Thirteenth Sabbath overflow for other needs. When Allen returned to his Araguaia mission, he had firm assurance that the South Brazil Union supported him.

In 1932, after four years of labor at Piedade, Antonio Pereira with two helpers, Hygenio dos Santos and Antonio Gomes, floated downstream to Fontoura on Bananal Island to establish a second mission for the Carajás. While Pereira remained at the new site, the other two planned to build a third station among the Tapirapes. The work was strenuous and results were not encouraging. Allen baptized a few Brazilians and Alfredo, the Carajá oarsman who had gone to São Paulo after his exploratory trip in 1927. By 1934 Pereira enrolled thirty-six in his school, two of whom Bergold reported as baptized Carajás, but conversions were few. At the end of 1935, the mission reported sixty-eight members.

After a half-dozen years on the Araguaia, the Allens retreated from their outpost to a farm in Goiás where they entered semi-retirement. "Sister Allen is really tired from the years of service and sacrifice," São Paulo Conference President A. E. Hagen wrote, but she conducted a school while her husband visited among small communities and traveled from ranch to ranch to treat the sick and practice dentistry. The Goiás state government furnished medicine. By mid-year 1936 Allen had given medical help to more than 400 patients. During July, Hagen trekked to Allen's farm

to conduct general meetings for interested persons. About a hundred showed up, some spending twelve days in the saddle to attend. On the last Sabbath, Hagen and Allen baptized seventeen and organized a baptismal class of twenty-two.³⁸

The Allen's withdrawal to a farm in Goiás did not mean an end to the missions on the Araguaia River, but attention in the South American Division switched gradually to other enterprises. At its meetings in January 1936, the South Brazil Union combined the Araguaia Indian Mission with the Goiás Mission, which reduced the visibility of its original intention. Two years later when the Goiás Mission added a corner of Minas Gerais from the East Brazil Union to form the Goiana-Mineira Mission, the Araguaia project slipped farther from view. At age 58, Allen reached the end of pioneer ministry and returned permanently to the United States. What began a decade earlier as an enthusiastic response to Carlos Heinrich's descriptions of an indigenous population waiting hopefully in the interior for the gospel became an almost forgotten part of the division's evangelistic program.

In all likelihood Heinrich had overestimated the Indians' eagerness for the gospel. Throughout the 1920s, Indian missions were lead items for the South American division. Stahl's successes at Lake Titicaca during the previous ten years inspired a generation of workers to emulate his example. Although they did not mistake their work as easy, positive results frequently did not reward their expectations or even their hopes. Even Stahl's accomplishments resulted from hard work and sometimes were not as stable as they first appeared. Allen's mission showed that it was too easy to interpret initial friendliness by a few indigenous tribespeople as a movement of spontaneous change.

Typical of the attitude then current was Neilsen's reaction after he visited Goiás in 1925 and organized two Sabbath schools. Standing at the edge of civilization with his face to the west, he reminded himself of Heinrich's references to the tribes who were asking for Adventist teachers. "Brethren," he recalled at the 1926 General Conference session months later, "here is work that tells us in unmistakable language that this people must arise, for the same work that has been done among these Indians of which Brother Stahl has told us, can doubtless be done among these many tribes . . . and there raise the banner of this third angel's message."³⁹

That the Araguaia Indian Mission did not produce members in numbers comparable to the Lake Titicaca and Bolivia missions was a disappointment to those who had so aggressively begun it. But however small the role which the Araguaia River played in division affairs after the mid-1930s, few other cases of mission projects

in Latin American Adventism better demonstrated the tenacity of missionaries. Eventually, Antonio Pereira's school at Fontoura on Bananal Island became a center for Adventist education and river launch ministry. Finally, in the mid-1970s, more than forty years after the Allen family set up housekeeping in jungle shacks, the church saw the fruit of its investment. Between 1973 and 1975 seventeen were baptized and by 1980 the total reached thirty-five. In 1984 João Werreria became the first and only Carajá tribesman to graduate from the theology program in Brazil. Until his retirement he worked as a pastor among his people. For those who still remembered the Allens, the Pereiras, and the Gutzeits, the wait had been long, but never in doubt.⁴⁰

CHALLENGES ON THE AMAZON RIVER

Unquestionably, the deepest penetration into South America's interior was the medical launch ministry on the Amazon. Like the projects along the Araguaia and in Goiás, new missions on the Amazon resulted in part from Montgomery's and Williams's desire to evangelize the heart of the continent. In 1920, two years after their river trip north from Argentina into Mato Grosso, they became the first Adventists to cross South America by traveling down the world's largest river. Their adventure aroused an interest that church leaders could not shake, but neither could they quickly satisfy it. While visiting Brazil's training school, the division president recounted his story so animatedly that two students left to enter mission work in the Amazon area, but their project was not permanent. "The largest part of our territory has not as yet been entered," H. E. Meyer, superintendent of the East Brazil Union, reported to the 1922 General Conference session. "There is the Amazon River Basin . . . which has not one of our workers."⁴¹

In January 1927, the East Brazil Union took action, voting to send J. L. Brown to organize a mission on the lower Amazon. The three members of the Brown family did not go alone. Andre Gedrath and Hans and Joanna Mayr also joined the party to sell literature and assist in generating interest in Adventism. The six left Rio de Janeiro on April 29, 1927, for Belém. For Mayr, this opportunity was the fulfillment of long held hopes. Three years earlier he had arrived in Rio as a 17-year-old immigrant from Ulm, a village on the banks of the Donau in the Swabian hills of southern Germany. He had read stories about the Amazon and determined to become a missionary, and with reluctant approval by his father, he left home to realize his dream.⁴²

One of the reasons behind the new mission was a call from Manaus for workers. No one was aware how Adventism had reached that far into the interior, but

Brown was determined to find out. Not long after settling his family in Belém, he pursued inquiries a thousand miles upstream to the jungle metropolis where, in true colporteur style, he took 250 book orders. Although a seasoned missionary, he fell before the equatorial heat with what A. N. Allen diagnosed as sunstroke and a severe case of malaria, complicated by a near-nervous breakdown. Allen himself, still burning from his own malaria, had just arrived in Belém two weeks earlier from his trip down the Araguaia, and had sought refuge in Brown's home. Before he staggered home on October 11, Brown had stopped in Maués where he distributed some papers to the José Batista Michiles family.⁴³

Too sick to fill his orders, the feverish Brown spent weeks recuperating in Belém. In December, while he attended union meetings in Rio, his wife, Esther, returned to Manaus with the books. Although two months had passed since he returned from Manaus, Brown was still physically drained and needed more rest than he could find in Belém. At the Rio meetings he requested and was granted a furlough.⁴⁴

As sick as he was, Brown could not easily forget the work he had begun in Maués and Manaus. In April 1928, before leaving the Amazon, he and E. H. Wilcox, superintendent of the East Brazil Union, revisited Maués. What they discovered exceeded all anticipations. The literature Brown distributed months before had done its work. "Brother Michiles" had read the papers. For one week the visiting ministers held meetings at his ranch and studied with seventy-five interested persons. One family had been observing the Sabbath for four years. After organizing a Sabbath school of twenty-five, they went on to three other places where they received warm welcomes from families who had also read literature and were interested in studying further. After fifteen days of heavy rowing, sleeping in the rowboat, and hiking from the river to homes of interested persons, the pair returned to Belém, convinced that Adventism had a solid beginning in Maués.⁴⁵

José Batista Michiles was the third generation of one of the venturesome families who settled in Amazonia to exploit the region's natural resources, among them lumber, rubber, Brazil nuts, and guaraná. Years before the arrival of Brown and Wilcox, he studied the Bible that he and his bride had received as a wedding present, and had already begun to change his religious beliefs. When Adventist literature arrived, the Michiles family was already searching for biblical truth. The Davino Albuquerque family, also in the Maués area, was also receptive to Adventism. Many members of both families later became church workers in South America and other parts of the world.⁴⁶

At its year-end meetings in 1928, the East Brazil Union appointed Leo B. Halliwell to replace Brown. During the interim between Brown's departure and the new director's arrival, the mission fell into Gedrath's and Mayr's hands. Immediately after arriving in 1927, they began to sell *Practical Guide to Health*, and in their first two weeks took orders for 260 copies. When the governor of Pará heard about the missionaries, he requested them to begin work in his state. At first the two men traveled the river by commercial steamer, but schedules were so unsatisfactory they built their own launches to travel at will. Mayr christened his launch *Ulm an der Donau* in honor of his hometown where he was first inspired to become a missionary on the Amazon. For power, he installed an automobile engine he salvaged from a wreck—its owner was the first in Belém to sport a car, but he had demolished his new fangled toy by crashing into a donkey, much to the missionary's advantage.⁴⁷

One of Halliwell's first activities after arriving in January 1929 was to join Mayr on short voyages along the river, experiences that convinced him that boats were the only means of transportation that would enable church workers to reach the masses living in the Amazon basin. Mayr's small craft had served well, but Gedrath's steam-powered boat had immediately proved to be inadequate, and so he exchanged the large paddlewheel for a propeller-driven craft.⁴⁸

Wilcox had his eyes on the larger task of working the entire Amazon. "From Iquitos to Belém . . . a distance of over twenty days by boat, we are doing practically nothing," he wrote.⁴⁹ In May the new mission director with Wilcox and two other workers traveled again to Maués. Mayr, who had moved to this community with his launch, piloted them from place to place, including Michiles's ranch, where they found that the Sabbath school had grown from twenty-five to seventy. At Cinco Kilos they also observed a strengthening interest and arranged for Manoel Pereira to remain as a worker. That these prospective members were spreading the news of their beliefs became evident when villagers in Cinco Kilos urged the ministers to visit Alto Alegre, a neighboring village with an awakening curiosity about Adventism. Before leaving, Wilcox and Halliwell baptized five converts, the first members in the Amazon basin.

With two workers—Mayr and Pereira—in the Maués vicinity, Wilcox and Halliwell anticipated progress, but the immensity of the Amazonia was overwhelming. "The year 1929 has arrived, and gone. The great Amazonas Territory looms out above the horizon as yet a mighty, unconquered giant . . . How shall we conquer this giant?" Wilcox asked after the trip. After ferrying about in Mayr's launch, he was convinced

that river boats were the key to the mission's success and declared that "we need two good small launches for making trips up the rivers."⁵⁰

Halliwell concurred and supervised the construction of another boat for Gedrath, the *Mensageiro*, diesel-powered, seven and a half meters long, with a two-month fuel capacity and mosquito-proof sleeping quarters and a kitchen. In 1930 the skipper, with Halliwell, Wilcox, and U. Wissner, the mission treasurer, boarded a river steamer to travel upstream to Maués again, carrying their launch aboard for their return trip to Belém. At Parintins, near Maués, they moored the *Mensageiro* for eleven days, making it their home while they explored many of the tributaries to the Amazon, visiting new as well as former places where Sabbath-keepers lived. Mayr, who was still churning up and down the Maués River and other nearby tributaries in his *Ulm an der Donau*, organizing Sabbath schools and groups, had prepared the people well for the visiting brethren.

Much depended on Michiles. On his ranch, called Centenario, about eight hours by river boat from Maués, this well-to-do cattle farmer constructed a tabernacle for evangelistic meetings that he wanted to hold in 1931. At Cinco Kilos interest was strong enough to lay plans for a school. Back in Belém Halliwell had held meetings to form a constituency to help fund these mission projects.⁵¹

LEO HALLIWELL BEGINS A RIVERBOAT MINISTRY

Although Halliwell was convinced that river launches would fulfill the mission's need to reach the Amazonians, he was dubious about Mayr's and Gedrath's boats. Fuel was too expensive for them to buy without assistance, and because the mission's coffers were nearly empty and could not provide even a hope for the two men, they sold their crafts and returned to city work.

Meanwhile, in 1930, the Halliwells spent a furlough in the United States publicizing their work on the Amazon and perfecting ideas about their future in Belém. Leo, while an ordained minister, had no formal theological preparation but had earned an engineering degree from the University of Nebraska. His wife, Jessie, had completed a three-year nursing course. For their assignment on the Amazon their backgrounds were as near perfect as the South American Division could have asked. Even before their furlough began they decided to build a larger launch to ply the Amazon, to treat the sick, and to dispense medicine, all the while opening doors to evangelism.

Just how the idea of a floating clinic originated is not known, but Leo and Jessie Halliwell were not the only ones who were thinking about it. Suffering from health problems, the young Mayr and his wife spent a recuperative visit in Germany where

Hans shared his descriptions of life on the Amazon with a local physician. The doctor asked the missionary what he did when he encountered cases of hookworms or aching teeth and other maladies. Mayr confessed he did nothing.

“You must cure them,” the doctor counseled him. “It is your Christian duty.” Immediately the physician began teaching the missionary a crash course on tooth extractions and how to administer injections and other remedies. Hans was a quick learner, and after he and his wife returned to Brazil, he began practicing his newly acquired skills.⁵²

Halliwell’s head was also full of ideas about a medical river launch. He read everything he could lay his hands on, giving himself a “full-fledged course in boat-building” during his furlough. He not only studied design but navigation as well, applying ideas he read to problems common to the Amazon. Finally, during his return voyage from the United States to Belém in 1931, he designed a thirty-three-foot boat with a ten-foot beam and a draft of two and a half feet. To give it stability in the tricky currents of the Amazon, he innovated a convex, double-V bottom, allowing dead space in the center of the underside.

One look at this revolutionary idea was enough for the boatmaker in Belém to predict disaster once the craft hit the water, and only after Halliwell agreed not to hold him responsible did he permit the missionary to construct it on his premises. Three months later on July 4, 1931, “the most exciting day in the entire life of the Halliwells,” Olga Streithorst wrote, the new boat slid down the launch-way as the newly-christened *Luzeiro*. Jessie smashed a bottle of *guanará* against its prow. The first person aboard was the boatyard owner, by now not only convinced he had misjudged Halliwell’s plans, but overjoyed that he had taken part in devising something new. So well had Halliwell designed the boat that later, during World War II, North American officials of Brazil’s rubber industry copied the *Luzeiro* for their own launches.⁵³

The Halliwells’ first voyage up the Amazon occurred almost immediately. Jessie treated 300 cases during the 2,500-mile trip and the couple conducted an evangelistic series in Maués. For the missionary couple, it was the beginning of a quarter-century career that would become a Brazilian as well as an Adventist legend, bringing them national recognition. For the officers of the South American Division, the *Luzeiro*’s maiden voyage was both thrilling and frightening. Knowing that Adventism had penetrated up the vast Amazon basin, but not certain how far, they were optimistic about this new means to reach the riverine people, however daunting the objective. “We stand appalled at so tremendous a task,” Neilsen wrote.⁵⁴

The Halliwells traveled annually from Belém up the Amazon to Manaus and back, a round trip of 2,000 miles, but before returning home they usually covered 10,000 to 12,000 miles. As they familiarized themselves with the character of the watery Amazonian labyrinth between the two cities, they learned to begin their voyages in February and return in August. Not only were winds less dangerous during these months but in May and June the water level peaked, allowing them to ascend to destinations they could not reach during drier seasons. As the floods subsided fevers broke out in epidemic proportions, and the *Luzeiro*, an aquatic dispensary, became a godsend to the sufferers.

Jessie and Leo lived from one miracle to another. To help prepare them for the trip, Adventist youth in Belém spent evenings packaging Epsom salts in colored paper according to dosage. They also prepared quinine for malaria victims, measuring the grains for adult and children's capsules. At first Halliwell squeezed money for medicines out of the slender mission treasury, but state governments later provided him with what he needed. On one occasion, the Public Health Department in Belém gave him so much he had to use a truck to carry it to the *Luzeiro*. For their 1937 trip, the Halliwells received US\$1,000 worth of medicines, enabling them to treat 5,800 patients. Just as World War II erupted, the head of a wholesale drug firm in Argentina heard Halliwell's story and ordered his branch houses in Belém and Manaus to furnish all the medicine Leo needed, no limits on either the quantity or the kind. "All I have to do is make up the list of what I need, then sign the bill, and then it is charged to him," the *Luzeiro* captain said.⁵⁵

Receiving medicines was not the only miracle. Halliwell unexpectedly received three outboard motors from a North American stranger, a member of the Belém commercial community. This businessman offered to buy the *Luzeiro* for twice the cost of its construction, but Halliwell refused to sell, explaining he wanted to build more boats. Impressed, the stranger promptly gave him three ten-horsepower motors. In 1937 when new Brazilian laws prohibited licensing aliens as boat captains, the government not only accepted Halliwell but commended him for his humanitarianism. As dramatic as these events were, co-laborers probably regarded Jessie and Leo's disease-free voyages into the Amazonian pestilences as the most signal token of divine protection. After a decade and about 150,000 miles of travel, the division treasurer could not overlook the fact that the Halliwells had never contracted the fevers constantly surrounding them. Not until seventeen years passed did they finally succumb to their first bout with malaria.⁵⁶

The Halliwells mixed evangelism with their medical care. In 1937, for example, they baptized fifty-nine while encountering an unusual amount of sickness. On the upstream leg they stopped to visit an Indian tribe on the Andira River and baptized fifteen converts. Still farther along they conducted a campmeeting for 300 Sabbath-keepers in Maués, and taught health and home nursing classes and demonstrations of improved farming methods. In addition, J. D. Hardt, secretary of the North Brazil Union Education and the Youth Department, preached daily.

The effect of this program was profound. "A goodly number gave their hearts to God during these meetings," Halliwell told Neilsen. "On the last Sabbath we baptized twenty-five in front of the city of Maues." After the meetings, Hardt and Halliwell formally organized a congregation of eighty-eight, the largest church in the North Brazil Union. Unexpected help during these meetings came from city officials who cleaned up the port for the baptism and hooked the launch to the power lines, without cost. For the Halliwells' part, they had been angels of mercy to Maués. During the campmeeting twenty cases of typhoid broke out, evidence that the epidemic terrorizing the interior had invaded the city. From the *Luzeiro* Jessie and Leo gave city authorities enough serum for 300 inoculations and spent considerable time bringing relief to hundreds of malarial victims.

On Friday, June 18, Halliwell put in at Manaus, his voyage only half complete, but his medicines were nearly exhausted after treating 4,500 sufferers. The following Monday he visited the governor in his palace before entertaining him with a ride in the *Luzeiro*. The pleased official promptly donated one and a half *contos* for Ingathering and gave enough medicine for the return trip to Belém besides supplies for the two mission schools at Maués and the Andira River. "Tomorrow we will visit the prefeito and other government officials," a tired but satisfied Halliwell wrote before going to bed.⁵⁷

Besides malaria and typhoid the Halliwells treated yaws, hookworm, smallpox, trachoma, and other tropical ailments. Never leaving medicine in patients' hands without instructions, they had to explain dosages as simply as possible. Not always were they successful. One jungle dweller, prostrate with malaria, consumed dosages of quinine for three days in one swallow, thinking that if a little medicine would help him, a lot would cure him quickly. When the Halliwells learned what he had done, they expected to find him dead, but found him working in the field, none the worse for his ordeal except for a "ringing in his ears."

At times they found entire villages wiped out by disease. The most pitiable cases were injuries, usually results from encounters with beasts and reptiles. Victims of

snakebite or with arms and legs torn to shreds by alligators were common. Although lacking medical training, Jessie and Leo learned how to conduct classes in preventive medicine, diagnose cases, prescribe medicine, and even perform surgery. "There is no time in the jungle for debating the ethics of the medical profession," Leo wrote, fully aware that he was no physician. During their 1936 furlough in the United States they took special classes at the denomination's medical school in Loma Linda, California, surprising doctors with their knowledge of tropical diseases and treatments.⁵⁸

After nightfall Halliwell often set up a screen on shore and strung wires from an onboard generator to a slide projector. His illustrated lectures covered health, temperance, and biblical topics. Spectators who paddled by in canoes frequently sat in their little craft to watch. Others gravitated from their huts to the shoreline. Sometimes he found space in the center of towns to show his pictures. Wherever he went he drew large crowds. Once, after a traveling show troupe took over the meeting place he had arranged, he went to the center of town and flashed his pictures on the side of a Catholic church, attracting nearly everyone in the community to his slides. Four times he had to start over again because newcomers protested that they did not want to miss anything. A short talk about Christ's second coming and an illustrated discussion on temperance kept the crowd until 10:00 p.m. After the lights came back on, Halliwell noticed that no one had gone to the traveling show—in fact, all members of the troupe instead had come to his meeting.⁵⁹

Halliwell began his evangelism program with a series of meetings in Belém in 1929, two years before his river voyages started. Because no Adventist church existed, he invited the audience to a large room below his apartment. To illustrate his talks, he copied pictures on glass slides and tinted them with water colors and projected Bible verses on cellophane. When the crowds outgrew those small quarters, he rented a theater. By 1935 the membership was large enough to support a construction program, a project that Halliwell also supervised personally to save contractor's fees.⁶⁰

In August 1932 he conducted a large effort in Manaus but delayed the baptismal ceremony until the next year. Donato Sabino and his wife, nurses from Argentina, and Hans and Joanna Mayr prepared the city by distributing literature. A mild epidemic of flu interrupted their work, forcing the Sabinos to drop their papers and treat scores of ailing folk who wanted relief rather than something to read. But they remembered the Sabinos' tender touch, and when Halliwell opened his month-long meetings in a theater, attendance soared to 1,000. Halliwell returned to Belém for

other meetings, leaving Mayr in charge. Continuing the series in a second theater, Mayr finally had to convert an abandoned storehouse, still smelling from the rubber it once contained, into a meeting place. Hans and Joanna cleaned, painted, hung curtains, decorated with plants, and installed thirty-two benches. The next year the first baptismal group included about a dozen converts.⁶¹ At Michiles's tabernacle in Maués, Halliwell also held meetings, baptizing thirteen.

Since the visit by Brown and Wilcox in 1928, indigenous communities in the Maués region looked forward to a formal school, a hope that became a reality in April 1934 when Honorino Tavares, a light-haired South Brazilian, moved with his wife, Maria, to a spot on the Andira River. Scoffers stole his chickens, poisoned his cow, and killed his dog. Finally, his baby died from exposure. Alone, the bereft couple conducted a simple funeral by the graveside and buried their child while stoic spectators watched. When it was over, one of the crowd approached Tavares, asking him if he planned to remain to teach or rejoin the white boat, referring to the *Luzeiro*. "We are staying," Halliwell quoted Honorino's answer. "If we were to run away, we would have brought on the death of our child for a worthless cause. We do not think it is worthless. Can you understand that?" During Honorino and Maria's third year, Halliwell baptized fifteen converts.⁶²

Slowly membership in the Lower Amazon Mission rose. In 1931, the first year the *Luzeiro* traveled up the river, Halliwell reported fifty-three members. Two years later, after baptizing converts from his Manaus evangelistic series, the total reached an even 100. The most productive year during his first decade on the river was 1937 with sixty-six new members, bringing the mission's total to 226. At the end of 1940 the mission topped 300. By comparison to other fields in South America, Halliwell's constituency was very small, but it was a significant part of South America's heart attack.

The experiences of Jessie and Leo Halliwell inspired South American Adventists. Writing to Division President N. P. Nielsen in 1937, Halliwell stated that 800 kilometers upstream from Manaus where no Adventist worker had ever visited, twenty families were observing the Sabbath. This community of believers was the result of the labors of a convert who had been baptized only the year before in Manaus. Nielsen depended on Halliwell's reports to illustrate Adventism's advancement even where it had not been possible to send official workers.⁶³

Halliwell's outreach touched both Indians and whites. In Belém, Santarém, Maués, and Manaus and lesser towns, he treated the sick and preached, but did not neglect the indigenous communities where people lived in shacks balanced on stilts

to protect themselves from floods. These people were not strangers to civilization as were some of those who remained elusive to Allen's overtures on the Araguaia, but they still practiced traditional forms of worship and other timeless customs.

The church was not the only beneficiary of Halliwell's program. The nation also reaped a reward. For generations—ever since written history had begun in Brazil—Amazonia had been an untamable monster, bathed in mystery about its natural treasures and the creatures inhabiting its primeval recesses. To those who dared to challenge its massive power, it yielded both riches and disaster, all too often the latter. Although ranchers like Michiles, and tycoons in the rubber industry, besides other brave individuals, had scorned disease and catastrophe in search of fortune along the Amazon, the stakes of success were high. Probably more than any other persons in Brazilian history, Jessie and Leo Halliwell demonstrated that disease control and a better quality of life, even for the miserable shanty dwellers in the jungle, were feasible for Amazonians.

That a corps of now nearly forgotten workers, led by one man and his wife in a thirty-three-foot river boat, could subdue the Amazon, something that had frustrated generations before them, was mind-boggling. The Halliwells, the Mayrs, Gedrath, and others would be the first to say that their success resulted from their commitment to God's leading rather than other causes. The Amazon Mission was evangelism in its most profound sense. After nine years Halliwell wrote that he and Jessie had voyaged 130,000 miles, treated 39,300 cases, and vaccinated 8,000 against smallpox. In 1939 alone they administered 600 smallpox immunizations in Maués and rendered medical aid to 8,000.⁶⁴

One of the ironic aspects of the Amazon river launch ministry was its success despite the financial crunch of the Great Depression. While the division officers coped with progressively smaller budgets and talked about not entering new fields until support was in hand—which was an unlikely prospect—the church experienced a dramatic breakthrough in one of the world's most exotic but inhospitable regions.

The inspiration the Halliwells received from Gedrath and Mayr they passed on to another generation of national workers. At the end of their career, they reflected on those beginning years with the *Luzeiro* in Belém and Manaus. "Although we were officially missionaries," Leo wrote, "we saw at once the diseases rampant on the Amazon and we knew that we had first to concentrate on making these people well before we could hope to convert them to any meaningful religion. We had not come to impose by force of fear our ideas or culture or dogmas; we had come to

help other human beings. This was our assignment. To do this we had to become a part of the ways and the lives of these people. We learned their language and customs and traditions; we became truly Brazilian. We thought, spoke, even dreamed in Portuguese.” Halliwell reported in 1941 that his help in eradicating disease and controlling epidemics along the Amazon enabled him to enter with the gospel.⁶⁵

Hardly anyone was aware when the Browns, the Mayrs, and Gedrath disembarked at Belém that a saga was beginning. After a decade on the Amazon, the *Luzeiro* had become an Adventist legend, but it was much more—it also showed to a grateful Brazil that the saving gospel was also a humanitarian movement.

¹ N. P. Neilsen, “In the Jungles,” *RH*, January 30, 1930.

² E. H. Meyers, “South America’s ‘Heart Attack,’” *ibid.*, May 5, 1927.

³ Ernst Kotz, “Mission Board Items,” *ibid.*, January 13, 1927; unsigned cable, South American Division to W. H. Williams, September 30, 1926, GCA/21, GF/1926.

⁴ F. E. Bresee to E. Kotz, January 3, 1927, published in “An Urgent Call,” *RH*, June 30, 1927; G. A. Schwerin, “What Shall I Tell Them?” *Bulletin*, III (September 1927), 2, 3.

⁵ Carlyle B. Haynes, “Mission Station Directors’ Meeting at Juliaca,” *RH*, September 12, 1929; Carlyle B. Haynes to B. E. Beddoe, May 5, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929; Carlyle B. Haynes to C. K. Meyers, July 7, 1929, *ibid.*

⁶ C. K. Meyers to Carlyle B. Haynes, June 7, 1929, *ibid.*; *Statistical Report*, 1928, 1929, 1950.

⁷ Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, November 27, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, January 12, 1930, *ibid.*/1930; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, February 3, 1930, *ibid.*/1929; L. D. Minner, “The Peruvian Mission,” *RH*, January 29, 1931.

⁸ Carlyle B. Haynes to B. E. Beddoe, February 13, 1927, GCA/21, GF/1927; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, May 16, 1927, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, April 30, 1927/GCA; Oliver Montgomery, “Visiting South America,” *RH*, July 7, 1927.

⁹ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 26, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder; Oliver Montgomery, “Visiting South America—No. 6,” *RH*, May 18, 1933; G. F. Ruf, “The Lake Titicaca Mission,” *ibid.*, February 16, 1939.

¹⁰ Jenaro Moran, “Two Hundred Six Baptized,” *Bulletin*, XVI (September 1940), 4, 5.

¹¹ These comparisons have been adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1929–1940.

¹² Olga Schaeffler to W. R. Beach, February 11, 1968, GCA/21, GF/1968; V. E. Peugh, “Perene Mission, Amazon,” *RH*, July 26, 1928; Oliver Montgomery, “The Story of the Sutsique Landing Field,” *ibid.*, May 25, 1933; and “Visiting South America—No. 7,” *ibid.*, June 8, 1933.

¹³ V. E. Peugh, “Perene Mission, Amazon,” *ibid.*, July 26, 1928; and “Through the Jungles to Iquitos—No. 1,” *ibid.*, December 27, 1928; and “Through the Jungles to Iquitos—No. 2,” *ibid.*, January 3, 1929.

¹⁴ F. A. Stahl, “In the Amazon Forests,” *ibid.*, November 28, 1929.

¹⁵ SAD Minutes, April 30, 1927/GCA; F. A. Stahl, “The Amazon Mission Boat,” *RH*, January 29, 1931.

¹⁶ SAD Minutes December 8, 1931/GCA; *ibid.*, January 8, 1935; *ibid.*, March 23, 1936; E. D. Dick to N. P. Neilsen and H. O. Olson, March 21, 1940, GCA/21, GF/1940.

¹⁷ F. A. Stahl, “The Amazon Mission,” *RH*, January 28, 1932; and “Cashibos—the Cannibal Indians of Peru,” *ibid.*, October 5, 1933; and “New Tribes Interested in the Amazon,” *Bulletin*, XII (June 1936), 6, 7.

¹⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1930–1940.

¹⁹ Alejandro Bullón Paucar, *Él nos amaba: La aventura misionera de Stahl entre los campos* (Lima: Asociación Unión Peruana, n.d.). Citation from the back cover of the book.

²⁰ SAD Minutes, December 8, 1931/GCA; F. D. Nichol, "S. D. A. Missions Commended," *RH*, August 8, 1929; R. A. Hayden, "The Upper Amazon Mission of Peru," *ibid.*, March 27, 1941.

²¹ *Statistical Report*, 1926-1932; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 26, 1932, GCA/11, GF/1932, Neilsen folder.

²² Carlyle B. Haynes, "The General Meeting for the Indians of Bolivia," *RH*, May 2, 1929; R. J. Roy, "General Meetings in the Bolivian Mission," *ibid.*, January 13, 1938.

²³ Leon Replogle, "A New Training School," *ibid.*, September 26, 1929; Francisco Brouchy, "The Educational Work in the Bolivian Mission," *Bulletin*, VIII (September 1932), 4, 5.

²⁴ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, June 5, 1933, GCA/11, GF/1933, Neilsen folder; M. V. Tucker, "Success in Spite of Hard Times," *RH*, December 28, 1933; News note, H. B. Lundquist, *ibid.*, October 11, 1934; "Inca Union Annual Committee Council," no name, *Bulletin*, XII (June 1936), 7, 8; *Statistical Report*, 1931-1940.

²⁵ R. A. Hayden, "White Church Organized in La Paz, Bolivia," *RH*, December 14, 1939.

²⁶ Francisco Brouchy, "The Ecuador Mission," *Bulletin*, X (December 1934), 2-6.

²⁷ Francisco Brouchy, "The Ecuador Mission," *ibid.* (November 1934), 2, 3.

²⁸ For these changes, consult data in *Statistical Report*, 1927-1940; and *SDA Yearbook*, 1929-1938.

²⁹ J. D. Replogle, "The Dawn of a New Day in Ecuador," *Bulletin*, XIII (November 1937), 6; *Statistical Report*, 1937.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1938-1940; H. O. Olson, "A Visit to Ecuador," *RH*, January 4, 1940; H. B. Lundquist, "Notes on Incaland," *ibid.*, December 16, 1937; and "Ecuador," *ibid.*, October 26, 1939; and "Ecuador," *Bulletin*, XV (December 1939), 4, 5.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² P. E. Brodersen to B. E. Beddoe, September 10, 1924, GCA/21, GF/1924.

³³ *Statistical Report*, 1924; *Ibid.*, 1940.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ N. P. Neilsen, "South Brazil Union," *RH*, September 11, 1924. A collection of Heinrich's letters to Neilsen are quoted in Oliver Montgomery, "Indian Work in Goyaz," *ibid.*, April 28, 1927.

³⁶ J. Berger Johnson, "First Fruits in Goyaz, Brazil," *ibid.*, February 26, 1925; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926.

³⁷ SAD Minutes, December 20, 1926/GCA. See A. N. Allen Journal, "Among the Indians," GCA.

³⁸ The richest source of information about the Araguaia Indian Mission is Allen's journal, A. N. Allen Diary, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists Archives. Also see Allen's accounts in *RH*: "On the Way into Interior Brazil," October 18, 1928; "The Araguaia Indian Mission," December 6, 1928; "Among the Indians in the Interior of Brazil," June 6, 1929; "God Working Among the Heathen," March 13, 1930; "Progress on the Araguaia," July 31, 1930; "Ticanto! Ticanto!," January 21, 1932; and "Progress on the Araguaia River, Goyaz, Brazil," January 12, 1933. Also in *RH* are Neilsen's stories: "Among the Carajas," July 19, 1928; "My First Sabbath With the Carajas," December 20, 1928; "Beyond the Bounds of Civilization," November 28, 1929; "In the Jungles," January 30, 1930; and "The Work Goes Forward," July 19, 1934. Charles Rentfro, who married Esther Allen in a ceremony at the Araguaia Indian Mission on November 25, 1929, also wrote for *RH*: "At the First Brazilian Indian Adventist Mission," May 1, 1930; and "A Needy Field," November 19, 1936. Other *RH* reports are E. H. Wilcox, "From Araguaia, Brazil," June 30, 1932; E. A. Bergold, "Out of the Heart of Brazilian Jungles," December 20, 1934; A. E. Hagen, "Another Advance," November 26, 1936. Haynes referred to the mission in "What the Thirteenth Sabbath Overflow Did for South America," *ibid.*, August 22, 1929. Stories in the *Bulletin* by Allen are: "Among the Caraja Indians," V (January 1929), 4; "Araguayan Indian Mission," V (April 1929), 2, 3; "Progress on the Araguaia," V (August 1929), 2; "Progress During 1929 on the Araguaia," VI (September 1930), 7, 8; "Ticanto! Ticanto!," VIII (February 1932), 35; "Progress on the Araguaia River, Goyaz, Brazil," IX (January 1933), 7, 8; "Goyaz Calling," XI (September 1935), 5, 6; and "Pyrenopolis, Goyaz," XIII (December 1937), 3. Also in *Bulletin* are N. P. Neilsen's reports: "On the Way to the Indians," IV (August 1928), 6; "On the Araguaia River," V (February 1929), 5; and "Conditions on the Araguaia River," VI (April 1930), 4, 5. Other accounts in *Bulletin* are: E. H. Wilcox, "A Word from

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the Araguaya," VIII (August 1932), 6; C. L. Bauer, "Itinerating in the Heart of Brazil," two part series, IX (November 1933), 2-5, and (December 1933), 2-4. Archival sources are SAD Minutes, December 20, 1926/GCA; *ibid.*, February 9, 1929; H. T. Elliott to N. P. Neilsen, March 29, 1937, GCA/21, GF/1937; Charles A. Rentfro to Floyd Greenleaf, February 15, 1984, Collegedale, Tennessee.

³⁹ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Evening Meeting," *RH*, June 7, 1926.

⁴⁰ David Moroz, "Carajas Indians Are Baptized," *ibid.*, June 12, 1975; Arthur S. Valle, "Caraja Indians converted in Brazil's interior," *AR*, July 3, 1980; email, Alberto Timm to Floyd Greenleaf, April 12, 2010.

⁴¹ Walter L. Burgan, "Recital of Missionary Adventure, Peril, and Hardship in the Jungles of South America," *RH*, September 23, 1923; H. Meyer, "East Brazil Union Mission," *ibid.*, June 22, 1922.

⁴² Hans Mayr to Floyd Greenleaf, May 6, 1984; Oliver Montgomery, "First Word From the Lower Amazon," *RH*, September 15, 1927. For the story of Hans Mayr's experience, see Bruno Steinweg, "Hans Mayr, Adventist Pioneer to the Amazon," *ibid.*, April 5, 1973; and Arthur Valle, "Hans Mayr and His 'Ulm a Donau'," *ibid.*, July 21, 1977. Streithorst, *Halliwell*, 109-115 describes the work of Mayr and Gedrath. The best source of information about Hans Mayr is his autobiography, *El abuelito Hans* (Buenos Aires, 2004), which is a compilation of his articles in *Revista Adventista* (A) about his life and work in South America.

⁴³ A. N. Allen Journal/GCA; Barbara Westphal, *Bride*, 12. Regarding the inquiry from Manaus about Adventism, see W. H. Williams, "South America a Home Base," *RH*, January 8, 1925.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The East Brazil Union Meeting," *ibid.*, May 24, 1928. See Barbara Westphal's accounts in *Bride*, 10-16; and *John the Intrepid* (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1968), 114-119."

⁴⁵ E. H. Wilcox, "Work in the Amazonas Territory-2," *RH*, August 28, 1930. Also see a briefer account by Wilcox: "Missão do Baixo Amazonas," *RM*, May 1930. Lack of clarity surrounds the existence of interested persons and Sabbath-keepers along the Amazon prior to John Brown's visit in 1927. Carlyle B. Haynes quoted Neilsen in "The Evening Meeting," *ibid.*, June 7, 1926, as saying that Sabbath-keepers lived in Manaus who had not been visited by a worker in more than four years, which implies that workers had ventured to Manaus as early as 1922. Two years later, however, E. H. Wilcox, superintendent of the East Brazil Union, stated that "the year 1928 opened without our knowing of a single Sabbath keeper, other than our three workers and their families, in all the Amazonas Territory." See his article, "Work in the Amazonas Territory-No. 2," *ibid.*, August 28, 1930. Before Brown's visit to Manaus in 1927, the only other record of visits by Adventist workers was that by Montgomery and Williams as they passed down the Amazon in 1920. They spent four days in the city, and visited with the Baptist mission and a Presbyterian congregation, but did not mention any contact with Sabbath-keepers. Oliver Montgomery, "Down the Amazon," *ibid.*, May 18, 1961. Walton J. Brown, son of John L., remembered that reports of Sabbath-keepers in Manaus had reached the church several years before the mission party sailed for Belém in 1927. See his statement in "Return to South America: Changes From Yesterday-1," *ibid.*, July 26, 1973. Wilcox stated in his previously cited article that in 1928 he and Brown found a family who had been observing the Saturday Sabbath for four years; however, they were in the vicinity of Maués rather than Manaus. Ana Paula Ramos, *Desafio nas águas* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 2009), 37-40, states that José Batista Michiles began keeping the Sabbath after Brown's first visit. This agrees with Olga Streithorst in *Leo Halliwell*, 58, 59, who places the beginning of Sabbath observance by the Michiles family between the two visits by John Brown in 1927 and 1928. Streithorst interviewed a Michiles daughter; Ramos interviewed a son years later. Both Michiles' siblings told independent but essentially the same stories. The identity of the family that had been observing Sabbath for four years remains unknown.

⁴⁶ For an excellent background of these two families, see Ramos, *Desafio nas águas*, 37-55.

⁴⁷ N. Z. Town, "Pioneering on the Amazon," *RH*, October 6, 1927; E. H. Wilcox, "Work in the Amazonas Territory-1," *ibid.*, August 21, 1930; Bruno E. Steinweg, "Hans Mayr, Adventist Pioneer to the Amazon," *ibid.*, April 5, 1973; Arthur Valle, "Hans Mayr and His 'Ulm a Donau'," *ibid.*, July 21, 1977; Hans Mayr, "Vamos al Amazonas," autobiographical statement prepared for the South American Division Youth Department, 1960. The *Review* calls Mayr's boat *Ulm a Donau*, but Mayr himself clarifies it as *Ulm an der Donau*.

⁴⁸ Hans Mayr to Floyd Greenleaf, May 6, 1984; Hans Mayr, "Vamos al Amazonas."

⁴⁹ E. H. Wilcox, "The Amazon Valley," *RH*, July 4, 1929.

⁵⁰ E. H. Wilcox, "Work in the Amazonas Territory—No.3," *ibid.*, September 4, 1930. For information about the Michiles family, see Olga Streithorst, *Halliwell*, 57-60; Hans Mayr to Floyd Greenleaf, May 6, 1984.

⁵¹ Hans Mayr, "Vamos al Amazonas"; E. H. Wilcox, "Work in the Amazonas Territory—No. 4," *RH*, September 11, 1930. Some confusion exists about the trips up the Amazon in 1929 and 1930. Wilcox's four articles in *RH* are not explicit but imply that he traveled up the river in each of those years. The articles appeared in 1930 to summarize the progress of the Lower Amazon Mission since Brown's trip to Manaus in 1927. Wilcox discusses the Amazon experience in his memoir, *In Perils Oft*, but is very imprecise with his chronology. Halliwell in *Light in the Jungle*, abridged edition (Mountain View, Calif., 1959), states that the 1930 voyage was his first upstream from Belém, although Wilcox specifically includes him in the party during the 1929 trip. Olga Streithorst includes an informative account of this part of the Amazon mission story that one of the Michiles family members recalled for her. See *Halliwell*, 57-64.

⁵² Peverini, *En las huellas*, 373.

⁵³ Halliwell, *Light in the Jungle*, 57-60, 66. See Streithorst, *Halliwell*, 49-55.

⁵⁴ N. P. Neilsen, "The Amazon Jungles," *Bulletin*, VIII (January 1932), 4, 5; and "An Appalling Task," *RH*, February 4, 1932. The best sources of information about the Halliwells' ministry on the Amazon are Leo's two memoirs, *Light Bearer to the Amazon* and *Light in the Jungle*. Olga Streithorst's *Leo Halliwell na Amazônia* relates incidents that Halliwell does not mention besides adding a Brazilian flavor to the story which is also personal inasmuch as her father, Gustavo Storch, was an associate of Halliwell.

⁵⁵ Leo B. Halliwell, *Light Bearer*, 13, 72-75; and *Light in the Jungle*, 84, 85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 66, 67, 70, 134; F. L. Harrison to A. W. Cormack, September 22, 1940, GCA/ 21, GF/1940.

⁵⁷ Leo B. Halliwell to N. P. Neilsen, June 21, 1937, *ibid.*/31, GF/1937, folder H.

⁵⁸ Leo B. Halliwell, *Light Bearer*, 81; and *Light in the Jungle*, 86, 87.

⁵⁹ Leo B. Halliwell, *Light Bearer*, 68-70.

⁶⁰ Leo B. Halliwell, *Light in the Jungle*, 127.

⁶¹ Hans Mayr to Floyd Greenleaf, May 6, 1984; H. B. Westcott, "On the Lower Amazon," *RH*, January 19, 1933; and "Progress in East Brazil," *ibid.*, July 26, 1934.

⁶² H. B. Westcott, "A Greatly Appreciated Layman," *ibid.*, June 21, 1934; Leo B. Halliwell, "A Marvelous Change," *ibid.*, February 17, 38; and *Light in the Jungle*, 109-113.

⁶³ N. P. Neilsen, "Revista Geral de Nossa Divisão," *RA* (B), August 1937.

⁶⁴ J. Berger Johnson, "Missionary Experiences on the Amazon," *RH*, April 25, 1940.

⁶⁵ Leo B. Halliwell, *Light in the Jungle*, 10. See Halliwell's short note, "As Atividades da Lancha 'Luzero,'" *RA* (B), June 1941.



FORWARD STEPS IN EDUCATION, 1926-1941

ALTHOUGH SOUTH AMERICA'S membership growth during the financial bleakness of the 1930s increased its pace, material expansion of the church did not advance correspondingly. It could hardly have been otherwise. If a new materialism pervaded the Adventist world during those hard years when money became the crucial measuring rod to determine policy, leaders also became more conscious of their opportunity for greater dependence on divine guidance through difficulties. The depression decade provided ample time for Adventists to reflect on J. W. Westphal's advice, written years before the troubled 1930s broke upon them. Already quantitative measurements of church progress had become popular devices. "However important statistics may be," Westphal counseled, "our knowledge of what is being done will not be dependent on or measured by them; our faith will grasp a mightier work being done beneath the surface."¹

As wise as that advice was, Westphal was not asking church administrators to overlook material growth. South Americans would have to look long and hard to find a more dedicated believer in institutions than Westphal. The crux of the question was to

remember that institutions and programs were to serve a purpose rather than to exist as ends in themselves. The Great Depression, excruciating though it was, focused the church's vision on the fundamental reason for organization, programs, and institutions. With its membership growing as the decade wore on, the church experienced mounting frustration from its inability to balance an enlarging constituency with commensurable institutional expansion. Of course, the division's inadequate financial resources were the root of the problem.

Education and schools, in some respects the key program in church growth, probably reflected these vexations more than any other kind of institution. It is almost trite to say that the church had a constant need for well-prepared workers from denominational schools. General Conference Field Secretary G. W. Schubert phrased it well for the division when visiting South America in 1927. "Our training schools," he said, "are the centers of the work, and the most important places in every conference or mission field, because the growth and future development of the work in each field depend largely upon the conversion and education of our young people."²

Sixteen months after arriving in South America, Oliver Montgomery confessed that the division needed improved performance standards among the ministry, a matter that Brodersen partially dealt with in 1925 when he planned two ministerial institutes as inservice training. Later, Carlyle B. Haynes organized a more elaborate plan with A. G. Daniells who conducted five meetings for workers, beginning in Brazil in December 1929 and ending with a session at Lima in March 1930. The remaining three took place in Argentina, Chile, and Arequipa, Peru.

Daniells's meetings were professional as well as scripturally substantive. They usually lasted ten days to two weeks, covering two topics—the personal fitness of the minister and the ministry as a profession. He also gave considerable attention to Ellen White's role in the church. Many of the presentations were roundtable discussions. "We have had a series of triumphant meetings," the former General Conference president wrote after four months of travel and work.³

Institutes of this kind were not uncommon to Adventist ministers, but Daniells based his meetings on the idea that ministerial training did not end with formal education. Only one institution in South America offered coursework above the secondary level at the time, and although institutes were no substitute for formal education, they refreshed pastoral zeal and kept ministers abreast of denominational advancement. The prevailing opinion was that South America did not need a full

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fledged college, but in 1935 the division committee tacitly acknowledged the value of a complete post-secondary education by approving a plan to assist a maximum of two workers a year—one each from the Austral and South Brazil unions—to complete a college degree in the United States.

This measure coincided with the beginnings of advanced studies in the United States that became graduate education for ministers and eventuated into the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. Not long after the Seminary got under way, students from the world divisions began attending. During the North American summer of 1941, four of the forty-six enrollees were from South America.⁴ Of more immediate importance, however, was the question of worker-training programs within the division.

GROWTH PROBLEMS AT RIVER PLATE COLLEGE

During the period 1926-1941, workers probably viewed Colegio Adventista del Plata as South America's most advanced training school. Largely because of its outstanding farm during the 1920s, the institution had developed a reputation throughout the province that gained national attention. In September 1927, about 1,500 guests poured onto the campus to celebrate Agricultural Day and to feast on a meal prepared from products from the school's fields and dairy. Among the visitors were government officials and members of the press. Inviting members of the media proved to be a wise decision. Ample descriptions in the September 9 issue of the *Paraná Tribune* of what they had seen and eaten only prolonged the celebration. Other industries—a bakery, a cabinet shop, and wagon making—also added to the school's image.⁵

Progress characterized the fourteen years of J. S. Marshall's career as director of the school. When he left the campus in January 1934, the plant had grown from six to twenty-five buildings. The faculty of thirteen in 1920 had reached a high of twenty-three in 1930 before dipping to sixteen, but what was most encouraging to church administrators was the development of the post-secondary level from six students in 1926 to forty-eight in 1933.⁶

Six months after arriving in South America, Haynes spent a weekend on the campus, sizing up the worker-training program and visiting with ministerial hopefuls that composed the student ministerial association. The division president went away excited. "To depend on workers coming out from North America to man these fields means a policy of extravagance and delay," he wrote with his typical emphasis

on self-support. He was not impressed with the plant, but his flair for words did not fail him when he reported his visit. Inconveniences were common, he observed. The dining room and the laundry were too small. As for the bakery, it did “astonishingly good work in astonishingly poor quarters with astonishingly labor-increasing and inadequate equipment.”⁷

Haynes’s searching eye told him that learning could occur even when living and working conditions were less than optimum. Earlier, Marshall demonstrated this fact when he invited government examiners to the campus to certify graduates from his wife’s teacher-preparation program. Usually student candidates for elementary teacher certification went to provincial capitals for testing, but this exception was a stroke of good public relations. Two officials tested each candidate orally in full view of all the others. The ordeal was not easy, but the reward was a life certificate. Only one failed—the damaging questions dealt with history. After following the government certification procedures for seven years, Marian Marshall’s program proved its academic respectability by producing sixty-two holders of life certificates.⁸

Church administrators were pleased with the workers that the school produced. During 1928 the college filled ten positions in various South American fields. At the same time, seventeen division employees outside Argentina had received their education at Colegio Adventista del Plata. Only a few of these workers were products of the junior college program, even though the purpose of advanced classes was to improve the preparatory education for workers. Marshall pointed out that acute needs for denominational employees drew many students into church employment immediately after graduating from the secondary school, a trend that stunted the growth of the junior college.

By one count, 130 graduates and former students of the school had entered denominational employment by the end of the 1932 school year; eight were serving the church outside the South American Division. At their 1937 session, officers of the Austral Union noted that during the past twenty-two years the school had graduated 160, seventy-one of whom were holding positions in the union. Thirty of the graduates served in eight countries.⁹

Excluding the Chile Conference which operated its own training school, membership in the Austral Union grew by more than 5,000 during the years 1926-1940, but the school failed to attract a consistently growing student body. A total of 239 registered for classes in 1926; in 1940 the figure was only 187, its lowest point in fifteen years. Bad economic times probably forced enrollment down not only during

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the depression but at the end of the decade as well. The institution reached an all-time high of 288 in 1932, but fell to 218 the next year. In 1933 the post-secondary level shot up from seventeen to forty-eight, but dwindled to eighteen the next year. By 1934 the total number of students dropped to 195.

In 1940, after two years of declining enrollment, Ellis R. Maas, president of the school, blamed Argentina's sagging economy for wiping out gains since 1935. Students who ordinarily paid their fees in cash did not come, and many others stayed away because markets for products of the school's industries dried up, thus depriving students of work. Nevertheless, the post-secondary classes ran counter to this trend by recording steady increases. The school reached a milestone in 1939 when sixty-two post-secondary students enrolled. For the first time the college section was as large as either the primary or secondary enrollment.¹⁰

John Howell, a former director of Chile's training school, headed River Plate for three and a half years following J. S. Marshall. By remodeling existing space and building new projects, Howell expanded school facilities, but he justifiably complained about cramped quarters. Dissatisfaction about the isolated location of the school had smoldered ever since its founding, and in the 1930s talk about moving the campus revived. With church administrators emphasizing urban evangelism, some argued that the college should be nearer a city where ministerial students could integrate actual field work into their studies.

The debate persisted in spite of recommendations in 1936 and again in 1939 to remain at its site in Puiggari, the name by which the community was known since changing from Camarero about twenty years earlier. Critics blamed the school's slow growth on student resistance to attend a school built at the end of a muddy road, thirty-five miles from a sizable community. The debate extended until 1944 when church leaders reached a final decision to remain in Puiggari. It was only after this experience settled the future for Colegio Adventista del Plata that the school grew significantly.¹¹

DEPRESSION YEARS AT CHILE COLLEGE

The Austral Union's second training school, Colegio Adventista de Chillán, which became Colegio Industrial Adventista in 1928, made substantial progress during the years 1926-41. Although the size of the faculty changed little during this period, the student body increased notably from ninety in 1926 to 244 in 1940. Moving from Púa to Chillán, Chile, had infused new life into the institution, but J. M. Howell,

director from 1925 through 1930, found he still had to fight adverse conditions. After two years he hoped to erect a new ladies' dormitory, completing the administration building and the barn, and equipping the laundry and the carpentry shop.

These plans were not overly ambitious, but they were slow in the making, partly because emergencies ate up funds. In 1929, six years after moving to Chillán, Howell found himself still facing such rudimentary needs as a new well and water system for the entire school. The plant was far from complete—Howell could do little more than hope to construct a chapel large enough to house the student body.

One of his favorite projects was the school farm, which he promoted almost passionately. Besides clover and alfalfa, he produced a wide variety of staples for the school kitchen, including wheat, corn, potatoes, beans, squash, and other foods. The school's crop of strawberries helped him secure much needed financial assistance from the local government. When he could tolerate the poor road from the campus to Chillán no longer, he invited the provincial governor to tour the school grounds, then fed him heaping bowls of strawberries and cream from the school's farm. The next day the official agreed to pay 20,000 *pesos* for road repairs. Howell spent the money long before finishing the job, but the governor came to his rescue with another donation, and before the road was finished the governor had furnished 103,000 *pesos*, equivalent to US\$12,800.¹²

After a visit to the campus in 1931, N. Z. Town and N. P. Neilsen were effusive about the appearance of the campus, the school's agricultural products, and Howell's snappy leadership. Of more significance, however, was the total of forty workers in the Chile Conference who had attended the school.¹³

A major curricular reorganization in 1933 lengthened the secondary curriculum from four to six years and added post-secondary classes. No appreciable change in enrollment took place until 1935 when the student body grew to 138, a gain of thirty-four, followed by another jump of forty-six in 1936, taking the total to 184. But these increases were not the result of new post-secondary classes. Both the secondary and post-secondary enrollment remained low while the primary grades grew steadily from seventy-nine in 1934 to 152 in 1936 and to 217 in 1940.¹⁴

One of the school's most serious problems was its limited constituency. The preponderance of the Austral Union lay east of the Andes, leaving fewer than 1,200 members in the Chile Conference in 1926 to form the smallest support base for any training school in the South American Division. By the end of 1940 the membership edged over 2,500, but the figure was still small compared to the financial burden

of the school. At the same time, the rest of the Austral Union, approximately 5,700 members, looked to Colegio Adventista del Plata as the educational center.¹⁵ With the union so divided, the Chilean school competed against superior odds for financial backing. In 1933 Division President N. P. Neilsen announced an allocation of US\$11,000 to the school to complete the main building on the campus and to assist industrial development. Two years later the division committee appropriated 2,500 Argentine *pesos* for repairs.¹⁶

However slow the campus development may have been, the biggest blow struck in 1939 when an earthquake devastated most of Chillán and literally shook many of the school's buildings to pieces. After news of the shambles in Chillán reached the school the next morning, Mrs. J. H. Meier, wife of the director, dashed a letter to the conference president, describing the neighboring city as "a complete ruin . . . a heap with the streets full of dead and wounded." As for the campus, "the buildings are greatly damaged. The Boys' Home has the east wall entirely out in places . . . The chapel and some of the classrooms are open on one side. The walls have fallen down in the inside of the new part of the girls' dormitory. The kitchen stove was moved out of place and broken dishes and canned fruit lie in heaps on the floor—an awful sight and a great loss to our work. Pidoux's and Riffel's [faculty members] houses are nearly undamaged, but ours is a wreck inside."¹⁷

At the time of the quake, about midnight, January 24, J. H. Meier and Andrés Riffel, the director and treasurer, were off campus on school business, leaving Meier's wife to handle the disaster. Fifty-six were attending summer school, all of whom escaped from the buildings without a single injury. "We fell to our knees in thanksgiving for our heavenly Father's tender care," she wrote. "Throughout the night songs of praise were heard coming from groups all over the campus." For the school family, their safety stood in sharp contrast to the estimated ten thousand killed in Chillán. Soon after daylight the faculty began temporary repairs and set up a feeding station in the ladies' dormitory to aid disaster victims.¹⁸ The school plant that had required years to build had fallen in only minutes. The building that housed the administrative offices and mens' dormitory was beyond repair.

The General Conference appropriated US\$10,000 for repairs, and the division committee authorized an offering from all South American fields to help "earthquake sufferers in Chile" with the hope of raising 25,000 *pesos* to rebuild. But this financial help was only a fraction of what the school needed. Repairs came slowly. Two years after the calamity, evidence of destruction still marred the campus. The

new office building remained unfinished and the men lived in makeshift quarters in sheds and the barn. The lack of heat forced them to go to bed to keep warm. If these inconveniences killed the spirit of the school, one could not detect it by looking at enrollment figures. The total dropped by only four during 1939 and rose to an all-time high of 244 in 1940.¹⁹

Changes in faculty at Chillán were frequent during the years 1926-41, but continuity of leadership contributed to the school's success. J. M. Howell, always sensitive to public relations, brought widespread attention to the campus before he turned his office over to G. B. Taylor, recently transferred from Brazil. The new director faced the worst of the depression, but instituted important curricular changes during his three years. It was left to J. H. Meier to guide the school through recovery from the depression, growth, and the earthquake. The 1920s and the following decade were difficult for Chile's training school, but its reputation as a permanent part of South America's educational establishment was unquestioned.

DIFFICULTIES IN THE PERUVIAN SCHOOLS

With three schools to support in Peru and Bolivia, Adventists in the Inca Union found their resources for education more fragmented than in the Austral Union. Besides slim financial backing, the training schools faced other tests, the most serious occurring at Lake Titicaca. The problem arose suddenly in April 1928 when Peruvian authorities revoked the school's license. Rumors circulated that the faculty at Titicaca Normal School were propagating sedition and that students had pulled the Peruvian flag from its pole and trampled it in the mud.

W. E. Murray, director of the school, had no choice but to close the doors. The following year Augusto B. Leguía, Peru's president, expressed the government's hardening view, announcing in a seven-part decree that the government was responsible for moral and religious education and that the Minister of Public Education must approve all textbooks. The government would establish schools for Indians in the Lake Titicaca region and would confiscate property of institutions that endangered national unity. The president's fiat also threatened Indian schools, but none closed permanently.²⁰

Repeated intercessions, even by the United States embassy, were fruitless. Leguía remained adamantly opposed to reopening the normal school. He argued that while the constitution guaranteed religious toleration, his government was obligated to protect itself against attacks on national unity. Although publicly bellicose, privately

he confided to Alexander P. Moore, the United States ambassador, that he did not intend to expel Adventists, and even agreed to suspend the application of his decree for sixty days, but he refused to soften his stand. The incident drew comment from other religious groups in Peru who feared similar action, but Leguía assured them that he had aimed his decree directly at Adventist Indian schools.²¹

The shock had come at an inopportune moment. Although the school plant was the product of long and hard struggle from its inception, enrollment had risen steadily and had spilled over into summer sessions. Through 1924, twenty-eight had graduated, all of whom found immediate employment. In 1925, twenty-five graduated. Mission leaders converged on the campus for the ceremony and hired all the graduates before they left the school. The twelve who graduated from the summer session in March 1928 raised the total alumni to sixty-five, seven of whom were women. To improve the school's financial backing, an action in 1927 provided for joint control by the Peru and Bolivia missions.²²

In vain the church tried to plead its case. At the Inca Union annual meeting in March 1929, church leaders drafted a statement of their loyalty to the government, and presented copies to Peru's president and the ministry of education, but nothing came from this attempt to clear the air. A year later, through a contact with a government archeologist who was sympathetic with Adventist education among the indigenous peoples, A. G. Daniells and his colleagues took time from their ministerial institute to visit with the congressman from Lake Titicaca and the minister of education. Although the Adventist ministers received a cordial hearing, the school remained closed.²³

Problems other than the argument with Peru's president compounded the crisis at the school. Inca Union workers were leaving in large numbers, among them the superintendent of the union in 1929. At the same time, Haynes and the mission directors around Lake Titicaca confronted a membership problem, eliminating about 3,500 from rolls in the indigenous churches.²⁴

The end of school closure came as suddenly and unforeseen as it had begun. A revolution in 1930 overthrew Leguía in favor of Sánchez Cerro, a military figure who had previously entered the Juliaca Clinic as a patient and had become acquainted with R. R. Reed, an Adventist doctor in the Titicaca area. In December 1930, the new Peruvian president reopened the training school in time to conduct a summer session. Only 110 attended, a figure far below previous records, but church leaders in Peru and the division were too elated over resumption of the worker-training

program to mourn the sharp decline in enrollment. The following year, 1932, the student body shrank even more to forty-two, but from 1933 through 1940 enrollment fluctuated between 150 and 203.²⁵

While the size of the student body during the 1930s appeared to suffer from the school's misfortunes, poor economic conditions were probably more guilty of causing lower enrollments. As important as enrollment and worker training were to the Inca Union, even more significant was the intangible value of the institution's standing in the public eye. Seven years after reopening, R. J. Roy, secretary of education for the Inca Union, wrote that the program at Juliaca, especially the dairy, had gained a national reputation, and that the entire student body from a school in a nearby city would be spending a day on the campus to observe the Adventist institution in action.²⁶

The number of faculty at Juliaca was always small for the size of the enrollment. Their work was not easy. Occasionally they offered secondary level classes, but in the main, the curriculum consisted of elementary courses. Teachers routinely doubled as work supervisors. "Personally, I teach five classes," C. U. Ayars wrote in 1927. In addition, he superintended the farm with hundreds of sheep, scheduled work for 280 boys, took charge of the rug industry, including weaving designs, and directed the wood shop and the construction of a new dormitory. He also participated in routine religious activities—preaching in the institutional church and visiting neighboring groups.²⁷

The tasks became no easier with time. Official church visitors were as impressed with the school's industrial productivity as with the number of teachers the program turned out. According to J. A. Stevens, representing the General Conference in 1939, the farm was a "man's job, with its eight hundred sheep, and other stock, raising crops in that high region, and directing the boys and girls in their industrial work." J. E. Weaver, another General Conference visitor, observed that rugs from the school's shop became known all over Peru.²⁸ For all of its past woes, Colegio Adventista Normal, as the school was known, had recovered well by 1940 and had established one of the finest records in South America for placing its graduates in denominational work.

Not as well-known by Adventists but nonetheless an important part of the Inca Union was Instituto Industrial, the forerunner of Peruvian Union University. Its growth from forty-three to 235 students during 1926-1940 made it one of the division's largest schools.²⁹ Located in new quarters on seventy acres near Miraflores on the edge of Peru's capital, where it moved in 1926, the school became a conversation

piece for neighbors, with its herd of cattle and a policy of training students to work while they attended school. However, not until 1928, its tenth year of operations, did the school graduate its first class, a cohort of five students who completed the secondary level course which included worker-training classes. In all, the school had produced eighteen workers. Despite the school's encouraging enrollment, which continued to climb, by 1939 it had graduated only twenty-seven. The needs of the church had been so pressing that students commonly left to become denominational employees before completing their training.³⁰

Ironically, Instituto Industrial operated practically in sight of the Peruvian government, but it did not suffer the same fate as its sister institution at Juliaca. According to David Lust, director, quite the opposite was true. The "school has come to the eyes of the government," he wrote in 1928, "and thus far we have been successful in giving a very favorable impression of our educational system in this country."³¹

Although less sanguine about the school's relations with the government, a year later Lust discussed what appeared to be his leading preoccupation—that of improving the school's record in producing workers. Fully conscious that Leguía's decree could lock their doors as well as those at Juliaca, students began matriculating in larger numbers anyway, a 107 percent increase during the two years after the president's directive went out. They were spending "their afternoons filling the homes in the city of Lima with literature," Lust said, adding that "our ministerial seminar is finding excellent territory in the suburb for evening meetings. They constantly report great interest and already have a few candidates for baptism."³² If Adventist education were truly illegal, *limeños* took little notice of it.

Student housing was less than ideal. Girls lived in a dormitory, but the boys were "scattered in rooms and sheds all over the school grounds." By the mid-1930s the church started to reap dividends from the persistence of both faculty and students. H. B. Lundquist, founder of the school, noted that former students filled an increasing proportion of positions in the union. Two years later, training schools in Peru and Bolivia furnished two of every three workers, a dramatic turnabout from two decades earlier when the union imported nearly all of its denominational employees. By 1939, twenty-seven had graduated, all but one of them since 1928.³³ By comparison to other South American training schools, this total was small, but it represented notable progress.

Meanwhile, the school continued to make favorable impressions on the public. During 1938 a fifty-voice choir presented the first radio broadcast by Adventists

in Peru when it sang the cantata, "Pillar of Fire", from a Lima station. The school bakery also became well-known for its bread and other products that bicyclists delivered to customers.³⁴

As the decade of the 1930s ended, the school, called Colegio Industrial since 1938, faced other problems, again not of its own making. Lima's population was sprawling outward, encircling the school. What had once been a rural setting became urban, and church leaders were already casting about for a new location, hoping to find a spot where the school could raise much of its own food.³⁵ Legal difficulties also finally caught up with the institution. Even though the law forbade coeducation in Lima's schools, the Adventist *colegio* continued to function as it always had, matriculating both male and female students, but it was forced to close in 1941. Before reopening in the mid-1940s, a move to a new campus and a complete reorganization took place.³⁶

Progress at the training school was remarkable enough with all of these counts against it, but it was even more striking when seen against frequent changes in leadership and frequent turnover among staff. During the years, 1926-1941, five directors presided over a faculty that fluctuated from four to sixteen. C. U. Ayars, who led the school for five years beginning in 1929, and C. H. Baker, whose seven-year term began in 1933, provided the most consistency to the faculty before World War II. Most teachers remained at the school only two to four years.³⁷

For the first time the school's enrollment topped 100 in 1935, but enrollment in the primary grades was increasing more rapidly than the secondary section. During the ten years after 1931, the students enrolling for secondary classes varied only from twenty-six to forty-three, while primary grades jumped from sixty to 192 during the same period.³⁸ In 1941 the school became the official training school for the Inca Union.³⁹

ADVENTIST EDUCATION IN BOLIVIA

Political problems touching the Adventist school at Juliaca reverberated beyond the shores of Lake Titicaca. In 1927 the expanding ring of indigenous schools in Bolivia prompted leaders of the Bolivia Mission to join their colleagues in the Lake Titicaca Mission as joint supporters of the Juliaca school, but their collaboration abruptly ended the next year when the school closed. Bolivian students were already encountering difficulties when crossing into Peru to attend school, and it was not surprising that the closure at Juliaca, while destroying plans for a joint venture between the two missions, turned out to be the nudge Bolivia needed to establish its own training center.

Adventist primary education among the Indians in Bolivia had long attracted the government's attention. A major piece of public relations came in May 1928 when Carlos Beltrán, technical director of the city schools in Bolivia's capital, published a complimentary account of Adventist education and methodology in *Educación Nueva*, the official voice of the national Board of Instruction. Appearing almost simultaneously with the closure at Juliaca, this show of cordiality in La Paz appeared to be a message to the leaders of the Bolivian Mission that the time for a separate training school had come. At its November meetings following this rapid sequence of events, the division committee agreed that Bolivia should establish its own training center at Collana, patterned after the Lake Titicaca model. To give this enterprise a financial boost, the division also voted a US\$2,500 appropriation from the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering taken in September 1928.⁴⁰

On April 22, 1929, one year after the Julicaca school locked its doors, twenty male students enrolled for special training courses at Collana. Shortly, the number rose to forty-nine. With living space at a premium, Leon Replogle, the director, filled one room with nine boys, packed the others in the carpentry shop and the storeroom, and sent out word he could take no more. One of the students' first tasks was to build an adobe dormitory with a thatched roof.⁴¹ If Replogle thought he could hold enrollment down, he failed to consider that the enthusiasm was as great as the primitive conditions that the students endured. Without any facts about the school, the *Bulletin* published a picture of the "newly organized school" showing more than 100 persons, presumably students, gathered by their building. L. D. Minner, superintendent of the Inca Union, placed the enrollment at seventy in early 1930.⁴²

Division leaders shared enthusiasm for the school, but were not enamored with its location. N. P. Neilsen, on his first swing around South America after becoming division president, found the tiny, five-acre plot at an elevation of 13,500 feet barren, cold, and unpromising. In order to keep warm, students collected roots and llama droppings for fuel. Enrollment exceeded 100, including eleven girls. Replogle's wife had to take charge when her husband was away to fulfill duties as a departmental secretary in the Bolivia Mission. Before leaving the region, Neilsen visited Cochabamba, approving the purchase of more than 1,000 acres at a lower altitude, approximately 8,500 feet. The new location also provided wood for fuel and enabled students to cultivate private gardens to supply themselves with food.⁴³

It was in July 1931, four months after the mission bought the new site, that students and teachers loaded their possessions and equipment on two train cars

to move the four hundred kilometers to Cochabamba. To help the school in transition, the rail company obligingly lowered its charges to half of the ordinary rate.⁴⁴

Leaders of the Bolivia Mission dared to hope that the school would furnish teachers for all of their Adventist schools, but more severe problems than they experienced in their unceremonious departure from Juliaca were about to descend on them. Hardly had they arranged their affairs in Cochabamba when Bolivia locked horns with Paraguay in the Chaco War and began conscripting all available men, including many students and mission school teachers. Enrollment fell precipitously from 105 to thirty-five in 1932.⁴⁵

Rising prices and depreciating currency complicated the uncertain times and made the construction of new buildings difficult. Erection of administrative offices dragged. In July 1936 the division helped with a gift of 2,000 Argentine *pesos*. By that time the Chaco War was over, and enrollment, which had floundered between thirty-three and forty-one during the conflict, rose to ninety-six. The following year 140 matriculated, and in 1938 the faculty offered secondary classes for the first time. In 1940 the student body reached 163, including seven in the secondary level.⁴⁶

Thirty-two graduates in 1938 and prospects of a growing secondary curriculum gave workers in the Bolivia Mission and Inca Union another chance to speak optimistically of the school's future. Visitors also commented favorably about the institution. "I was much impressed with the Bolivian Training school at Cochabamba," reported J. A. Stevens, secretary of the General Conference Home Missionary Department. While on an inspection tour of South America's schools, John E. Weaver of the General Conference Department of Education expressed a similar opinion. "The training schools for Indian workers at Juliaca and Cochabamba are carrying on a strong program," he wrote.

But institutional trials were far from over. By 1941, only ten years after school leaders had planted themselves in Cochabamba, they faced another move. News that the Bolivian government was planning to build a hydroelectric plant near the school also told them that water backed up by the dam would inundate the choicest part of the school farm. While the news was ominous, the danger was not imminent, and years would pass before resolving that problem with another move.⁴⁷

Born out of emergency, Instituto Boliviano Adventista passed its early existence in trauma. Under H. C. Morton the school weathered the initial years at Cochabamba and the Chaco War. In 1937 C. E. Fillman replaced him, followed by C. U. Ayars in 1940. Assisted by small faculties, consisting mainly of South American national workers,

these directors held the school together during the difficult decade of the 1930s. To their tenacity and farsightedness, the future Bolivia Adventist University owed much.

UPGRADING BRAZIL COLLEGE

For the 5,300 Adventists in the two Brazilian unions in 1926, only one institution existed, Colégio Adventista near São Paulo. Known by a variety of names—Seminário Adventista until 1923, then Colégio Adventista do Brasil, and Brazil College or Brazil Training School in English-speaking circles—the institution showed growth despite erratic enrollment during the years 1926-1940. Thomas W. Steen was director for the nine years beginning in 1919. Although far from a complete plant when he left, the institution accommodated more than 200 students. Overall growth during the next decade and a half was not significant, but the quality of the program upgraded to junior college status.

Steen's successor, G. B. Taylor, had headed the science department since joining the faculty in 1920. With 230 students enrolled in 1929, two school years after he took charge, he commented that "this institution has had an almost constant and entirely encouraging growth since . . . 1915 until the present day." Although he believed that the school's development had been remarkable, more important to church leaders was its contribution to the church. Of the twenty-nine graduates through 1928, twenty-seven entered denominational employment. Nine were ministers, nine were teachers, three became Bible workers, four joined the publishing field, one was an office worker, and one continued his studies in the United States. All but one of the six graduates in 1929 also found church employment. At least four of these alumni had assumed posts in church administration.⁴⁸

Taylor's assessment came at the end of about the first decade and a half of the school's history. Joubert Castro Perez, much later a professor of Portuguese on the campus, points out that Brazil depended on the school to supply workers and that it was here that Brazilian Adventists established their first genuine theology program. Relative to other schools, such as Colegio Adventista del Plata, the record was good. However, Carlyle B. Haynes saw matters differently. Comparing the rate of new ministers and teachers graduating from the seminary to the vast Brazilian field, he could see only a slowly advancing church. In his view the problem was twofold: turnover in the Bible department was too rapid; consequently, the ministerial training program lacked continuity. Also, the school had not attracted mature students who could enter directly into denominational employment after graduating.⁴⁹

Haynes defined an acceptable Bible teacher as an evangelist and Bible scholar knowing Portuguese who would be willing to commit several years to teaching. To find such a person was not easy. The answer came in 1931 when Rudolfo Belz took charge of the department. Three years later Domingos Peixoto followed, working up to the college presidency by 1939. Graduating classes remained small. The fourteen who completed their studies in 1932 represented a high-water mark for the school, a record that stood until 1935 when seventeen finished, all of whom entered denominational employment. After 1938 the graduating classes consistently numbered above ten.⁵⁰

During the last part of Steen's administration, the school faced severe financial trials that spilled over into Taylor's years. In 1926 a money crisis engulfed the school and forced the faculty to cancel the final term. The next year 214 enrolled, but the large student body did not mean that prosperity had returned. Matriculation dropped below 200 in 1930, and the following year slid to 109, less than half of the 1929 figure.⁵¹

Economic and political uncertainties did not stop Brazilian church leaders from expanding existing buildings and investing in new ones. Capital appropriations for the school were not large, but with frugal management, results were satisfying. Much of the supporting money came from profits from Casa Publicadora. At South Brazil's year-end meetings in 1928, the publishing house donated US\$3,750 to the seminary. In 1934 another gift of \$2,500 from the same source helped to underwrite a new instructional building. A contribution of \$6,000 in 1935 relieved congested dormitory space—triple deck beds in the men's residence were only part of the crowded conditions. The women also received sixteen new rooms. The following year the school divided its \$2,100 appropriation from Casa Publicadora between the still unfinished instructional building and a new water system.

Support also came from the division. Money previously earmarked for the Araguaia Mission was reallocated to the operating budget of the training school in 1934, and in its annual budget the division committee sometimes included small amounts for the school. The school needed all the support it could get. Operating losses were not unknown, and subsidies from the fields were not always forthcoming. In 1939 the division felt obligated to remind the three Brazilian unions that Colégio Adventista had become an inter-union school and monetary support from all three sources was expected.⁵²

As the school's program developed during the 1930s, its reputation also grew. In April 1938 Dr. Celso S. Meirelles, a veterinarian, praised the school's "model herd" of registered livestock in a ten-page article in the *Cattle Breeders' Magazine*, voice of

the Paulista Federation of Cattle Breeders. Meirelles was just as impressed with the quality of education that the students could find at the school. Two years later, William Wheeler, choir director, took his singers to Rio de Janeiro where they broadcast a program over national radio and sang in the largest Presbyterian church in the city.⁵³

The school administration also integrated humanitarian outreach and spiritual activities into the school program. In 1940 students conducted a “Medical Missionary Crusade,” consisting of a free primary school for underprivileged families in the vicinity. As part of the daily activities, the children received a meal at no cost. At the same time, the faculty conducted a baptismal class for sixty-five students on the campus. In November 1940 Domingos Peixoto, president of the school, and J. L. Brown, president of the South Brazil Union, baptized thirty-six. Brazil College was also the first school in the country to receive permission from the national government to offer a practical nursing and first aid class under the auspices of the Red Cross.⁵⁴

Curricular changes in the mid-1930s raised the school from its secondary level to junior college status. After attending an education council in South America in 1934, C. P. Crager, General Conference associate secretary of education, predicted that the Brazilian school would soon make that change. A smattering of post-secondary courses was already available, but not until 1936 did that part of the school come into its own. As the decade drew to a close, increasing talk of a Red Cross and hydrotherapy course at the college became common, and even drew favorable response from the division committee; however, a fully developed nurses’ training program still lay in the future.⁵⁵

The nationalism in Brazil during the 1930s that produced the petition for a Brazilian division of the Adventist church also affected Colégio Adventista. Division officers felt the pressure to install a national as director of the school after Ellis R. Maas left the school in 1936, but not until 1939, after Lloyd E. Downs held the position for three years, did such a change occur. It was Domingos Peixoto, already dean, who succeeded Downs to become the first South American national to head a major Adventist training school. Nationalism also touched the faculty. In addition to increasing from a dozen members in 1926 to twenty-one in 1940, the staff had become nearly all Brazilian.⁵⁶

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

By World War II South American Adventists had developed two schools that offered two years of post-secondary classes. A natural result of these higher levels

of education was an increased attention on needs for more secondary schools. In a sense the training institutions were secondary programs with special courses added, but because these campuses aimed at potential workers, they held only limited attraction for the typically younger secondary-level students, especially if they lived at great distances from the school. During the latter half of the 1930s, both Brazil and Argentina began to establish boarding institutions for this category of students.

Since 1928 Adventists in Taquara, Rio Grande do Sul, operated a large school that the conference took over in 1935, changing its name to Ginásio Adventista. With a government approved program, 163 students, mainly primary level, enrolled in 1940.⁵⁷ At the division year-end meetings in December 1936, Brazilian workers from East Brazil pressed for a boarding school in their territory, a plan that materialized in 1939 when church leaders laid the cornerstone for Instituto Educacional e Agrícola Petrópolis. Among the visiting dignitaries was Dr. José Leite from the local municipality who addressed the gathering about the need for Christian education. From the beginning, workers regarded this center as a training school, but recognized its lesser standing compared to the junior college.⁵⁸

Funding for the institution at Petrópolis came partially from the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering on September 25, 1937. The school's immediate success left little doubt that it filled a need. During the second year 139 enrolled, and Walton J. Brown, director, reported a full slate of activities including appearances by the choir in public places in nearby Rio de Janeiro. At the end of the first year, five boys were baptized. Ten more students took the same step during the second year.⁵⁹

Original plans for this school appeared about the same time that the division created the North Brazil Union, and intentions were to provide an institution to serve both East and North Brazil. Not surprisingly, a debate arose over where to build the school. Leo Halliwell argued that the boarding school must be above Recife if both unions were to enjoy its advantages. Students as far south as Rio and Espírito Santo would probably attend the school in São Paulo, he argued. Consequently, to be effective, a location was necessary that would draw students northward from Bahia and Pernambuco and south from Amazonia. For Halliwell, that site was Ceará. H. G. Stoehr seconded Halliwell's opinion. "A Brazilian youth living in Manaus could reach New York in less time than he could travel to São Paulo," he wrote. "We must take the facilities for an education nearer to our young people."⁶⁰

Doubts cropped up. Despite the near 13,000 Adventists in Brazil, some raised questions about how much need the country had for additional schools. After his

tour of South America in 1939, J. A. Stevens warned the General Conference that risks of “over-institutionalizing” in Brazil existed with the school at Taquara and “pretentious” plans for another one at Petrópolis, only three hundred miles from the junior college in São Paulo. Stevens feared that not enough paying students were available to make three boarding schools viable and that unnecessary competition for students would occur.⁶¹

Whatever the differences of opinion, little stood in the way of the new school. Higher enrollments at Brazil’s leading campus put to rest the argument that the new school at Petrópolis would cripple the larger institution. Hardly had Stevens voiced his cautions in Washington when Adventists in Paraná opened yet another school near Curitiba under Waldemar Ehlers, a project that John E. Weaver said was filling a need for education in that part of South Brazil. As for Halliwell’s and Stoehr’s counsel to establish a training school farther to the north, less than a decade passed before events bore out their wisdom, although the school they envisioned went up in Pernambuco rather than Ceará.⁶²

The movement for secondary schools also affected Argentina. Included in the plans to move Colegio Adventista del Plata to another site were suggestions for other secondary schools to support the central campus. Even though the training school remained at Puiggari, membership growth elsewhere produced the need for additional educational opportunities. In 1938 the faculty at Escuela Bernardino Rivadavia, an elementary school in Florida, Buenos Aires, added secondary-level classes, thus becoming the first free-standing secondary school in the Austral Union.⁶³

What was developing in South America during the 1930s was a sense of an educational system. Educational councils in 1924 and 1927 paved the way for another, more elaborate twelve-day meeting of division educators at Paysandú, Uruguay, in December 1934. Delegates scrutinized the full gamut of objectives and policies affecting everything from elementary to post-secondary curricula, including class syllabi, examinations, and financial administration. Brazilian teachers held separate councils for their own schools in 1927 and 1939, convening both times on the campus in São Paulo. The effectiveness of the division’s worker-training programs was becoming more apparent. Not only was the number of schools increasing, but so was the list of denominational employees educated on church campuses. After the 1935 school year, the division’s education department reported that graduates of South America’s schools were filling half of the denominational positions in the division.⁶⁴

Teacher-training programs, already affecting the character of Adventist education in South America when Haynes arrived, became more effective through the 1930s despite the Great Depression. Almost spectacular was South Brazil's record growth from fifteen primary schools and 343 students in 1926 to sixty-three schools and 2,253 pupils in 1940. During the same period elementary schools in East Brazil mushroomed from twelve to twenty-eight with enrollment jumping from 302 to 843. The Austral Union also showed solid increases by adding seventeen new schools between 1926 and 1940 for a total of thirty-nine. The student population more than doubled from 642 to 1,363.

Slumping attendance at the Indian schools in the Inca Union beginning in 1929 reflected the sharp drop in membership in the Lake Titicaca Mission. Although the presidential decree that locked the doors of the normal school at Juliaca also threatened the entire system of Adventist education around the lake, only two schools temporarily closed. Years later H. B. Lundquist remembered that he and W. E. Phillips, Inca Union treasurer, pled the case of Adventist schools with Manchego Muñoz, a Peruvian cabinet member, who intervened with Peruvian President Leguía. Shortly, a telegram ordering the governor of Puno to reopen the two closed Indian schools reached the subprefect in Azangaro. It was not without anxiety that Lundquist and other church leaders waited the remaining one hundred days of the school year, but legal pressure closed no more schools.⁶⁵

Attendance in the entire union declined from 5,094 in 1928 to 2,385 in 1932, while the number of schools dropped from 126 to forty-nine, but by 1940 enrollment climbed to 5,534 and the number of schools rose to 150. Low figures during the mid-1930s showed the damaging effect of the Chaco War on Adventist education among Bolivia's indigenous population. John E. Weaver's four-month inspection of the division's educational system, beginning in November 1940, left him impressed and assured. By that time 11,591 students were sitting before Adventist teachers, including the Indian schools in the Inca Union. This figure was the second highest total in the world divisions outside North America. Each of the 355 teachers averaged thirty-two pupils and attendance reached at least forty for every school. "There seems to be a strong forward movement for Christian education in most parts of the field," Weaver wrote.⁶⁶

In spite of many counts against them, division educators built a progressively stronger system during the 1930s. With hard work, persistence, and conviction that theirs was a job too serious to think of failure, church leaders, school administrators,

and faculties successfully parried financial setbacks, legislative threats, and war—enough combined problems to stunt the growth of any program. The tenacity that compelled them on was not unique; it was also common to fellow workers in other phases of church activities, and no less inspirational. Those who witnessed the happenings in the South American Division during the turbulent 1930s believed in no other explanation for their successes than divine intervention for the church.

¹ J. W. Westphal, "The Loud Cry," *RH*, April 6, 1922.

² G. W. Schubert, "Experiences in South Brazil," *ibid.*, February 9, 1928.

³ Oliver Montgomery to J. L. Shaw, April 17, 1917, GCA/21, GF/1917; P. E. Brodersen to C. K. Meyers, November 16, 1924, *ibid.*/1924; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, November 26, 1928, *ibid.*/1928; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, February 3, 1930, *ibid.*/1930. A. G. Daniells's *RH* articles are very helpful in understanding these meetings: "Word from Elder A. G. Daniells," April 3, 1930; "Ministerial Institute, Brazil, South America," April 10, 1930; "Our Ministerial Institute in Argentina, South America," May 1, 1930; "Ministerial Institute in Chile," May 8, 1930; "Ministerial Institutes in Bolivia and Southern Peru," May 15, 1930. Also see Carlyle B. Haynes, "General Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, March 27, 1930; E. L. Maxwell, "The Austral Union," *ibid.*, May 15, 1930.

⁴ SAD Minutes, December 12, 1935/GCA; "The Theological Seminary," no name, *RH*, September 18, 1941.

⁵ J. S. Marshall, "River Plate Junior College," *ibid.*, March 26, 1925; and "River Plate Junior College," *ibid.*, March 31, 1927; N. Z. Town, "Appreciation of Seventh-day Adventist School Work in Argentina," *ibid.*, October 1, 1925; Walter L. Burgan, "Newspaper Publicity in the Argentine," *ibid.*, December 1, 1927; Walton J. Brown, "A Historical Study," 392-395.

⁶ These data have been adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1920-1934.

⁷ Carlyle B. Haynes, "Visiting River Plate College," *Bulletin*, III (July 1927), 1; and "Training Workers in South America," *RH*, September 15, 1927; Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, June 21, 1927, GCA/11, GF/1927, folder H.

⁸ Mrs. J. S. Marshall, "Summer School at River Plate Junior College," *Bulletin*, III (April 1927), 7; J. S. Marshall, "River Plate Junior College," *RH*, May 3, 1934.

⁹ Carlyle B. Haynes, "The March of God in South America," *ibid.*, January 31, 1929; E. L. Maxwell, "Missions Becoming Home Bases," *ibid.*, July 4, 1929; J. S. Marshall, "River Plate Junior College," *Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 8; Oliver Montgomery, "Visiting South America—No. 4," *RH*, March 30, 1933; E. E. Andross, "Austral Union Conference Quadrennial Session," *ibid.*, May 20, 1937.

¹⁰ These data have been adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940. See also Ellis R. Maas, "The River Plate Junior College," *Bulletin*, XVI (December 1940), 3.

¹¹ Walton J. Brown, "A Historical Study," 332-340, 412-415; W. E. Murray to A. W. Cormack, January 8, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941; R. R. Fighur to J. L. McElhany, November 17, 1941, *ibid.*/11, Fighur folder.

¹² J. M. Howell, *God Led*, 84-87; and "The Chillan Training School," *Bulletin*, III (February 1927), 6; and "Chillan Training School," *ibid.*, VI (January 1930), 11; *Statistical Report* for 1926, 1940.

¹³ N. Z. Town, "Meetings in Chile," *RH*, July 2, 1931.

¹⁴ Walton J. Brown, *Chronology*, 76, 77; *Statistical Report*, 1930-1940.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ N. P. Neilsen, "Is It Worth the Effort?," *RH*, April 13, 1933; SAD Minutes, February 18, 1935/GCA.

¹⁷ Mrs. J. H. Meier to L. D. Minner, January 25, 1939, GCA/21, GF/1939.

¹⁸ Mrs. J. H. Meier to J. L. McElhany, January 29, 1939, *ibid.*/11, GF/1939, South America folder; N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, February 17, 1939, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, March 1, 1939, *ibid.*;

Mrs. J. H. Meier, "The Chillan (Chile) Catastrophe," *RH*, March 16, 1939; W. G. Turner, "The Destruction of Chillan," *ibid.*, May 11, 1939.

¹⁹ J. H. Meier, "Our School in Chillan, Chile," *Bulletin*, XVII (April 1941), 5; A. W. Cormack to H. O. Olson, February 2, 1939, GCA/21, GF/1939; A. W. Cormack to N. P. Neilsen, March 6, 1939, *ibid.*; N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, February 17, 1939, *ibid.*; J. E. Weaver to the Officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*/1941; "Chilean Seventh-day Adventist School Damaged by Earthquake," report with no name, no date, *ibid.*; *Statistical Report*, 1939-40.

²⁰ Carlyle B. Haynes to C. K. Meyers, July 7, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929; "Text of Peruvian Government Decree," translation of Leguía's decree, *RH*, August 22, 1929; T. E. Bowen, "Something of What Is Being Accomplished About Lake Titicaca," *ibid.*, November 14, 1929. Of interest is H. B. Lundquist's recollections of this event in "How God Cared for His Work in Peru," *ibid.*, August 3, 1961.

²¹ See a collection of correspondence in Records of the State Department; Alexander P. Moore to Secretary of State, July 2, 1929, 823.404/37; Alexander P. Moore to Secretary of State, July 8, 1929, *ibid.*/38; Memorandum, July 25, 1929, *ibid.*/41; R. E. Diffendorfer to Secretary of State, August 2, 1929, *ibid.*/43; Ferdinand Lathrop Mayer to Secretary of State, August 26, 1929; *ibid.*/45. Diffendorfer was Corresponding Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church. Mayer was Charge d' Affaires at the US Embassy; F. D. Nichol, "Peru Situation Elicits Comment," *RH*, September 26, 1929; and "Editors' Comment on Peru," *ibid.*, October 31, 1929.

²² Carlyle B. Haynes, "Inca Union Mission Meeting," *ibid.*, July 11, 1929; A. G. Daniells, "Closing Ministerial Institute in South America," *ibid.*, May 29, 1930.

²³ W. E. Howell, "Our Work of Christian Education in Titicaca and Bolivia," *ibid.*, June 23, 1927; H. B. Lundquist, "Progress in the Inca Union," *ibid.*, July 28, 1927; and "The Lake Titicaca Mission, *Bulletin*, IV (September 1928), 4, 5; F. E. Bresee, "Lake Titicaca Training School, *ibid.*, VI (January 1930), 4, 5.

²⁴ Carlyle B. Haynes to B. E. Beddoe, March 27, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, November 27, 1929, *ibid.*; Carlyle B. Haynes to E. Kotz, February 3, 1939, *ibid.*

²⁵ N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, March 1, 1931, *ibid.*/11, GF/1931, folder N; Carlyle B. Haynes, "Reopening of the Juliaca Training School," *RH*, April 30, 1931; C. H. Baker, "Christian Education in Peru," *ibid.*, July 30, 1931; *Statistical Report*, 1926-40.

²⁶ R. J. Roy, "Lake Titicaca Workers' Meeting," *RH*, January 6, 1938.

²⁷ E. U. Ayars, "The Juliaca Training School," *Bulletin*, III (May 1927), 6.

²⁸ J. A. Stevens to J. L. McElhany, September 11, 1939, GCA/11, GF/1939, South America folder; John E. Weaver, "Among Our Schools in South America," *RH*, December 18, 1941.

²⁹ *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940.

³⁰ Elizabeth Bayley-Lust, "The Lima Training School," *RH*, July 19, 1928; H. B. Lundquist, "The Industrial Institute, Peru," *ibid.*, November 22, 1928; and "Progress in the Inca Union," *ibid.*, December 21, 1939; David E. Lust, "Lima Training School," *Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 4.

³¹ David E. Lust, "The Lima Training School," *ibid.*, IV (September 1928), 4.

³² David E. Lust, "Lima Training School," *ibid.*, VI (January 1930), 4.

³³ H. B. Lundquist, "The Inca Union Mission," *RH*, February 2, 1939; "Progress in the Inca Union," *ibid.*, December 21, 1939.

³⁴ C. H. Baker, "The Lima Training School," *ibid.*, January 26, 1939; John E. Weaver, "Among Our Schools in South America," *ibid.*, December 18, 1941.

³⁵ J. A. Stevens to J. L. McElhany, September 11, 1939, GCA/11, GF/1939, South America folder; J. E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*/21, GF/1941.

³⁶ N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, August 15, 1935, *ibid.*/1935; Brown, *Chronology*, 83-84.

³⁷ *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940. Also see faculty listings, *SDA Yearbook*, 1926-1942.

³⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940.

³⁹ SAD Minutes, May 24, 1941/GCA.

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⁴⁰ H. B. Lundquist, "Progress in the Inca Union," *RH*, July 28, 1927; and "Our Bolivian Training School," *ibid.*, February 21, 1929; Carlyle B. Haynes, "What the Thirteenth Sabbath Overflow Did for South America," *ibid.*, August 22, 1929; SAD Minutes, November 19, 1928/ GCA.

⁴¹ Leon Replogle, "A New Training School," *RH*, September 26, 1929.

⁴² C. P. Crager, "Our Youngest Child in the Family of Schools," *Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 5; L. D. Minner, "Opening New Schools in Bolivia," *RH*, April 3, 1930.

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⁴⁵ Francisco Brouchy, "The Educational Work in the Bolivia Mission," *Bulletin*, VIII (September 1932), 4, 5; *Statistical Report*, 1932, 1933.

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⁴⁷ H. B. Lundquist, news note, *RH*, February 9, 1939; John E. Weaver, "Among Our Schools in South America," *ibid.*, December 18, 1941; J. A. Stevens to J. L. McElhany, September 11, 1939, GCA/11, GF/1939, South America folder; J. E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*/21, GF/1941.

⁴⁸ G. B. Taylor, "Collegio [sic] Adventista do Brazil," *Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 2, 3.

⁴⁹ Carlyle B. Haynes to B. E. Beddoe, January 13, 1929, GCA/21, GF/1929. Joubert Castro Perez and Fabiano Amaral offer a detailed description of ministerial-preparation education in "O Ensino Teológico no Brasil," *Educação adventista*, 119-158.

⁵⁰ See faculty listings, *SDA Yearbook*, 1930-1940; *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940; H. B. Lundquist, "Graduation at Brazil Seminary," *RH*, January 9, 1935.

⁵¹ G. B. Taylor, "Collegio [sic] Adventista do Brazil," *Bulletin*, VI (January 1930), 2, 3; *Statistical Report*, 1927-1931.

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⁵³ Charles A. Rentfro, "Into All the World," *RH*, October 13, 1938; Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Boehm, "The Service of Song," *ibid.*, January 23, 1941.

⁵⁴ Domingos Peixoto "A Good Year," *Bulletin*, XVII (February 1941), 6; J. L. Brown, "Baptism at Brazil Junior College," *ibid.* (April 1941), 3, 4.

⁵⁵ C. P. Crager, "Educational and Missionary Volunteer Council of the South American Division," *RH*, March 7, 1935; *Statistical Report*, 1934-1940; N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, December 19, 1940, GCA/21, GF/1940.

⁵⁶ Roger Altman to H. T. Elliott, April 6, 1937, *ibid.*/1937; faculty listings, *SDA Yearbook*, 1926-1942; *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940.

⁵⁷ O. E. Santo, "An Adventist High School in Brazil," *RH*, October 20, 1938; Brown, *Chronology*, 112; *Statistical Report*, 1940.

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⁶² J. E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*/21, GF/1941; Brown, *Chronology*, 93, 111.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶⁴ C. P. Crager, "Educational and Missionary Volunteer Council of the South American Division," *RH*, March 7, 1935; W. E. Howell, "Educational Council in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 21, 1927; R. J. Roy, "Missionary Volunteer and Educational Department Reports," *Bulletin*, XII (July 1936), 4-6; N. W. Dunn, "First Educational Council for All Brazil," *ibid.*, XV (December 1939), 2.

⁶⁵ J. T. Thompson, "Opposition Spells Advance," *RH*, January 2, 1930; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Inca Union Meeting," *ibid.*, April 23, 1931; H. B. Lundquist, "How God Cared for His Work in Peru," *ibid.*, August 3, 1961.

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WIDENING SERVICES AND PROGRAMS

DESPITE THE FINANCIAL reversals of the Great Depression, a slow but ever widening circle of activities and institutions to serve both Adventists and non-Adventists alike accompanied the impressive membership growth during the 1930s in South America. Denominational workers in South America hailed the appearance of more church programs and ownership of increasing amounts of real estate as a signal of divine guidance. Still fired with inspiration from the 1937 annual meeting of the Inca Union, Roger Altman, South America's treasurer, did not wait to complete a single day of sea travel from Lima to Valparaíso before reporting an account of what he had seen and heard at the meetings.

"The work in the South American Division meets many difficulties even as in other parts of the world," he scrawled from the deck of the rolling ship, but he added, "the third angel's message is making steady progress among the 73 millions of the Division . . . One republic decrees that our schools must close. But we continue with them open, and the decree is not enforced against us. Another country passes legislation excluding all foreign ministers of religion, but in some way we are able to come and go with much the same

freedom as before. It is almost impossible for a doctor from the United States to secure legal standing, and yet our medical work goes forward.”¹

The problems that affected the development of an Adventist education system touched all other institutions in South America. But beyond education, which was primarily a service to the constituency, literature production and distribution made remarkable strides forward. Barriers to health-care institutions began to crumble. Manufacture of health food, a nineteenth century benchmark of Adventism established at Battle Creek, also made its way into South America. By the time World War II began, the South American Division owned far more institutions than they probably expected, given the trauma of the Great Depression and other problems. Perhaps because advancement occurred so painfully it was more dear. Such was the case with sanitariums and clinics.

HEALTH CARE SPREADS FROM ARGENTINA TO BRAZIL

The decade of the 1920s was not easy for River Plate Sanitarium. As medical director following Habenicht’s departure, Carl Westphal encountered financial problems. Prosperity was not a sure thing on the Entre Rios pampa, and when the people suffered, so did the hospital. At the division’s year-end meetings in 1928, Carlyle B. Haynes learned that patronage was up, a good sign for the sanitarium that was “dying a year or so ago.” Actually, the upward trend set in a year previously. During a week’s visit to the sanitarium in December 1927, R. R. Breitigam, home missionary secretary for the division, observed the largest clientele in years, some patients coming from distant cities. A fund-raising campaign that year netted 16,000 Argentine *pesos* for X-ray, diathermy, infra-red, ultra-violet, and quartz light equipment.²

But better times did not last long. Like other institutions and programs, the sanitarium suffered during the Great Depression. In 1931 it maintained only a 47 percent occupancy rate, but granted US\$11,356 in charity service, at the time the largest amount in the institution’s history. Collections were more than 90 percent, but they came hard. Among the four hundred farmers in the vicinity who had lost their grain and livestock because of foreclosure, hospital administrators could see a symbol of their own problems.³

Poor as it was, the record of 573 patients in 1931 was better than the previous year when only 367 were admitted, 176 of them for surgery. Of the sixty-seven beds, twenty were designated first-class service. Notwithstanding gloomy times, the administrators found some compensation in the institution’s spreading reputation.

Patients were coming from all parts of the republic. Sometimes the best publicity was free. The editor of *La Prensa*, a Buenos Aires daily, was so impressed with a baptismal ceremony he witnessed at the capital city's new Adventist church in 1933 that he sent a cameraman several hundred miles to Puiggari to take pictures of the sanitarium and college which he used in a full page devoted to the Adventist work around the world.⁴

By 1940 the hospital had pulled out of its financial strain. A three-year program beginning in 1936 saw all debts paid off and a new men's dormitory go up, besides new anesthesia equipment installed in the operating room. The combined cost of these improvements was about 80,000 Argentine *pesos*. Although the division and the publishing house contributed some financial help, the sanitarium also did its part to economize. The forty-five employees in 1930 dwindled to twenty-five in 1939, and charity service dropped to less than US\$2,500. The annual patient count consistently hovered around 900 beginning in 1936.⁵

The nurses' course was popular. In 1930 three of the fourteen nursing graduates also completed junior college and two finished the elementary teaching course. During the twenty-six years since it began, 141 had graduated from the nurses' training program. From every country in the South American Division except Bolivia and Ecuador students had come, while graduates had gone to all parts of the field.⁶

Through the 1920s and 1930s River Plate remained the division's only real venture into a fully developed medical program. L. H. Christian and William A. Butler, General Conference visitors to South America in 1937 and 1938, both reported that the division's health-care program was weak. "The medical work in the South American Division is behind," one wrote, while the other commented that the "medical work generally . . . is not very strongly organized. Our only sanitarium, which is located in Argentina, is doing a good work."⁷

For the few Adventist clinics in South America, the nurses graduating from River Plate were more than enough, but church leaders commonly felt a need to expand their medical ministry. Shortly before Butler's visit, this belief became a strong conviction when the Argentine hospital began restricting its nursing education to students from the Austral Union. Church leaders in the rest of the division knew that more opportunities for nursing education would be necessary.⁸

For years before Butler's visit, workers in the South Brazil Union had been talking about a sanitarium that would not only be a means to reach the public with Adventist health principles but also a place where church members could find treatment in accordance with denominational ideals. An attempt by John Lipke to

institute a denominational medical program had not been successful, and by 1927 he entered private practice which would be limited to the terms of a state license rather than national recognition. Later, in 1928, he successfully passed revalidating examinations, but the best he could do was to practice as an Adventist doctor rather than a denominational employee. Workers wanted a sanitarium. As early as 1932, a delegation headed by J. L. Brown visited Brazil's President Getulio Vargas, expressing a desire to establish a sanitarium, but many years were to pass before the church would even come close to fulfilling that objective.⁹

A proposal by officers from Brazil to begin health care prompted extensive discussion at division committee meetings in December 1937. While the prevailing attitude was favorable, South America's leaders could do little more than to decide to study the question further and to agree that the division would bear one half of the construction cost of any prospective institution.¹⁰

Taking the lead in this project was E. H. Wilcox, president of the South Brazil Union. Partly because of his urging, H. M. Walton, secretary of the General Conference Medical Department, visited Brazil in 1938 to advise the division about location, size of facility and floor plan. He returned to Washington with the essential plans—an institution not exceeding twenty-five beds erected on the campus of Colégio Adventista. According to Walton, the small sanitarium would include an operating room. Already the South Brazil Union was collecting money for construction, and in 1939 it began a campaign to raise US\$12,000, or 185 *contos*, to begin work. Wilcox was counting on 250 *contos* to come from denominational sources outside his union, which he would combine with 312 he had on hand or pledged.¹¹

Hope for the medical unit faded in 1940 when several factors conspired to cast doubts on the plan. Wilcox left the South Brazil Union in 1939, and with him went the main support for the project. Later actions by the union left each conference to sponsor its own medical program, decisions that allowed the São Paulo Conference to gain control of the plans for the proposed sanitarium. Despite their unanimity to locate it near the São Paulo campus, members of the seventeen-man committee that made that decision had second thoughts.

Among the doubters was Walton, who preferred to build in Rio or even Petrópolis after viewing some likely sites. Besides his strong suspicion that leaders in the São Paulo Conference were motivated to seize the sanitarium for nationalistic purposes, Walton was dubious that the conference was economically competent to handle it. The breakdown of support by the South Brazil Union was all he

needed to advise General Conference Secretary E. D. Dick to postpone action. J. A. Stevens, another General Conference visitor to South America at the same time Walton toured the division, also raised questions about a major medical institution in São Paulo, and in a special report to Dick, he seconded Walton's opinions. Armed with his colleagues' advice, which he received only hours before leaving Washington, Dick sailed for South America on November 15, 1940, to attend the 1940 division and union committee meetings. At the same time, he would try to resolve problems relating to finances and nationalism in the church.¹²

The upshot from Dick's counsel was a decision to abandon the São Paulo project, replacing it with a small clinic on the college campus for hydrotherapy treatments and Red Cross training. As for the sanitarium, the division committee agreed that Rio de Janeiro would be the preferred location. Further instruction from Washington froze all funds except money from South Brazil and special appropriations from the division to pay for the clinic. This action delayed the sanitarium until South American representatives could scrutinize the entire medical plan for Brazil at the 1941 General Conference session.¹³

What had appeared close in 1938 was now distant. A question that the division had not resolved to the satisfaction of the General Conference was staffing. At the heart of the problem was the inability of North American doctors to revalidate their credentials in South America. Experience taught denominational leaders that until Brazil could adequately supply national doctors, hopes for a sanitarium were futile. John Lipke had legalized his practice, but his age precluded a long career, and after a short stint as a denominational medical employee, he slipped into private practice.¹⁴ C. C. Schneider, a North American minister, resigned his post to enter medical school in Rio de Janeiro, but even with a Brazilian diploma, he had to renounce his United States citizenship to secure necessary legal standing to practice medicine.¹⁵

By 1940, on the strength of previous actions allowing each conference to arrange its own medical program, local Adventists were negotiating for property near the central church in São Paulo. A year earlier a Brazilian doctor, Antonio Miranda, and Clarita, his dentist-wife, began a clinic in São Paulo with church support. In spite of strong official opinions favoring Rio as the preferred site, South American Division President N. P. Neilsen knew he could not renege on promises for a medical unit in the South Brazil Union without jeopardizing general church support. Consequently, he agreed that a large institution in Brazil's capital was necessary, but argued in favor of São Paulo.

In 1941 the General Conference gave the nod to open Casa de Saúde Liberdade on Rua Tamandaré in São Paulo. A Brazilian physician, Galdino Nunes Vieira, became the director of the institution with Schneider serving as medical director. Another national doctor, Eurico Branco Ribeiro, was in charge of surgery. It was not what South Brazil had anticipated, but it was a beginning, and Adventists were unequivocal about the reason for establishing the health-care unit. Arno Schwantes, one of the visiting church dignitaries at the opening ceremony, wrote that the new health-care facility had a special mission—"pointing out to the people of our country the way to find healing of their physical suffering together with healing of the soul."¹⁶

The most important aspect of these events was the fact that the breakthrough in Adventist medical ministry had occurred in Brazil. "The idea of a sanitarium for Brazil is not dead," General Conference visitor John E. Weaver commented after his trip to the division at the same time as Dick's, "but slumbering for the present."¹⁷ Besides the Mirandas, other Adventist doctors appeared here and there in South America, eager to initiate a medical program for the church. Walton observed Galdino Nunes Vieira in Pôrto Alegre and Rolando Ramos who ran a small clinic in Santiago, Chile, both of whom kept hopes alive for more Adventist institutions.¹⁸

MEDICAL CENTERS IN PERU AND BOLIVIA

It was in the Inca Union rather than Brazil that the division met its most serious challenges to Adventist medical centers. From Juliaca, Peru, Adventist medical service spread to Chulumani, Bolivia, in 1929 and on to Arequipa, Peru, in 1935. This expansion posed problems of staffing, a situation that became more sticky with the difficulties doctors encountered in revalidating their medical credentials. Before 1940 all three institutions faced severe hardship, and the church lost one entirely.

Juliaca Clinic, known as Clínica Americana, officially opened its new quarters in 1927 with M. B. Graybill in charge. Graybill had been at the site since 1925, and remained until 1930 when R. R. Reed replaced him. Both were North American physicians. Because Graybill had not revalidated his diploma, he soon fell under the scrutiny of other national doctors in the community who successfully campaigned against him and closed the clinic. Public outrage reached all the way to Lima, where widely circulated newspapers took up the protest, and shortly, with little effort on Graybill's part, Clínica Americana reopened.¹⁹

Graybill worked with a staff of four nurses, two each from the United States and Argentina, and other Peruvian helpers. At times the clinic was so full they had

to turn patients away. Many of the clientele were charity cases. In 1929 the value of this service exceeded income from paying patients.²⁰

Only months before Reed's arrival to take Graybill's place, Peru went through a revolution in which Sánchez Cerro overthrew A. B. Leguía. The new head of state was not only instrumental in reopening the training school near Juliaca but he also found himself in the middle of an imbroglio relating to Clínica Americana. Another round of protests from the local medical community forced Reed out of business, but counter protests from the public made it a hot political issue. After only three days, Sánchez Cerro issued a presidential decree that unlocked the clinic's doors to an outraged clientele.²¹

The experience at Juliaca was the beginning of a string of events that would make Reed a national celebrity. In 1932 he attempted to revalidate his diploma, only to find that the university that administered the medical examinations was closed. Promptly he requested the help of Peru's president, whom he had met in Juliaca during the recent presidential campaign. Sánchez Cerro had gone to Clínica Americana with a case of pneumonia, and thanks to Reed's care, recovered.

One story had it that Reed later appeared with the presidential candidate in crowds that shouted *vivas* to both men—to Sánchez Cerro as a national figure and to Reed because he had saved the life of the prospective president. Now in Lima, the doctor's audience with Sánchez Cerro produced an order to reopen the university enabling him to take the qualifying tests. After passing this hurdle, Reed owned the only revalidation for an Adventist doctor in South America. Until his assassination in 1933, the Peruvian president kept an active friendship with Reed. The Adventist doctor visited him several times and even administered medical treatment.²²

Reed departed Juliaca in a flurry of controversy. The 1934 Autumn Council approved a request to open a clinic in Arequipa that bequeathed money from Eduardo Forga would finance, combined with other funds originating in Washington. In January 1935 the division approved the purchase price of a suitable building, and almost immediately the new institution opened its doors. Because no doctor was available to direct the Arequipa clinic, Reed moved down from the Titicaca region, also taking his staff with him. In spite of repeated pleas by the Inca Union and the South American Division, and regardless of an intensive search for a successor, the General Conference could find no one to replace Reed. With no one left, Clínica Americana closed on January 15, 1935, an action that required nearly two years to reverse.²³

The Arequipa Clinic started well. Reed rented rooms across the street for overflow patients, and performed 350 surgeries during 1935. Before year's end the new enterprise was financially afloat, even though Reed had given charity service amounting to US\$10,000.²⁴

As good as it sounded, the news coming out of Arequipa did not necessarily presage a brilliant future for the medical work in the Inca Union. The program was far from stable, and although no one knew it, trouble was lurking. Reed's mission service was nearly over. His return to the United States created a vacancy that the Inca Union did not easily fill. In addition to the two Peruvian clinics, a small hospital in Chulumani, Bolivia, also needed staff. At that location, conditions had become so acute that before he left South America, Reed tried to supervise it as well as the Policlínica in Arequipa.²⁵

Within Adventist circles Clínica Americana in Juliaca probably enjoyed the reputation as being the most symbolic of the church's medical missionary program in the Inca Union, but since Reed's transfer to Arequipa, a padlocked door kept the clinic at a standstill. "It is really pitiful," Altman wrote, "to think of an institution which we have erected ourselves and own outright, one which is equipped, and in the center of a large mission field, where medical work has a peculiar appeal to the people, being closed." Reed treated large numbers of charity cases in Juliaca, sometimes as much as US\$10,000 a year, and church leaders did not want to lose this outreach.²⁶

As acutely as the Inca Union needed doctors and as much appeal that Altman thought the medical work had in Juliaca, M. E. Kern of the General Conference said he was passing through the most trying time in his experience to fill mission calls for doctors to South America. After more than a year of searching, he convinced four to sail from the United States for the Inca Union between March and November 1936. Two of them left in quick succession to head the Clínica Americana in Juliaca. R. O. Ingham settled in the Titicaca region, but after only a few months returned to the United States, having treated only 500 patients. Waldo W. Stiles, the last of the four to arrive, also went to Juliaca. Meanwhile, a non-Adventist physician kept Arequipa's Policlínica going.²⁷

Complications at the hospital in Chulumani caused more headaches. Union and division officers tried to shuffle doctors from one place to the next, but finally, in July 1937, they admitted that three health-care institutions were too much. Stiles moved to Arequipa, but other pressures made the Policlínica impractical, at least for the time being. "There are scores of doctors in Arequipa," Altman pointed out,

"and they seem quite solidly opposed to our competing with them . . . Our building is so poor, ill-ventilated, and unsanitary, that the better class will not come, and their doctors will not bring them."²⁸ Since Reed's departure, more than a year previously, clientele had declined and the books showed losses that the union had no money to make up.

Medical service in the Inca Union had expanded more rapidly than the depression-afflicted field could handle, and with reluctant realism, church leaders voted to close Policlínica at the end of August 1937. With one less distraction, they concentrated on reviving Clínica Americana in Juliaca and caring for the hospital at Chulumani, both locations offering brighter prospects than Arequipa.

Lloyd Dixon, another doctor who entered South America in 1936, transferred from Bolivia to Juliaca the following year to take over the clinic. It was the end of two years of inactivity. Although he remained only one year, patient count shot up, and when Clayton Potts replaced him in 1939, the clinic was back on its feet. The new doctor, who came to Peru specifically to direct Clínica Americana, gave the institution its first steady leadership since Reed moved to Arequipa in 1935.

After reviving the clinic, doctors reported a declining volume of charity service. In 1940, for example, Potts declared slightly more than US\$1,200 as compared to many times that figure during earlier years under Reed. At the same time, Potts and his staff of three nurses treated nearly 3,000 patients. Three years after arriving in the country, he also earned the distinction of becoming the second North American Adventist doctor to earn full legal recognition to practice in Peru.²⁹

Potts's new status was not only a relief to church leaders, it was also a victory for the Adventist medical ministry. The inability of doctors to revalidate their credentials had plagued the Inca Union for years and had influenced decision-making affecting Adventist clinics. Although it had not been a problem in Bolivia when the Chulumani project began, it later became serious in Bolivia as well as Peru.

Adventists became involved in hospital service in Bolivia during the Haynes presidency. At the Inca Union meeting in April 1927, Joseph Replogle and his wife received an assignment to open a mission in the Yungas, a project that developed rapidly into an active medical ministry. Seasoned by service in the Lake Titicaca missions, the couple moved to Chulumani, capital of Sud Yungas, in February 1928 and began a program of schools similar to those in Peru. Within months the local deputy in the Bolivian Congress asked L. D. Minner, superintendent of the Bolivia Mission, to send an Adventist doctor to the region, promising congressional action

that would name him the official provincial doctor and would pay his salary. The politician stipulated that the physician could have his days free if he spent a couple hours daily in public health.

Months later, with the request still unanswered and the need for medical service in Chulumani made more acute by a wave of sickness, the deputy agreed to supply a hospital. Knowing that legal recognition of alien doctors was rare, Haynes regarded the opening as providential, and said that the deputy was “champing at the bit and pawing the ground” to arrange for an Adventist physician.³⁰ But denominational leaders dragged their feet, dubious about sending a mission appointee to draw salary as a government employee. They also questioned how beholden the doctor would be to public authority. Haynes saw the situation quite differently—an opportunity to man a hospital with an Adventist doctor and staff with minimum expense. In the end Haynes’s view prevailed, and on July 4, 1929, H. E. and Mable Butka, both physicians, sailed for Bolivia.³¹

Meanwhile, M. B. Graybill, soon to leave Juliaca, spent several months in Yungas studying tropical diseases. Partly because of his interest, the national congress appropriated funds about equivalent to US\$10,000 to erect the promised hospital that the Bolivia Mission would administer.³² Before the hospital went up, a revolution erupted, causing the division to delay additional medical help and arousing questions about the future, but on September 15, 1931, Hospital General de Chulumani opened officially.³³

The new facility was a twenty-bed institution, complete with laboratory, pharmacy, X-ray, obstetrical, hydrotherapy, and surgical units. To construct the hospital, workers brought in cement, windows, doors, flooring, sand, and other materials by muleback. “The municipality has delivered the building to the Seventh-day Adventist mission for five years, with additional provision sufficient to care for five free patients and the extremely poor outside patients,” Butka explained. The municipality also provided a monthly subsidy for operational expenses.³⁴

At the beginning of their stay at Chulumini the Butkas encountered stiff resistance, but it dissipated after particularly successful treatments. The Bolivia Mission basked in unprecedented prestige because of the Butkas’ success, but the doctors did not remain long. Their decision to leave Chulumani produced uncertainty about who the new doctor would be as well as his legal status. After much agonizing, J. W. Taylor, who arrived in Bolivia in 1931, received government approval to practice in Chulumani, not as a result of revalidating his diploma but because the Bolivian

congress enacted special legislation allowing foreign doctors to practice in three provinces, Sud Yungas, Caupolicán, and Beni. Despite this recognition, other problems appeared in the operations of the hospital that gave church leaders even as far away as the division office a chance to reconsider contractual agreements with the municipality.³⁵

With the outbreak of the Chaco War, the hospital filled an important role in the country's defense. Avalanched by as many as sixty-five patients, Taylor worked twelve hours a day, and urged that a second doctor assist him. To meet wartime needs, the municipality was constructing additional room for wounded Bolivians. Patient capacity rose rapidly to a hundred, partly to treat injured soldiers as well as prisoners, and to provide medical care to road-building gangs in the region. When N. P. Neilsen visited the center during the war, he saw patients sleeping on tables, on the floor, and three in a bed.

With an eye on their contract that would expire in 1936, in April 1935 the division officers charged a committee to study the Chulumani situation, as well as the clinics at Arequipa and Juliaca. The committee recommended renewal of the contract with the municipality on condition that the staff increase to twenty (at the time it stood at seventeen). The survey also called for improved nurses' housing, discounts for Adventist patients, continued treatment for road construction laborers and prisoners, and a three-level management system placing day-to-day operations under a house committee responsible to a local board.³⁶

Chulumani's city officials looked askance at these arrangements. For two and a half years negotiations dragged on, long after the contract expired. For the South American Division, the circumstances added up to a major policy issue. It was commonly acknowledged that the Adventist image improved because of the medical program. Neilsen personally received compliments from the Bolivian president when visiting with him during the Chaco War. Further, the community had become dependent on the hospital, but the division clearly questioned how managing a public institution would have long-term advantages to the church. In November 1936 the division committee voted to withdraw and establish a denominational clinic elsewhere.³⁷

Over this option, however, the government held the trump card because without legal recognition no Adventist doctor could practice. To avoid a possible confrontation, the division voted to purchase the Chulumani institution outright, which overrode a recommendation from the Inca Union not to buy. Again the community balked,

which led to a compromise offer by the division to lease the hospital for twenty-five years. At this juncture Bolivia's director of sanitation intervened. A former classmate of Carl Westphal at the University of Chile, he knew Adventist health principles and wished to maintain the church's presence in Chulumani at nearly any cost. Largely because of his influence, the cost of the lease dropped to between US\$3.00 and \$4.00 a month and left the church to manage the institution with a free hand for twenty-five years.³⁸

The doors to the hospital had closed during 1937 while the two parties negotiated, and although both sides welcomed resumed service in 1938, the event was much less auspicious than when the institution opened in 1931. Patient capacity declined from a hundred in 1935 to forty in 1938. The staff also dwindled to four nurses at the end of the decade as compared to six in 1935. As might be expected from these figures, the number of patients also dropped from nearly 2,200 during the last year of the Chaco War to just under 1,500 in 1940.³⁹

As in Peru, the problem of revalidating doctors' credentials lay close to the center of this situation. Butka met no difficulty because of the original agreement that brought him to Bolivia, but his successor spent a year in the country before receiving permission to practice medicine. Two other doctors, W. H. Spicer and Lloyd Dixon, remained only briefly at Chulumani, partly because they lacked legal recognition.⁴⁰

The issue of health-care institutions in the Inca Union was mixed and filled with irony. Problems for uncredentialed doctors appeared to come and go, depending on local needs for medical care. On one hand, fears that violators of Peru's licensing laws would land in prison were legitimate and figured prominently in the Inca Union's decision to close the Policlínica in Arequipa. On the other hand, by the beginning of the 1940s the Peruvian government was urging Adventists to open a clinic in Iquitos, a gesture that the division took seriously enough to contemplate a joint nurses' training course at Chulumani and Juliaca to supply staff for the proposed medical unit.

But doctors still could not practice in Juliaca without revalidated credentials. For three years church leaders researched the possibility of revalidating doctors in a third country, possibly Ecuador or Spain, and then applying for credentials on the basis of reciprocity laws. After lengthy study of every country in the South American Division, Stiles concluded that the situation was hopeless.⁴¹

Another possible solution was to hire a non-Adventist physician as the official director under whom uncredentialed doctors could practice. This arrangement was

hardly satisfactory. During Dixon's stay at Juliaca, such a physician in charge fell into disfavor when officials suspected him to be a revolutionist and dismissed him. Ironically, the unlicensed Dixon continued his work unmolested, even filling in at the city hospital where his services kept that institution from collapsing.⁴²

Even Chulumani's reopening in 1938 did not bring official recognition to Stiles, the director. But lack of legal permission to practice did not appear to hamper him. At the end of 1938 he reported, somewhat triumphantly, that one out of five patients came from outside the hospital locality, many of them from La Paz. Among them were families of senators, army officers, local government officials, and other professionals.⁴³

The Inca Union's medical program had suffered because of the revalidation process, but General Conference visitors were pleased with what they saw in the "new" Adventist hospital in Bolivia as well as Clínica Americana in Juliaca. The doctors still practiced without official permits, largely because of appreciation for the influence they exerted in their communities. Soon after arriving in Bolivia, Stiles's health broke, but he and his family remained while he recovered in La Paz. In 1940 R. C. Floren replaced him.⁴⁴

Although medical work had grown since 1926, it had grown slowly, and Adventists made little progress toward establishing a flourishing system of health-care institutions. To a large extent, South America's medical program rested on the good will of lenient governments, a situation that was tenuous at best and could change with anyone's whim. Aside from the lack of funds, furnishing doctors with full credentials to Adventist clinics and hospitals was the most serious problem the division faced in establishing an effective medical program. In a sense, the situation reflected the socio-economic condition of the church. That the church did not have a large number of professionals or members who could afford professional education was evident.

But a few national doctors were appearing who did not have to worry about revalidating their credentials. To motivate more Adventist nationals to pursue a career in denominational institutions, the division committee voted to sponsor medical students for one year in the United States to learn Adventist procedures. The following year, 1936, Marcelo Hammerly from the Montevideo medical school and Rolando Ramos from Chile became the first recipients of these internships.⁴⁵ It was not merely coincidental that at the same time the General Conference had difficulties finding doctors for the Inca Union.

In addition to the fifty-bed River Plate Sanitarium, the division could point to only two other institutions in 1940 whose additional fifty-three beds gave the division a total of 103 potential inpatients. As slow as this progress was, it represented advancement during the previous decade and a half. The next decade would see many more changes in much more rapid succession.

LITERATURE PRODUCTION AND SALES IN SOUTH AMERICA

Quite different from the medical program were events in the publishing industry. At Casa Editora a gift of US\$80,000, coming partly from Big Week sales in the United States, helped to build new quarters for the business and four new houses for workers. In October 1925 the press moved into its new home. Between 1922 and 1927 Brazil's Casa Publicadora received US\$30,000, also from Big Week, enabling the press to enlarge its working space and install new equipment, which doubled production capacity. Much of the funding came in 1927.⁴⁶

The impact of the improvements took Daniells by surprise when he toured the division in 1929 and 1930. "As F. W. Spies, the manager, took me through the building and showed me the great stacks of books, large, expensive books, as well as small ones, I could hardly realize the truth of what my eyes beheld," he said, after inspecting the Brazilian firm. If he was not prepared for what he saw at São Paulo, his astonishment continued in Buenos Aires. "I was surprised, but of course cheered, to find such a large, thriving printing plant doing such a volume of business," he wrote. Both plants had outgrown the "pioneer" stage and were able to support themselves.⁴⁷

Substantial gains corroborated Daniells's observations. For the first time in their history, each house exceeded \$100,000 in sales in 1925. Four years later in 1929 combined sales rose to US\$342,000, an increase of about \$158,000 since 1923, the year when the General Conference began pouring Big Week money into overseas publishing houses. Casa Publicadora's peak year in 1928 exceeded \$155,000 as compared to \$82,000 in 1923. From 1923 through 1929 Casa Editora increased its sales from nearly \$103,000 to \$203,000.⁴⁸

Increased production supported more salesmen. During the quadrennial, 1926-29, an average of forty-three more colporteurs sold literature than during the preceding four years. Although each canvasser averaged slightly fewer hours, their orders increased.⁴⁹ Sales were higher in the Austral Union than in any other field. During 1926 colporteurs reached a high-water mark with *Médico nuevo*, pushing sales above US\$164,000, a record in Spanish-speaking South America that would

stand until 1929. When the Portuguese edition of the same book came off the press in 1928, Brazilian sales similarly ballooned, especially in Rio Grande do Sul where J. M. Zeroth, the conference field missionary secretary, singled out the book as one that was selling well.⁵⁰

Church leaders discovered that their investments in equipment and buildings during the 1920s paid off in the Great Depression. Both houses passed through financial stress, but they faced the downturn as relatively well-off institutions, which allowed managers to endure bad times with minimal worry about replacement of equipment and having enough working space. Nevertheless, both publishing houses suffered losses in sales and a reduction in working force. In 1934 Casa Editora began its recovery, and the next year the Brazilian house made the turnaround. Gains in sales were a paradox that J. A. P. Green, South America's publishing leader, could not overlook. "Edition after edition of our large subscription books disappeared as snow before the sun," he wrote in 1936, after Casa Editora had regained about a fourth of its losses and Casa Publicadora had recovered about a third. "Even with the large presses working constantly, there were always jobs awaiting their turn."⁵¹

In the columns of the division paper, M. V. Tucker, general manager of Casa Editora from 1926 to 1938, cited statistics to assure South Americans that the press was prosperous during the Great Depression. The publishing house donated 60,000 Argentine *pesos* to "various enterprises within its territory," he said. Later, Casa Editora also donated land on which to erect the future Granix food factory. In Brazil growth at Casa Publicadora demanded more expansion by 1938. Renovation and enlargement of the existing buildings and construction of new wings made room for new machinery. The number of press employees also increased, reaching above forty at both centers in 1940. At the end of 1940, the Brazilian house tallied its profits at US\$50,000 during the previous twelve years. However, sales at \$237,727 still lagged at 70 percent of the amount in 1929.⁵²

As rosy as managers and colporteur leaders made it sound, the decade was not as encouraging as their stories purported. During the Great Depression both publishing houses released workers and cut production. After topping US\$203,000 in sales in 1929, Casa Editora added workers, boosting its payroll to thirty-eight persons. For the moment this move appeared justified as sales in 1930 went up another \$18,000. However, eleven workers lost their jobs after sales suddenly declined more than \$40,000 in 1931. Within three years sales plunged 52 percent and the workforce shrank to twenty-five in 1934. In 1932 the house lost 10,000 Argentine *pesos* and

the next year workers took a 6.5 percent cut in wages. Attempting to minimize the downward spiral, management decided to use paper of inferior quality.

A much less dramatic fall and recovery took place in Brazil. "This period began under the effects of the economic crisis unleashed during the latter part of 1929," Rubens Lessa observes, adding that there were few capital acquisitions for the press during the decade of the 1930s. From 1929 to 1934 when Casa Publicadora descended to its economic nadir, sales sank 48 percent from its high of nearly \$139,000 in 1929. However, except for 1926 and 1927 when Casa Publicadora employed nineteen workers, the workforce fluctuated between twenty and twenty-two from 1924 through 1936, thus avoiding the sharp decline in employment that Casa Editora experienced.⁵³

To hold onto its workers was not easy for management at Casa Publicadora. The politically uneasy years from 1930 to 1932 were probably as debilitating as the Great Depression. No fighting took place near the plant during the revolution in 1930, but work was paralyzed. Currency devaluations, unrest in the banking industry, and other financial uncertainties following the revolution did not leave the publishing house unaffected. With sales dropping off, the press retained its workers only by building up inventories and spending dangerous amounts of reserves on operating expenses. Until canvassers could dispose of this large stock, the press remained in a precarious position.⁵⁴

Unavoidably, colporteurs felt the pinch of economic bad times. In 1929 they sold more than US\$342,000 in both books and periodicals, a record that remained unchallenged until World War II. Losses occurred in 1930, and successive declines dropped the total from both houses to \$187,000 in 1933. At no time before World War II did the figure reach \$280,000, a figure far below the peak year of 1929.⁵⁵ That publishing house managers could convert these adverse conditions into profits was cause for amazement among division leaders. Small wonder that Green regarded the flow of literature as a miracle.

Sales leveled out in 1932. When fighting erupted again during July in São Paulo and Mato Grosso, the press was better prepared for the emergency. Within five days Casa Publicadora geared up to print 10,000 copies of *Steps to Christ*, and during the eighty-five days that federal forces surrounded the region, workers entered military camps and hospitals to circulate the small devotional volume.⁵⁶

In spite of living costs that had doubled since the Great Depression began, in 1933 the division recommended a reduction of the subscription price of papers

at both publishing houses to stimulate circulation. Already Brazil's *O Atalaia* was showing a gain for the first time in its history, but books remained a more lucrative product than papers.⁵⁷

In 1931 the Brazilian house experimented with a new public relations plan. Taking advantage of Quinzena do Livro Nacional, a fifteen-day book exhibition in São Paulo, Casa Publicadora became one of sixteen firms to participate. Later, when the Fourth Centennial Industrial Exposition commemorated the founding of São Paulo State, the Adventist publishing house was again on hand to show its products. Attendance at this fair was heavy; some days more than 30,000 surged through the gates. These demonstrations were so successful that when Brazil's world fair, Exposição do Centenario Farroupilha, opened in September 1935, in Porto Alegre, Casa Publicadora was ready again, this time with exhibitions in three booths.⁵⁸

When the Great Depression began, editorial staff members were cautious about new titles, so by necessity colporteurs promoted existing editions without depending on new books to keep sales going. Before the decade ended, however, press managers became less conservative. In 1933 Casa Publicadora added a member to its editorial staff and translated two books for publication. Even more impressive was the progress at Casa Editora where fourteen new titles came from the press during the four years ending in 1940.⁵⁹

Both publishing houses circulated debt-free financial statements even during the Great Depression. Despite a loss of 10,000 Argentine *pesos* in 1932, M. V. Tucker, manager at Casa Editora, told the division committee that the institution had no debt. The same could be said for Casa Publicadora—it was debt-free and recorded annual profits since 1921. Three years later in 1935 J. Berger Johnson, head of the Brazilian house, reported that his business was still unencumbered with debt and even maintained a savings account.⁶⁰ This was no happenstance. Both institutions had depended heavily on General Conference money for capital expansion and so avoided large investments taken from their own gains. That this assistance occurred before the Great Depression enabled the publishing houses to face economic reversals without spending their surpluses for equipment and expansion. In the case of Casa Publicadora, using reserves for operating expenses allowed many workers to retain their jobs.

Because the publishing industry did not have to repay the investment capital it received from abroad, profits were almost instantaneous. Through the Great

Depression gains from the presses enabled them to help the division by subsidizing special projects. During the 1930s Casa Editora donated approximately 210,000 Argentine *pesos* to a variety of causes around Spanish-speaking South America, including cash gifts to conferences and missions, and sometimes to Book and Bible Houses. In the latter part of the decade, profits from literature sales assisted River Plate Sanitarium to purchase new equipment for the operating room and a new dormitory for male nurses.⁶¹

Such donations were not new to the depression era. After a successful year in 1928, the Argentine house gave 10,000 Argentine *pesos*, equivalent to US\$4,250, to the Inca and Austral unions.⁶² Such generosity was more noticeable during the 1930s because of negative economic conditions.

Profits were higher in Brazil. A gain of US\$15,000 in 1927 brought a \$3,750 gift to the school near São Paulo and a \$5,000 allocation to each of the Brazilian unions, which they divided among tract societies.⁶³ Through the Great Depression Casa Publicadora continued with larger profits than the Argentine house, and also passed these benefits on. The manager recounted in 1933 that from recent gains the press gave US\$6,000 to the training school near São Paulo, \$800 to the Lower Amazon Mission for a launch, and \$16,000 to Book and Bible Houses. Within the next three years more contributions subsidized textbooks used in Adventist schools, provided further assistance to Book and Bible Houses, and helped to build a classroom building, enlarge dormitory space, and install a water system at the training school. At the end of 1940, Emilio Doehnert, manager of the Brazilian press, reported US\$32,500 in gifts during the previous twelve years.⁶⁴

Although these subsidies from the publishing houses were timely blessings, even larger special appropriations came from the General Conference. But the gifts from the presses were possible because the General Conference had donated to South American publishing houses before the Great Depression. This support had come at the right time. It not only kept the presses financially alive but created a rippling effect, enabling them to generate operating gains during hard times, which in turn became contributions to other projects. In this way the General Conference arguably received double value from many of its earlier investments.

While producing literature and earning profits were part of the success story of South America's publishing houses, of much more concern was the issue of actual literature distribution and tangible results—conversions—resulting from canvassers' work. From all corners of the division came stories demonstrating that Adventist

books and papers were reaching the public and that colporteurs were still the cutting edge of the church's advancement. In 1927, when J. L. Brown transferred to Belém at the mouth of the Amazon to establish a new mission, Andre Gedrath and Hans Mayr accompanied him to saturate the region with books. Within two weeks the two men had sold 260 copies of *Practical Guide to Health*.⁶⁵

Repeatedly, experiences occurred that church leaders could explain in no other way than to attribute them to miraculous intervention. In his report to the 1930 Autumn Council, South Brazil Union President N. P. Neilsen reported persons who bought books after having dreamed about specific titles or pictures in volumes they had never seen, but recognized them when colporteurs brought samples to their homes.⁶⁶ According to one account, Amado de Nascimento e Silva, a musician from Muzambinho, Minas Gerais, picked up a torn page from the street, only to discover later that a friend owned a copy of the entire book, a Portuguese edition of *Our Day in the Light of Prophecy*. Months later, after studying its contents thoroughly, he walked into the offices of the São Paulo Conference and asked for baptism.⁶⁷

J. T. Thompson, returning to Uruguay in 1933 after an absence of nearly two decades, wrote with exasperation about the lack of adequate meeting places for church services. "It is useless to hold evangelistic efforts," he said, "for there is no place to which we can take people when they wish to join us. The personal work of the members is in the same way limited. About all they can do is to scatter literature and hope for a better day."⁶⁸ Not long after Thompson wrote, a group of colporteurs began their ministry in Melo, a community in the northeastern corner of Uruguay. Within four years a congregation of sixty members dedicated their new 220-seat sanctuary. Pedro Brouchy, director of the Uruguay Mission, had already observed how vigorously his literature evangelists worked, and that "believers" were springing up in many places.⁶⁹

The Uruguay case reveals how much church leaders depended on colporteurs to penetrate virgin territory to stir up interest. Compelled by an almost insatiable yen to spread the word, bookmen sometimes wandered into remote spots that tested the mettle of seasoned workers who followed them. Neilsen announced in 1929 that sixteen members of two families in Brazil's interior were waiting for baptism after having read *O Atalaia*, which they bought in 1925 from a canvasser. Juan Meier, head of the Bahia Mission in the East Brazil Union, commented that travel in his region was difficult, but workers were busy responding to persons who first learned of Adventism through literature salesmen.⁷⁰

Not always was literature distribution so successful. Besides attempting to initiate Indian missions and conduct formal evangelism in Ecuador, colporteurs had been knocking on doors since the early part of the century. In 1931 the mission reported 108 members; at the end of 1940, the field reported a net gain of only thirteen members. Only three or four canvassers worked in Ecuador during the last two years of that period, but in the first six years no fewer than five, and once, eleven bookmen were selling Adventist literature.⁷¹

Even in the Andes colporteurs peddled their wares. Carlyle B. Haynes encouraged Indians to read Adventist materials by introducing literature displays at regional meetings. Approximately six hundred attended the first experiment at Collana, Bolivia, in February 1929. The US\$167 in book sales was a modest amount, but it represented a breakthrough in the indigenous market. Later in the same year J. D. Leslie, field missionary secretary for the Inca Union, repeated the sales event in the Lake Titicaca Mission. Nevertheless, literature distribution in this part of the division was routinely less than in the other unions, but mission leaders in the Inca Union persisted in promoting sales. Ennis V. Moore, superintendent of the union, disclosed that deliveries of books and periodicals rose 25 percent in 1934 over the preceding year.⁷²

Student colporteurs also played an important role in distributing Adventist books and papers. Between the 1927 and 1928 school years, sixty students from the Austral Union joined the canvassers' ranks. Two years earlier fifty-one in the same field earned 102 scholarships by fulfilling a required number of hours in the field and a prescribed level of sales. Although the Great Depression cut into student success, just as in any other business venture, South American schools consistently furnished large numbers of student colporteurs each summer vacation. After the 1940 school term more than 200 from both secondary and post-secondary levels committed themselves to literature distribution. More than 140 came from Brazil. At the school in São Paulo over forty paid for their previous year's costs by earning colporteur scholarships.⁷³

The size of the colporteur force during the years 1926-40 reflected generally favorable conditions. From 168 salesmen the number grew to 354 during the decade and a half. A closer look at these numbers reveals canvassers flocking to the field until 1931, the years that the publishing houses dramatically raised their production after receiving General Conference money for capital expansion. More than sixty salesmen dropped out of the work in 1932, diminishing the total from 301 in 1931

to 240. During the next four years new recruits raised the number to 286, but in 1936, after recovery in the publishing houses improved production, South America put 329 canvassers in the field, the largest number in the division's history to that time. Another record high of 379 the next year accompanied the highest literature production level since 1930.⁷⁴

L. H. Christian, vice president of the General Conference, concluded after his inspection of the division in 1937 and 1938 that "our colporteurs find it fairly easy to distribute our literature, and the Adventist name has a real prestige in South America," but despite limited recovery during the latter half of the 1930s, challenges were never absent. One related to the perennial question of how to accommodate the German-speaking population in a Portuguese-speaking environment. As early as 1931, C. L. Bauer remarked that German workers were no longer a critical item for Brazil because children of immigrants were growing up to speak Portuguese.⁷⁵ Bauer's opinion notwithstanding, German members were still numerous. They had been the mainstay of the early Adventist church in South America and had supplied much of the leadership around the division, but now the processes of acculturation and the increasing weight of the Spanish and Portuguese sectors were overshadowing them.

Reflecting this trend, Casa Publicadora turned out an overwhelming volume of Portuguese works but continued to produce a small paper and an assortment of tracts and pamphlets in German. Worsening world conditions aroused doubts about importing literature from Germany. "They are at a great disadvantage with reference to literature," Christian commented, adding that "our German members in South America might try harder to learn the language of the country in which they live."⁷⁶

W. A. Butler, another General Conference consultant touring the division at the same time with Christian, advised publishing houses to adjust prices of books to encourage wider sales and to spend a greater share of profits in production of new titles, including translations of Ellen White's books. When E. D. Dick represented the General Conference at South America's meetings in 1940, he discovered that conferences and missions had never held their Book and Bible Houses to a budget, a situation that encouraged repeated bailouts, usually by profit-sharing from the publishing houses themselves. A division action ended this open-ended operation, requiring the Book and Bible House managers to submit budgets. Conferences and missions were to compensate any losses, thus protecting Casa Publicadora and Casa Editora and allowing them to distribute their gains among other projects.⁷⁷

Dick's visit to South America was partially in response to nationalism, particularly in Brazil, where agitation was brewing to create a separate Brazilian division. The formal request argued that Brazilian Adventists faced legal problems because their parent organization, the South American Division, was foreign based, thus subjecting Brazilian workers to alien supervision. While this impinged most seriously on education, it also affected the publishing house.⁷⁸

A denial from church headquarters in Washington did not eliminate nationalistic sentiments in Brazil nor eradicate legal problems that the publishing house faced. Confronted by the dilemma of how to maintain literature production without turning the magazines over to Brazilians who would own them, the division agreed to nationalize Casa Publicadora. Shortly, a new board of thirteen Brazilians organized to administer the publishing house. While the enterprise was now legally independent, the division depended on the loyalty of house managers to retain their alignment with the denomination.⁷⁹

Probably the Adventist world knew little of the actual financial conditions surrounding the South American publishing houses. When translated into United States dollars, sales in rapidly inflating local currencies could create impressions of larger profits than actually existed. Not always did reports distinguish which currency formed the basis of comparison between one period and another; thus it was easy to draw overly optimistic conclusions at times. Profits were real, but so was declining production during the lowest years of the Great Depression. By publicizing sales figures and stories of the exploits of colporteurs, church administrators depicted a literature distribution program that was successfully reaching the public, which was not an exaggeration. In their thinking, operational details were less meaningful to Adventists than the larger issue of spreading the gospel through the print media.

A similar view characterized church relationships to the political environment. Rather than seeking to control political structures, Adventists found ways to function within them without compromising their beliefs and objectives. A wave of nationalistic legislation restricting non-citizens swept across South America during the late depression, prompting Adventists to defend themselves by drafting formal statements about their relationship with civil authority.⁸⁰ Nationalization of Casa Publicadora demonstrated that political events sometimes forced the church to modify its organizational practices to achieve its goals. However bad the situation appeared, leaders of the church regarded the incident as more of an administrative headache than a genuine threat to the existence of a literature program for Brazil.

During the economic and political stress of the Great Depression, South America's publishing houses exerted a stabilizing influence throughout the division, and they emerged from the 1930s more firmly entrenched in the division's institutional structure than ever.

BEGINNINGS OF THE HEALTH FOOD MOVEMENT

It was clear that South Americans were breathing the air of recovery and even progress when the division petitioned the General Conference in 1937 for counsel about a health food factory. According to church leaders in Argentina, the church had long needed such an enterprise in the division, where many lifestyle customs ran counter to the denomination's teachings on health. In spite of a traditional stand favoring vegetarianism, Adventists found a meatless diet particularly trying in countries such as Argentina and Brazil, world-renowned for mutton and beef. The use of coffee and mate, both important products of the continent, were also ingrained in South American habits, and not easily discarded even though the church opposed their use. As late as 1927, Neilsen reported that only after persistent effort all workers in the South Brazil Union had pledged to abstain from coffee.⁸¹

A decade later, W. E. Murray of the Austral Union tied the health food factory to the needs of the Adventist public. "We have very much desired," he wrote, "that we should be able to put on the market here products which would be an honor to the Adventist organization and also to give our own members products which they can use in a vegetarian diet. For years this country has been a great user of coffee, tea and mate. One of our plans is to produce a cereal coffee which our people can obtain at a low price and which others can obtain to substitute these articles. Of course, we make every effort to get our people to use cereal products, but you can imagine that when we try to talk to new converts about it, one of their first questions is that of what can they use for substitutes. We are also impressed that many people will be attracted to the Adventist message through the health food work."⁸²

For years Colegio Adventista del Plata had been producing corn flakes; in the mid-1930s the industry separated from the school, prompting the division to investigate the possibilities of establishing an expanded business controlled by the Austral Union. A cautious approval from the General Conference was all Roger Altman needed to launch a fund-raising program, although he took due notice of a caveat that all funds must originate in the field, and that production should switch from corn flakes to wheat flakes. A reminder also came that denominationally operated

health food plants had not really had time to prove their feasibility. Scraping 9,000 Argentine *pesos* from the Austral Union and borrowing 10,000 more from Casa Editora, he laid quick plans to set up food processing next to the publishing house and to request George Norris of Granose Foods, Ltd., in Watford, England, to come to Argentina to supervise the enterprise.⁸³

Altman wanted Norris in Buenos Aires by the middle of February 1938, but immigration red tape dragged negotiations on for months. The division treasurer admitted wryly that the General Conference was not enthralled with the idea of a food factory in Argentina, but he did not allow official passivity to stop him. On May 29, 1938, the division committee approved a construction plan costing 40,000 Argentine *pesos*. Altman hit a snag when trying to buy machinery, and even with prior instructions to raise all funds in the Austral Union, he unabashedly requested two contributions of 1,000 British pounds each from the British and Australian food factories.⁸⁴

In October 1938 Norris finally arrived and began turning out wheat flakes and other products. The division committee attempted to wholesale food products through an established import firm, hoping that sales would reach 18,500 *pesos* monthly, but less than a year later Neilsen admitted that the fledgling enterprise was not producing up to expectations. Although sales increased—in January 1941 they totaled 36,000 *pesos*—Austral Union President W. E. Murray described the new industry as “creeping” along. The factory was still not showing a profit, and to nudge it out of the red ink, the division appropriated 4,000 Argentine *pesos*.⁸⁵ By the 1941 General Conference session, Alimentos Granix, the name of the new Argentine food industry, was far from a booming industry, but a determined Austral Union was committed to its success.

MISSIONARY VOLUNTEER SOCIETIES IN SOUTH AMERICA

One institution that did not suffer negative effects from the Great Depression was the youth program embodied in Missionary Volunteer societies. During the fifteen years from 1926 to 1940, youth leaders organized 574 groups. The division claimed a fraction above 4 percent of the MV societies in the Adventist world in 1926, but a decade and a half later the proportion rose to nearly 10 percent.⁸⁶ During these years six men held the office of Missionary Volunteer secretary for the division, while at the same time doubling as education secretary. This discontinuity made for divided duties and slim budgets, but local youth leaders injected new life into their program.

Youth conventions in South America had occurred in 1924, and division officers considered another round of meetings in 1932, but union and local budgets, already strained to the limit, would not permit them. However, the division committee reconsidered the issue at its annual session in 1933, knowing that church leaders could not indefinitely neglect youth meetings. H. B. Lundquist had just arrived in Buenos Aires as the new division Missionary Volunteer secretary, and with typical optimism he pushed for conventions during July through November 1934, specifically requesting C. P. Crager to attend as a representative from the General Conference.⁸⁷

Lundquist got more than he asked. He also wanted counsel about South American schools. The upshot was a combined educational-Missionary Volunteer council in Paysandú, Uruguay, during the last two weeks in December 1934. Union presidents, educational and youth department leaders, and educators met for the first time since 1927 to review their past and update their plans. Crager and I. H. Evans, also from the General Conference, attended the meetings.

The council resolved to initiate a correspondence program to maintain contact with isolated Adventist youth and to provide them copies of Adventist books and a new youth paper, *Youth*, an eight-page fortnightly publication in both Spanish and Portuguese that was still in the planning stages. How to systematize training for leaders of local Missionary Volunteer societies and to promote vocational activities and other kinds of learning experiences among senior and junior members also occupied the council's attention. Immediately following these sessions Lundquist began sweeping the division with youth congresses. Before venturing on this whirlwind, Crager forecast that "they will be the largest gatherings ever held for our youth in this field."⁸⁸

The meetings were local events, organized for missions and conferences rather than unions. They usually lasted from Wednesday night through Sunday night. Lundquist began in Buenos Aires and moved on to Central Argentina where 250 attended the congress in Santa Fe beginning on January 16. "The meeting cost the conference something, as do all good things, but it was a profitable investment," Crager wrote.⁸⁹

Accounts flooded in from other gatherings, all favorable. At Brazil's training school, nearly 600 surprised the speakers by showing up for the congress from February 13 to 17. From more than 100 churches they came "in bevvies of five, ten, fifteen, and in one case, twenty-eight," J. Berger Johnson wrote. "Truckload after truckload poured in on Wednesday afternoon." The kitchen crew immediately went on twenty-four-hour duty to feed the crowd. Visitors filled dormitory rooms and

crammed into the dormitory parlors, the library, and four classrooms. Some slept in the hayloft. "Never had the school administration been so put to it to find a place for all to lie down at night," Johnson said.⁹⁰

Meetings began at 6:30 in the morning and ended with an evening sermon. Each morning and afternoon Lundquist opened the floor for two and a half hours to allow youth and youth leaders to discuss pertinent problems—choosing a profession, recreation, health, social issues, music, reading, and the role of youth in the church. A resolution committee prepared statements that the attendees approved. Lundquist had thought ahead to prevent these sessions from becoming perfunctory discussions. Even before the congresses began, he secured an appropriation of 4,000 Argentine *pesos* from the division committee to start the special periodical, *Youth*, to keep the questions alive.⁹¹

Johnson confessed that from the outset some were doubtful about the feasibility and value of youth congresses, "but after having the privilege of attending two of them, I would venture . . . that they have come to stay," he said. The all-important question of expense was ever present. Johnson had an answer for that one, too. "How could money have been invested in a better way than to put our boys and girls in contact with the spirit and environment of this congress?" he asked. "Where could the conference leaders have invested money to better advantage, where it would have realized a greater income of souls, than at this congress?"

After fifteen meetings Lundquist stated that approximately 2,000 attended and approved resolutions upholding denominational standards affecting marriage, temperance, and other matters relevant to the young. About 550 joined baptismal classes. Not until March 1936 did Lundquist complete his congress schedule. On the last day of the month he was finally on his way home from Peru, emotionally drained but exhilarated after conducting his twentieth and last set of meetings. According to reports he received after the congresses, pastors were conscious of a new spirit in their congregations. With an estimated 900 conversions, including 300 former Adventists, and more than 100 baptisms, Lundquist determined to repeat the meetings every two years.⁹²

Months after the meetings had ended in Argentina, W. A. Ernenputsch, field missionary secretary in the Austral Union, felt the effect of youth congresses during his visit to Picada Libertad, Misiones. On June 8 he conducted the second baptism since the youth revival. He witnessed more than forty young persons commit themselves to spiritual living, and organized a baptismal class.⁹³

Lundquist did not have a chance to conduct another round of congresses. By 1937 he became superintendent of the Inca Union. His successors, J. M. Howell and N. W. Dunn, did not continue the same massive approach to youth meetings, but during the second half of the 1930s, Missionary Volunteer societies multiplied with surprising profusion. Although the number of organizations did not increase significantly as a result of the 1935 congresses, Lundquist estimated that the meetings generated 1,000 new members. By the end of the decade, the division organized 646 MV societies, nearly 400 more than the number of organized churches in the division.⁹⁴

The youth congresses demonstrated that the vast majority of Adventist youth remained outside denominational schools. While church membership was growing, school enrollments were not advancing commensurably, largely because of the Great Depression. For many young persons, their primary contact with the church was the Missionary Volunteer Society, making that church activity a vehicle of informal education in denominational values and teachings. A well-developed youth ministry program for South America was still in the future, but even during the economically depressed decade of the 1930s, the division found time and money to support a systematic plan to retain what some perceived as its greatest asset—the young.

¹ Roger Altman to E. D. Dick, March 26, 1937, GCA/21, GF/1937.

² Carlyle B. Haynes, "The March of God in South America," *RH*, January 31, 1929; and "The South American Division," *ibid.*, May 9, 1929; R. R. Breitigam, "A Visit to the Sanitarium," *Bulletin*, IV (April 1928), 7, 8.

³ O. H. Maxson, "Our South American Sanitarium," *RH*, October 20, 1932.

⁴ N. Z. Town, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *ibid.*, April 30, 1931; and "The Austral Union," *ibid.*, June 15, 1933.

⁵ E. M. Davis, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *Bulletin*, XVI (November 1940), 4, 5; *Statistical Report*, 1930-1940.

⁶ N. Z. Town, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *RH*, April 30, 1931; W. E. Murray, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *Bulletin*, XI (June 1935), 2.

⁷ L. R. Christian to officers of the General Conference, undated, GCA/21, GF/1938; "Report of William A. Butler to the South American Division, December 1, 1937, to June 26, 1938," *ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Oliver Montgomery to B. E. Beddoe, January 8, 1927, GCA/21, GF/1927; SAD Minutes, January 17, 1927/ GCA; *ibid.*, January 3, 1929; J. L. Brown, "A Visit with the President of Brazil," *Bulletin*, VIII (May 1932), 2, 3.

¹⁰ Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, February 15, 1938, GCA/21, GF/1938; N. P. Neilson to H. M. Walton and A. W. Cormack, July 26, 1938, *ibid.*

¹¹ H. M. Walton to E. D. Dick, November 14, 1940, *ibid.*/1940; "Brief Concerning the Brazil Sanitarium," undated, *ibid.*/1939; E. H. Wilcox, "Medical Work in South Brazil Union," *RH*, September 21, 1939.

¹² H. M. Walton to E. D. Dick, November 14, 1940, GCA/21, GF/1940; "Statement Re Situation in Brazil," J. A. Stevens to E. D. Dick, November 13, 1940, *ibid.*

¹³ N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, December 19, 1940, *ibid.*

¹⁴ C. L. Bauer to W. E. Howell, June 28, 1934, *ibid.*/1934.

¹⁵ N. P. Neilsen to H. M. Walton and A. W. Cormack, July 26, 1938, *ibid.*/1938.

- ¹⁶ Arno Schwantes, "Inauguração da Casa de Saúde Liberdade," *RA* (B), April 1942.
- ¹⁷ N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, December 19, 1940, GCA/21, GF/1940; J. L. Brown to H. T. Elliott, March 30, 1940, *ibid.*; A. W. Cormack to E. D. Dick and N. P. Neilsen, January 2, 1941, *ibid.*/1941; J. E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*; "Schneider, Chester Clarence," *SDA Encyclopedia*, 1976 ed., 1294; E. H. Wilcox, "Medical Work in South Brazil Union," *RH*, September 21, 1939.
- ¹⁸ H. M. Walton, "Medical Work in South America," *ibid.*, April 27, 1939.
- ¹⁹ H. B. Lundquist, "Juliaca, Peru, Clinic," *ibid.*, February 12, 1942.
- ²⁰ M. B. Graybill, "Medical Missionary Work About Lake Titicaca," *ibid.*, July 21, 1927; and "The Clinic at Juliaca, Peru," *ibid.*, August 21, 1930.
- ²¹ C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, February 3, 1931, GCA/21, GF/1931; H. B. Lundquist, "Juliaca, Peru, Clinic," *RH*, February 12, 1942.
- ²² J. T. Thompson, "Medical Victory in Peru," *ibid.*, November 3, 1932; N. P. Neilsen, "Miracle of Missions in South America," *ibid.*, December 1, 1932; N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, July 28, 1932, GCA/21, GF/1932; M. E. Kern to H. T. Elliott, June 10, 1935, *ibid.*/1935; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, July 22, 1937, *ibid.*/1937; Waldo W. Stiles to A. W. Cormack, February 28, 1938, *ibid.*/1938.
- ²³ SAD Minutes, January 6, 1935/GCA; H. B. Lundquist, "Overheard at the Inca Union Committee Meeting," *RH*, July 9, 1936; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 26, 1935, GCA/ 11, GF/1934-1936, Neilsen folder; N. P. Neilsen to A. W. Cormack, March 8, 1935, *ibid.*/21, GF/1935; Ennis V. Moore to H. T. Elliott, July 25, 1935, *ibid.*
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- ³⁶ SAD Minutes, January 8, 1935/GCA; *ibid.*/June 12, 1935.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1935; May 24, 1936; September 22, 1936; Ennis V. Moore, "Many Sick Turned Away for Lack of Room," *RH*, September 19, 1935; N. P. Neilsen to C. H. Watson, May 26, 1935, GCA/11, GF/1934-1936, Neilsen folder; Roger Altman to H. T. Elliott, January 10, 1937, *ibid.*/21, GF/1937.
- ³⁸ SAD Minutes, December 16, 1936/GCA; *ibid.*, June 29, 1937; December 9, 1937; Roger Altman to H. T. Elliott, May 4, 1937, GCA/21, GF/1937; Roger Altman to H. T. Elliott, July 2, 1937, *ibid.*; Roger Altman to

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A. W. Cormack, December 29, 1937, *ibid.*; J. L. Brown, "Chulumani," *Bulletin*, XIV (August 1938), 7; H. B. Lundquist, "The Inca Union," *ibid.*, XIV (February-March 1938), 3.

³⁹ *Statistical Report*, 1935-1940; H. B. Lundquist, "Biennial Meeting of Inca Union," *RH*, June 23, 1938.

⁴⁰ Dixon moved from Bolivia to Juliaca very soon after arriving. For a discussion of Spicer's legal problems, see Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, August 2, 1936, GCA/21, GF/1936.

⁴¹ H. T. Elliott to N. P. Neilsen, June 12, 1935, *ibid.*/1935; Ennis V. Moore to H. T. Elliott, July 25, 1935, *ibid.*; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, July 22, 1937, *ibid.*/1937; Waldo W. Stiles to A. W. Cormack, February 28, 1938, *ibid.*/1938; H. O. Olson, "The Inca Union," *RH*, July 10, 1941.

⁴² W. A. Butler, "Visit to the South American Division," *ibid.*, October 20, 1938.

⁴³ Waldo W. Stiles, "Our Sanitarium in Bolivia," *RH*, February 16, 1939.

⁴⁴ J. A. Stevens to J. L. McElhany, September 11, 1939, GCA/11, GF/1939; John E. Weaver to officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, *ibid.*/21, GF/1941.

⁴⁵ SAD Minutes, August 13, 1935/GCA; Roger Altman to M. E. Kern, January 5, 1936, GCA/21, GF/1936; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, January 9, 1936, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ H. H. Hall, "A Million Dollars—What Has Been Done With It," *RH*, June 2, 1927.

⁴⁷ A. G. Daniells, "Ministerial Institute in Chile," *ibid.*, May 8, 1930.

⁴⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1923-1930.

⁴⁹ These data have been adapted from "Comparisons of Quadrennial Periods by Unions," *Bulletin*, VI (May 1930), 8. This entire issue of the *Bulletin* was devoted to the division's publishing work.

⁵⁰ Compare data in E. H. Meyers, "A Report on 1927 Literature Sales," *ibid.*, IV (May 1928), 2, with F. W. Spies, "Brazil Publishing House," *ibid.*, 3. J. W. [sic] Zeroth, "Health Books in Brazil," *RH*, January 3, 1929.

⁵¹ J. A. P. Green, "Publishing Work in the South American Division," *ibid.*, July 22, 1937; *Statistical Report*, 1929-1936.

⁵² M. V. Tucker, "The Buenos Aires Publishing House," *Bulletin*, XII (November 1936), 2; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 41; E. Doehnert, "The Brazil Publishing House," *Bulletin*, XVII (January 1941), 3; *Statistical Report*, 1929-1940.

⁵³ These data have been adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1926-1940. SAD Minutes, December 13, 1932/GCA. Also see Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 39, 40 and Rubens Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 78.

⁵⁴ J. Berger Johnson, news note, *RH*, January 8, 1931; Carlyle B. Haynes, "Meetings in Brazil," *ibid.*, April 2, 1931.

⁵⁵ SAD Minutes, December 13, 1932/GCA; *Statistical Report*, 1929-1943.

⁵⁶ *Statistical Report*, 1929-35; Charles A. Rentfro "In the Midst of War," *RH*, December 22, 1932.

⁵⁷ SAD Minutes, December 7, 1933/GCA; J. Berger Johnson, "God's Blessings in the Brazil Publishing House," *RH*, May 17, 1934; *Statistical Report*, 1930-35.

⁵⁸ J. Berger Johnson, "A New Departure in Publicity," *RH*, May 5, 1932; and "Literature Ministry in Brazil," *ibid.*, June 25, 1936; Rubens Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 78-80.

⁵⁹ SAD Minutes, December 13, 1932/GCA; J. Berger Johnson, "God's Blessings in the Brazil Publishing House," *RH*, May 17, 1934; and "The Buenos Aires Publishing House," *ibid.*, June 26, 1941.

⁶⁰ M. V. Tucker, "Quadrennial Report of the Buenos Aires Publishing House," *ibid.*, July 13, 1933; J. Berger Johnson, "Brazil Publishing House Aided by Fund," *ibid.*, April 13, 1933; and "Literature Ministry in Brazil," *ibid.*, June 25, 1936.

⁶¹ M. V. Tucker, "Quadrennial Report of the Buenos Aires Publishing House," *ibid.*, July 13, 1933; and "The Buenos Aires Publishing House," *Bulletin*, XII (November 1936), 2; and "The Buenos Aires Publishing House: Quadrennial Period Ending December 31, 1936," *RH*, March 18, 1937; E. M. Davis, "The River Plate Sanitarium," *Bulletin*, XVI (November 1940), 4, 5.

⁶² SAD Minutes, February 6, 1929/GCA; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Generosity of the Buenos Aires Publishing House," *Bulletin*, V (April 1929), 7.

⁶³ Carlyle B. Haynes to W. A. Spicer, January 22, 1928, GCA/11, GF/1928, folder H; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Meetings in Brazil," *Bulletin*, V (March 1929), 2.

⁶⁴ J. Berger Johnson, "Brazil Publishing House Aided by Fund," *RH*, April 13, 1933; H. B. Lundquist, "Graduation at Brazil Seminary," *ibid.*, January 9, 1936; E. E. Andross, "South Brazil Union Conference," *ibid.*, May 6, 1937; E. Doehnert, "The Brazil Publishing House," *Bulletin*, XVII (January 1941), 3.

⁶⁵ Oliver Montgomery, "First Word from the Lower Amazon," *RH*, September 15, 1927; N. Z. Town, "Pioneering on the Amazon," *ibid.*, October 6, 1927.

⁶⁶ N. P. Neilsen speech, November 2, 1930, GCA/21, GF/1931.

⁶⁷ N. P. Neilsen, "Only a Wind-Blown Leaf from a Forbidden Book," *Bulletin*, VI (May 1930), 3, 12.

⁶⁸ J. T. Thompson, "After Twenty Years," *RH*, March 29, 1934.

⁶⁹ J. L. Brown, "Uruguay Extends Her Hands," *ibid.*, September 2, 1937; P. M. Brouchy, "Colporteur Evangelism," *ibid.*, May 4, 1939.

⁷⁰ N. P. Neilsen, "Our Literature Bearing Fruit," *ibid.*, October 17, 1929; Juan Meier to N. P. Neilsen, no date, quoted in "Experiences in the Interior of Bahia, Brazil," *ibid.*, December 3, 1931.

⁷¹ *Statistical Report*, 1930-1940.

⁷² Carlyle B. Haynes, "The General Meeting for the Indians of Bolivia," *RH*, May 2, 1929; J. D. Leslie, "Literature Sales in the Lake Titicaca Mission," *ibid.*, December 12, 1929; Ennis V. Moore, "Good News from the Inca Union," *Bulletin*, XI (April 1935), 2, 3.

⁷³ W. A. Bergherm, "Students of the Austral Union," *ibid.*, III (January 1927), 7, 8; E. H. Meyers, "Southland Students, Sixty Strong," *RH*, January 6, 1928; C. E. Lambeth, "Student Colporteurs of Brazil," *ibid.*, March 27, 1941; N. P. Neilsen, "South American Division," *ibid.*, June 1, 1941.

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⁷⁵ C. L. Bauer to E. Kotz, September 30, 1931, GCA/21, GF/1931.

⁷⁶ L. H. Christian to officers of the General Conference, no date, *ibid.*, GF/1938.

⁷⁷ Report of William A. Butler in "A Visit to the South American Division," December 1, 1937, to June 26, 1938, *ibid.*; E. D. Dick to Fellow Officers, February 20, 1941, *ibid.*/1941.

⁷⁸ See the document "Request for a Brazilian Division," *ibid.*/1940.

⁷⁹ A. W. Cormack to N. P. Neilsen, November 27, 1940, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, July 23, 1941, *ibid.*/11, GF/Figuhr folder; SAD Minutes, July 24, 1941/GCA; *ibid.*, September 7, 1941.

⁸⁰ See repeated statements in GCA/21, GF/1938, *passim*.

⁸¹ N. P. Neilsen to W. A. Spicer, February 18, 1927, *ibid.*/11, GF/1927, folder N.

⁸² W. E. Murray to A. W. Cormack, October 18, 1938, *ibid.*/21, GF/1938.

⁸³ Minutes of Officers' Meeting, Battle Creek, Michigan, October 18, 1937, *ibid.*; *ibid.*, November 1, 1937; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, December 31, 1937, *ibid.*; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, February 2, 1938, *ibid.* Peverini attributes the beginnings of health food production to J. M. Howell when he headed River Plate College. *En las huellas*, 408.

⁸⁴ Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, April 18, 1938, GCA/21, GF/1938; Roger Altman to A. W. Cormack, October 18, 1938, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, May 29, 1938/GCA.

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⁸⁶ *Statistical Report*, 1925-1940.

⁸⁷ N. P. Neilsen to M. E. Kern, May 10, 1932, GCA/21, GF/1932; C. L. Bauer to M. E. Kern, December 21, 1933, *ibid.*

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⁹⁰ J. Berger Johnson, "The Youth's Congress: Brazil Training School," *ibid.*, May 2, 1935.

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⁹² H. B. Lundquist, "Youth's Congress for South America," *RH*, July 4, 1935; and "Encouraging Word from Peru," *ibid.*, May 7, 1936; and news note, *ibid.*, January 9, 1936.

⁹³ W. A. Ernenputsch, "Echoes of the Youth's Congress in the North Mission," *Bulletin*, XI (September 1935), 5, 6.

⁹⁴ H. B. Lundquist, news note, *RH*, January 9, 1936; *Statistical Report*, 1935-1940.



GROWTH DURING A TROUBLED DECADE

“I . . . HOPE THAT you will always feel free in making suggestions and in giving counsel in regard to the work down here,” R. R. Figuhr wrote in his first letter to the General Conference president after arriving in Buenos Aires as South America’s new president in 1941. Twenty-five years younger than his predecessor, schooled during a different generation, and a veteran of military service in World War I, he took charge of the division after eighteen years of denominational service in the Philippines. In many ways his arrival in Argentina was the beginning of a new era for South American Adventists.¹

THE SOUTH AMERICAN DIVISION AND WORLD WAR II

Figuhr was not oblivious to the troubled world around him, but little did he realize how much he would need counsel during the nine years he would spend in South America. Already another World War had burst out, and while his new field was far from combat theaters, it was not untouched by the conflagration that engulfed so much of the globe. Except for Bolivia, which declared war in 1943, the Spanish countries of the division maintained varying degrees

of solidarity with the United States until the final months of the conflict when they declared war against the Axis.

Brazil did not wait that long. For years the Vargas government had suspected disloyalty among large pockets of German immigrants and their descendants in the southern states, and since 1937 restrictions had made life increasingly difficult for them, including prohibiting speaking in German. In January 1942 Brazil broke diplomatic relations with Germany, which the rebuffed country did not let pass unnoticed. Nazi submarines sniped at Brazilian ships, causing thirteen sinkings. One was a boatload of defenseless passengers sent to the bottom of the Atlantic. By August Brazil's patience snapped, and an angered public retaliated violently, mobbing homes and businesses owned by Germans.

H. O. Olson, the division secretary, passed through Brazil just in time to witness some of the protests. "I might have thought that there had been a bombing there, when I saw the large business houses that they had just finished destroying as I arrived," he wrote. The government moved in quickly with police and military guards to restore order, but demonstrations did not stop immediately.

Because many Adventists in Brazil were German, they could not avoid trouble. In anticipation of problems, J. L. Brown, president of the East Brazil Union, quickly removed German employees to protect them. "All German workers have been forced to cease their labors," he reported to the General Conference. Mobs in Vitória smashed homes and possessions of German residents and turned on the leaders of the Rio-Espírito Santo Mission, restraining themselves only after learning that the church workers had already moved out. Several Adventists in East Brazil were imprisoned, and one wrote that he barely escaped with his life.² The director of the Rio-Espírito Santo Mission transferred to Juiz de Fora, and the head of the combined departments of Education, Sabbath School, and Youth moved to Rio de Janeiro "on account of the nationality question," Brown explained. Years later Roberto Rabello recalled that his German wife feared arrest and separation from the family as they traveled home to Brazil in 1944 after spending several years in the United States.³

Other war-related problems focused public attention on Brazilian Adventists and raised questions about their patriotism. Twenty-one Adventist schools in Rio Grande do Sul faced possible closure when they did not participate in flag exercises, held on Saturdays. Accusations of disloyalty and propagating traitorous doctrines came from other quarters after Adventist men in the army requested non-combatant status and release from duty on Saturdays.⁴

Throughout the war problems persisted. Fears that North American money could be slipping from Adventist coffers into Nazi hands through German church workers in South America led officials in the United States Department of State to talk with General Conference President J. L. McElhany in 1943. Names of specific workers surfaced in the State Department inquiry. Church leaders took nothing for granted. With a reminder that the denomination encouraged Adventist workers to remain free from politics, E. D. Dick reminded Figuhr to guard the unity of the church. Later in the same year, the United States vice-consul in Buenos Aires conferred with Figuhr, naming workers of German descent. After the division president denied that Adventist workers were aiding the Nazis, the North American government dropped the matter. It was evident that the denominational statement adopted at the 1937 Autumn Council warning workers to protect church unity by avoiding political alignments was paying off.⁵

Economic hardships cropped up. J. F. Wright, a General Conference vice president visiting South America in late 1941 and early 1942, noted the damaging decline of Argentine exports to Europe. South American countries depended on foreign merchant marine to transport goods to overseas markets, but the war severed these commercial relations, especially after the United States became a belligerent and patrolled Atlantic waters more carefully. South American countries were now left with an oversupply of their own products. Relief appeared imminent when prospects of increased commerce with the United States improved, but many wondered if North American interests were really motivated by its war program rather than a sense of hemispheric solidarity. Meanwhile, South American wheat piled up in storehouses, farmers burned corn for fuel, and laborers and farmers suffered.⁶

Slackened imports and shortages of consumer items brought hardship and higher prices, especially in cases when South American countries depended on foreign technology. Except for unforeseen intervention by friends, Leo Halliwell found medicines for his Amazon River voyages harder to come by. Escalating costs of living wreaked havoc with official and personal budgets. By mid-1943 the situation had become serious enough to require a review of salary schedules across the division at six-month intervals to be sure that workers' incomes stayed abreast of increases in living expenses.

Restrictions on travel within South America hampered Adventist activity. Public transportation was especially hard hit. After hostilities ended, Figuhr confessed that aliens could hardly enter some countries. In some countries compulsory military training on school campuses brought a hitherto unknown problem to Adventist education.⁷

Despite the distractions of war and its aftermath, during the ten years ending in December 1950, the South American Division added more than 23,500 members, a 72 percent net increase. This rate was only a 3 percent improvement over the previous decade, but it created an impression of much more rapid growth because the numbers were much larger. In 1949 South America became the fourth division outside North America to surpass 50,000 members.⁸ In part, the war helped to produce this growth. A fast moving sequence of destruction and chaos around the world struck not only Figuhr but the entire denomination with the conviction that earth's history was soon to end. Wasting no time translating his views into deeds, South America's new president set about to fire up the division with a renewed sense of evangelism. No more than days after his arrival, the division committee voted to conduct a series of evangelistic conventions around the continent from September through December 1942.

From Washington came a special appropriation of US\$10,000 for urban evangelism, a sign of official encouragement. It was more than Figuhr anticipated. It was "as an answer to prayer," he wrote, adding that he hoped to double or triple baptisms. McElhany had made it clear that the General Conference intended to emphasize evangelism more. "We all feel very strongly, Brother Figuhr, that the time has come when there ought to be some extraordinary and outstanding evangelistic efforts held around in the principal cities of the world."⁹

A sobered division committee convened for annual meetings in Buenos Aires two days after the United States declared war. Representing the General Conference were J. F. Wright and W. E. Nelson. Figuhr led his colleagues through a thorough study of policies and goals, reviewing finances and salaries before focusing on the heart of his agenda, a broader evangelism. The effect was electric. Wright later wrote that plans in the Austral Union called for eighteen efforts in the Buenos Aires Conference alone and forty-four in the entire field.¹⁰

WALTER SCHUBERT AND A NEW URBAN EVANGELISM

For more than three decades, leading denominational lights had been urging South American ministers to evangelize the cities, knowing that the division could not build substantially on rural baptisms alone. Pastors had enjoyed a degree of success in Santiago, Chile, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. But the most notable case was Buenos Aires. In the Argentine capital Walter Schubert spent his best efforts on evangelism, his first love, although he also was president of the conference.

Between 1935 and Figuhr's arrival, Schubert raised the city membership to 1,300. W. E. Murray, the Austral Union president, called him a "great city evangelist." Even as Figuhr settled into his new surroundings, Schubert was conducting one of the finest series of meetings the city had experienced.¹¹

Before Figuhr arrived in South America, Schubert had earned the reputation as the division's premier evangelist. By some evaluations he was an unlikely person for such distinction. Daniel Plenc observes that Schubert's health was anything but robust, that he spoke with a German accent and stammered, but that he dressed and maintained the demeanor of a professional. When he became president of the Buenos Aires Conference in the mid-1930s, he had already established a record of raising membership dramatically wherever he went, but according to one account, a turning point in his career occurred abruptly during a series of meetings in Palermo, a section of Argentina's capital.

Following a disappointing experience with her relatives' attendance at his meetings, a disturbed sister in the church accosted Schubert about his methods—singing evangelical songs, praying, and even taking offerings during his meetings. In her view these activities forced non-Adventists to practice Adventism before they were ready to adopt it. "You should hold meetings in the form of lectures like university professors do," she told him.

After spending a sleepless night pondering what the woman said, Schubert called a meeting of area pastors to discuss the idea. Ironically, among them was Daniel Hammerly Dupuy, another evangelist, who had broached the same proposal earlier, but no one had paid any attention to him. His enthusiastic support of Schubert's comments led him to a new job—president of Junta Patrocinadora de Conferencias, a kind of evangelistic committee or board to aid Schubert's plan by ironing out the details of his new approach to evangelism.

To start his next meetings, Schubert laid the traditional opening sermon on Daniel 2 aside in favor of a matter of social interest, "The Secret of Happiness." The audience gave no offerings or sang songs. The only prayers were those from thirty church members who remained out of sight in one of the back rooms, where they implored the Lord for success. The audience applauded Schubert several times during his presentation. Twenty persons requested personal appointments with him. He followed his first lecture with similar topics, but slowly and prudently he changed the meetings. In the fourth meeting he began presenting biblical themes; not until he was well into the series did he pray publicly. Gradually he introduced doctrinal questions.

Other Adventist ministers were watching him carefully and were pleased with what they saw. For decades they had been searching for a successful method to preach to the continent's teeming cities, and Schubert's new style appeared to be a breakthrough. "This was the beginning of a new awakening in evangelistic work," he later said.¹² J. F. Wright described Schubert as "one of the few men in South America who really has a grasp and vision of city evangelism." On his list were seventy communities in the division with a population of at least 5,000 where literature had entered but Adventists ministers had never preached. "The way is prepared," Wright said, adding that Schubert was committed to more evangelism. "I am pleased . . . other of his men are really catching the vision."¹³

By the early 1940s, it became clear that urban evangelism had become a movement. I. M. Vacquer conducted several campaigns in Chile, baptizing 320 in 1940 and 350 in 1941.¹⁴ Benefitting from special evangelistic funds, Daniel Hammerly drew hundreds of listeners to a large effort in Bahia Blanca in 1942, a large port city tucked under the bulge of Buenos Aires Province. After 700 packed into the third meeting, he had no recourse but to move to more spacious quarters in a theater, where 1,000 showed up. Three years later he began a series in Montevideo with enormous crowds—up to 2,000. Old timers reminisced that not since Caruso sang in the same theater had so many attended.¹⁵

Church leaders in Peru encountered difficulties renting public assembly places and holding meetings, and restrictions on public meetings prevented evangelism in Brazil; consequently, most of the urban evangelism occurred in the Austral Union. At the end of 1942, pastors from around the division reported a gain of 927 baptisms compared to 1941. Although some of the efforts were cancelled, Figuhr commented that "a new note of evangelism is being sounded in every field."¹⁶

From the General Conference another evangelistic appropriation of US\$12,500 gave Figuhr a boost in 1942. Wider advertising, bigger auditoriums, more helpers, and more meetings resulted. E. N. Lugenbeal, president of the Austral Union, reported a swarm of evangelists at work in 1945. In Argentina they were preaching as many as five nights weekly, among them C. Weber in Córdoba, Daniel Feder and Pedro Tabuenca in Rio Cuarto, Victor C. Aeschlimann in Santa Fe and Paraná, Godofredo Block in Rosario, F. Scarcella in Buenos Aires, José Riffel in Bahia Blanca, and E. Lautaret in Resistencia. In addition to Hammerly's effort in Uruguay, Daniel Nestares in Melo and Santiago Bernhardt in Rivera were conducting meetings. By 1945 the Austral Union added 2,000 members, and in the following five years, 3,000.¹⁷

Of course, money had helped to produce evangelism, and in turn, more baptisms, but Figuhr was quick to point out that converts were not bought. During 1943 he conducted evangelistic institutes in Buenos Aires, at the college in Brazil, and in Lima. Internal problems, primarily a heightened nationalism accompanied by financial distress, had taken their toll on worker loyalty during the latter half of the 1930s, and Figuhr knew that spiritual renewal was the medicine the division needed.

He emerged from the Argentine and Brazilian meetings elated. "The two meetings we have held have accomplished much more than I had hoped they might," he wrote to McElhany. "At both of these meetings an excellent spirit obtained, practical questions were raised and discussed and the men went away feeling that they had gotten definite help . . . In the evangelistic meeting there was a wonderful spirit of brotherliness and Christian fellowship. A number came to the meetings skeptical as to the help they might receive, but there was a universal feeling that definite help had been received. The entire cost of the meeting would have been justified, it seems to me, if it had accomplished nothing more than the fostering of this good spirit."¹⁸

The division committee constantly monitored the new evangelistic fervor, but a problem that appeared to be lost in the enthusiasm was the question of net growth. In 1944 when reporting on the evangelistic progress of the division, Division Secretary H. O. Olson applauded the growing number of baptisms, noting that the net growth during 1942 was 2,073. Other statistics indicated that this figure represented 61 percent of the baptisms. For the time being division leaders riveted their attention on evangelism and how best to forge ahead with increased numbers of baptisms, but in the years ahead membership losses became a serious issue. At their year-end meeting in 1944, members studied ways to integrate all phases of church work to penetrate unentered territory in South America. Three years later they requested conference and mission directors to arrange pastors' schedules to allow them to devote the "major portion" of their time to "aggressive evangelism" rather than to pastoral duties. The committee also approved another round of ministerial institutes emphasizing evangelism.¹⁹

Before disbanding, the committee voted a resolution promoting evangelism through short campaigns, meetings in homes, and involvement by the laymen. "We are convinced that too much of our time and effort does not minister directly to soul winning," the document read. "We are preoccupied with maintaining what we already have under way. We are encumbered with too many tasks that are secondary to our basic purpose as a movement." Further self criticism declared the ministry was too caught up in "organizational and functional" duties.²⁰

Figuhr and his fellow officers relied on Schubert to spearhead the evangelistic movement. After leaving the presidency of the Buenos Aires Conference and serving in the Austral Union, he became head of the division Ministerial Association. Previously another departmental leader or division officer had worn this hat, but with Schubert's arrival, Figuhr gave South America its first full-time director of the pastoral profession and evangelism. A large number of city efforts were on the 1948 calendar, and Figuhr assured the General Conference early in the year that Schubert was out in the field encouraging the men. At year's end, ministers reported 158 sets of meetings.²¹

The results resembled an explosion. Within three years Schubert conducted major membership drives all over the continent, most significantly outside the Austral Union. After the Arequipa, Peru, congregation dedicated a new sanctuary in February 1947, he led a two-month effort assisted by F. Scarcella and S. Andrade. Only twenty-five converts took part in the first baptismal ceremony, a small figure compared to other campaigns, but this was the first major evangelistic effort for the non-Indian population that Adventists had held in Peru.²²

While Schubert conducted two efforts in 1949, relaxed restrictions permitted other ministers to lead campaigns in Brazil. Earlier, during 1946, a worker in the Rio-Espírito Santo Mission preached to crowds on the streets of Barra Alegre because he could not find an adequate meeting place. Even this effort produced twenty-eight baptisms.

Rather than spending their money on exorbitant rentals, Adventists in Rio de Janeiro bought a truck, equipped it with a public address system, a movie projector, and a screen. Moving about from one strategic location to another, the truck attracted large crowds, one night 2,000 in nearby Petrópolis. In July 1948 evangelists in Rio located a quonset hut for meetings. Of the 158 meetings in South America during 1948, eighty-two occurred in Brazil. In March 1950 Schubert himself launched a large series in Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, baptizing 130 even before finishing his meetings. By August he moved on to Ecuador where he opened a field school and effort.²³

Figuhr called this northwestern corner of the division a neglected field. Church leaders saw an improvement when the net increase of members during the five years, 1940-1945, equaled that of the eleven years between 1929 and 1940. After tent evangelism began in 1943 under Santiago Kalbermatter, membership edged up to 201 in December 1945; five years later it rose to 395. Schubert's meetings

substantially influenced growth; 600 regularly attended his meetings in Guayaquil.²⁴ Following Scarcella's Arequipa effort, two more meetings, the first in Lima also by Scarcella, and another in Mendoza, Argentina, raised prospects of large membership gains elsewhere in the division.²⁵

Organizational changes reflected this church growth. To stress the need for evangelism in Paraguay, the Austral Union separated that country from the North Mission in 1948 to create a new mission. Perhaps more significant was dividing Chile into two conferences. For years this had been the largest field in the Austral Union, but in 1950 its 4,600 members and forty-six churches split along the southern border of Linares Province into the North and South Chile conferences. The two parts were nearly equal—250 members fewer in the North and two fewer congregations in the South. Two other alterations in the division map, both in Brazil, resulted from evangelism in new regions.²⁶

Schubert's program was the beginning of an evangelistic revolution. Although he had been developing his methods since the 1920s when he became a ministerial intern in Chile, it was not until he applied them to Buenos Aires after 1935 that his style attracted attention, and only after 1947 when he joined the division staff was he able to infuse the continent with his fervor and the benefits of his experience.²⁷

South America's evangelism gained widespread publicity because it represented a breakthrough in solving the problem of how to reach the cities with the gospel—a nemesis since the beginning of Adventist presence in Latin America. Although church leaders had encouraged urban evangelism in South America and while preachers had enjoyed a measure of success, Schubert was the first to develop an urban method. That his approach gained so much attention did not mean that all other methods of evangelism became outmoded or stopped. Tested and proved styles of soul-winning continued and new innovations appeared so that the variety of evangelistic approaches increased.

THE INCA UNION DURING THE 1940s

Simultaneous with the enthusiasm inspired by the new evangelism was a decline in the fortunes of South America's largest rural field, the Lake Titicaca Mission. Although these opposing trends were somewhat related, probably Peru's internal conditions accounted for most of the membership slippage around the lake. During the three decades beginning in 1911 when Stahl began working among the Aymaras, this region appealed uniquely to the Adventist world as a symbol of

missions for indigenous peoples. Schools established by Stahl and his successors worked wonders by raising the norms of living standards and providing elementary education for thousands, but the Andean tribespeople remained poor and economically disadvantaged.

An unvarnished description of the Lake Titicaca Mission had not reached some of the General Conference officers, as J. F. Wright discovered during his tour of the division in the waning weeks of 1941 and early 1942. Finding only one ordained Indian worker after more than twenty-five years of work was a condition he called “tragic.” “I must confess this came as a startling surprise to me,” he reported. “I certainly had the impression from all I had heard of our work among the Indian people they had a fairly good line up of ministers and evangelists, as well as properly prepared teachers.”

Even at the union level, not a single national worker held a position. “There has been very little done to develop any of the nationals for places of leadership and responsibility,” Wright frankly reported to the General Conference officers. Both he and Figuhr urged the Inca Union officers to change their policy. As it stood, if overseas workers were forced out of the country because of the war or for any other reason, it would not be “difficult to conceive what would happen to our work,” Wright warned. He was not crying without cause. Already the Peruvian immigration office had clamped down, making it hard for Adventist missionaries, among others, to enter the country.

Wright’s and Figuhr’s counsel prompted significant change in the Inca Union. The division approved a motion in January 1943 directing Inca Union officers to develop indigenous leadership. In April 1943, the Lake Titicaca Mission held the first session in its history with members electing some of their leaders. Two Aymaras were ordained. Alien workers vacated a number of positions, turning over responsibility to the natives. Compared to previous years, less news of these and other events reached the Adventist community at large, probably for good reason, because official reports suggested mixed results from these changes.

Lake Titicaca Mission, the largest administrative unit in South America, recorded a loss of 400 members between 1940 and 1945, but an increase of 1,800 in the next five years. These were church statistics, which were different from government data. A national census after World War II disclosed that 29,000 persons listed themselves as Adventists in Peru, but church records carried only a fraction of that number. Figuhr explained that many regarded themselves as members of the church even

if they were not baptized. Although the church could legitimately claim only those whose names were actually on the membership lists, the census numbers showed how widespread the impact of Adventism had been.

Inconsistent growth was a troublesome issue since the Haynes years. Because of the size of the Titicaca Mission, membership fluctuations affected the entire Inca Union. By 1945 the Inca Union was no longer South America's largest field, and by 1950 it had slipped still farther behind. The actual growth rate during the 1940s, a fraction above 46 percent, was the lowest in the division, but in December 1950 the union reported nearly 16,000 members. Contributing most to this growth was not the Lake Titicaca Mission but the Peru Mission, which nearly doubled its membership in ten years from just under 1,700 to nearly 3,300.²⁸

Also of note was the steady labor in the Upper Amazon Mission which brought a net gain of nearly 500 members from 1940 to 1950. One of the leading projects eliciting favorable public response to this mission was its river launch ministry radiating from Iquitos. Jungle stations continued as well. A large Adventist community at Sutsique, pioneered by William Schaeffler in the 1930s, purchased a 10,000-acre tract to establish a new mission. At Unini on the Ucayali River, J. C. Ruskjer helped to found another educational and evangelistic center for jungle tribespeople. After a trip to this region in 1949, L. H. Olson, president of the Inca Union, brought back data and pictures telling of construction of new mission buildings and advancement into communities where Adventists had not previously ventured.²⁹

The Bolivia Mission also showed marked increase. A visit by the Bolivian president to the Adventist school at Collana in 1946 provided an unforgettable memory for Moisés Aguilar, the director of the community mission, as well as the townspeople. Also present were R. E. Kepkey, superintendent of the Bolivia Mission. Although the president's purpose was to inaugurate the community as a canton, he also received generous exposure to the Adventist work.³⁰

Besides gaining a national reputation as agents of acculturation, Adventist schools among the Indians continued as the best source of baptisms. W. R. Robinson, secretary of education in Bolivia, estimated that in 1942 teachers in Adventist schools prepared half of the mission's converts from their own students. In 1944 two evangelists from Argentina, Daniel Hammerly and Gaspar Cammarata, aimed three efforts at the white population in La Paz. Results were mediocre compared with other meetings, but the handful of members were cheered by new additions that raised their total to forty-five. More than 1,200 accessions from 1940 to 1950 gave Bolivia nearly 3,200 members.³¹

With all of their achievement among tribespeople in Bolivia and Peru, Adventists had accomplished virtually nothing for the Ecuadoran tribes or Bolivian jungle dwellers. It was among the Andean peoples in Peru and Bolivia that the church enjoyed its greatest success among the non-white population in South America.

THE RIVER LAUNCH MINISTRY SPREADS

Although Stahl attempted to introduce a river launch ministry in the Upper Amazon, it was a short-lived experiment. Not until the 1940s did the river launch ministry spread from the Amazon to other parts of South America. This expansion began in 1940 when the North Brazil Union carved the Central Amazon Mission from the Lower Amazon Mission territory. Taking charge of this new unit were Fredrick C. Pritchard and his wife, both nurses, who joined the corps of workers on the Amazon in 1940 and made their headquarters at Manaus, a thousand miles upstream from Belém. Planning to duplicate Halliwell's river ministry, in 1941 they received the *Luzeiro*, while Halliwell spent US\$4,000 building a new boat, *Luzeiro II*. At the same time, he constructed another launch, the *Auxiliadora*, which R. A. Hayden took to Iquitos, Peru, for service in the Upper Amazon Mission of Peru. The two new boats were built on the same plans, and although their dimensions were not much larger than those of *Luzeiro I*, their displacement was three times greater. They represented a marked improvement in river travel.³²

The new launches attracted widespread notice. An impressed officer of the American Rubber Company in Belém, who had previously worked in Africa where an Adventist doctor spared his wife from an untimely death, donated three motors to Halliwell, which substantially reduced building costs. Hayden and Halliwell invited government officials and local businessmen to the construction site to see the boats and to ask questions. The two ministers served as personal guides during the event. As Hayden nosed the *Auxiliadora* upstream toward Peru, he went determined to end more than fifteen years of debate about the practicality of a launch at Iquitos.³³ In many respects Iquitos, the headquarters for the Upper Amazon Mission, had more in common with Adventist ministry in the Amazon than with its parent organization, the Inca Union. While wartime shortages and restrictions hemmed in Adventist mission outreach in many places in South America, Halliwell's river launch ministry on the Amazon flourished, its effects even reaching the Peruvian headwaters.

Launching these two new boats began a string of riverboat projects. South America's fleet grew to five by the end of the decade. Besides the *Auxiliadora* sailing

out of Iquitos and the two *Luzeiros* on the Amazon, the *Luminar* traversed the São Francisco River and the *Luzeiro III* plied the Parnaíba River, the boundary between the northern states of Maranhão and Piauí. Money from a Thirteenth Sabbath overflow in 1947 funded a large part of the construction costs of the *Luzeiro III*, whose crew was headed by the Pritchards. Already transferred from Manaus to the North Coast Mission, this seasoned couple had spent nearly a year generating contacts in their new field in anticipation of the *Luzeiro III*, which was under construction in Belém. Less than three weeks after christening the boat on February 19, 1948, Pritchard, Halliwell, Ramon Cronk, and a hired pilot pointed it into the Atlantic for a two-week voyage through heavy seas from Belém to Parnaíba.

The Pritchards did not wait long to begin their work. Outfitted with food, medicines, and evangelistic supplies, they set out along the coast and up the Rio Novo. What they intended to be a two-week stay at one community lengthened to two months and a series of baptisms. “The *Luzeiro III*,” Pritchard recalled, “riding at her anchor, formed the background as the multitudes gathered on the sandy shores of the lovely river. As the words of the hymn, ‘The Cleansing Wave,’ rolled across the waters, the candidates entered for the sacred rite. It was the first of many baptisms. The interest was so great here that I was obliged to leave my boat boy and his wife to continue study with the interested.”³⁴

The fifth boat to join the fleet was the *Luminar*, captained by Paul Seidl. Both he and his wife were nurses from Colegio Adventista del Plata who arrived in East Brazil’s Bahia Mission in 1938 to begin a denominational career. Inspired by their own work, which took them along Rio São Francisco where they administered medicines acquired from the National Department of Malaria, they laid plans in 1947 to build a launch and organize a program patterned after the Halliwell’s.

As early as 1943 talk began about inaugurating a river launch ministry on the São Francisco. During the Ingathering drive that year, Adventists arranged a conference with the governor of Bahia who suggested that the church put a boat on the major river in his state. Also working to the advantage of the river ministry was a constitutional provision requiring the Brazilian government to invest a specified percentage of its revenue to develop the region of the Rio São Francisco and its tributaries. Portland Sanitarium in the United States had already donated US\$7,500 for a launch, which the division earmarked for the São Francisco River. Construction was slower than the Seidls expected, partly because of lack of funds in spite of the generous gift. Finally in 1948 the *Luminar* was ready, and once in service, it cruised

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more than 2,000 miles during the first six months, allowing the Seidls to treat a thousand persons and baptize seventy-four. With their new craft they penetrated hundreds of miles into the interior. They established their headquarters at Pirapora, Minas Gerais, in 1949, and the East Brazil Union created the Rio São Francisco Mission with Seidl as director.³⁵

Halliwell drew denominational attention with *Luzeiro I* and *II*, and his book, *Light Bearer to the Amazon*, published in 1945, became a well-read volume among North American Adventists. His reputation also spread to United States officials who sought methods to protect rubber production, a necessary wartime resource. With government money they planned to build eight launches patterned after the *Luzeiro II* and shuttle doctors among the plantations to treat workers, but they could not persuade permanent crews to man them.

One of the likely causes for their lack of success was the self-denial required for life on the river. T. R. Flaiz, secretary of the General Conference Medical Department, who inspected the boats in 1949, described their living quarters as “meagerly adequate, but satisfactory,” and commended the captains for their ministry. He could not conceal his admiration for the magnitude of the job that boat captains were accomplishing and the role they played in South American missions. “The five boats we have in service can . . . barely touch the needs of this vast territory,” he wrote. “Because much of this work is carried on among comparatively primitive people, the fees collected meet but a fraction of the total cost. The boats provide a base for general mission work, somewhat as a small mission station would; therefore, their value cannot be estimated in terms of financial statements.”³⁶

With an increase in the number of boats, the impact on the people also grew. Halliwell estimated in 1948 that in the North Brazil Union alone 20,000 sufferers received treatment annually, primarily from malaria. From 1940 through 1950 this field multiplied its membership over three and a half times, increasing from 403 to 1,445, the highest proportional growth in South America. By 1948 the Maués church claimed 300 members, and other congregations and companies dotted the Amazonian map. For these Adventists, the annual visit by the boat meant a renewal of their tie with the church, for it was the only contact they had with their fellow church members.

From the beginning of his presidency, Figuhr supported the riverboat ministry. After spending several weeks on the Amazon during his first year in South America, he returned to Argentina convinced that Halliwell’s program was necessary. “I have come away from there with two outstanding impressions,” he recalled, “the

desperate need of medical help, and the wonderful doors of opportunity that are now open to us.” Halliwell knew the fleet was reaching only a fraction of the people scattered along 40,000 miles of waterways in Amazonia, but he also knew that as a humanitarian endeavor the *Luzeiros* had paid many dividends to the division as well as to the church at large.³⁷

THE BEGINNINGS OF RADIO MINISTRY

Among the evangelistic devices appearing in South America during the 1940s was radio broadcasting. This new method to reach the public was not a sudden thing. Depending on miscellaneous parts he could scrounge, even from automobiles, missionary A. R. Sherman rigged up a radio and transmitter in Paysandú, Uruguay, to broadcast Adventist programs as early as 1924. Beginning with five watts, he later stepped up to fifteen. For three years he and his wife broadcast a half hour nightly program, presenting articles from denominational periodicals and readings from books. Mrs. Sherman conscripted church members to provide music.³⁸ In June 1933 Andrés Ascione began a set of meetings that aroused interest among influential city-folk, creating a demand for wider public exposure. Only months later, a prominent journalist and commentator on both station LU7 and the daily *Nueva Provincia*, both in Bahia Blanca, Argentina, approached Ascione about airing radio lectures.

As a matter of course, the station owner prohibited Ascione not only from expressing negative observations about national institutions, but added tobacco, alcohol, and movie theaters to his list of proscriptions. The explanation was purely business—all three types of businesses supported LU7 financially and would not tolerate critical broadcasts from the radio station. Ascione initiated his radio talks with some trepidation, but soon discovered he was massaging a sensitive spot in Bahia Blanca. Persons who would refuse to attend meetings would huddle around a radio in the privacy of their home to listen to him. Some even invited as many as forty friends and neighbors to hear. A few even bought radios to avoid missing his programs.

Taking advantage of an offer of up to forty-five minutes of free air time, Ascione continued his broadcasts on Saturday nights. To add color to his lectures, he included a couple of musical performances. Soon reports reached him that listeners were picking up his program as far away as a hundred miles from the city.³⁹

Radio broadcasting caught on in a variety of forms. During 1936 Pedro Brouchy, director of the Uruguay Mission, beamed his evangelistic sermons over radio, especially to those who could not find room in his lecture hall. In 1940 over Radio

Metro in Viña del Mar, Chile, I. M. Vacquer aired thirty-minute lectures each Sunday morning at 11:30 while conducting meetings in neighboring Valparaíso. Fifty-six responded after his offer of free Bibles to everyone requesting them. T. E. Block also successfully broadcast programs in Santiago.⁴⁰

Other speakers with radio experience were Daniel Hammerly and his associate in Bahia Blanca, Argentina, who presented a weekly program on Sunday mornings in 1942. Perhaps the most notable accomplishment was a chain of nine stations in Uruguay that began airing Henry Westphal's lectures, also in 1942. Inspired by a challenge from a veteran worker, he set out to begin broadcasting, even though "none of us had been before a radio microphone in our lives," he later wrote. The station that carried his programs was one of the most powerful on the continent with a range as far as Australia, Europe, and the Philippines. As many as forty letters in a single day responded, some from Peru, Punta Arenas in southernmost Chile, and even Havana, Cuba. It was an unheard of number, according to the station manager. He ordinarily received no more than three letters commenting on a single broadcast.

In time, the hour of broadcast changed from Sunday to Monday evenings when more people were home, and the nine stations expanded to eleven, including a short wave transmitter. In addition, Westphal organized a correspondence school with nearly a thousand students, a burden so large that he requested assistance from the division.⁴¹

Stations occasionally carried Adventist church services. When members in Montevideo attracted city-wide attention with the dedication of their new sanctuary in 1940, a local radio broadcast the afternoon inaugural program. Much earlier, in 1934, the Colón Radio Company in Chile aired the evening sermons of the biennial conference session.⁴² M. I. Fayard, editor of *El Atalaya*, enjoyed a similar opportunity during the meetings of the Uruguay Mission in April 1942. A Montevideo station carried his two lectures about the Bible and archeology on the Saturday and Sunday nights of the session. As a result, the mission arranged for half-hour programs each Sunday night.⁴³

Radio time was not always easy to secure. In 1941 when he tried to secure a schedule on a Concordia station in northeastern Entre Rios, Argentina, V. C. Aeschlimann found his way blocked, but he promptly crossed the river into Salto, Uruguay, hardly twenty kilometers distant where he acquired what he wanted, free.⁴⁴

The beginnings of radio ministry in South America were partly the result of inspiration from evangelists in the United States who had been experimenting with radio since the late 1920s. By 1942 a nation-wide hook-up enabled H. M. S. Richards

to broadcast *Voice of Prophecy* programs across the North American continent. At the same time, success of Adventist radio programming in South America drew General Conference attention. J. F. Wright could not escape this trend during his visit to the division in 1941 and 1942. "I sincerely believe it is high time for us to take some steps toward a large radio broadcast for the Latin Americas," he told his fellow General Conference officers after he returned. "Some of our brethren have already done local broadcasting and with very encouraging results."⁴⁵

Church leaders in South America were already taking matters into their own hands. Officers of the Chile Conference placed broadcasting on their agenda for a workers' meeting in February 1941, after Vacquer and Block demonstrated that public demand was great enough to push station managers to increase the amount of free time given to Adventist preachers.⁴⁶ For discussion's sake, Wright proposed a central program and a chain hook-up similar to the North American *Voice of Prophecy*, which had just become a national network. The upshot was the formation of a Latin American Radio Commission with authorization to study the feasibility of programming for both the South American and Inter-American divisions.

Events moved rapidly. In August 1942 Figuhr attended a meeting of the Commission in Glendale, California, to prepare an outline of topics and adapt North American materials for programs. Before the end of the month, a list of proposed stations in South America reached Buenos Aires, but the division secretary cautioned the General Conference about planning without full knowledge of local details. Broadcasting privileges in South American countries were uneven, making a chain around the continent unlikely. Argentine stations were reluctant to provide time, and opportunities in Peru were virtually nonexistent, while in Chile and Uruguay Adventist ministers could broadcast freely.⁴⁷

The Commission employed native speakers for the proposed broadcasts. Braulio Pérez, a Spanish-born immigrant to Argentina, became the speaker for the Spanish edition of the program. Since his student years at Colegio Adventista del Plata, he had demonstrated a polished and poetic command of the language. Previous to this new assignment he had experimented with radio both in Cuba and Costa Rica. After a test of potential Brazilian voices, R. M. Rabello, an ordained pastor on study leave at Pacific Union College in the United States, became the speaker of the Portuguese version in 1943. His selection came during the last half of his graduating year, but he and H. G. Stoehr went to work to complete sixteen Portuguese programs by mid-February. A dozen Spanish transcriptions had already been made. The plan

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called for twenty-six programs in each language, but within about a year Rabello had produced fifty-two. Originally, the programs for both Spanish and Brazilian audiences were translations of the English *Voice of Prophecy* with adaptations that eliminated North American characteristics. After both Pérez and Rabello became acclimated to their new professions, they ceased translating English programs and produced their own.⁴⁸

The intention of the producers was to provide an authentic ring to the programs, but the Spanish edition encountered more problems because the programs were aired for all of the Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas. The offices for the Spanish *Voz* remained in the United States, and Braulio Pérez assumed the difficult task of teaching the King's Heralds quartet and soloist Del Delker to sing in Spanish. The singers even assumed Spanish names for the benefit of Hispanic audiences.⁴⁹ Initially, Rabello prepared his broadcasts for Brazilian listeners only, but in time, they reached Portuguese-speaking countries and communities around the globe. After moving back to Brazil, he put together a team of workers and soon developed music with Brazilian singers.

Plans to inaugurate a sequence of programs produced by the General Conference did not meet an immediately favorable response from some South American ministers. Some did not believe that radio was an effective evangelistic instrument. However, those who were involved in radio evangelism steadily promoted the effectiveness of broadcasts with Christian appeal. Roberto Rabello pointed out that the Bible Correspondence Course was reaching thousands rapidly and easily. For the doubters, he cited an example from Puerto Rico where fifteen of the first forty who signed up for the lessons accepted the Sabbath.⁵⁰ Some resistance also cropped up among those who had launched programs and had developed considerable expertise in radio. Realizing that they viewed the new plan as a means to crowd them off the air, Figuhr assured them that there were no intentions of displacing competently executed programs, and he arranged for L. H. Lindbeck to join South America's officers as secretary of the division's Radio Commission to coordinate all broadcasting, both official and independent.⁵¹

Snags delayed the beginning of South American *Voice of Prophecy* programs from January to April 1943, but the extra weeks gave organizers more time to prepare more effectively. The division committee officially approved plans on January 22, 1943, establishing a Bible Correspondence School with offices in five capital cities—Santiago, Quito, Lima, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. In September the division committee

approved plans to go on the air in Brazil. By the end of January 1944, Lindbeck reported fifty-seven weekly programs in South America, forty-four on ordinary transmission, and thirteen on short wave. Though a latecomer, Brazil itself claimed fourteen stations and a radio Bible school office in Rio de Janeiro. Less than a year after beginning broadcasts, a combined total of about 5,000 students from all of the countries in the division were studying Bible school lessons that the radio programs offered. Lindbeck enthused that the radio broadcasting “literally corresponded to the prophecy of the spread of the gospel” by the angel of Revelation 18.⁵²

In Uruguay Henry Westphal switched from his independent programs to *La Voz de la Profecía*, and continued the correspondence school he had also begun. With a file, a desk, two tables, and other meager furnishings, he set up a makeshift office and kept twenty youth from Montevideo busy correcting lessons. With each new lesson mailed to the students, they enclosed a piece of Adventist literature. They also filed names of students both alphabetically and geographically, allowing colporteurs and other workers to find interested persons readily when traveling in the field. By mid-1943 Westphal reported that baptisms were already resulting from the radio Bible school.⁵³

An on again, off again record characterized the *Voice of Prophecy* in some countries. Before the official programs even began, a ban in Peru stopped independent Adventist broadcasts, but before the end of 1943, nine stations were airing pre-recorded programs. Another shutdown in 1944 interrupted them until November.⁵⁴

More serious was the situation in Argentina. W. E. Phillips reported while visiting from the General Conference in 1944 that a prohibition of pre-recorded programs forced radio announcers to read Adventist scripts, and so passed them off as live broadcasts. Lindbeck tried to alleviate this situation by arranging a thirteen-station network that would carry the live program from Buenos Aires where Juan Ferri served as the speaker. After this plan failed, Lindbeck tried to schedule several speakers. No clear solution emerged, thus the division Radio Commission limped along until a near-complete ban in February forced all the programs off the air for seven weeks. A brief respite from this restriction permitted Lindbeck to contract six stations to carry the programs, but later in 1945 all stations were disallowed, except one live broadcast in Buenos Aires.⁵⁵

Not until 1948 did Argentine restrictions relax sufficiently to permit program resumption. During the four-year hiatus, Figuhr organized a chain of eight stations, which began broadcasts on June 6. Immediately prior to this change, radio logs

showed fifty stations in the division carrying *Voice of Prophecy* programs. Chile with eleven and Uruguay with ten still listed more transmissions than other Spanish-speaking countries. Every country appeared on the list with thirty-eight in the Spanish fields and twelve in Brazil.⁵⁶

In 1946, after nearly four years of experience with South American broadcasts, Lindbeck departed Buenos Aires for Inter-America, leaving the Radio Commission in Figuhr's lap. While the division president assumed the title of commission secretary, he delegated the Spanish airings to Braulio Pérez and the Brazilian programs to R. M. Rabello. Both of these men became associate directors of the Radio Commission, and each worked with separate commissions.⁵⁷

Although the novelty of radio broadcasting wore off by the end of the decade, programs and the Bible correspondence schools continued. The Radio Commission nearly died in December 1948 when the division committee voted to create a Radio Department. However, it revived with new vigor when Bent Larsen and Juan Ferri became associate directors for the Inca and Austral unions, joining R. M. Rabello, who retained his position for Brazil. Each man headed a correspondence school—Larsen in Lima, Ferri in Buenos Aires, and Rabello in Rio de Janeiro.⁵⁸

One of the major goals of radio was to enroll listeners in Bible studies. The schools set their own targets, which ranged from 25,000 to 100,000 by the end of 1944.⁵⁹ In 1945, following two years of *Voice of Prophecy* broadcasts, Lindbeck stated that 80,000 had enrolled for Bible school lessons, and more than 2,000 had “expressed a definite interest in the message, either by accepting the Sabbath truth or by requesting baptism.” Among the respondents were wealthy landowners, doctors, professors, clerics, and businessmen, some of whom became Adventists.

Lindbeck also measured the value of radio in building friendships among influential people. No one expected radio to become a miracle worker or to supplant traditional forms of evangelism, but few questioned its value in reaching thousands who otherwise would not have heard of Adventism. Even with the scarcity of radios in the jungles, many were listening to the *Voice of Prophecy* in the hinterlands. In some instances promoters of the program bought time on the only station in a given community, which assured them of a listening audience. Such was the case in Cuzco, Peru. “You can walk the streets of old Cuzco,” Bent Larsen wrote in 1949, “and hear the same program from every radio.”

Braulio Pérez discovered that his exposure to the professional and educated world through radio was an invaluable benefit when he represented the denomination's

Religious Liberty Association at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945. Meeting with ex-presidents, ambassadors, and diplomats, he found friendships already established because some of them were listeners to the *Voice of Prophecy* programs that he had transcribed.⁶⁰ Publicity about radio subsided after the first decade of programming, but the use of electronic media to spread the gospel had found a permanent place in South America.

GROWTH IN LITERATURE SALES AND LAYMEN'S ACTIVITIES

The important role that colporteurs had always played in church advance in South America did not change, but the number of literature salesmen fluctuated throughout the division during the 1940s. In 1944 the five unions reported fifty-four more colporteurs than in 1940. During their December 1944 committee meetings, South America's officers included colporteurs in an evangelistic program to establish Adventist presence in every unentered territory in the division.

After 1945 the corps of colporteurs trended downward in the Austral Union, and their number grew only slightly in the Inca Union. East Brazil also declined marginally, and North Brazil remained virtually static. It was in South Brazil that the body of literature salesmen grew substantially. The ups and downs were evident in the annual statistical reports. At the end of 1950, fewer bookmen were actually in the field than at the end of 1945. While field leaders did not explain the reasons for retrogression, Frank Baer, manager of the publishing house in Argentina, suggested in 1947 that lack of publishing directors in the local fields led to a drop in sales in the Spanish sector of the division.⁶¹

In some instances colporteurs and radio speakers worked hand in hand. In Chile, I. M. Vacquer and T. E. Block frequently cited Adventist books in their broadcasts, which introduced the public to specific titles. Literature distribution paved the way for other workers. During the first six months of their river ministry with the *Luminar* on the São Francisco, Paul Seidl baptized seventy-four converts who credited their introduction to Adventism to colporteurs.⁶²

Probably the most significant progress in literature sales occurred among students, especially in Brazil. During the 1942 summer vacation, 250 South American students returned from canvassing with 218 scholarships, 108 by students from Brazil College alone. Four years later in 1946 students at the same school earned 174 scholarships. One aggressive young man sold 300 copies of *The Great Controversy* in Manaus. So many young women—twenty-five from the secondary school in

Petrópolis, now called Instituto Teológico Adventista—joined the colporteurs' ranks in 1943 that the local mission hired a woman supervisor especially for them.

Total sales in Brazil rose more than 8,000,000 *cruzeiros* in the ten years from 1938 through 1947, a large part of which was attributable to students. Figures from the 1948 season showed that 24 percent of the enrollment in the division's secondary schools and colleges sold literature. Again Instituto Teológico Adventista made headlines with seventy-two percent of the enrollment canvassing for the vacation.⁶³

Another important aspect of South American evangelism was the laymen's movement. The need to enlist members in active evangelism had always been evident to church leaders. In 1931 R. R. Breitigam, the division home missionary secretary, wrote that it was impossible "to keep pace with the onward march of God's faithful missionary force." Moreover, he said that it was "beyond our power to care for and bind off the interests developing by the personal witnessing of our lay members."⁶⁴ Breitigam was writing against the background of the economic crisis of the 1930s, a condition that lent increased significance to involvement by laymen. With membership increasing and salary funds decreasing, ministers had more motivation to put laymen to work.

That ordinary members might become part of the church's evangelistic program was a calculated plan during the 1930s. J. T. Thompson, home missionary secretary for the Austral Union, became so successful in including the laity in outreach projects that by 1934 even non-Adventists took note of the trend. "Restricted income and a reduced mission budget are greatly compensated by the activity," Thompson explained.⁶⁵ As in other places in the Adventist world, church administrators were discovering that their pastors were more dependent upon the laity.

Local elders in the Rio de Janeiro congregation conducted a five-month effort in 1933 and 1934, resulting in seven baptisms. Other laymen preached. Batista Michiles, the Brazilian rancher on the Maués River, backed up his request for public meetings by building a meeting place at his own expense soon after Halliwell began his annual trips up the Amazon. It was not long until the Maués church became the largest body of Adventists between Belém and Manaus, and, as might be expected, Michiles was the pillar.⁶⁶

By the time of W. A. Butler's visit to South America in 1938, the lay movement was flourishing. The division, he said, was on the "verge of the greatest lay movement South America has seen. Hundreds of our lay brethren are actively engaged in giving Bible studies and holding lay efforts." Four years later he again emphasized

how important a layman's training course was. Many of the members used projectors in their public efforts and cottage meetings.⁶⁷

General Conference visitor J. F. Wright witnessed how enthusiastic a church could become when active members became part of the soul-winning process. On two successive Sabbaths in Buenos Aires, he watched Walter Schubert baptize new members to whom laymen witnessed. Among the lay workers were colporteurs, a blacksmith, and a 10-year-old boy who was responsible for six baptisms as a result of his Bible studies. A woman lawyer and a number of husbands and wives were among the newly baptized.

"It was a touching and impressive scene on both occasions," Wright later wrote. "Fully one-half of the people baptized had been won or at least sought out and started in the truth by lay members. Elder Schubert, following the baptism, and before the folk were voted into the church, gave ample time for each person to arise and briefly tell how they became interested in the truth, or as to how they were won. Then someone would arise in the congregation and come forward to greet the new member as the one who had led this person to the Lord. I have never witnessed such a scene as this before. There were both smiles and tears of joy on the part of those who had been won and also the one used as the instrument in winning the individual."⁶⁸

Through the efforts of an active laity, one of the São Paulo congregations doubled its membership in two years. Soon after Wright's visit, laymen attending a home missionary convention adopted the motto for 1942, "Win two for Christ." "A very excellent work is being done by our laity in South America," Wright reported.⁶⁹

At the beginning of the 1940s, a lay movement evolved around Lake Titicaca. In this region fewer ordained and licensed workers existed as compared to other parts of the division. Even though some of the Aymaras could not read or write, they were happy to sing and pray in homes of interested persons and discouraged members. Some learned how to use filmstrips with battery-operated projectors. In Bolivia lay preachers held three conventions during the early part of 1948 and set a combined goal of 500 baptisms for the year.⁷⁰

The 1940s marked a turning point for South American evangelism. By 1947 Schubert's influence was continental. He was key to the evolution of new evangelistic techniques to reach metropolitan areas. Urban evangelism became the benchmark of South American soul-winning, which shifted attention away from the accomplishments of Stahl, Halliwell, and their colleagues among indigenous

peoples and the backlands. This change expressed a denominational resolve to emphasize large-scale evangelism. A special evangelistic issue of the *Review*, July 26, 1945, though directed primarily at North America, called the world church to engage in evangelism, drawing attention to the unreached masses instead of the remote benighted peoples that had been the primary object of Adventist missions.

As responsible as anyone for fomenting the new evangelistic emphasis was Figuhr, who set the tone in union and division meetings. Although he constantly promoted evangelism, one of his crucial sessions with his colleagues occurred in December 1947 when they laid plans for the following year. Carefully weighing their policies, they found them wanting. When recording the committee minutes, the division secretary declared that “these considerations . . . sobered and challenged us. They produced certain deep convictions, and led to certain united conclusions. They became a mighty summons for us to seek, first of all, for that endowment [endowment] of divine power that alone will enable us to meet the expectation of God for this hour. Secondly, they summoned us to so adjust our fundamental emphasis that the finishing of our mission on earth will have first place in all our endeavors. A great soulwinning advance must mark the days before us.”⁷¹

Besides major efforts, the division officers encouraged short campaigns that would avoid sensational topics and present the kernel of biblical truths leading to conversion. Figuhr saw laymen, colporteurs, and ordained and licensed workers as parts of a single movement to evangelize the continent. Leaders throughout South America laid their plans well and carried them out. In 1948, for the first time in division history, 5,000 baptisms occurred as a result of one year’s labor.⁷²

Years of spectacular growth were still ahead, but initiative and innovation had clearly shifted from the missionary to national leadership. By the end of the 1940s, evangelism in South America was more akin to the future than to the past.

¹ R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, July 23, 1941, GCA/11, GF/Figuhr folder; “Death of R. R. Figuhr, former General Conference president,” *RH*, November 10, 1983.

² H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, August 27, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; A. C. Harder to J. L. Brown, August 26, 1942, *ibid.*; J. L. Brown to E. D. Dick, August 31, 1942, *ibid.*; J. L. Brown to F. L. Harrison, August 31, 1942, *ibid.*

³ J. L. Brown to A. W. Cormack, August 10, 1942, *ibid.*; Ranzolin, *Uma voz*, 27.

⁴ H. O. Olson to E. D. Dick, July 28, 1943, GCA/21, GF/1943.

⁵ E. D. Dick to R. R. Figuhr, March 22, 1943, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to E. D. Dick, October 7, 1943, *ibid.*

⁶ J. F. Wright, “Survey of Visit and Observations made during Recent Trip to the South American Division,” April 16, 1942, *ibid.*/1942.

⁷ SAD Minutes, August 8, 1943/GCA; Edgar Brooks to E. D. Dick, April 1, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; W.

E. Phillips to officers of the General Conference, June 29, 1944, *ibid.*/1944; R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, March 19, 1943, *ibid.*/11, GF/1943, Figuhr folder; Leo B. Halliwell, *Light Bearer*, 74, 75; E. N. Lugenbeal, "In the Austral Union," *RH*, December 10, 1942; R. R. Figuhr, "Open Doors in South America," *ibid.*, May 22, 1947.

⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1930-1950.

⁹ H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, August 4, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941; J. L. McElhany to R. R. Figuhr, November 3, 1941, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, November 17, 1941, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, November 18, 1941, *ibid.*

¹⁰ SAD Minutes, December 10-26, 1941/GCA; J. F. Wright, "Evangelism in the South American Division," *RH*, May 14, 1942.

¹¹ W. E. Murray to A. W. Cormack, no date, received in Washington in October, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941.

¹² Daniel Plenc has provided an excellent summary of these events and a description of Schubert himself in *Misioneros*, 108-119. "History of Evangelism in South America," no name, *South America Today*, LII (July-December 1976), 5, 6. *South America Today* is the successor to the *Bulletin* and will be cited hereafter as *Today*.

¹³ J. F. Wright, "Survey of Visit and Observations made during Recent Trip to the South American Division," April 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

¹⁴ H. O. Olson, "Biennial Conference Session in Chile," *RH*, June 25, 1942.

¹⁵ H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, April 2, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; H. O. Olson, "Evangelism in Argentina," *RH*, June 11, 1942; H. O. Olson, "Large Effort in Uruguay," *ibid.*, August 16, 1945.

¹⁶ H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, September 8, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; G. F. Ruf, "Peru Mission," *RH*, November 12, 1942; H. O. Olson, "Evangelism in South America," *ibid.*, December 24, 1942; R. R. Figuhr, "The Best Year," *ibid.*, July 15, 1943.

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²⁰ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1947.

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²⁶ T. L. Oswald, "The Austral Union," *ibid.*, February 26, 1948; *Statistical Report*, 1940-1950.

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⁴⁸ For a background of the life of Braulio Pérez Marcio and his early days with the *Voice of Prophecy*, see Milton Peverini García, *Vida de Braulio Pérez Marcio* (Nampa, ID, 2007), 39-68. Léo Ranzolin provides a life sketch of Robert Rabello in the previously cited *Uma voz dedicada a Deus*. See pages 25, 26. H. G. Stoehr to W. P. Bradley, February 12, 1943, *ibid.*/1943; W. P. Bradley, "Voice of Prophecy in Latin America," *RH*, September 23, 1943. See Greenleaf, *Church in Latin America*, v. 2, 184, 185.

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INSTITUTIONS BEGIN THE POSTWAR ERA

“THE MEDICAL WORK is truly the right arm of the message,” Galdino Nunes Vieira wrote in 1949. “Where the message cannot enter by any other means it often finds entrance through this medium. Its influence is felt upon all classes, from the most humble to the highest.”¹ Nunes Vieira’s thoughts were neither original nor startling—Adventists had long used the metaphor of the right arm. His statement is important because it originated with a Brazilian doctor in Brazil where Adventism did not have a right arm until the 1940s.

It was unavoidable that evangelism would affect institutions. A growing evangelistic program produced a growing constituency, which in turn produced more services and institutions. As Figuhr and his fellow workers faced 1948 with a call for intensified evangelism, they also took note of institutional needs and shaped their budgets accordingly. Although admitting they felt “encumbered and preoccupied with maintaining” what they already had, and burdened down with the “organizational and functional phases of the movement,” they could not ignore the increasing demands that institutions placed upon them.² Notwithstanding this burden,

South American church leaders found ample reason to rejoice over an enlarging circle of institutions. For those that the denomination owned in 1940, workers had struggled long and hard, and the decade that followed brought them many surprises.

The most significant institutional advances in the South American Division during the 1940s took place in health care. To the existing clinics and the Argentine sanitarium, the division would add an impressive list of medical centers. In the 1950s another hospital became available to the church in Bolivia, a new clinic opened in Lima, Peru, and Brazilian Adventists established promising beginnings of health-care centers in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Belém.

NEW MEDICAL CENTERS IN BRAZIL

Beginning in the 1930s most of the agitation for a medical center in Brazil focused on São Paulo. In this southern metropolis the South Brazil Union appeared well on its way in 1940 toward establishing a sanitarium when the General Conference, for a variety of reasons, advised the division in December to cancel its plans. The problem was a combination of nationalism within the Brazilian Adventist community, uncertainties in Brazilian domestic policies, and scarcity of Brazilian doctors and nurses. Some critics argued in favor of establishing a medical center in the city rather than adjacent to the school, while other voices suggested that an Adventist sanitarium in Rio de Janeiro, the national capital, would be more appropriate than one in São Paulo.³

As it turned out, both cities got a sanitarium, the first appearing in São Paulo. After the General Conference withdrew its opposition to a clinic in that city, the door was open for the South Brazil Union to continue its plans. During 1941 the São Paulo Conference took charge of the project, placing C. C. Schneider in charge of the fledgling health-care institution. W. E. Nelson from the General Conference visited the “new clinic” during his tour of South America in late 1941 and early 1942, finding the work “proceeding very satisfactorily.” The conference had purchased an old dwelling to remodel into doctors’ offices and treatment rooms, with space enough for more than thirty beds. Also part of the plan was to convert the garage into a clinic for charity out-patients.⁴

Progress was slow, but on Sunday, March 8, 1942, São Paulo Conference officers dedicated the first official Adventist medical unit in Brazil, Casa de Saúde Liberdade, with a staff of four, including a surgeon. Among the attending dignitaries who added a touch of glamor to the ceremony were a doctor, who was also a former governor of the state, and his wife.⁵

Figuhr and other leaders in South America supported the new facility in spite of the many questions that had arisen about it. Seventeen months after its official opening, division officers requested Cr100,000, or US\$6,000, for expansion, noting that the São Paulo Conference had worked hard to raise funds and that the “institution is . . . bringing us in contact with influential people of the city and the country. Had they a little more space, they could do considerable [sic] more work without increasing their staff of workers.”⁶

In November 1943 H. M. Walton, secretary of the General Conference Medical Department, visited the thirty-five-bed institution. He found virtually nothing to criticize. The building’s overall appearance, location, and easy accessibility combined with the staff’s professionalism and medical services were attracting a well-paying clientele. In their haste to serve that sector of the public, the staff had not overlooked philanthropy. At the end of November 1943, the financial statement showed a gain for the year, which Galdino Nunes Vieira, the medical director, had spent for charity cases. The major problems facing Vieira and head nurse Freda Trefz harked back to fears the General Conference expressed earlier—it was difficult to find adequate staff. In addition, the total working force of more than twenty were cramped for work space.

Walton, who three years earlier had urged the General Conference to drop plans for a medical unit in São Paulo, did not allow his former counsel to color his report of his visit. “We were much impressed,” he wrote about the staff, “and their determination to make the institution wholly representative of our denominational medical missionary work. We feel that much commendation is due for the splendid work already accomplished by this Clinic.”⁷

An appropriation enabling Vieira to purchase adjoining property permitted the clinic to expand. By the end of the decade, the clinic’s capacity was more than fifty beds. Gideon de Oliveira joined Vieira as assistant medical director, and in 1947 Raymond Ermshar from the United States also became part of the staff, raising the number of physicians to three. While studying for revalidation of his diploma, Ermshar set up a laboratory and installed X-ray equipment.⁸

Besides finding a place in the denominational ring of medical institutions, Casa de Saúde became a well-known center for polio treatment. By the time Walton’s successor in the General Conference, T. R. Flaiz, inspected the growing institution in 1949, patients were converging on its treatment rooms from all over Brazil. Lillian Wentz, a nurse, and two assistants gained national attention by handling scores of cases with a modified Kenny plan, completely curing nine by the end of 1947.

Locally, the small sanitarium enjoyed an enviable reputation. Thirty-eight non-Adventist doctors brought their patients to the facility.⁹

As much attention as Casa de Saúde received, it was clear from the outset that the eyes of church leaders had turned to Rio de Janeiro as the leading site for a medical center. Walton preferred Rio over São Paulo because it offered possible locations at higher altitudes. Even before the dedication of the São Paulo clinic, C. C. Schneider planned to transfer from Casa de Saúde to the national capital to establish another clinic. Money shortages threatened the project, but J. L. Brown, president of the East Brazil Union, persisted even though he did not know where funds would come from. On November 22, 1942, approximately six months after Schneider began his search for a suitable building, East Brazil Union officers dedicated the Clínica de Repouso White, a fourteen-room, three-story, nineteenth-century dwelling set in luxuriant gardens overlooking Guanabara Bay.¹⁰

The East Brazil Union leased these quarters for only three years, anticipating a different site where they could build a permanent hospital. "It is hoped that in the near future we will have our own sanitarium on one of the beautiful heights in or near Rio," H. O. Olson told South American Adventists two months before the Rio clinic began.¹¹ Before doors officially opened on November 22, eight patients were already occupying beds in the clinic. Almost immediately Schneider attracted a clientele that would publicize his institution's virtues widely. One of the early patients was a surgeon himself. Only months after opening, relatives of government officials and members of the diplomatic corps came for treatment.

The menu also proved to be an attraction. So impressed with whole wheat bread was one patient—the wife of one of Rio's wealthy jewelers—that she asked to go to the kitchen where she pulled off her rings and bracelets to sink her hands into the dough and mix a batch of her own, which she took home for her family. Schneider was receiving calls from all over Brazil, from the Amazon to the extreme south, about Clínica de Repouso White, among them the son of Brazil's president who called from São Paulo requesting special hydrotherapy care. Small wonder that after all of the publicity Schneider received, he was soon complaining that his facility was too small.¹²

On March 2, 1944, slightly more than fifteen months after opening the Rio clinic, Figuhr announced that the East Brazil Union had acquired land for a new institution. Seven acres in the Silvestre section of Rio, under the outstretched arms of Christ of the Corcovado, would give patients and staff in the projected medical center a prominent spot as well as a splendid view of the city.¹³

But construction went slowly. J. L. Brown returned to the United States, leaving the presidency of the East Brazil Union to C. E. Lambeth, a younger man who quickly commanded W. E. Nelson's respect for his leadership and ability to raise money in the local community. Plans for the institution were in the making long before land was bought, but Lambeth discovered that eleven committees were to approve blueprints and projections. Once he waited nearly three months for permission to fell three trees obstructing the foundation. Meanwhile, costs escalated because of Brazil's wartime economy. Also, war-consciousness produced an unforeseen problem—a new requirement in the building code demanding a bomb shelter for all public buildings. This snag alone would cost US\$10,000.¹⁴

Financial difficulties continued to harass the builders. In 1946 the division committee authorized construction of the building to its full height but withheld permission to complete the inside. Two years later the division named E. L. Moore, South America's assistant auditor, to become director of construction with "authority to suspend items that are in question until reviewed by the Division Committee."¹⁵

Not until July 20, 1948, did the Rio Clinic move into its new home. Only months later T. R. Flaiz inspected the facility. "In no detail is there anything cheap about its appointments," he commented. Its choice location, on a promontory a thousand feet above the city, only a half hour away by streetcar, made it one of Rio's attractive sites.

But beauty was not the solution to problems. What had originally begun in 1943 as a US\$125,000 project had mushroomed into US\$350,000. As attractive as it was, it lacked surgery facilities and laboratory and X-ray equipment. The old converted dwelling with its fourteen rooms had been too small, but the new facility, with a capacity exceeding forty in 1948, was reporting only ten or fifteen patients when Flaiz paid his visit. Already in his mid-fifties, Schneider was slowing down, physically, and a replacement in the near future was likely.¹⁶

Another twenty months passed before the medical center officially opened as Hospital Silvestre. Before five hundred guests from the General Conference, the South American Division, and the city of Rio de Janeiro, N. W. Dunn from Adventist world headquarters cut the tape. Still far short of its planned capacity of one hundred beds, it nonetheless elicited considerable optimism from Brazilian Adventists. Temporarily, Galdino Nunes Vieira replaced Schneider as medical director.¹⁷

The General Conference shared construction costs for both Casa de Saúde and Hospital Silvestre, but it poured more money into the Rio project. The division tagged the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering in 1943 for the new medical center, and

from the Pacific Union in the United States came another US\$50,000. Adventist hospitals in Glendale, Loma Linda, and Paradise Valley in California, and Portland, Oregon also contributed to Hospital Silvestre.¹⁸

Not ready to leave itself out of South America's growing medical program was Brazil's third field, the North Brazil Union. Partly as a result of Leo Halliwell's river ministry with the *Luzeiro*, workers began serious talk in 1942 about a permanent medical unit in this smallest of the Brazilian unions. After his inspection of the South American Division beginning in November 1941, J. F. Wright recommended "that better devised plans be laid for the strengthening of our medical and evangelical work in the great Amazon regions." It was his "humble judgment [that] this is one of the crying needs found in the Division."¹⁹

Responding to the need, Dr. Antonio Miranda transferred from São Paulo to Belém in 1942 where he established the Clínica Bom Samaritano in a building that W. E. Nelson, visiting from the General Conference three years later, called "wholly unsuitable for the work they are endeavoring to do." Nelson accompanied the North Brazil leaders to a possible new site for the clinic, encouraged them to establish a small institution with a capacity of fourteen patients, and advised them to expand if business warranted. Moral support also came from H. M. Walton, whose tour of the region in 1943 and 1944 impressed him that the opportune moment had come to promote a medical center in Belém. According to Walton, Miranda's hydrotherapy treatments were having a wide-ranging influence in the city. Simultaneous with the purchase of the Silvestre property in Rio was Figuhr's announcement that the North Brazil Union had also bought land in Belém for a hospital.²⁰

Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offerings in 1947 and 1949 helped to provide construction funds, in the latter case, US\$48,000. In May 1947 the division committee approved plans for Belém Hospital, but when Flaiz visited Halliwell in 1948, actual work had not yet begun. The General Conference inspector was pleased with the four-acre location, noting that building funds were already on hand for the projected unit, which he called "modest . . . providing for perhaps thirty beds." With prospects of the 1949 overflow offering, Halliwell began putting up the two-story structure. "Belem Hospital will be ready for operations about the end of July," Division Treasurer O. A. Blake wrote early in 1950. Like its predecessors in São Paulo and Rio, this new addition to Adventist health-care institutions began serving the public before its official opening in 1953.²¹

Besides these three institutions, Brazilian Adventists were supporting other medical projects. Another Clínica Bom Samaritano in Pôrto Alegre, stuffed into

two rooms in the basement of the church, provided an opportunity for Siegfried Hoffmann, an ordained minister as well as a doctor, to treat thousands of patients. Ernesto Ebinger, a worker in the Rio-Espírito Santo Mission, established a string of small dispensaries, placing them in the hands of men trained in first aid. Private practitioners such as Dr. Faiock and H. S. Bergold, a dentist, both witnessed faithfully in Taquara, each with his own clinic. Faiock constructed a forty-bed hospital in 1948.²²

HEALTH-CARE INSTITUTIONS IN BOLIVIA, PERU, AND ARGENTINA

While medical institutions flowered in Brazil during the 1940s, both prosperity and tragedy punctuated attempts by Bolivian Adventists to promote medical evangelism. In no small part, Chulumani Hospital, less than a hundred miles from La Paz, was responsible for the favorable opinions Bolivian officialdom held about Adventists. Well-known persons from the government, the military, and the diplomatic corps visited the medical center, lending an air of noteworthiness to the place.

R. C. Floren, who took charge of the facility in 1940, left his post in 1943. Harry T. and Naomi Pitman, both doctors, replaced him. At the time of this transition, Talitha Neuman, who had arrived in 1942, was head nurse. Also a member of the nursing staff was Daniel Utz, a graduate of River Plate Sanitarium. Prior to the Pitmans' arrival, the division secretary, H. O. Olson, visited the hospital, observing that evangelism was also part of the program—church leaders partially attributed nineteen baptisms in 1942 to the work of the medical center.²³

But there were problems at Chulumani that made it difficult for hospital workers to earn their good reputation easily. In 1945 R. E. Kepkey, the mission president, commented that frequent changes in doctors and opposition from some quarters of the country impeded consistent operation of the hospital. At the time of the Pitmans' arrival, the institution reported only three patients. It was a dismal showing, but the new doctors soon improved the patient census to nearly full capacity.²⁴

Word spread rapidly about the Pitmans. By mid-1945 they performed nearly five hundred operations without a fatality. Patients were everywhere, housed in the reception room, nursing office, nursery, surgery room, and doctor's office, besides some overflow in the baths and the woodshed. Relief for these crowded conditions came on September 23 when the hospital administration dedicated a new wing, raising capacity to seventy beds. Juan Sicalo, a nurse from Argentina, made some of the beds required for the expansion.²⁵

After his visit in 1943 and 1944, H. M. Walton reported that a private organization, Proprietarios de Yungas, was constructing a forty-bed facility in Coroico in the North Yungas and had approached the Bolivia Mission about leasing it for a nominal figure. With promises of furnishings and equipment, including X-ray and a doctor's home, Walton recommended that Kepkey take advantage of the offer.²⁶

The Coroico offer was only one of several that reached Kepkey. In 1946 he wrote that seven similar proposals had come to his desk. One was in Guayaramerín in the northeast corner of the country. On the bank of the Mamore River, separating Bolivia from Brazil, the American Co-operative Service erected a twenty-four-bed facility, complete with its own water system, electric power plant, and equipment for surgery, laboratory, and X-ray. In this tropical setting Kepkey estimated that malaria had struck 90 percent of the people; others suffered with leprosy, elephantiasis, hookworm, and other maladies.²⁷

According to the terms of the proposal, the anticipated North American doctor would furnish medicines and maintain the building after the Minister of Work, Health, and Public Service turned it over to him, fully equipped. The minister would supply 20,000 *bolivianos* monthly for operational costs, besides additional money for charity cases. The doctor could charge going rates for his services, and the minister would legalize his medical practice in Bolivia. Another provision assured the doctor that his religion would not be questioned.

Kepkey feared that the opportunity would be lost unless he acted quickly. A rapid series of telegrams between the mission and the General Conference produced nothing. By the end of January 1946, Harry Pitman agreed to assume responsibility for the new hospital for four months. This solution only precipitated another dilemma because it cut the medical center at Chulumani short, which had already suffered extensively because of frequent changes in medical personnel. Pitman's departure, even though temporary, only added to that problem.

Pitman was immediately enchanted with his new post, telling Kepkey that patient volume was heavy and that much of his work involved surgery. He perceived Guayaramerín's future as more promising than Chulumani's, and while fulfilling his temporary assignment, he decided to remain permanently at his new post, a decision doubtlessly influenced by the failure of the General Conference to find a doctor who would lease the project. Two weeks after arriving, he wrote: "Tonight, far past midnight, as a tropical torrent drenches down, I exhaustedly cast myself on an inviting Simmons mattress. I have my answer. Shortly past seven this morning

I was aroused by a man groaning with a toothache, his face distorted by an alveolar abscess. After relieving the poor man's suffering I found nearly fifty patients waiting consultation. The word was out. The Adventist doctor from Chulumani had come. All must take advantage of the occasion. One had traveled a week by boat from the interior of Brazil . . . Another had come ten days by river launch from Trinidad . . . I performed forty operations and delivered three babies."

Patients staying at the hospital more than doubled the twenty-bed capacity. "Tonight I am happy!" Pitman wrote. "My faith is greater than ever that the Lord leads and directs, and we should not be fearful to do HIS bidding." Asserting that medical evangelism provided more opportunities than any other means to reach all classes of people, and pointing out that Jesus spent more time healing the sick than preaching, he called for a revival of faithfulness among Adventists.

Pitman's statement appeared in the *Review* on November 7, 1946, for the entire North American Adventist community to read. With tragic irony, on that very day he died with the pilot of a small aircraft as it crashed in the Bolivian backland somewhere between Trinidad and Cochabamba.²⁸

Dutifully, Naomi Pitman kept her husband's contract with the American Cooperative Service, agreeing to remain at Guayaramerín for one year until a permanent doctor could take over. Fearing that Guayaramerín would slip from the church's grasp, she encouraged the General Conference to find a replacement for her. Kepkey continued his search, writing to Jerry Pettis, head of the alumni association of the Adventist medical school in North America, for help. Figuhr had already informed the General Conference that the church had no plans to assume control of Guayaramerín, largely because no one wanted to be involved in operating an institution that the church did not own.²⁹

Finally, E. E. Bottsford accepted the challenge. In 1949, after a year and a half at Guayaramerín, he told the General Conference that he used a launch to treat river people, and that Bolivia's president, a recent visitor to the hospital, had promised assistance. One of his more outstanding accomplishments was the purchase of a lot on which to build a church.³⁰

Both Pitmans had evaluated opportunities at Guayaramerín superior to those at Chulumani, where shaky and sometimes negative conditions adversely affected the institution. Differences sometimes broke the usual cordial relations between the hospital and the municipality. Such had been the case following the Chaco War in the 1930s. Another rupture occurred soon after the Pitmans left Chulumani, when

talk circulated about mismanagement. Criticism found its way into La Paz newspapers. Waldo W. Stiles, who had served as medical director at Arequipa, Juliaca, and even Chulumani, visited the Bolivian outpost in 1946 and reported that many of the criticisms were valid. The hospital was depreciating badly without proper maintenance. No changes in equipment had occurred in seven years, and Stiles observed that the hospital needed “practically a complete overhauling.” He recommended that the church should establish its own medical center at Cochabamba.³¹

Flaiz said little about Chulumani after his inspection in 1949, but observed that it was “one of those questionable situations in which we are operating a government owned institution on a contract, which leaves much to be desired.” Pointing out that improvements that the Bolivia Mission made in the plant were contributions to the government, he concluded that “except as we make Chulumani a center of strong and aggressive evangelistic work, it is difficult to justify continuation of this work on the present basis.”³² Flaiz was clearly affirming the practice of Adventist medical institutions functioning with defined evangelistic purposes as opposed to operating government-owned institutions. He was also suggesting a reason why the facility was in poor repair. His misgivings about leasing publicly owned medical units had little immediate effect on events in Bolivia. The mission continued its lease at Chulumani, and eventually, at Guayaramerín as well.

In Peru medical evangelism had taken some backward steps when the Arequipa clinic closed, but during the 1940s advancements elsewhere eclipsed this loss. Early in the decade C. R. Potts successfully passed his revalidation examinations, allowing him to practice unmolested anywhere in the country. Until 1944 when E. E. Bottsford replaced him at the Juliaca Clinic, he conducted the only permanent Adventist medical center in Peru.

Bottsford’s transfer to Guayaramerín left the Juliaca Clinic in the hands of David Duffie. In sharp contrast to earlier decades, the Lake Titicaca Mission was drawing little attention in the Adventist world by the late 1940s. In 1949 Flaiz remarked that conditions surrounding the clinic made it “the most rugged assignment of any of our overseas hospital projects, not excepting any.” He had nothing but praise for Duffie and his wife, although he admitted that the health care that the medical staff offered was “more on the Indian level.”

Meanwhile, another medical project was developing in Lima. Hoping to reach a more affluent class, the Peru Mission encouraged Potts to establish a clinic in the national capital. He briefly rented quarters before purchasing the old German

Embassy in Miraflores, where he set up X-ray and lab equipment and made space for twenty beds. Naming the venture Good Hope Clinic, he reported in January 1947 a growing clientele—200 in the last month, and that after only five months of operations. The small facility was well situated and generating a fine reputation, but Flaiz recommended moving to another location where expansion would be easier.³³

Throughout most of the 1940s, talk persisted about a clinic in Iquitos. H. M. Walton offered detailed advice about this possibility in 1944, but for years thereafter the only Adventist medical program in the city was the river launch that plied the Upper Amazon.³⁴

By the end of the 1940s, River Plate Sanitarium had made little advancement from where it was a decade earlier. With opinions varying from optimism to pessimism, General Conference inspectors frequently remarked about its rural location. During his visit in 1941, J. F. Wright's negative outlook was obvious. "It is too bad this institution could not have been located in a more favorable place some years ago," he wrote, more or less washing his hands of the financial difficulties it faced.³⁵ Flaiz called the small community surrounding River Plate Sanitarium and the adjoining school the "most thoroughly country living project we have in the denomination," suggesting that the medical program would be more valuable if it were located in a populated center, but its well-established reputation helped to draw patients from as far away as Rosario and occasionally, Buenos Aires.

Wright pictured the institution's financial future rather gloomily, but two years later Walton found the hospital debt-free and in very satisfactory economic condition, even recording a net gain for 1942. New X-ray equipment had arrived, for which the business office paid by squeezing 30,000 Argentine *pesos* out of earnings. The buildings were showing their age, prompting questions about repairs and redecoration. At the end of the decade, Flaiz found that the occupancy rate had notably increased to above ninety percent, leading to discussion about adding a new wing with private rooms. Carl Westphal was still medical director, assisted by Marcelo Hammerly.³⁶

Negative observations about the sanitarium's rural location were not new. The division officers readily acknowledged that an urban medical center would benefit the church. When laying plans for their 1944 budget, Figuhr and F. L. Harrison, division treasurer, requested US\$15,000 to buy land for a facility in Buenos Aires, pointing out that the only medical institution in the country was far to the north of the capital.

A year and a half later they were still talking about the project, and even raised some money, which included a gift from Paradise Valley Sanitarium in the United States, but the

cost of a hospital for Buenos Aires was prohibitive. By the end of the decade, it appeared as far away as always. Another decade would pass before solid plans would materialize, but meanwhile, forward looking church leaders did not allow the matter to die.³⁷

Several factors influenced the growth in South America's medical evangelism during the 1940s. An improved economic well-being in the church was necessary to support costly construction projects, but also of significance was the trend of more nationals to enter medical schools. That a few North Americans had been able to achieve either partial or complete revalidation of their credentials demonstrated that exceptions to the rule could occur, but church leaders could not build a consistent program on such cases. South American Adventist doctors were not a commonplace by 1950, but their number was on the rise and they played important roles in developing medical centers in their countries.

At River Plate, two doctors, Marcelo Hammerly and Arnolfo Block, both trained in South America, assisted Westphal. Block was a third-generation Adventist and the first Argentine member of the church to complete medical school and work at the hospital. When J. E. Edwards, a General Conference consultant, toured the division in 1948, he reported fifteen known Adventist medical students.³⁸ While this number was not large, it was encouraging.

But the breakthrough that medical evangelism enjoyed in the 1940s also underscored problems. Doubts continued at the General Conference about the capability of South American Adventists to staff their medical institutions with Adventist nurses and technicians as well as doctors. To find nurses was probably less difficult than doctors because the division could supply at least some of them from the training program at River Plate Sanitarium, but it was immediately evident that new medical centers needed more help than the Argentine school could provide.

Notwithstanding the long-standing reputation of the nursing school at River Plate Sanitarium, H. M. Walton candidly described its weaknesses. An average occupancy rate of twenty patients severely limited clinical experience, even though only about five students entered the program annually. Conditions did not improve by the end of the 1940s. According to Walton, entrance requirements were low and not all the training assignments were relevant, but whatever the deficiencies of the course, everyone recognized that the institution had supplied nearly all of the Adventist nurses in the division.³⁹

A concern about the dearth of persons trained in medical procedures weighed heavily on Walton's mind when he inspected the clinics at São Paulo, Rio, and Belém

in 1943 and 1944. “There are practically no experienced workers or duly qualified nurses to be had,” he observed, adding that except for the “few nurses trained in Argentina” the Brazilian institutions would have to prepare their own workers. “It is hoped that a strong school of nursing will be established in connection with this new sanitarium in Rio,” he wrote.⁴⁰

Both Casa Saúde and Clínica de Repouso White could train their own bedside nurses, but administrative and supervisory personnel would have to come from recognized sources. At São Paulo a program for practical nurses began early with trainees studying under the auspices of the Brazilian Red Cross. Most church leaders, however, looked to Rio as the potentially stronger institution, and thus more capable of offering a bonafide nurses’ training course.

Before Walton left Clínica de Repouso White, he and other church representatives began negotiations to affiliate the institution with the Ana Nery School of Nursing in Rio, requesting permission for Adventist trainees to study without compromising Sabbath observance and denominational standards in diet and other practices. Walton proposed this arrangement on the condition that the Adventist institution would establish its own nursing education program, utilizing the advantages offered by the Ana Nery School. At the end of the decade, however, the Rio Sanitarium was still without its training program.⁴¹

Nursing education even touched the leased facility at Chulumani in 1943 when plans to enlarge hospital capacity included discussion about a school of nursing, an eventuality that government officials in La Paz approved. Walton added his blessing, suggesting that the Bolivian center should furnish nurses for other medical units in the Inca Union and possibly elsewhere. Since 1940 the hospital staff trained practical nurses—the first class of two graduated before Walton arrived in late 1943. It was a small showing, but it was a beginning, and one that continued. Yet, however beneficial the course was to the institution, it did not measure up to recognized standards, and five years after Walton’s visit, Flaiz recommended that the Inca Union move its nurses’ training program to the Good Hope Clinic in Lima.⁴²

For South American Division leaders, the issue of staffing its medical institutions was a two-edged sword. The task of providing nurses and other personnel to perform the daily routines of health care with a commitment to denominational practices was a problem, but it was also a sign of advancement. It was only a decade earlier that South Americans wrestled with the problem of how to establish medical centers in the first place.

CHANGE IN THE PUBLISHING HOUSES

Besides the relatively new problems of nursing education and sanitariums, South America's two publishing houses also kept division and union officers busy. Of all the questions Figuhr faced when he landed in South America, Brazil's Casa Publicadora posed one of the most serious. Brazilian law forbade aliens from publishing periodicals. Even before his boat reached its final destination in Buenos Aires, he entered the debate about how to comply with this government regulation without jeopardizing the publishing house. Taking advantage of a two-day stopover in Rio, he discussed the issue with church leaders in Brazil. They had few alternatives. "The law of the country makes it imperative that magazines issued in the country be owned and operated by nationals born in the country," he wrote McElhany after the conclave in Rio.⁴³

Brazilian Adventists had already been parrying the question for some time before government officials told them to comply with the law by the end of July 1941, or else close the plant. Time was running out—it was already July when Figuhr visited Brazil—and after their hasty discussions, Brazil's Adventist leaders and Figuhr advised the publishing house to turn the magazines over to Luiz Waldvogel, the editor-in-chief, as owner. Some argued that they should nationalize the board of directors instead, a plan that would have satisfied legal demands, but Figuhr demurred, explaining that such a move would cut Casa Publicadora off from direct contact with the division and the General Conference.⁴⁴

By the time the new division president reached Buenos Aires, he had changed his mind. Waldvogel refused to become the legal owner of the Brazilian periodicals, and some argued that nationalization of the board was a better way of compliance. On July 24 the division committee "acquiesced," authorizing Casa Publicadora to reorganize its board with a complete slate of native Brazilians. An embarrassed Figuhr wrote that "in view of the urgency of the matter . . . we voted what we did."⁴⁵

Figuhr was not happy with this turn of events, but had little choice. As he saw it, the issue was not the control of the publishing house by nationals—Brazilians already held ten of the thirteen seats on the board—but rather giving the appearance of severing ties with the church at large. In September he returned to Brazil to study the matter with the publishing house board. With him was E. E. Franklin from the General Conference Publishing Department.

The upshot was a compromise. Without a specific action to nationalize, the board held elections and filled every seat with a Brazilian. Rudolfo Belz, the president of

the newly constituted body, immediately prepared a statement pledging continued alignment with denominational goals and placed it in Figuhr's hands with the signatures of all thirteen men.⁴⁶

General Conference officials in Washington were dubious about nationalization, and told Figuhr so. But acceptance of the fact was their only alternative. Figuhr admitted that the deed was already done, even without an official board declaration. However distasteful the situation was to Figuhr and the church at large, it was not as bad as it might have been. Not only Belz's letter but a request by the South Brazil Union asking for a special advisory board composed of division personnel to sit with the official board made the situation more palatable. Until South America's division committee could respond, F. L. Harrison filled the role of division advisor.⁴⁷

In December at the annual year-end meeting, the division committee approved a statement that further refined the arrangement. While the South Brazil Union was the legal owner of Casa Publicadora, the constituency would draw board members from the conferences in the union and from other parts of Brazil outside the union. A Brazilian board controlled the publishing house, but an advisory body of at least three would attend sessions of the constituency and the board. As a precautionary measure, the statement described that the purpose of the enterprise was to publish Christian literature, not to make personal profit. The division voted an official resolution of thanks to the publishing house board for its willingness to cooperate with the denomination. In January 1942 the division approved an advisory board consisting of six persons from scattered parts of South America.⁴⁸

If Figuhr thought the matter was settled, he was shortly to learn otherwise. Whether Waldvogel wanted to assume personal responsibility for publishing denominational magazines or not, Brazilian authorities soon forced the issue, demanding that one or two nationals take charge of *O Atalaia* and *Vida e Saúde*. The individuals had to be part Portuguese and members of families that had lived in Brazil for two generations. To meet this new twist, the publishing house board tapped Domingos Peixoto da Silva on the shoulder, making him responsible to the government for what appeared in print.⁴⁹

The question of keeping Casa Publicadora alive in the face of government regulation affected more than producing denominational literature. J. F. Wright reported after his visit in 1942 that the press recorded gains of nearly 410 *contos* during the recent five years and had donated 300 of that profit to other Adventist institutions. Church leaders happily received this support, but Wright blurted out that "they have

nearly robbed the concern, so it has not had sufficient funds with which to really care for its own needs at times. This has been a very short-sighted policy and we did what we could to change it while in the Union.”⁵⁰

In Buenos Aires, Casa Editora also faced government controls, but not nearly as restrictive as those in Brazil. Church leaders as well as the plant manager were satisfied with financial achievements at the press. N. P. Neilsen wrote to Washington that the enterprise began the year 1940 with a gain of more than 37,000 Argentine *pesos*. At the end of 1941, the plant’s net worth was exceptional; for every *peso* of liabilities, the manager reported over fifteen in assets. “It is a pleasure to say that 90% of the assets are free from any encumbrance,” he told the division council.⁵¹

More than financial prosperity, distribution of Adventist literature was the concern to the plant’s management and division leaders. While accolades awaited J. C. Culpepper for his leadership as South America’s publishing secretary, obstacles appeared in his way. Militating against printing were wartime restrictions. In Argentina presses that operated overtime in 1942 could not repeat that privilege in 1943. Paper shortages and transportation difficulties also cut into production.

Not all the problems were external. Perhaps the most serious impediment to spreading literature was the inadequate condition of the enterprises themselves. During a visit to South America in 1944, the General Conference treasurer found the presses old and decrepit after continual use. Some of them had been old a generation earlier when they were purchased and installed. Besides this problem, neither the Brazilian nor the Argentine house had enough space for enlarging operations.⁵²

The end of the war did not translate into an end of problems. During 1946 prolonged shortages in Argentina shackled Casa Editora’s production. Additional regulation required employees to join the government pension plan. Other expenses gouged into operational funds. In spite of these conditions, in June the division committee approved additions for both the Argentine and Brazilian houses. In his annual statement at the beginning of 1947, Frank Baer, the new manager in Buenos Aires, reported that the two-story addition was nearly complete and that Casa Editora looked forward to better days.⁵³

In 1947 Baer guessed Casa Editora was so far behind that it could operate a full year on back orders. The division president blamed the inability of the Argentine press to supply the field with adequate literature on unreliable and worn out machinery and urged permission for Baer to return to the United States to purchase equipment. The General Conference had already acted, sending a rounder backer

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and a cutter in January 1947 and preparing a Kelly press for shipment by replacing some of its parts. The new rounder would potentially increase production from 200 to 5,000 books per day.⁵⁴

Another snag caught Casa Editora in 1947, this time involving Chile. Because Chilean law restricted importation of literature, the Argentine house was forced to contract with non-denominational firms in Chile to print Adventist literature. These production costs became exorbitant, and although the church faced a reduced colporteur corps and delays in publications, the division voted to sublet only if Casa Editora could supply the materials besides the copy.⁵⁵

Of the sixty-one denominational publishing centers outside North America in 1940, Casa Publicadora ranked fifth from the top according to the value of sales measured in United States dollars. By the end of World War II, the number of Adventist printing houses around the world diminished to forty-seven, but the Brazilian press rose to third in sales volume; five years later when the total number of publishing establishments fell to thirty-nine, Casa Publicadora was the denomination's most productive publishing enterprise outside North America with total sales exceeding US\$628,000. Its closest competitor was the Signs Publishing Company in Australia with more than US\$465,000 in sales. With roots extending back a half century, Brazil's publishing house established an outstanding record. Sixteen of its books exceeded a circulation of one million.⁵⁶

By the same measuring rod, Casa Editora's ranking slipped during the 1940s. Its sales of US\$151,000 in 1940 placed it fourth on the list of denominational publishing houses, a figure that doubled by 1945 and raised the plant's rank to second. Five years later, however, sales dropped to US\$239,000, sixth among the thirty-nine enterprises outside the North American Division.⁵⁷

GRANIX AND ALIMENTICIOS SUPERBOM

Health food manufacturing also advanced during the 1940s. Begun in 1938 under less than favorable circumstances, Granix was South America's sole venture into this industry. Its first years were precarious ones, with the division pumping money into operational expenses to keep the new enterprise solvent. One such incident occurred in January 1941 when the food factory received 4,000 Argentine pesos, although the division secretary reported that the factory's losses were "negligible."

By the end of the third complete calendar year of operations, the peso value of sales doubled, and soon thereafter the profit and loss statements began showing

gains. For the first five months of 1943 the business netted 20,000 Argentine *pesos*, a turn of events that Austral Union President E. N. Lugenbeal attributed to the wartime economy with its food shortages. One of Granix's fastest selling products was Vegex, a vegetable extract that went out to all parts of Argentina and even to Africa. The plant was still occupying temporary quarters, but with orders multiplying, management laid plans to build a new plant adjacent to Casa Editora.⁵⁸

Granix's evolution into a paying industry probably induced other Adventists to enter the health food market. Production had already begun at Brazil College, and in August 1944 the division approved plans to establish a factory on the school campus. It was understood that fruit juice would be a major product, although jellies and cereals were also on the list. Best known among the foods and drinks was grape juice, 150,000 bottles of it in 1944, some of which the school shipped to government officials, including Brazil's president.⁵⁹

Both in Argentina and in Brazil health food production had similar origins, beginning on a school campus before becoming independent. This transition was neither as fast in Brazil as in Argentina nor did it involve moving to a major city, but by the end of the decade, the transition was complete and the Brazilian Superbom industry became a recognized institution of the South American Division. Both Granix and Superbom were relatively small, even in 1950. Of the major church institutions, food processing plants were both the newest and fewest. At the beginning of the 1940s, the denomination claimed only twenty-nine food production centers world-wide. Ten years later the total grew to only thirty-two.⁶⁰

It was during the 1940s that modernization began for Adventist institutions in South America. Publishing houses, medical centers, and schools had always been a traditional part of the denominational scene, but it was during the decade of war and its immediate aftermath that the division was able to move rapidly to establish hospitals where none could have existed before. Significantly, it was in Brazil that institutional growth made its largest advances. Not only did well-established medical centers appear but in dollar sales Casa Publicadora outstripped every other Adventist publishing house outside North America. In the denomination's ever-broadening educational program, the developing strength of the Brazilian church was also emerging.

Perhaps more than any other kind of Adventist institution, schools reflected the nationalistic and economic tensions of the era. They also depicted the church's vitality and resilience in the face of problems. In the unfolding drama of South America's postwar era, that story occupies a separate chapter of division history.

¹ Galdino Nunes Vieira, "Influence of the Medical Work in Brazil," *RH*, November 10, 1949.

² SAD Minutes, December 16, 1947/GCA.

³ H. M. Walton to E. D. Dick, November 14, 1940, GCA/21, GF/1940. See the discussion about this issue in the previous chapter, "Widening Services and Programs in South America."

⁴ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 25, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1940.

⁵ R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, February 8, 1942, *ibid.*; Arno Schwantes, "Dedication of the Sao Paulo Clinic," *Bulletin*, XVIII (May 1942), 3, 4.

⁶ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, GCA/21, GF/1943.

⁷ H. M. Walton. "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-44," *ibid.*/1944.

⁸ W. E. Phillips to the officers of the General Conference, June 29, 1944, *ibid.*/1944; R. R. Figuhr to N. W. Dunn, September 23, 1947, *ibid.*/1947; Raymond Ermshar to N. W. Dunn, October 17, 1949, *ibid.*/1949; T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, *ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*; J. E. Edwards, "Medical Work in Brazil and Argentina," *RH*, September 23, 1948.

¹⁰ H. O. Olson, "Em Visita pela União Este Brasileira," *RA* (B), October 1942; J. L. Brown to E. D. Dick, June 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; J. L. Brown to T. J. Michael, June 17, 1942, *ibid.*; J. L. Brown to A. W. Cormack, August 10, 1942, *ibid.*; J. L. Brown, "The Rio de Janeiro Clinic and Rest Home," *RH*, February 4, 1943; and "The Clinic in Rio de Janeiro," *Bulletin*, XIX (3rd Quarter 1943), 1, 2.

¹¹ H. O. Olson, "A Clinic in Rio de Janeiro," *ibid.*, XVIII (September 1942), 2.

¹² J. L. Brown, "The Clinic in Rio de Janeiro," *ibid.*, XIX (3rd Quarter 1943), 1, 2; C. C. Schneider, "Medical Work in Rio de Janeiro," *RH*, September 9, 1943; C. C. Schneider to A. W. Cormack, February 20, 1944, GCA/21, GF/1944; H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-1944," *ibid.*

¹³ R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, March 2, 1944, *ibid.*; W. E. Phillips to officers of the General Conference, June 29, 1944, *ibid.*; J. F. Wright, "South America," *RH*, May 25, 1944.

¹⁴ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 1, 1945, GCA/21, GF/1945.

¹⁵ SAD Minutes, January 25, 1946/GCA; *ibid.*/December 16, 1947.

¹⁶ W. E. Phillips to officers of the General Conference, June 29, 1944, GCA/21, GF/1944; H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-44," *ibid.*; T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, *ibid.*/1949.

¹⁷ Galdino N. Vieira, "Inauguration of the Hospital Silvestre, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," *RH*, June 15, 1950.

¹⁸ C. C. Schneider, "Medical Work in Rio de Janeiro," *ibid.*, September 9, 1943; SAD Minutes, December 14, 1943/GCA; H. O. Olson, "Um ano de Progresso na América do Sul," *RA* (B), May 1944.

¹⁹ J. F. Wright, "Survey of Visit and Observations made during Recent Trip to the South American Division," April 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

²⁰ Streithorst, *Halliwel*, 90; Bruno Steinweg, "Appeal from North Brazil," *RH*, September 16, 1943; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, GCA/21, GF/1944; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, March 2, 1944, *ibid.*; H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-1944," *ibid.*; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945; S. Schmidt, "The Right Arm Is Extended," *RH*, April 29, 1948.

²¹ T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, GCA/21, GF/1949; W. E. Murray to E. D. Dick, August 27, 1950, *ibid.*/1950, officers folder; O. A. Blake to W. P. Bradley, February 27, 1950, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, January 21, 1946/GCA; *ibid.*, December 9, 1948.

²² S. Schmidt, "The Right Arm Is Extended," *RH*, April 29, 1948; J. E. Edwards, "Medical Work in Brazil and Argentina," *ibid.*, September 23, 1948.

²³ H. O. Olson, "The South American Field," *ibid.*, May 27, 1943; and "The First Nurses' Graduation at the Chulumani Hospital," *Bulletin*, XIX (4th Quarter 1943), 7, 8.

²⁴ H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-44," GCA/21, GF/1944; R. E. Kepkey, "Our Medical Work in Bolivia," *RH*, October 25, 1945.

²⁵ Ibid.; Naomi Kime-Pitman, "Dedication of Chulumani Hospital's New Section," *Bulletin*, XXII (1st Quarter 1946), 3.

²⁶ H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," GCA/21, GF/1944.

²⁷ R. E. Kepkey, "Medical Ministry in Bolivia," *RH*, May 2, 1946.

²⁸ Besides relying on Pitman's article, "Pioneering in Bolivia," *ibid.*, November 7, 1946, we piece the story of Guayaramerín together from a sheaf of correspondence in GCA/21, GF/1946: "Contract for Operation of Guayaramerín Hospital"; L. D. Minner to G. A. Roberts, January 6, 1946; R. R. Figuhr to General Conference, January 10, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to General Conference, January 11, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to General Conference, January 13, 1946; A. W. Cormack to R. R. Figuhr, January 16, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to General Conference, January 17, 1946; General Conference Committee to R. E. Kepkey, January 17, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to A. W. Cormack, January 30, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to A. W. Cormack, February 8, 1946; A. W. Cormack to R. R. Figuhr, March 8, 1946; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, March 14, 1946; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, March 25, 1946; R. E. Kepkey to E. D. Dick, November 17, 1946.

²⁹ Naomi Pitman to E. D. Dick, April 3, 1947, *ibid.*/1947; Jerry L. Pettis to E. D. Dick, August 5, 1947, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to N. W. Dunn, August 26, 1947, *ibid.*; N. W. Dunn to Jerry Pettis, September 4, 1947, *ibid.*

³⁰ E. E. Bottsford to N. W. Dunn, November 23, 1949, *ibid.*/1949.

³¹ Waldo W. Stiles, untitled and undated report received by the General Conference on November 10, 1946. A copy located in *ibid.*/1947. Also, Stiles's article, "Medical Opportunities in the Inca Union Mission," *RH*, April 3, 1947.

³² T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," GCA/21, GF/1949.

³³ C. R. Potts to W. P. Bradley, February 17, 1947, *ibid.*/1947; T. R. Flaiz, "Our Medical Work," April 7, 1949, *ibid.*/1949.

³⁴ H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," *ibid.*/1944.

³⁵ J. F. Wright, "Survey of Visit and Observations made during Recent Trip to the South American Division," April 16, 1942, *ibid.*/1942.

³⁶ T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," *ibid.*/1949; H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," *ibid.*/1944.

³⁷ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, *ibid.*/1944; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945; T. R. Flaiz, "Report on Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, *ibid.*/1949.

³⁸ J. E. Edwards, "Medical Work In Brazil and Argentina," *RH*, September 23, 1948.

³⁹ T. R. Flaiz, "Report of Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, GCA/21, GF/1949; H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," *ibid.*/1944.

⁴⁰ H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," GCA/21, GF/1944.

⁴¹ Ibid.; T. R. Flaiz, "Report of Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, *ibid.*/1949.

⁴² H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division," *ibid.*/1944; H. O. Olson, "The First Nurses' Graduation at the Chulumani Hospital," *Bulletin*, XIX (4th Quarter 1943), 7, 9; T. R. Flaiz, "Report of Our South American Medical Work," April 7, 1949, GCA/21, GF/1949.

⁴³ R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, July 23, 1941, *ibid.*/11, GF/1941, Figuhr folder.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ SAD Minutes, July 24, 1941/GCA; R. R. Figuhr to E. D. Dick, July 28, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941.

⁴⁶ R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Connack, September 2, 1941, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, October 22, 1941, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, September 7, 1941/GCA.

⁴⁷ Ibid.; SAD Minutes, December 17, 1941.

⁴⁸ Ibid., September 7, 1941; *ibid.*, December 22, 1941; *ibid.*, January 26, 1942.

⁴⁹ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 25, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

⁵⁰ J. F. Wright, "Survey of Visit and Observations made during Recent Trip to the South American Division," April 16, 1942, *ibid.*

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⁵¹ Ibid.; N. P. Neilsen to E. D. Dick, April 29, 1940, *ibid.*/1940.

⁵² W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, *ibid.*, 1944.

⁵³ SAD Minutes, June 16, 1946/GCA; Frank L. Baer, "Annual Report of the Year 1946, Casa Editora Sudamerica," GCA/21, GF/1947.

⁵⁴ Ibid.; R. R. Figuhr to E. D. Dick, March 3, 1947, *ibid.*, Figuhr-Blake folder; W. P. Elliott to W. P. Bradley, March 14, 1947, *ibid.*; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 45.

⁵⁵ SAD Minutes, November 25, 1947/GCA; GF/December 15, 1947. See Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 45-48.

⁵⁶ C. A. Rentfro, "Fifty Years of Publishing Progress in Brazil—1900-1950," *RH*, December 14, 1950; *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1945, 1950.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ H. O. Olson, "The Austral Union Conference Session," *RH*, March 26, 1942; E. N. Lugenbeal to E. D. Dick, May 28, 1943, GCA/21, GF/1943; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, *ibid.*/1944.

⁵⁹ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945; Domingos Peixoto da Silva, "News from the Brazil College," *Bulletin*, XX (3rd Quarter 1944), 2, 3; SAD Minutes, August 7, 1944/GCA; *ibid.*, January 14, 1945.

⁶⁰ *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1950.



UPGRADING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

“ALL OF OUR schools in this territory serve as opening wedges and break down prejudice, as well as train the youth,” the General Conference secretary of education wrote in 1946 about South America’s educational institutions. “Many of the outside community send their children to our schools.”¹ His observation acknowledged the missionary character of Adventist education, which went beyond the traditional purpose of Adventist schools. It was also an admission that the church at large derived more benefits from schools than helping to retain its young and to train workers. To those who only watched, and more importantly, for those who participated in the development of Adventist education, the 1940s were momentous years. More than ever schools met an ever increasing need within the South American Division, but how they fit into the context of public education became a more complicated issue.

CONTROVERSY OVER RELOCATING RIVER PLATE COLLEGE

During the 1940s perhaps the most thorny case church leaders had to pick their way through was the proposal to move Colegio Adventista del Plata (CAP) from Puiggari to another site. This

complex issue tormented Austral Union and division officers for half a decade, finally coming to rest when all other alternatives for a school site failed to produce anything better than the original location.

Discussion about moving to another campus had long agitated the CAP community. Complaints were numerous. Adventist parents criticized the school's inaccessibility, especially during rainy periods turned the unpaved roads leading to the campus into a quagmire. Church leaders, who saw the trend toward urban evangelism and a large Adventist constituency growing in Buenos Aires, argued that ministerial students had little opportunity to gain practical experience in new soul-winning techniques because they were so far from where the action was taking place. When industries, a benchmark of Adventist institutions, languished at Puiggari, school administrators blamed the campus's isolation and poor communication with markets.²

Members of a committee studying the question of moving the school had their eyes on property in Pilar, about fifty kilometers northwest of Buenos Aires. Supporting a transfer to this location was Thomas W. Steen, former director of Brazil's training school, who arrived in the Austral Union late in 1940 to become secretary of education. Almost immediately after he joined the committee, the group decided to move and, accordingly, halted construction on a new administration building. A week later the committee submitted a bid for the twenty-five hectares in Pilar, and within twenty-four hours they bought the property.

J. E. Weaver, General Conference associate secretary of education, who was in South America at the time, apparently offered no objections to the transaction. His only comment was a perfunctory cautionary note in his report to world headquarters that transferring CAP to Pilar should not jeopardize other Adventist work at Puiggari. Weaver's remark was aimed at the medical center and was an admission that the two institutions had shared mutual benefits through the years.

On December 24, only weeks after his arrival, Steen became president of the CAP by trading positions with Ellis Maas. On the drawing board were plans for a degree-granting institution for 200 students supported by secondary schools in the Austral Union. The project was convincing enough to receive a US\$40,000 appropriation from the General Conference. In anticipation of a quick move to Pilar, Steen transferred some farm equipment and livestock to the new site and even sold some land and machinery, but the project dragged.³

From other sources in South America, the move appeared to be a foregone conclusion. The division secretary, H. O. Olson, pressed for as much financial aid

from Washington as possible to expedite the move, warning that if the transfer was slow the constituency would become discouraged. Steen informed the General Conference that sentiment favoring the move was universal and that he expected classes to begin at Pilar in 1943. He described the overall plan to phase out college education at Puiggari and reduce the school to a secondary school.⁴

But doubts about the appropriateness of the new location arose almost immediately, some suggesting that Montevideo might be a better place than Buenos Aires. Neither was the General Conference easily persuaded despite its sizable appropriation. Soon everything appeared to go wrong in Argentina. W. E. Nelson and J. F. Wright, visiting South America for the division's year-end meetings in 1941 and the ensuing union sessions, were displeased with the purchase and were not slow in letting Figuhr know it, criticizing both the decision to move without consulting the constituency and the plan to reduce Puiggari to a secondary school.⁵

Twice they walked over the site at Pilar, finding it more appealing the second time, but they remained unconvinced. Because buildings would occupy much space, little land would be left for industries. "It appears that they should have at least one hundred acres more land adjacent to the present land," Nelson argued. Wright concurred, adding that the "absolutely necessary" additional land would cost dearly since prices were rapidly soaring.⁶ Also, no one had tested the soil before purchasing the property. The committee depended on the land cover at the time to tell them what they could grow. Little question existed about water; the water table lay at only four feet, but this wet soil made the farm unfit for some crops that required less moisture.

Nelson and Wright were not unalterably opposed to the site. In some respects it was ideal. It was attractive and lay next to the highway leading to Pilar, only seven or eight kilometers away, where students and faculty could arrange hourly bus connections to Buenos Aires. The General Conference visitors probably could not help contrasting this convenience with their experience at Puiggari, where a heavy rainstorm that made the road impassable had forced them to waste a day in Paraná before reaching the campus. Nothing could have better accentuated the complaints that the constituency had been talking about for years.

Also figuring in the equation was a decade of financial losses at Puiggari. During the ten years prior to Nelson and Wright's visit, the school had lost 370,000 *pesos*. This record had soured even the two General Conference advisors about remaining at the original location, but in good faith they could not counsel the Austral Union and division officers to move to Pilar.

It took little time for the decision-makers to divide over the pros and cons of Pilar. For obvious reasons Central Argentine workers opposed moving the school where it was so convenient to them. A contrary opinion came from the Adventist community in Buenos Aires and the officers of both the Austral Union and the division. Many of those favoring a transfer believed that Colegio Adventista del Plata was a division school and would receive large General Conference subsidies to pay for rebuilding on a new site.

The records show that Austral Union officers were not wrong in believing CAP was more than a union institution. On December 21, 1941, while Wright looked on as a General Conference advisor, the division committee voted inter-union status to the school and included representatives from the Inca Union on the board. At the same time, the committee established a division financial aid fund to assist students who wished to attend from Chile and the Inca Union. Ardor for Pilar diminished seriously when committee members learned that CAP was still regarded as a union school and that the Austral Union would have to finance the move. Wright warned them not to expect subsidies from the General Conference to help in the move.⁷

These problems became nearly impossible to resolve when further complications from outside the church suddenly descended on the church leaders. Administrators of Colegio Adventista del Plata were talking about “officialization” of the school’s curriculum, which would mean that CAP would become a pre-professional school whose graduates could enter careers on the strength of an officially recognized preparatory education. Practically speaking, the school would function on par with state institutions.

However, a war-conscious and defense-minded Argentine government issued a series of decrees extending government control over education. A variety of new regulations, some involving religion, not only raised questions about official recognition but also cast doubt on the entire future of the school. Also, immigration restrictions in Argentina made it difficult to employ non-Argentine teachers if they were needed. Complicating these circumstances was an official tendency to frown on coeducational boarding schools.

Figuhr could find no clear solution. “The question of the removal of the River Plate Junior College is to be up early next year,” Figuhr wrote. “I hardly know what we should do with the present divided sentiment. Unless this union can unite wholeheartedly upon the project, I suppose it would hardly be the part of wisdom to go ahead with the removal now.”⁸

To add to the baffling set of choices, another group of workers began advocating a transfer to Uruguay. With problems mounting over Pilar, Steen quickly converted to the Uruguay proposal.⁹ Although the constituency was smaller on the eastern side of Rio de la Plata, Adventist education would not encounter difficulties that the Argentine government had recently posed. In spite of Steen's opinions and ominous prospects in Argentina, influential men, including Figuhr and E. N. Lugenbeal, the Austral Union president, urged workers at the 1942 year-end meeting to approve a move to Pilar. Also pressing them to move the school "closer to civilization" was E. D. Dick in Washington. The question was not whether to go or to stay at Puiggari but how to comply with a previous vote to move either to the Buenos Aires or the Montevideo area.¹⁰ The workers responded by splitting in a tie vote.

Admitting that remaining in Argentina and officializing the curriculum might mean a battle over such questions as rifle practice, Saturday classes, and restriction of the college president's office to Argentine citizens, Lugenbeal nonetheless favored Buenos Aires because of its larger Adventist constituency. After more debate, a second tie vote showed only how unpersuasive he was. Lugenbeal prudently gave in. "I personally like the place," he wrote about Pilar, "yet we must recognize that the field does not approve of this location . . . There exists too much prejudice against this location." Before breaking up, the committee outlined a compromise to buy time to work on a resolution of the issue.

At least for the time being, Colegio Adventista del Plata would remain at Puiggari, and the Austral Union would sell the Pilar property and build a secondary school in Uruguay. The new secondary school would add ministerial training and so fill the role of a worker-training school, but the union school would still be in Entre Rios until the division and union could decide whether to upgrade the Uruguay institution to a post-secondary school. Officialization in Uruguay was possible with none of the hazards facing the school in Argentina, thus permitting the Austral Union a much more free hand. If a move across the estuary materialized, reciprocity between Argentina and Uruguay assured Argentine students that their education would be valid.¹¹ Both Figuhr and Lugenbeal were swinging toward Uruguay as the eventual site for CAP, a view strengthened by protracted difficulties over officialization. Shortly after the compromise, Argentine public officials agreed to relax the requirement for Saturday classes, but doubts remained about how successful Puiggari would be with its teacher-certification course.¹²

The tide of official opinion turned in Puiggari's favor in 1943. After the Austral Union sold the property at Pilar, that option was cut off. Although Figuhr was not

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convinced that remaining in Argentina was the best choice, conditions improved somewhat when incorporation of the secondary curriculum began, also in 1943. Months later, after the year-end division meeting, Figuier felt the need to move to Uruguay was more urgent than ever, but the process of academic accreditation went on anyway, finally ending in 1945 when all secondary classwork became affiliated with Colegio Nacional de Paraná.

Probably in anticipation of this achievement, at their 1944 year-end session, Austral Union officers voted to continue the college at Puiggari. A part of the package was to raise Instituto Bernardino Rivadavia in the Florida suburb of Buenos Aires to full secondary level. Academic reorganization at CAP followed the next year, producing an arrangement of seven elementary grades, five secondary, and two post-secondary years of study.¹³

The hubbub over moving the school had taken its toll on everyone's energies. Steen's career at the school ended when he left in 1944 to supervise the new institution in Uruguay. Olson confessed that work in the Austral Union had suffered, but within a year after the decision to stay at Puiggari, he could see that it had been a wise decision. Argentine parents, he feared, would not look kindly to the necessity of sending children to Uruguay.¹⁴

As divisive as the ordeal had been, some of the results were healthful for the church. Strenuous debate over the purpose of Adventist education arose. In the wake of the discussion about officialization, the division committee voted to study curricula at all Adventist schools in South America with a view of providing training for occupations as well as for the professions. Other actions committed the division to design teacher-certification and nursing programs that met legal requirements and thus facilitate accreditation.¹⁵

After the fracas about Pilar subsided, Austral Union and school officers focused their attention on the school plant at Puiggari. Construction on a new administration building had halted in 1940 when nearly everyone anticipated a quick transfer to Pilar. During the tentative years that followed, nothing was done to improve the campus, but at the division's 1946 annual meeting, L. M. Stump, South America's new secretary of education, warned that church leaders could no longer neglect improvements on the campus. Already a new building for primary students was going up; other needs included an administration building, because the present facility was "entirely inadequate for classrooms and affords no place for the administrative offices," Stump said. Additions to the men's dormitory were also necessary.¹⁶

When all doubt vanished about the Austral Union's capacity to offer a state-accredited secondary program, a new air of permanency set in at Puiggari. Small improvements such as cement sidewalks, plastering and painting old walls, and rebuilding the entrance added a luster to the campus. Enrollment during 1946 reached 296; nineteen of those students were baptized during the school year. The following May the division appropriated 26,000 Argentine *pesos* for campus improvements. The elementary building opened in January 1948, and in June the administration dedicated a new library. Additional classroom space made instruction easier.

One stimulus for improving the looks of the campus was the school's fiftieth anniversary in 1948. A remodeled administration building allowed new offices to open just days before the official celebration began on September 24. "Hundreds of visitors came," wrote Walton J. Brown, college president, to reminisce and enjoy the renewed atmosphere of the campus during the weekend festivities. Increased enrollment during the rest of the decade made the constituency forget the problems the school had just weathered. Registration for 1950 reached 347 as compared to 287 in 1945 and 187 in 1940. By 1949 the school counted 301 alumni since 1913, nearly 75 percent of whom had become denominational workers or wives of workers.¹⁷

Earlier talk about immigration laws forcing the Austral Union to employ only Argentine directors came to an end in 1947 when Walton J. Brown became the school's president. A son of J. L. Brown, he came with extensive missionary experience in South America, including a stint as director of the secondary school in Petrópolis, near Rio de Janeiro. But Brown's arrival on the campus did not mean that government regulation was a thing of the past. Nationally legislated salary rates pegged earning levels substantially above the denominational scale, causing considerable apprehension in the school's business office.

At the beginning of the 1948 term, the new director wrote that he could not fulfill government requirements in salary without damaging the school's finances. Forced to accept state subsidies for the incorporated portion of his program, he still barely made ends meet. If fully carried out, the state-prescribed curriculum would mean adding several classes. A frustrated Figuhr wondered out loud whether the school should move to Uruguay after all.¹⁸

Through it all Brown hung on. Gains in enrollment in 1949—the school topped 300—wiped out losses of the previous year. Even more showed up in 1950. "The Lord gave River Plate College a good school year," he wrote after closing the 1950 term. The 347 students represented the school's highest enrollment. Missionary activities by

the students indicated that officialization of the secondary school had not adversely affected the spiritual quality of education or the religious mission of the institution. With the help of students, Victor Ampuero, a Bible teacher, conducted evangelistic meetings on Saturday nights in neighboring communities, baptizing seven and compiling a list of twenty interested persons who requested additional study.

For favorable public relations, Brown also depended on one of his stock-in-trade tools, a traveling choir. By invitation of the Universidad Nacional del Litoral the singers broadcast over station LT-10 in 1949 in Santa Fe; later during the same academic year they sang over Radio del Estado, one of the leading stations in the country. The next year the choir traveled to several Argentine and Uruguayan cities to present concerts in Adventist churches as well as to the public. A major encouragement on the campus appeared when a long-awaited project, further remodeling of the administration building, was underway. Although not completely resolved, the worst of the crisis at Colegio Adventista del Plata appeared to be over.¹⁹

The Pilar affair affected the entire educational program in the Austral Union. Quickly following the decision to retain the college at Puiggari came improvements at the secondary school in Buenos Aires. In 1944 the Argentine Department of Education accredited the curriculum, and in April 1945 the staff and students moved into new quarters. In keeping with these improvements the name also changed, becoming Instituto Florida in 1946. By 1950 secondary enrollment reached fifty-eight.

Another Argentine school advancing to secondary status was Escuela Rivadavia in Leandro N. Alem in Misiones. Not to be confused with Escuela Bernardo Rivadavia in Buenos Aires, this local church school began in 1923 and received official recognition for its program two years later. After two decades as a primary school, it added secondary coursework in 1943 and changed its name to Instituto Juan Bautista Alberdi. But growth was slow. By 1950 secondary enrollment stood at only fourteen, and the school did not offer a complete secondary program until the mid-1950s.²⁰

Spawned in 1943 by the unsettled conditions at Puiggari was Instituto Adventista del Uruguay, a secondary school that firmly established itself among the division's institutions by 1950. Search for an appropriate construction site was short; it ended when a 100-acre estate became available in Progreso, about twenty miles north of Montevideo. Buses from the capital passed the place every few minutes, and in less than an hour, one could travel from the city to the campus. By the end of the year, the Uruguay Mission paid for the land and assembled a teaching faculty.

Steen transferred from CAP to Uruguay to supervise construction and to put the academic program together. Utilizing the existing buildings, he began classes in 1944. With more than one thousand fruit trees, gardens, and a vineyard, the new school already offered an abundance of work opportunities. To make certain their future unfolded the way they wanted, Steen and other church leaders drafted a long-range development plan, which went into effect almost immediately with campaigns to raise money for construction of administrative and dormitory space.²¹ Before the end of the second school year, the new school had a new building that housed administration offices and boys' dormitory. Girls lived in one of the original buildings of the estate.

The new enterprise attracted attention around the entire division. Steen lauded the project as the "most carefully planned educational adventure in the South American field" on a location "not inferior to the best . . . we have in any land."²² Some fellow workers were dubious of his claim, but others in the division were not ready to dismiss his statement as an exaggeration. L. M. Stump's report at the end of 1946 called the new building at the Uruguayan school "one of the finest in the division," adding that work was proceeding well on other buildings.²³

General Conference visitor W. E. Nelson concurred with the view that the new enterprise had a bright future. After inspecting the site, he remarked that Uruguayans were very "school-minded," and that prospective students were "begging" for a chance to attend, but events demonstrated that this perception was overdrawn. Also, Steen's optimism did not produce overnight the school that he predicted in 1945. Building was slower than expected, and enrollment, despite its increase by 1950, did not improve as rapidly as hoped. Sixty-six matriculated in 1945.

Living conditions for students were far from optimum during those early months—students bathed without hot water and ate without tables. Nevertheless, improvements were steady, and five years later in 1950, 114 attended, ninety-four of them at the secondary level. The institution began with authorization as a secondary school, but it started with only a partial program, upgrading as rapidly as the demand for new classes advanced, until a full curriculum evolved in 1947.²⁴

Even if the school's progress did not meet original expectations, faculty and students alike found much to admire and were noticeably satisfied with the campus. Near the end of the 1948 term, one teacher described the *instituto* as an attractive set of "gleaming white buildings" arranged among fruit groves and eucalyptus and sycamore trees. The boys moved into their new dormitory, leaving the administration building entirely for classrooms, offices, and a chapel. The girls still occupied one of the original structures.

Other buildings, remodeled and improved, made room for the laundry, kitchen, dining room, and other needs. A bakery, large enough to produce three hundred loaves at a time, furnished pastries and baked goods to local markets. Ten Holstein cattle, a flock of one hundred white leghorns, and many acres devoted to orchards, vineyards, and gardens kept the school's larder well stocked. At a cannery students preserved surplus food. Academically, the school was also making a mark. Some students had already completed the secondary course and matriculated at Puiggari to continue professional training. "The days are full and happy," wrote Mrs. C. J. Weber, a member of the faculty, "but the Instituto needs more young people and more of Uruguay's 200 young people need the Instituto." At the time, enrollment stood at sixty.²⁵

ADVENTIST EDUCATION IN PERU

Steen's stay in Uruguay was short, only two years. In 1945 he left with a new assignment in Peru, where Lima Training School was facing reconstruction on a new site. Colegio Industrial, as the school came to be known in the late 1930s, had become the training school for the Inca Union in 1941, just in time for Peruvian officials to clamp down with rulings against coeducation that closed the institution.

Shortly before the 1942 term began, J. F. Wright visited Lima. "They do not know what is going to happen," he reported about the leaders in the Inca Union. For several years administrators continued operations, ignoring the anti-coeducation law, but Peruvian officials were adamant once they applied the statute. To comply would cost 4,000 *soles* just to hire more faculty, not to mention other expenses. Armed with a special petition and supported with much special prayer, the Inca Union committee approached the government for a concession, but as J. F. Wright described the situation, "all we can do is to continue to pray and hope for the best."²⁶

It soon became evident that the Adventist petition had not dented the stolid Peruvian Ministry of Education. The wait at the Inca Union was much longer than anyone expected. "The brethren have been running a night school in a limited way," Figuhr wrote in December 1942, "but they cannot continue indefinitely in this fashion." Little doubt remained that not only had the anti-coeducation law closed Colegio Industrial but it had destroyed the school as well. "We must find a new site and begin all over again if they are to have a training school for that union," Figuhr warned the General Conference.²⁷

Finding a new location was not easy. Inca Union officers thought they had settled the problem by mid-1943 when they received the nod for a plot of fertile

land above the fog belt that would provide tillable farmland twelve months a year. At the last moment the owner refused to sell, sending L. D. Minner, superintendent of the Inca Union, back to the beginning point.²⁸

While contemplating building a new school, Minner and his colleagues encountered other serious situations. Without much delay they sold large portions of the Miraflores property, but the buyer furnished unsatisfactory security and money was slow to come in. Even if they had an available piece of property, Inca Union leaders would not have been able to pay for it. Urbanization also threatened what remained of the Adventist center in Miraflores where street-widening projects swallowed up some church-owned buildings. The Inca Union was assured only a fraction of real estate values for compensation while facing a US\$50,000 reconstruction program to replace its lost structures.²⁹

It was some consolation that classes in Lima had never completely stopped, but it was only a crippled program that followed the shutdown of regular coursework. After the initial closing, night sessions continued for two years before the Inca Union organized separate schools for male and female students in 1944. Notwithstanding the cost of moving the school, it was with a sense of relief that the Inca Union finally bought land at Ñaña, about twenty-four kilometers above Lima on the Rímac River. Moving to the new site did not preclude application of the anti-coeducation law, but two separate campuses would not be necessary as long as different classrooms and dining rooms segregated the sexes.

Although much smaller than South America's other training schools, the size of the Ñaña campus was not an immediate problem because expansion opportunities existed. The most serious issue confronting the institution was the simple question of resuming classes and functioning under Peruvian law. Fertilized by funds from the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow in December 1945, and special appropriations in 1946 for additional land and cattle, the school plant grew rapidly. Ñaña was the first campus L. M. Stump visited in the division in 1946 after he became South America's secretary of education. Already occupied, he noticed, were the men's dormitory, dining room, teachers' homes, and laundry, and well underway were the ladies' dormitory, administration building, and bakery. To help fund these projects, teachers, students, and local church leaders cooperated in raising money.³⁰

Similar to their counterparts at Colegio Adventista del Plata, administrators of Colegio Union, as the new school came to be known, met difficulties when seeking official approval of the institution's program. Military training and religion classes

were crucial problems, and at their 1946 annual meeting, the division committee-men appointed a commission to study the issues. The question of military education could not wait for deliberations, however, and the following March South America's officers hastily voted to give the school 1,500 *soles* to establish the denomination's medical cadet program.³¹

Founders of the new school intentionally planned that Colegio Union would respond to growing educational needs in the Inca Union. Hardly had classes begun on the Ñaña campus before the division committee approved the ministerial course as part of the curriculum. By 1947 this developed into a single year of post-secondary classwork, which was the beginning of the school's climb to complete post-secondary status. The campus also became the center for training secondary school teachers. All of these curricular advancements demanded more expansion of the school plant. In 1949 the school added a second floor to the administration building.³²

Moving the school from Lima to Ñaña was an ordeal, but by 1950 Inca Union leaders could see the birth of their new school through their travail. While in Lima the institution never outgrew its predominantly elementary character, but once out of the city, it rapidly took on new levels of maturity. In 1940 a student body of 235 included 192 primary pupils. Ten years later, in 1950, six years after the move, only seventy-three of the 262 enrollees were classified as primary, while 182 registered as secondary, and seven as post-secondary students.³³ Practically speaking, the school had been driven from Lima to Ñaña, but within five years few could doubt that, even against their will, their forced move had been beneficial.

Elsewhere in Peru, administrators at the training school in Juliaca still faced problems after surviving major crises from 1928 to 1930 and the crippling economic conditions of the 1930s. Although not suffering with equal intensity, the school was not untouched by the trials that afflicted Colegio Industrial in Lima during the 1940s. Issues at the Lake Titicaca campus revolved around three questions: how to maintain an effective program in the face of declining attention to the indigenous sector of the division, how to react to government regulation, and how to acquire official recognition of the curriculum.

After visiting the school, John Weaver assured world headquarters that Colegio Adventista Normal was "carrying on a strong program," but J. F. Wright disagreed a year later in 1942. Representing the General Conference at the division and union meetings, he expressed apprehension about the future of Adventism in the Lake Titicaca Mission, fearing the impact of immigration laws that blocked the church from

assigning foreign workers to Peruvian posts. He also questioned what he perceived as a long practice of neglect of leadership training for the Indians. After twenty-five years of Adventist presence, only one ordained minister from the indigenous members was on the church payroll.³⁴

In effect, Wright was suggesting a change in the educational program. The school at Juliaca produced teachers rather than ministers because church growth in the Lake Titicaca Mission fed on a system of primary schools, which gave an educational character to evangelism among the tribespeople. As a result of Wright's concern, the question of how to train better workers became a discussion topic at division headquarters in 1943, with South America's officers recommending leadership training for the Andean peoples.³⁵

Enrollment in the training school was climbing—307 registered in 1942, an encouraging figure for mission leaders who looked to the school for workers. In the face of growing regulation and rising levels of educational expectations, H. A. Morrison, the General Conference secretary of education, issued a strong reminder to maintain Adventist identity and promote Christian professionalism when he visited Lake Titicaca to lead one of a series of education institutes in South America during 1944.³⁶

Before they could effectively refine the quality of education at Juliaca, school administrators ran into a legal snag. Intent on probing the school's compliance with regulatory laws, government inspectors visited the campus during 1943 and asked to see the institution's license, explaining that the school was one of two in Peru where male and female students associated together in classes and other activities. Aroused by fears that the school might have to close again, this time to obey anti-coeducational laws, Ray L. Jacobs, director at the time, assured his visitors that he would begin immediately to separate the sexes.

Apparently, government officials applied the anti-coeducation law with more flexibility at Juliaca than at Lima and Ñaña where segregation included dining rooms. An account by Alberta Jacobs, wife of the director, suggests that exactly the opposite occurred at Juliaca. Leaving the government out of her account, she declared that there was no shortage of doubting Thomases when her husband inaugurated a policy of mixed dining in the new cafeteria. That boys and girls could socialize not only at mealtime but elsewhere in group games as well, was unheard of. Behind her story was also a message to the Adventist world that the school was still pursuing its coeducation program.³⁷

The dining room story also represented another achievement for the school administration. In addition to his counsel about establishing clinics and hospitals

in South America, H. M. Walton scrutinized the health of the Adventist community and students during his tour of the division in 1943 and 1944. At Lake Titicaca he observed widespread malnutrition, which commonly resulted in night blindness among the students. The situation stemmed from placing all responsibility on the students themselves to provide their own food. The boys were especially prone to prepare their “very meager, monotonous,” meals “under extremely primitive circumstances,” as Walton described them, a practice that had been going on since the school’s founding.

For the sake of improving the health of his students, Jacobs organized a cafeteria. The outcome exceeded all expectations. A third of the students voluntarily adopted this novel plan during the first experimental year, and so convinced of its benefits were the teachers that they voted to require all students to eat in the dining room the following year. In spite of their apprehensions, Ray and Alberta Jacobs successfully implemented their belief that healthful living and the school in general would benefit from their tradeoff with risking legal repercussions over coeducation.³⁸

The trend for military education that swept South America after the close of World War II also hit Colegio Adventista Normal, as the campus became known, even though it was far removed from the center of Peruvian life. Like its sister institution at Ñaña, the Juliaca campus instituted a medical cadet training course, receiving 1,000 *soles* from the division in 1947 for equipment.³⁹

If the Adventist school was not immune from regulation and other national trends, neither was it free from the denominational tendency to seek accreditation. E. N. Lugenbeal, having transferred from the presidency of the Austral Union to become superintendent of the Inca Union, broached the possibility in 1948, suggesting that whether the director was an alien or not, he must possess at least a master’s degree, and preferably a doctorate. In spite of falling short on this count, officialization came to the school in 1950, allowing a full, five-year secondary course. It was no small accomplishment, especially in view of the difficulties during the previous twenty years. Appropriately, the school changed its name to Colegio Adventista Titicaca.⁴⁰

The movement toward a secondary curriculum at Juliaca had been a long time coming, but during the 1940s its momentum was strong enough to carry the institution into the category of traditional denominational training schools. Nothing indicated the maturing academic character of the campus more than enrollment in 1950. Of the 267 students, 201 registered as secondary, a dramatic change from only five years previously when 152 of 230 were primary pupils.⁴¹

REBUILDING IN BOLIVIA

Although Wright had aimed his preoccupation about leadership training in the Inca Union primarily at the Lake Titicaca Mission, to a lesser extent he also had Ecuador and Bolivia in mind. Evangelism everywhere in the union was weak, but the Lake Titicaca Mission received most of his attention because that field had been a focal point of Adventist missions since Stahl had entered the region more than thirty years before. Wright's surprise over what he saw indicated that even at the highest levels of church administration, perceptions of church growth among the Peruvian tribespeople did not match reality. When division officers grappled with the problem by recommending a strengthened educational program at Juliaca, they also applied the same counsel to Bolivia's training school at Cochabamba.⁴²

At the time of Wright's visit, Instituto Boliviano Adventista had a history at two locations going back to 1929. Although its existence was short, the school had played a vital role in the development of the Bolivia Mission. In 1943 W. R. Robinson, educational secretary, received firsthand evidence of this fact when he hiked nearly eighty miles through the local Rosario Mission with Armando Ruiz, the mission director, visiting several schools and noting that half of the baptisms in Bolivia during 1942 resulted from instruction by school teachers.⁴³

Professional and spiritual education was not all the students received at Cochabamba. Farming methods were also a part of their experience. The institution's fields yielded ample harvests of "potatoes, wheat, popcorn, and other kinds of corn," while thirty head of cattle and a flock of 200 sheep gave the farm an air of prosperity.⁴⁴

At least in part, the school owed its well-being to its location. Compared to other countries, Bolivia's regulatory laws were lenient, a condition that allowed the training school to function with relative freedom, if not even the government's smile. Symbolic of the excellent reputation that the Cochabamba school enjoyed was the praise that J. Hugo López Ávila found for the institution because of its contributions to the republic. Writing in the June 1945 issue of *Bolivia Illustrated*, the government's official public relations publication, the former Bolivian propaganda minister singled out the Adventist campus for praise. Specifically, he cited training of Indian teachers for communities like Collana, where Adventists had conducted a mission for more than two decades, describing the school at Cochabamba as an example of a system that was "preparing the peasant of the morrow, useful to the fatherland, an untiring producer, and a good sound citizen."⁴⁵

Such approbation did not ward off other problems. Hardly had the school become sufficiently well rooted at Cochabamba to upgrade to the secondary level when news reached the campus that the government was planning to install a hydroelectric plant on a nearby river. Because the proposed dam would block the river and form a lake, which would flood some of the choicest school property, the Bolivian Mission had no alternative than to begin searching for another site for the institution.⁴⁶

To rebuild at another site, the school depended on promises for an indemnity for the destroyed property, but more money would be necessary. In 1943 Bolivian Adventists began eyeing property near Vinto, about twenty kilometers from Cochabamba, hoping to buy the land with money from three sources: revenue from the government, a General Conference appropriation, and anticipated income of more than 1,000,000 *bolivianos* from the sale of unflooded land. By the end of 1943, they expected flooding to close the school, but construction on the dam went more slowly than foreseen, a delay that permitted officers of the Bolivia Mission more time to negotiate the transaction. It was not until 1946, five years after learning about the government project, that the Bolivia Mission bought land at Vinto and prepared to move.⁴⁷

At their year-end meeting in December 1946, South American Division officers set aside 70,000 Argentine *pesos* for land, equipment, and construction costs at the new Bolivian school. It was the third largest capital appropriation for South America's annual budget in 1947. By May a building committee went into action, benefitting from another 50,000-*peso* gift from division funds in 1948, this time the second largest item outside of ordinary operating subsidies to the unions. For the third consecutive year, in 1949 the division committee again gave the Bolivian school a large amount, this time more than 109,000 *pesos*, the largest investment in the division budget.⁴⁸

The money was necessary to keep the project going because the Bolivia Mission did not sell unflooded land until 1949. This delay was longer than church leaders had counted on, a delay that cost the school time, even halting construction in 1948 and throwing the target opening date of April 1, 1949, in doubt. The 760,000 *bolivianos* finally coming in from the sale was less than originally expected, but the funds reinvigorated building plans, not only financially but by removing any further reliance on the makeshift quarters for classes on the old campus.⁴⁹

Aside from construction problems, unsuccessful attempts to find a school director plagued the Bolivia Mission. Six months before the scheduled opening day, R. E. Kepkey, superintendent of the mission, was fretting over his still unsuccessful

search for the right person, making it plain that not just anyone would be good enough since the faculty would not tolerate inferior leadership.⁵⁰ Kepkey's hopes were fulfilled in March 1949 when the Vinglas family sailed from the United States to take charge of the new school. R.V. Vinglas's qualifications went back to his home country, Estonia, where he had headed the Adventist training school before and during World War II. After hostilities ended, he and his family had managed to stay one jump ahead of Soviet occupation forces, finally making their way across Europe and to the United States. Years of coping with hardship and living in less than ideal circumstances had taught him much about optimism and patience, qualities that he would need in Bolivia.

The new director could not have been more determined. Even before leaving the United States he drove himself through language study, progressing so rapidly that he began the school year in April by speaking Spanish well enough to conduct classes and preach sermons, although he admitted that he needed "a thorough preparation" in his new tongue.

The next four years demonstrated how well Vinglas measured up to the task. "The school lacks greatly in equipment," he wrote during his first year. How to operate the kitchen, the laundry, and the science labs without equipment tested the innovative talents of both students and faculty. Housing was also a thorn in the flesh. The 1949 school year began with the boys living in a partially completed dormitory and the girls in tents. The year was not easy. "It has called for a real spirit of pioneering," Vinglas told the General Conference. By the fourth year brick dormitories and an administration building were up, providing space also for classrooms, a dining room, library, and faculty apartments. During the 1951 academic year, Vinglas installed a water tower, which supplied running water to all quarters. In addition, the school also operated its own electric power plant.⁵¹

Other than launching the school at Vinto, probably Vinglas's most significant contribution was acquiring official recognition for the academic program. For the first time, students took their final tests from government examiners in 1951. In October of the same year, Vinglas filed a petition for accreditation, but months later the papers still lay unsigned in the Ministry of Education Department. In April 1952 his plans were further delayed when a coup overthrew the government and swept the education minister out of office. Knowing that he would have to begin all over again, Vinglas journeyed to the capital with another petition, authorized by the Bolivia Mission. He vowed to sit it out until he got what he wanted. His plan

nearly backfired when he learned that he would have to wait six months. It was more than a surprise when the half year of red tape became a wait of only two days until the new Bolivian president signed the petition, which allowed Vinglas to return to Vinto carrying a supreme decree granting government accreditation to the Adventist training school.⁵²

Eighty-nine students enrolled during the first year at Vinto; the overwhelming majority was male. The curriculum divided into six years of primary and three years of secondary courses. The next year 101 students matriculated, ninety-one in the primary grades, indicating that the school was still serving a predominantly elementary-level clientele. During Vinglas's administration, which ended after the 1952 academic year, enrollment did not increase appreciably, but the quality of the program was changing the composition of the student body. Of the ninety-six enrollees that year, seventy-eight registered as secondary students, a statistic revealing the academically improving character of Colegio Adventista de Bolivia. Government inspectors called the school an "oasis in the desert of the world."⁵³

ADVANCEMENTS IN CHILE

Government regulation and rebuilding were also the problems facing Chile's Colegio Adventista Industrial in Chillán, which was still reeling from the 1939 earthquake when John Weaver visited the campus well over a year after the catastrophe. The men's dormitory still lay in "shambles," a "disgrace," he said, advising the General Conference that "the Chillan school is in desperate need of help to recover from that devastating earthquake."⁵⁴

Weaver did not mention that the new administration building was under construction, but J. H. Meier, the school director, could not remain silent about the good news that it was going up. By the time J. F. Wright inspected the campus in the early weeks of 1942, the new building—a brick structure with tile floors and galvanized roof—was complete and was a credit to the school. Other aspects of the school were not as encouraging. The ladies' dormitory, only ten years old, was deteriorating rapidly, and extensive repairs or replacement would be necessary in the immediate future.⁵⁵

Soon after Wright's visit, work began on the men's dormitory. The school board planned to rebuild with cheap, native wood, even though it rotted quickly, but Wright scuttled that notion, insisting that constructing a one-story building with better lumber on the existing foundation would serve the school longer and better. Sometime in 1943 the new residence hall was ready for the young men to move in.

Figuhr called it “substantial and well constructed” of “selected lumber.” The two new buildings contrasted against the older structures that survived the quake, causing Chilean Adventists to lay plans for campus renovation, which included a rebuilt ladies’ dormitory, a new dairy barn, and other industrial buildings.⁵⁶

Reconstruction was sure but laborious. Nine buildings were left in 1940 after the earthquake; ten years later the plant consisted of fourteen. Money was not easy to acquire. So scarce were operating funds in 1946 that the Austral Union requested a special appropriation of 26,000 Chilean *pesos* to keep the school going. Later that year, and in May 1947, the division voted money for a ladies’ dormitory and a new water system. During 1949 the school received the division’s second largest special appropriation, 80,000 Argentine *pesos*, to help finish the dormitory and the kitchen.⁵⁷

Complicating the construction plans was regulatory legislation that required salary increases for teachers. As in the case of Argentina, this government decree worked havoc with the school’s budget because mandated rates were higher than the denominational scale. Before the decade ended, government subsidies to all primary schools helped to mitigate the problem. The public money carried no restrictions but went to all schools alike as a token of support since the government could not provide enough schools for everyone.⁵⁸

Of equal importance was the changing complexion of the student body. In 1940 only twenty-seven of the 244 enrollees were secondary students; the remaining 217 were elementary. These figures did not please church leaders in Chile. The school had expanded its offerings, but only a few students enrolled, prompting members of an inspection team in 1942 to recommend that Chilean students who wished to finish post-secondary courses should transfer to River Plate College.⁵⁹

However well intentioned this advice was, events soon demanded a post-secondary program for the Chilean school which led South America’s division council of 1944 to approve a two-year ministerial course and a curriculum to train elementary teachers. This turnaround emerged from several conditions. Officers of the Chile Conference tended to hire graduates from their own school instead of encouraging them to attend River Plate College for additional preparation, because students who journeyed to Argentina for an education were prone to stay. Also, students who crossed the Andes to attend the Argentine school encountered problems with currency exchange rates.

The ministerial course at Chillán was not new. Years earlier the school had offered a similar course, but it fell into disuse and finally disappeared. To economize on teaching

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staff, the new plan alternated classes annually, so only half of the course would be available in any given year. After three years of this experiment, the school employed additional faculty in 1947, permitting the entire sequence of ministerial courses each year.⁶⁰

By 1945 enrollment statistics showed that the primary sector of the school was still the largest, but the upgrading trend had set in. Ten post-secondary and 117 secondary students constituted nearly 42 percent of the enrollment. In 1950 the numbers changed to 158 secondary and twenty college students, compared to 145 primary pupils. The total enrollment of 323 raised the school to the third largest in the South American Division. Helping the administration to attract students was the curricular revision that led to accreditation of the secondary and primary levels by the Chilean Department of Education in June 1946.⁶¹

ADVENTIST SCHOOLS SPREAD IN BRAZIL

Conditions similar to those in Spanish-speaking South America also faced Adventist schools in Brazil during the 1940s. Growing pains, complicated by government regulation and financial difficulties, gave headaches to administrators of the leading institution at São Paulo and at other secondary schools, but on the other side of the coin was a good record of producing workers, an unmistakable token of success that made for optimism in spite of problems.

“Take out of the work in Brazil the graduates of this school,” L. E. Downs wrote in 1941, “and the work would be paralyzed.”⁶² Downs, a member of the teaching faculty at Colégio Adventista, declared that during the twenty-five years of its existence the school had produced 146 graduates, 103 of whom were church workers. Scattered all over Brazil, they included the college president himself, a union president, the chief editor at Casa Publicadora, conference and mission administrators, ministers, office workers, and medical personnel. Many other denominational employees had studied at the school but had not graduated. Through the decade the list of workers grew impressively and continued to confirm the opinion of church leaders in Brazil that their schools were worth the effort required to maintain them.⁶³

Church officials regarded the Brazilian school as South America’s finest in some respects. J. F. Wright called it “the best equipped and best organized school within the Division,” and W. P. Bradley, also of the General Conference, could not overlook the general aura of orderliness permeating the campus when he visited in 1946.⁶⁴

In part, this image of success emerged from thriving campus industries. The college gardens and dairy were among the best in Brazil and brought the school

favorable publicity as well as supplying the local market and the college cafeteria with foods. As significant as this productivity was, it did not equal the attention achieved by the health food factory. From its production lines in 1943 came tomato juice and mulberry juice, jellies, peanut butter, honey, corn meal, and puffed cereals made from both wheat and rice. Eclipsing all other products in volume was grape juice, 130,000 bottles in 1943, squeezed from grapes shipped in from vineyards elsewhere in São Paulo.

Half in jest, J. L. Brown, president of the South Brazil Union, earlier suggested an industry similar to Argentina's Granix, since health foods were popular in Brazil. Booming sales from the college's processing plant made his tongue-in-cheek comment a serious one. By the end of June 1944, sales had already superseded that of the entire previous year, and shipments of college grape juice were arriving at the tables of government dignitaries, even Brazil President Getulio Vargas.⁶⁵ By the end of the decade, the small health food industry that had originated to provide work for students had become a major enterprise, although it remained a college department. Known as Produtos Alimentícios Superbom, by 1950 it had actually grown into the Brazilian counterpart of Granix, more than fulfilling Brown's wishful thinking in 1942.

School officers did not accomplish these industrial advances by neglecting the academic program. Early in the decade, J. F. Wright advised college officers to improve their own center for training church employees in Brazil, and so avoid sending workers to the United States for further education. Upgrading did not occur easily. By 1944 the faculty added new courses, including an improved ministerial program. Vocational training besides traditional preparation for denominational positions were part of the curricula, but as good as this growth appeared, even visitors who were not educators could see that teachers were stretching the school's academic integrity to maintain their new pace. "Their outstanding need is to strengthen their faculty," W. E. Nelson observed after the 1944 school year. "They are in dire need of a good normal director, a good science teacher, and one or two other teachers to head major departments . . . The school is endeavoring to do senior college work, but the faculty is not prepared to carry the work offered."⁶⁶

During the latter half of the 1940s, the college administration added teachers who strengthened the secondary level and offered professional training courses in business, education, and theology. By the end of the decade, the theology course was the equivalent of a college degree program. A specifically designated pre-university curriculum also became a part of the school's offerings. In 1945 enrollment at the

post-secondary level stood at 127, with 293 in the secondary school and only ninety-six in the primary department. By 1950 the institution employed sixty persons and reported a total enrollment exceeding 600. The post-secondary level numbered 145 students.⁶⁷

Much of this upgrading resulted from changes required by Brazilian law. In 1937 the secondary level at Colégio Adventista received official recognition, but only five years later new legislation reconfigured primary and secondary education by dividing it into three levels: primary for the first four years followed by four more years of *ginásio*, with three years of secondary or pre-university. Partly because it lacked the ability to grant recognized degrees, the school superimposed theology over this system, but after 1947 the ministerial-preparation course became a four-year program in its own right, and the classes became “more substantial and specific.”⁶⁸

The issue of ownership also came up. Upgrading the ministerial curriculum to the only complete post-secondary program in Brazil suggested that Colégio Adventista was the minister-preparation center for all three unions in Brazil. Recognizing that the school answered only to the South Brazil Union, the division recommended in 1941 that six of the fifteen board members should represent other constituencies.

The alternative to becoming an inter-union school would have been to permit each union to establish its own institution with post-secondary worker-training programs. Eventually that would happen, but meanwhile the division favored the inter-union option, a fact made evident when South America’s officers voted in 1943 to change the school’s name to Colégio Adventista Brasileiro, shortened to CAB. As late as 1944, however, the North Brazil Union was still unrepresented on the board, even though the school was recognized as an inter-union institution.⁶⁹

In addition to conforming to technicalities in the denomination’s organizational schema, Colégio Brasileiro also had to comply with government regulation to attract students. Similar to their counterparts in Spanish-speaking South America, Brazilian students studying for a profession, especially in teaching, expected accredited programs. At a meeting in December 1945, the division committee authorized the school to officialize its teacher-training course, but even before the first year of government recognition was over, some General Conference visitors feared that accreditation might threaten spiritual standards.⁷⁰

Church leaders generally viewed government regulation as a threat to institutional independence, but they could do little about it except to seek ways to accommodate themselves to it. Sometimes controls reflected not only nationalism but deteriorating world conditions. Even before Brazil entered World War II, Vargas

established a government department of religion to monitor church activities. The government also required military training on school campuses. To satisfy this last demand, the division explored the feasibility of instituting medical cadet courses, even seeking the approval of Brazil's surgeon-general. Before the end of the first year of Brazilian participation in the war, the military imprisoned some young Adventist recruits. Some cases had already reached the courts, prompting General Conference intervention.⁷¹

Because Brazil was the largest country in South America, the issue of military training was especially important, but it also spread to other countries. It affected other Adventist schools in the division, although not uniformly. At Brazil College the training went into the curriculum in 1943, but it did not continue. At River Plate College, the first cohort of cadets finished their course in 1941, the second in 1946, and the third in 1948. By 1948 all countries on the continent except Uruguay enacted compulsory military training legislation. About the same time, the division recommended all Adventist institutions to offer medical cadet training. In 1949 the division committee approved a course syllabus for all schools, complete with uniforms and an inventory of minimum equipment.⁷²

Prohibition of coeducational schools, a question that had been particularly troublesome in Peru, was also a part of the Brazilian scene. After bringing the law down hard in 1942, the government relaxed enough to allow the secondary school at Taquara to continue with a program for a mixed enrollment. Rumors reached the ears of division officers that institutions in other denominations were protesting the legislation, but Adventists decided to appeal for exemption rather than to formalize their disagreement with the law.

Time revealed the wisdom of their judgment. Reaction to the law from state schools was so negative that embarrassed educational officials in the government admitted they would not have promoted it had they foreseen such strong opposition. Other Adventist secondary institutions at Butia and Petrópolis escaped closure. While administrators of Brazil College at first feared the worst, the campus remained untouched, probably benefitting from other protests and weak-hearted enforcement.⁷³

Even in the face of serious obstacles, Colégio Brasileiro grew notably during the 1940s and became one of the largest Adventist schools outside the United States. By 1950, only the denominational colleges in Korea, Australia, and the Philippines had larger enrollments at the post-secondary level, and only the China Training Institute employed a larger faculty at the tertiary level. A faculty of thirty-two taught in the

secondary and post-secondary levels at Brazil College, many of them in more than one academic discipline. Eleven comprised the theology staff, twelve taught in the teacher-training course, and thirteen in business.⁷⁴

An enlarging number of Adventist secondary schools in Brazil did not escape the impact of the education reform law of 1943. At the beginning of the 1940s, Brazilian Adventists operated five boarding schools, which fell under the reorganizing affect of the new law.⁷⁵ Additionally, a growing constituency created a need for more educational opportunities, and Brazilian Adventists, inspired by the bright prospects at CAB, forged ahead with new schools, sometimes even without authorization. In the early days of the 1940s, three boarding schools were born, which reported a combined enrollment of 453 in 1945. The secondary schools at Butia in Santa Catarina and Taquara in Rio Grande do Sul, both in the South Brazil Union, began as privately operated Adventist enterprises, but in time they came under official church control.

W. E. Nelson did not express much sympathy for these struggling schools during his visit to Brazil in 1941 and 1942. The enrollment at Taquara was nearly half non-Adventist, and Nelson interpreted large church investments in a building program as hardly more than contributions to the municipal education system. At Butia he heard talk of developing a complete secondary curriculum, a project that would cost about US\$20,000.

The fact that schools, both Taquara and Butia, began unofficially and then became denominational institutions, somewhat by default, bothered Nelson. “Really, brethren,” he wrote pessimistically, “if these schools are allowed to multiply, one hundred percent of all the appropriations going to South America can very easily be used up in administration and subsidies to schools with no work to be done in evangelistic lines.”⁷⁶

J. F. Wright also criticized the two schools in the South Brazil Union, describing them as having a strangle hold on the union. A recommendation came after an earlier survey of Taquara’s campus not to offer a full secondary course, a position that Wright agreed with, but he later discovered that “the good folk at Taquara are going to go ahead with their plans to enlarge, regardless of the counsel given.” Wright predicted dire results from such independence. Already “strained feelings” made for touchy relationships between Taquara and the union.⁷⁷

Some also worried that smaller secondary schools would build their enrollments at the expense of CAB, but these fears did not prevent the division from supporting new schools. Persons acquainted with the field were conscious of growing

membership and of great distances separating pockets of Adventist population. When Figuhr and Harrison submitted their requests for General Conference special appropriations for the 1944 division budget, they asked for US\$6,000 for the boys' dormitory at Taquara, admitting that "formerly there was justifiable criticism for the way this school was operated," but added, "it is now being run along Seventh-day Adventist lines, and the brethren are manifesting a fine, cooperative spirit with the Union and Division."⁷⁸ By 1950 Taquara's enrollment sagged, although not seriously, but the school was firmly within the family of Adventist institutions.

The experience at Butia was similar. After his first tour of the division's schools, L. M. Stump told the division council in 1946 that Butia's greatest need was a new location. Local church leaders were already probing possible sites. The following year, 1947, the school moved to Curitiba in Paraná, and by the end of the decade, it built an enrollment of 126, with a majority in the secondary level. Doubt about division support for the school faded when South America's officers allocated US\$15,000 from the September 9, 1950, Missions Extension offering to benefit Ginásio Adventista Paranaense, as the school was known. The money was acutely needed. Rich soil made up the school's 175 acres, but the farm did not have enough machinery. Deficiencies in student housing were even greater. Neither the boys nor the girls lived in adequate dormitories.⁷⁹

Instituto Teológico Adventista in Petrópolis, while not sharing the same unofficial origin as its sister institutions in South Brazil, still gave General Conference visitors excuse for doubt. Wright called it a "white elephant," complaining that the small property left little room for expansion. In addition, the soil was poor and the school suffered from a poor water supply. To augment income, school administrators opened its doors for summer convalescent guests, but not much profit accrued from this venture.⁸⁰

With no expectation that the *instituto* would ever become more than a secondary school, church leaders continued to develop the plant throughout the decade. Improved faculty housing and a new administration building were on the construction agenda. By the end of 1946, the water problem remained unresolved, a situation that restricted the growth of the farm, which was already hemmed in by limited space. Despite its narrow prospects for the future, the school filled a necessary niche in the educational program in the East Brazil Union.⁸¹

During the 1940s the most important event in Brazil's educational program occurred in Pernambuco. The school for Adventists in northern Brazil, about which

workers had talked so long, finally materialized in 1944 when classes began in Belém de Maria, a tiny community about 150 kilometers west of Recife. After the division approved plans in March for a school in the north, church leaders in East Brazil proceeded quickly to buy land and form a faculty. On the 125-acre plot were 1,600 banana plants and a grove of avocado trees. Within two years the school offered a secondary program, although unaccredited. By 1950 the school adopted its third name, Educandário Nordestino Adventista.⁸²

The director of Northeast Brazil Rural Institute, as the school was called during its early days, explained that Brazil College was not producing enough workers, hence the need for another training school. It began typically as an elementary school, but by 1950 its total enrollment of seventy-two was more than two-thirds secondary. Government accreditation of the secondary curriculum came in 1951.⁸³

Breaking all previous records in acquiring government recognition, Ginásio Adventista Campineiro in Campinas, São Paulo, opened in 1949, and the next year offered an accredited program.⁸⁴

Elementary education in Brazil experienced significant growth during the 1940s. Enrollment increased from about 2,000 to more than 5,000 and the number of schools rose from seventy-four at the end of 1939 to 165 in 1950. Of importance was the fact that the number of elementary schools was greater than the number of churches by 1950, which demonstrated that during the decade of the 1940s, Brazilian congregations valued primary education very highly.⁸⁵

SYSTEMATIZING ADVENTIST EDUCATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

The 1940s was an era of educational expansion for South America, especially in Brazil. During the first half of the decade the number of institutions increased sharply, a trend that called for more systematizing. In part, the lengthening chain of schools was a reaction to postwar awareness of higher educational standards in the public at large. No longer could Adventist schools satisfy themselves with a simple humanitarian image, but of necessity assumed responsible roles in the world of education. Accreditation, a status granted by governments, became an increasingly critical issue for Adventists who were preparing for professional employment in denominational institutions and elsewhere. In his presentation to the first postwar General Conference in 1946, H. A. Morrison, the world secretary of Adventist education, reported that South America's training schools were turning out about 250 graduates annually, fifty of whom were entering denominational service.⁸⁶

This simple statistic spoke eloquently about the rising level of educational expectations within the church. Denominational leaders had consistently argued that the purpose of Adventist schools was to train workers, but Morrison's report showed that South America was using only 20 percent of the schools' product. Stated in opposite terms, 80 percent of the graduates of Adventist schools were finding employment outside the church. No single cause explains this phenomenon, but it is probably safe to conclude that Adventist youth increasingly tended to view a denominational education as something more than a path leading to a job in the church. The range of curricula was still narrow in Adventist schools, but the statistics suggest that the unique quality of denominational education rather than the prospects of church employment was the chief drawing card for the many students in South American Adventist schools.

In the face of this trend, the purpose of denominational schools could not avoid change. With an ever-enlarging reservoir of young people, the church could never hope to place them all on the payroll; at best, training schools could offer accredited programs that would provide an Adventist environment for youth who would either enter the job market immediately or continue training in state institutions.

Governments were becoming more conscious of literacy, which gave rise to more regulation. While cautious about regulation, Adventists did not view it as evil, although in some instances, such as anti-coeducational restrictions, the laws were clearly obstacles to denominational schools. Nevertheless, by 1950 Adventist institutions emerged from the decade stronger and more numerous than they were in 1940. In addition to the new institutions that appeared during the 1940s, several new boarding schools were under construction in 1950.⁸⁷

One of the most telling effects of systematization imposed from outside the church was to inspire a movement within the church to refine its own organization. The opening event was a series of educational councils in May, June, and July 1944, conducted by H. A. Morrison. Problems pertaining to curriculum, professional development, classroom techniques, and learning and achievement, all within the context of Christian ideals, were on the agenda of successive conventions around the South American Division. At Brazil College seventy-five teachers, administrators, and other workers assembled for five days of open discussion. The meeting "was the first of its kind ever held here in Brazil by our organization," Domingos Peixoto da Silva remarked.⁸⁸

Two and a half years later, the division council approved a twenty-one-page working policy for secondary and post-secondary schools. The document outlined

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philosophy and objectives of Adventist schools, the function of control boards, duties of administrative officers, responsibilities of teachers, and principles of student management, including policies of admission and retention. All schools received a list of minimum equipment for science labs necessary for students to earn academic credit. Regarding teachers credentials, the division established its own requirements to certify primary teachers, thus codifying denominational standards throughout the continent.

Another action stipulated a schedule of minimum appropriations from conferences and unions for schools. The nature of the institution determined the amount of its subsidy. The schools also received promises of assistance in formulating operating budgets. After finishing with secondary schools and post-secondary campuses, the division turned to primary schools, adopting a ten-page statement laying down guidelines for teachers, students, finances, and local church responsibilities.

To improve teacher performance at the secondary level, the division organized three summer school sessions for instructors. The first cycle, slated for Brazil and Argentina in 1948 and 1949, and Peru in 1950, was open for principals, treasurers, and one other teacher from each school. Attendees and their sponsoring institutions shared costs.⁸⁹

During the 1940s South American Adventists also provided improved financial security to primary school teachers, another means to attract competent personnel. By 1946 teachers in the Paraná-Santa Catarina Conference were on a twelve-month salary schedule. Between school years, the conference directed their work. "This arrangement is a great boon to the church school work," he wrote.⁹⁰

Despite systematization and professional encouragement from church leaders, the growth of primary school enrollment did not keep pace with membership growth during the 1940s. In the ten years beginning in January 1941, fields throughout the division added 5,626 students, a more than 48 percent increase, while membership was growing in excess of 71 percent. The number of elementary schools increased by nearly the same rate as enrollment, which meant that the average size of the schools remained nearly constant during the decade.

These numbers are instructive but do not reveal the story of fields where deviation from the average was sometimes very marked. Schools in East Brazil, for example, added students 100 percent faster than net growth in membership. This field was one of the division's smallest, however, and its record could not overcome severe lagging in the Inca and South Brazil unions, which pulled the division's average down.

In 1950 South American Adventists operated 431 primary schools with 17,217 enrollees. To measure the evangelistic value of these schools, A. C. Harder, superintendent of the Rio-Espírito Santo Mission where non-Adventist enrollment was high, estimated in 1946 that one baptism in four resulted from baptismal classes conducted by teachers in their primary schools.⁹¹ During the previous year, the mission recorded more than 270 baptisms; at the same time, enrollment stood at more than 550, which would mean that nearly seventy new members—about one out of every eight church school students—joined the church. Many were probably from Adventist homes, but it is probable that some were not.

In 1950 primary school enrollment in the South American Division equated to 30 percent of the membership, a decline of 5 percent in ten years. Even with this downward trend, South America stood second among the ten divisions outside North America, ranked according to the size of elementary school enrollment and the number of primary schools. The division had maintained this standing since 1940. Only South Africa operated more schools and registered more students.⁹²

Although South America's leaders vigorously promoted Adventist education, only a part of the available students attended above the elementary level. E. E. Cossentine, General Conference secretary of education, told the world session of the church in 1950 that only 1,600 to 1,700 South American youth were registered in secondary and advanced courses. A growing concern for young Adventists in non-denominational schools, or in no schools at all, gave rise to a series of youth congresses for the entire division. In conjunction with T. E. Lucas of the General Conference, L. M. Stump, who wore two hats as division secretary of both education and youth ministry, began the sequence in 1948, with plans for ten more gatherings the following year. The events were reminiscent of Lundquist's congresses more than a decade earlier.

The whirlwind meetings closed in December at Guayaquil. Across the division thousands attended and hundreds expressed a desire to join the church or renew their membership. In Lima more than 900 attended and ninety joined a baptismal class. From twenty-three churches, 500 youth flocked to Petrópolis to attend a gathering in September. At Brazil College 2,500 swarmed into the meeting place. Lucas reported more soul-winning trophies than the platform could accommodate.⁹³

At mid-century division leaders had little doubt concerning the South American youth movement. In spite of fears expressed early in the 1940s that South America would over-institutionalize and that schools would absorb so much money that

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nothing would be left for evangelism, educational and other youth programs multiplied. As the following years would show, what occurred during the 1940s was only the beginning of a proliferation beyond anyone's imagination.

¹ H. A. Morrison, "The Department of Education," *RH*, June 10, 1946.

² W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 25, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; Thomas W. Steen, "The Adventist Institute of Uruguay," *RH*, November 25, 1945.

³ J. E. Weaver to the officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, GCA/21, GF/ 1941; W. E. Murray to A. W. Cormack, January 8, 1941, *ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, November 17, 1941, *ibid.*/11, Figuhr folder; Walton J. Brown, "A Historical Study," 332-340.

⁴ H. O. Olson to E. D. Dick, August 19, 1941, *ibid.*; Thomas Steen to E. D. Dick, September 2, 1941, *ibid.*

⁵ W. E. Nelson and J. F. Wright to R. R. Figuhr, December 2, 1941, *ibid.*

⁶ The discussion about Pilar vs. Puiggari stems primarily from four sources: Thomas W. Steen, "The Adventist Institute of Uruguay," *RH*, November 25, 1945; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 25, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, *ibid.*; E. N. Lugenbeal to E. D. Dick, February 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943.

⁷ J. F. Wright voiced the General Conference refusal to supply large subsidies for the move. Regarding the inter-union status of the school see SAD Minutes, December 21, 1941/GCA.

⁸ R. R. Figuhr to W. H. Branson, December 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

⁹ Thomas Steen to E. D. Dick, August 25, 1942, *ibid.*

¹⁰ E. D. Dick to R. R. Figuhr, January 6, 1943, *ibid.*/1943; R. R. Figuhr to E. D. Dick, January 24, 1943, *ibid.*

¹¹ E. N. Lugenbeal to E. D. Dick, February 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943.

¹² R. R. Figuhr to W. E. Nelson, February 5, 1943, *ibid.*; E. N. Lugenbeal, March 12, 1943, *ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*; R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, January 2, 1944, *ibid.*/1944; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, *ibid.*; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945; Brown, *Chronology*, 113; Brown, "A Historical Study," 416; SAD Minutes, December 19, 1943/GCA.

¹⁴ GCA/21, GF/1944, *passim*; H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, November 6, 1945, *ibid.*/1945.

¹⁵ SAD Minutes, December 19, 1943/GCA.

¹⁶ L. M. Stump, "Report of the Educational Department South American Division Annual Meeting, 1946," GCA/21, GF/1947.

¹⁷ Brown, "Historical Study," 416-22; Brown, "Report of the Director of River Plate College to the Board of the Austral Union," December 1946, GCA/21, GF/1947; SAD Minutes, May 26, 1947/GCA; Fernando Chaij, "River Plate College in Action," *Bulletin*, XXII (4th Quarter 1946), 4-6; Walton J. Brown, "River Plate College Ends Fiftieth Year of Existence," *ibid.*, XXIV (November-December 1948), 6, 7; *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1945, 1950.

¹⁸ Walton J. Brown to N. W. Dunn, March 21, 1948, GCA/21, GF/1948; R. R. Figuhr to N. W. Dunn, April 2, 1948, *ibid.*, Figuhr-Blake folder; Walton J. Brown to N. W. Dunn, March 18, 1949, *ibid.*, GF/1949.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Walton J. Brown to N. W. Dunn, November 28, 1949, *ibid.*/1949; Walton J. Brown, "River Plate College, Argentina," *RH*, February 15, 1951.

²⁰ Walton J. Brown, *Chronology*, 112; *Statistical Report* for 1950.

²¹ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, GCA/21, GF/1943; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 9, 1944, *ibid.*/1944; Thomas W. Steen, "The Adventist Institute of Uruguay," *RH*, November 29, 1945.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ L. M. Stump, "Report of the Educational Department South American Division Annual Meeting, 1946," GCA/21, GF/1947.

²⁴ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945; Brown, "Historical Study," 517-538; *Statistical Report*, 1945, 1950; Thomas W. Steen, "The Adventist Institute of Uruguay," *RH*, November 29, 1945.

- ²⁵ Mrs. C. J. Weber, "Instituto Adventista del Uruguay," *Bulletin*, XXIV (November-December 1948), 4-6.
- ²⁶ J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.
- ²⁷ R. R. Figuhr to W. H. Branson, December 16, 1942, *ibid.*
- ²⁸ R. R. Figuhr to J. L. McElhany, March 19, 1943, *ibid.*/11, GF/1943; R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, *ibid.*; W. E. Phillips to the officers of the General Conference, June 29, 1944, *ibid.*/1944.
- ²⁹ F. L. Harrison to L. D. Minner and P. H. Barnes, October 12, 1943, *ibid.*/1943; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 1, 1945, *ibid.*/1945.
- ³⁰ H. A. Morrison, "The Youth of South America," *RH*, November 29, 1945; L. M. Stump, "Report of the Educational Department South American Division Annual Meeting, 1946," GCA/21, GF/1947; SAD Minutes, December 9, 1946/GCA. An informative account of the move from Miraflores to Ñaña is found in Domingo Enoé Huerta Huamán, ed., *Universidad Peruana Unión, 1983-2008* (Ñaña, Peru, 2008), 5-9.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1946; *ibid.*, March 19 and May 26, 1947.
- ³² Ray L. Jacobs, "Training School in Lima, Peru," *RH*, July 28, 1949; SAD Minutes, December 18, 1945/GCA; *ibid.*, December 16, 1947.
- ³³ *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1945, 1950.
- ³⁴ John E. Weaver to the officers of the General Conference, May 5, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941; J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, *ibid.*
- ³⁵ SAD Minutes, January 17, 1943/GCA.
- ³⁶ A. M. Tillman, "Going to School in the Altiplano," *RH*, September 24, 1942; N. W. Dunn, "Educational Council in South America," *ibid.*, December 21, 1944.
- ³⁷ Alberta Beardsley Jacobs, "Progress in Lake Titicaca Training School," *ibid.*, November 15, 1945.
- ³⁸ H. M. Walton, "Visit to South American Division November 4 to February 5, 1943-44," GCA/21, GF/1944.
- ³⁹ SAD Minutes, July 30, 1947/GCA.
- ⁴⁰ E. N. Lugenbeal to N. W. Dunn, September 10, 1948, GCA/21, GF/1948; Brown, *Chronology*, 81.
- ⁴¹ *Statistical Report*, 1945, 1950.
- ⁴² SAD Minutes. January 17, 1943/GCA.
- ⁴³ William R. Robinson, "Itinerating on Foot in the Andes of Bolivia," *RH*, November 18, 1943; and "Our Educational Work for the Indians of Bolivia," *ibid.*, February 4, 1943.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ Quoted in R. E. Kepkey, "Our Work in the Bolivian Highlands," *ibid.*, December 13, 1945.
- ⁴⁶ John E. Weaver, "Among Our Schools in South America," *ibid.*, February 4, 1943.
- ⁴⁷ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, GCA/21, GF/1943; F. L. Harrison to L. D. Minner and P. H. Barnes, October 12, 1943, *ibid.*; L. M. Stump and R. R. Figuhr to L. C. Nelson, undated telegram, *ibid.*/1946; R. R. Figuhr to W. P. Bradley, October 16, 1946, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, June 5, 14, 1946/GCA; *ibid.*, September 8, 1946.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, December 9, 1946; *ibid.*, December 16, 1947; *ibid.*, December 9, 1948.
- ⁴⁹ E. N. Lugenbeal to N. W. Dunn, May 21, 1948, *ibid.*/21, GF/1948; R. E. Kepkey to N. W. Dunn, September 28, 1948, *ibid.*; John Hartman to Roger Altman, undated, *ibid.*/1949.
- ⁵⁰ R. E. Kepkey to N. W. Dunn, September 28, 1948, *ibid.*
- ⁵¹ R. V. Vinglas to N. W. Dunn, October 23, 1949, *ibid.*/1950; R. V. Vinglas, "Bolivia Training School," *RH*, October 16, 1952.
- ⁵² R. V. Vinglas to N. W. Dunn, September 1, 1952, GCA/21, GF/1952; R. V. Vinglas, "Bolivia Training School," *RH*, October 16, 1952.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*; R. V. Vinglas to N. W. Dunn, September 1, 1952, GCA/21, GF/1952; R. V. Vinglas, "Bolivia Training School," *Bulletin*, XXVIII (May-June 1952), 5, 6; *Statistical Report*, 1950.
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⁵⁵ J. H. Meier, "Our School in Chillan, Chile," *Bulletin*, XVII (April 1941), 5; J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

⁵⁶ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943.

⁵⁷ SAD Minutes, December 9, 1946/GCA; *ibid.*, May 2, 1947; *ibid.*, December 9, 1948.

⁵⁸ R. R. Figuhr to A. W. Cormack, October 23, 1941, GCA/21, GF/1941; R. R. Figuhr to N. W. Dunn, May 9, 1948, *ibid.*/1948, Figuhr-Blake folder.

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⁶⁰ SAD Minutes, December 19, 1944/GCA; *ibid.*, December 16, 1947.

⁶¹ *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1945, 1950; Brown, *Chronology*, 77.

⁶² L. E. Downs, "Brazil Junior College," *RH*, June 26, 1941.

⁶³ In addition to Downs's statement cited in *ibid.*, see similar reports in C. A. Rentfro, trans., "Appealing Statistics," *ibid.*, March 18, 1943; Domingos Peixoto da Silva, "Progress at Brazil College," *Bulletin*, XXI (4th Quarter 1945), 2, 3.

⁶⁴ J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; W. P. Bradley to E. D. Dick, December 30, 1946, *ibid.*/1947, Figuhr-Blake folder.

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⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, February 1, 1945, GCA/21, GF/1945.

⁶⁷ *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1945, 1950; *SDA Yearbook*, 1946, 228, 229; *ibid.*, 1951, 239.

⁶⁸ Joubert Castro Perez and Fabiana Amaral, "O Ensino Teológico no Brasil," in *A educação adventista no Brasil: uma história de aventuras e milagres*, Alberto Timm, ed. (Engenheiro Coelho, SP, 2004) 135, 136. See Paulo Cezar de Azevedo, "O ensino adventista de nível médio no Brasil," *ibid.*, for a discussion of the education reform law.

⁶⁹ SAD Minutes, December 18, 1941/GCA; *ibid.*/December 19, 1943; A. W. Cormack to R. R. Figuhr, August 19, 1944, GCA/21, GF/1944.

⁷⁰ SAD Minutes, December 14, 1945/GCA; W. P. Bradley to E. D. Dick, December 30, 1946, GCA/21, GF/1947, Figuhr-Blake folder.

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⁷² SAD Minutes, December 10, 1947/GCA; *ibid.*, December 9, 1948; A. M. Tillman, "Medical Cadets in the South American Division," *Bulletin*, XXIV (March-April 1948), 4.

⁷³ H. O. Olson to R. R. Figuhr, July 27, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942; H. O. Olson to A. W. Cormack, August 27, 1942, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *SDA Yearbook*, 1951, 239; *Statistical Report*, 1950.

⁷⁵ Paulo Cezar de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Médio no Brasil," *Educação adventista*, 54.

⁷⁶ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 25, 1942, GCA/21, GF/1942.

⁷⁷ J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, *ibid.*

⁷⁸ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943.

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⁸⁰ W. E. Nelson to J. L. McElhany, February 25, 1942, *ibid.*, GF/1942; J. F. Wright to J. L. McElhany, *et al.*, April 16, 1942, *ibid.*

⁸¹ R. R. Figuhr and F. L. Harrison to W. E. Nelson, August 8, 1943, *ibid.*/1943; L. M. Stump, "Report of the Educational Department South American Division, Annual Meeting, 1946," *ibid.*/1947.

⁸² SAD Minutes, March 3, 1943/GCA; Brown, *Chronology*, 93; Leon Replogle, "Educational Plans in the East Brazil Union," *RH*, May 6, 1943.

⁸³ Ibid.; Jairo Araujo, "Our Newest Educational Institution in Brazil," *Bulletin*, XXII (3rd Quarter 1946), 7; *Statistical Report*, 1950.

⁸⁴ Walton J. Brown, *Chronology*, 100.

⁸⁵ Roberto César de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Fundamental no Brasil," *Educação adventista*, 34, 35.

⁸⁶ H. A. Morrison, "The Department of Education," *RH*, June 10, 1946.

⁸⁷ E. E. Cossentine, "The Department of Education," *ibid.*, July 13, 1950.

⁸⁸ N. W. Dunn, "Educational Council in South America," *ibid.*, December 21, 1944; Domingos Peixoto da Silva, "Council of Academy and College Teachers," *ibid.*, January 4, 1945.

⁸⁹ SAD Minutes, December 11-16, 1947/GCA.

⁹⁰ H. O. Olson, "South Brazil Biennial Session," *RH*, May 16, 1946.

⁹¹ A. C. Harder, "Rio-Espirito Santo Mission," *ibid.*, November 7, 1946.

⁹² *Statistical Report*, 1940, 1950.

⁹³ See several short accounts in *RH*: T. E. Lucas, "Congresses in South America," December 2, 1948; and "Youth's Congress, Petropolis, Brazil," October 13, 1949; and "Sao Paulo, Brazil, Youth Congress," November 17, 1949; E. W. Dunbar, "Peru Congress Wins Many Youth," January 12, 1950; A. M. Tillman, "Ecuador Youth's Congress," February 2, 1950; L. H. Olson, "Youth Congresses in the Inca Union," February 9, 1950.



MEMBERSHIP EXPLOSION

“SOUTH AMERICA IS ripe for a great harvest of souls,” the division secretary recorded during the year-end meetings in 1959. “Everywhere, in the large cities, in the villages, and in the country, doors are open for the proclamation of the truth. The seed sown year after year by means of our literature, the radio, the exemplary Christian lives of our church members, etc., now is bearing fruit.”¹

URBAN EVANGELISM IN POSTWAR SOUTH AMERICA

It is impossible to mark precisely when the membership explosion began in the South American Division. To the workers of the 1940s, who had watched the division grow by annual increments approximating 5,000 at the most, prospects of baptizing 10,000 and more each year seemed preposterous except to the most visionary. During the 1950s they closed in on the larger figure with little indication of a letup in their pace. In the two decades that followed, they and their successors pursued progressively higher goals.

The experience was a heady one. Figuhr, who left South America in 1950, returned in 1956 to attend division and union sessions and spoke out ebulliently in the *Review*. “The time is past when ten,

twenty, and twenty-five believers only are baptized as a result of an effort. Now we baptize fifty and more in the very first baptism.”²

South American evangelists generally agreed that the one most responsible for the sudden upswing in baptisms during the postwar period was Walter Schubert. His methods caught on quickly. By 1950 he diffused them throughout the entire division, but the strongest impetus for his evangelistic style probably came in the Seminary Extension Field School sponsored by division officers at Uruguay Academy from December 1949 through the next month. For the eighty workers who took the course and listened to J. L. McElhany’s graduation sermon, the experience was the beginning of a new era.

What followed was a wave of enthusiasm for public evangelism. During the year after the Extension School, Schubert opened meetings in Pôrto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, before hastening on to Guayaquil, Ecuador, for another series. Huge crowds turned out to his lectures in Lima. During the next year his evangelism program surged on to Valparaíso, Chile, and Rio de Janeiro.³

Wherever he went, Schubert himself organized field schools for workers who assisted him, sometimes conducting two campaigns simultaneously in a single city. Such was the case at Manaus in 1953 where 1,700 came out to hear him on opening night. His influence on fellow workers was electrifying. João Carvalho assisted him in a campaign, and then struck out on his own in several Brazilian cities. Francisco Scarcella in Callao, Peru, and Amaro Peverini in Ambato, Ecuador, also caught evangelistic fever.⁴

Before the Manaus meetings, Schubert experimented with double sessions. During his São Paulo meetings, he led twenty-five workers through a field school and lectured four nights weekly in São Paulo and three in São Caetano do Sul. On Sundays he held sessions at both locations. Ministers, picking up on his style, began using medical personnel to present health topics. In his Guayaquil campaign in 1950, Schubert integrated nurses into his evangelistic team. Even more to the point of preaching the religious meaning of good health, A. S. Melo celebrated a health week after a six-month evangelistic saturation of Cachoeira, Rio Grande do Sul, featuring lectures by Galdino Vieira and Siegfried Hoffmann, both doctors.⁵

Plans called for 139 city efforts around the division during 1951, thirty-five in cities where no Adventists lived. Half of the year’s total were to take place in communities above 25,000. The division committee also offered guidance to help members conduct meetings. Looking ahead to 1952 with a goal of 8,500 baptisms

and a baptism in every church each quarter of the year, South America's officers suggested that small churches should hold revivals lasting from ten to fourteen days, emphasizing repentance and rebirth for the benefit of marginal members and former Adventists. Lay members would conduct many of the smaller series of meetings. Before launching evangelism plans for 1953, Division President Murray predicted that South America stood at the beginning of a great advance movement.

A year later division leaders voted a call to evangelism, compelled by the conviction that "in the cities, on the highways, across great expanses of countryside and islands afar, millions on the brink of eternity have not heard the Advent message." At their annual session in 1953, division committeemen adopted a resolution calling for a revival in every Adventist church in the division, beginning in January and ending in May 1954. With hopes of adding 2,000 members in this campaign, they voted to allow pastors seven to eight months of uninterrupted evangelism, free from other duties that were worthy but would interfere with their primary responsibility of soul-winning.⁶

For 1954 fields in the division set a goal of 160 meetings. Even more ambitious plans came up for discussion as 1955 neared a close. In what had become an annual call for more intense evangelism, the division committee recommended leaders of all conferences and missions to devise means to reach each person in their territory.⁷

When he entered the scene in 1957 at Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, G. G. Oliveira demonstrated what evangelistic meetings and a revival could do for a church. Demoralized by a meetinghouse with broken windows and a generally rundown appearance, the congregation had degenerated into a small and spiritually stagnant group. That the Adventist eyesore was close to the governor's mansion only made it worse. Oliveira rented a warehouse with a seating capacity of 500 and initiated a campaign to rebuild the church. After thorough cleaning, repairs, and a coat of paint, he prepared two hundred seats and invited the audience attending his meetings to visit the church. Old members wept when they saw the public's reaction to the transformation in their meeting place. With about sixty new converts rejuvenating the congregation, Oliveira planned to construct a primary school.⁸

No one could deny that evangelistic fervor revitalized South America, but church leaders also faced the stark reality that membership drives cost money. Officers in four conferences implemented fund-raising campaigns to meet their goals of US\$5,000 for evangelistic projects. Other conferences set similar goals. Money from the division went to all fields as part of the special appropriations voted at each annual meeting of the division committee.⁹

Establishing baptismal goals helped to keep the evangelistic spirit at a high pitch and inspired workers to regard church growth as their primary concern. For 1952 union presidents set their sights on 8,400 converts; by 1956 the objectives had risen to 12,000, a target which they kept during the rest of the decade.¹⁰ Baptisms, however, fell considerably short of the goals. Accessions reached 6,331 in 1952 and 7,033 the next year. Following a slack year in 1954, the climb resumed in 1955 to 8,102. In 1956 the division recorded more than 9,000 baptisms. In 1959 the total barely missed 10,000, but in 1960 field reports showed 11,315 new members. This influx of converts enabled the division to reach a milestone on December 31, 1956, when membership reports topped 100,000.¹¹

Schubert also exported his methods to Inter-America. In 1954 at Havana, Cuba, he conducted the first large-scale effort in a Spanish-speaking field in the sister division. Five years later he took his method to Italy where he organized a school of evangelism and a set of meetings in both Turin and Milan, where the lectures began without prayer or congregational singing. Converts later acknowledged that “they would never have attended these meetings if they had known they were sponsored by the so-called ‘heretics.’” The result was the largest baptism Adventists had conducted in Italy. Other South American evangelists followed Schubert’s example. Arturo Schmidt led a series in the Dominican Republic in 1962; Carlos Aeschlimann began his Inter-American evangelistic career in Mexico in 1964 and continued on in Colombia and Central America; and Salim Japas both taught in Adventist schools and preached in the Caribbean.¹²

Before moving to Inter-America, these men established strong reputations as urban evangelists. Correlating a Bible correspondence course with a campaign in Montevideo, Japas stirred 1,000 to attend opening meetings in Cine Astoria on opening night, April 20, 1963. Later in the year, he tried the same approach in Temuco, Chile, giving Bibles to interested persons who were taking lessons. Attendance averaged 1,200; after weeks of lectures and study, 240 joined the church.

Aeschlimann also depended on his experience in the Austral Union. A second-generation Adventist, he set out on a two-week campaign in La Plata, Argentina, in 1963, but public interest compelled him to continue four months. On Saturday and Sunday nights, he presented his lectures twice. A year later evangelists in Buenos Aires blanketed the city with meetings by coordinating their efforts into a single, large campaign. Attendance approximated 3,000.

Schmidt’s record was well in place before South America lent him to the Dominican Republic in 1962 for the most productive membership drive up to that

time in the Inter-American Division. In what General Conference Secretary W. R. Beach called the most successful effort in Austral Union history, Schmidt led a team of six assistants through a series in Concepción, Chile, in 1957, resulting in 170 baptisms. After returning home from the Dominican Republic in 1962, he became associate secretary of the South American Division Ministerial Association, a post from which he cast a wide influence around South America. In Arequipa, Peru, he started meetings on February 1, 1963, that attracted 2,000 to the opening lecture. To accommodate a crowd of this unanticipated size, Schmidt divided it, but 2,000 more showed up for the evening session, some even arriving an hour and a half early to make certain they had a seat. This effort produced nearly 500 baptisms.

A year later in March 1964 Schmidt and twenty other workers began a lecture series in Rosario, Argentina, baptizing more than 150 converts. With little rest, he launched another series in Cochabamba, Bolivia, where almost 200 joined the church. Later in the same year, laboring in Quito, Ecuador, where the Adventist record had been mediocre at best, he drew crowds of 2,500 on weeknights and 3,000 on weekends, besides broadcasting an hour-long program daily.¹³

Other faces appeared on evangelistic platforms. Antonio Arteaga in the Austral Union and Alcides Campolongo and Enoch Oliveira in Brazil played prominent roles in the new evangelism. Announced as a professor from Mexico, Arteaga packed a 1,200-seat theater in Iquique, Chile. Two years later in Santiago he organized eighteen workers to assist him with two simultaneous efforts. From this last series, pastors in the area baptized 669 converts.¹⁴

Enoch Oliveira christened the new evangelistic center in Rio de Janeiro with meetings in June 1963, featuring lectures on health, the home, and juvenile delinquency. Bible classes met on designated nights with baptisms regularly on Sunday nights.¹⁵

Only weeks after Oliveira began his series, Alcides Campolongo opened a massive campaign in São Paulo. Church members pitched in by enrolling thousands in radio and television correspondence schools. Allowing three months to complete this phase, Campolongo next began his lectures, a series of public discussions about health, alcoholism, and tobacco. Gradually he moved to religious topics, and after three more months, 350 started to attend the Adventist church. As a result of these meetings, on February 29, 1964, the congregations in São Paulo welcomed 231 new converts as members. Shortly after, forty-nine more newly baptized members boosted the total to 280 converts from the campaign, and Campolongo anticipated that as many as 100 more would follow.¹⁶

This was not Campolongo's first experience in large-scale evangelism effort. In 1961 six pastors in the São Paulo area helped him baptize 135 converts, the largest ceremony in Brazil until that time. Again, in 1966 and the year following, he led another effort that brought 411 new members to the churches in São Paulo. During an eighteen-month period ending in December 1967, he was responsible for 1,000 baptisms. In a two-page summary of evangelism published in the Brazilian *Revista Adventista*, an ecstatic division secretary proclaimed 1967 the best in the history of South America and pled for even increased results in 1968.¹⁷

The pace of evangelism quickened even more during the 1970s. Raimundo P. Lima, a district pastor in São Luís, capital city of the Brazilian state of Maranhão, put his churches to work in 1970 and baptized 440 by year's end. The North Argentine Conference, a part of the Austral Union that had yielded relatively few Adventists to even the most persistent preachers, finally realized a fifty-year dream in 1972 when a 700-seat evangelistic center opened in Corrientes, a city of 140,000. "We constantly marvel at the dedication of our believers and the growth of our churches on this continent," W. J. Hackett, General Conference vice president, wrote after attending division and union meetings beginning in November 1973. "Division leaders are anticipating phenomenal growth," Hackett reported after South America's year-end meeting in Montevideo.¹⁸

Glen Maxson, president of the Chile Union, organized a coordinated evangelistic drive in 1976 involving 222 churches in his field, which brought 1,357 new members into the church. Maxson allowed no one to escape the responsibility to participate. All administrative workers helped, even those in charge of community services and welfare. In the same manner that field schools brought workers together in prior years to serve a noted evangelist, theology instructors at Adventist schools scheduled actual meetings and selected students to assist them. In September 1976 Daniel Belvedere took a group of River Plate students to Montevideo where they conducted meetings until December, baptizing 240. In March 1977 a handful of students with Antonio Esposito shook the Adventist community in Asunción, Paraguay, with a baptism of 87, the largest baptism in the history of the church in that country.¹⁹

One might think that after they had generated such a torrid pace South American evangelists would look forward to rest. They did not. Instead, they constantly questioned themselves why they were not doing more. With smitten consciences, division leaders met in general council in 1977, viewing 230 communities on the continent that had never heard of Adventism, and they vowed to make 1978 the year of

penetration. With a goal of 45,000 baptisms, they took “Penetration-78” as their motto.²⁰ The statistics do not reveal how many of the so-called dark communities that workers actually entered, but they fulfilled their baptismal goal, raising the division membership to 431,175. The most productive fields were the Inca and South Brazil unions where a total of 24,000 new converts swelled Adventist church rolls.²¹

The most obvious outcome from these unremitting commitments to public evangelism was a soaring membership. At some time during 1956, the division passed the 100,000 mark; eight years later it reached 200,000; and in 1972 it surpassed 300,000. At their annual meeting in 1970, division leaders, possessed by boundless optimism, pledged 40,000 baptisms annually, beginning in 1971, to which they would add successive yearly increments of 2,000, thus planning to achieve a membership of 500,000 by the end of 1975.²²

South America did not reach its goal of 500,000 members in 1975, or for that matter, even by 1980. In order to reach the half million mark by 1975, division officers calculated an attrition rate of a fraction above 10 percent. During the best of years, a 90 percent net gain was a difficult level to achieve for even a moment, not to speak of sustaining it for five years. As events showed, the goal for net gain was unrealistic. While the division committee was setting a goal of 500,000, field reports were already indicating close to 27 percent losses, or a net increase of 73 percent for 1970.

Most damaging was the loss of more than 30,000 members in 1974 as compared to 37,500 baptisms. The main problem existed in the Inca Union where congregations erased 18,065 names from their books while adding 10,586—a negative change of 7,479. The rest of the division also had a bad year with an attrition rate amounting to 45 percent. While the division did not explain these extraordinary losses, one answer speculates that apostasies had been accumulating for a long time without updating congregational lists. But even without such a devastating year, South American evangelists were falling short of baptismal goals and would not have reached 500,000 members by 1975.²³

Despite unrealistic goals, church leaders did not ignore apostasies, but instead they wished to correct the situation. In his annual report for 1970, Enoch Oliveira, division secretary, included a section titled “The Problem of Apostasies,” stating that he had the “unavoidable duty to present not only the increase in membership, but also to state the percentage of losses suffered by apostasies in the recent years.” His statistics disclosed that during the decade 1959-1969, Adventists separated

from the church at rates varying from 14 to 42 percent. “It is our responsibility to watch the flock and study plans to reduce the number of those that abandon the faith,” he concluded.²⁴

More than a little impressed with what he saw in South America during his visit beginning in late 1973, Willis J. Hackett admitted that apostasies were “quite high in relation to baptisms, but the brethren are studying how to reduce this figure.” While Hackett spoke, attrition exceeded 36 percent, a level that more than doubled the next year when the Inca Union suffered its huge loss.²⁵

These figures indicate that South America grew, but not without problems. Nevertheless, by 1980 its membership stood at 496,954, third among the world divisions behind Inter-America and North America, both of which exceeded 600,000. Although the margins separating South America from other fields varied from year to year, this ranking had been constant during the 1970s, and it represented an improvement from earlier lower rankings. In 1950, when Schubert’s evangelistic methods were catching on, South America was fifth from the top of world divisions.²⁶

If South America encountered difficulty in retaining members, the fact remains that membership was growing more rapidly than in most divisions, despite the large losses in 1974. Since the 1950s division and union leaders consistently set goals beyond their reach, but they were consistently amazed by actual church growth. James J. Aitken, president of the South American Division from 1958 to 1966, recalled that as the baptismal total kept jumping upward during the 1960s, he thought South America had reached its zenith when the annual report showed 20,000, but growth continued beyond expectations.²⁷ As impressive as the baptismal rate was in 1966 when Aitken left the South American Division, it was less than half of what it would become by 1980.

Evangelists were constantly modifying the basic principle that Schubert had taught—the notion that in a socially conscious society human issues will capture the attention of the public more effectively than Bible prophecy. South American evangelism began in a North American mold in which prophecy played a prominent role in opening evangelistic meetings. Prophetic exposition served two purposes: it attracted the attention of the listener and it established the veracity of the Bible. While that approach had functioned well for many years in a North American setting where evangelistic meetings resembled weekly Sunday worship services, it did not fit as well in a different cultural milieu such as Latin America.

Schubert did not change Adventism, but he turned it so it faced the public differently. What his audiences saw first was Adventist sensitivity to social issues rather than

explanations of key prophecies. The credibility of both the speaker and the Bible derived from explanations of the relationship of Scripture to health, family, and other social problems. Before their baptism, converts learned about prophecy and other distinctive Adventist teachings, but only after establishing a firm connection to the Bible that began with social questions and public health issues rather than prophecy.

SUPPORT PROGRAMS FOR URBAN EVANGELISM

To reach the public, a popular topic in the 1960s was temperance, especially anti-tobacco campaigns. Adventists habitually drew attention to their stand for abstinence, and ministers found the question well suited to the new evangelism. Often they included lectures about health and the evils of tobacco and alcohol in their public meetings. Student campaigns against smoking and drinking were also common. In 1956, when pastors of six Adventist churches in Lima staged an oratorical contest advocating abstinence, they assembled a panel of judges consisting of a newspaper editor, the dean of the medical school at the University of San Marcos, a woman senator, judges, and educators. Brazilian evangelist Campolongo gave temperance an important boost when he integrated it into his evangelistic lectures. After a series of meetings in which he baptized 280, Division Secretary M. S. Nigri wrote that “other evangelists are trying to adopt the same plan.”²⁸

South Americans brought five-day plans to stop smoking back with them from the 1962 General Conference session. Almost immediately a storm of programs swept across the division. Sesóstris César, pastor of the Curitiba church, marshaled the help of three faculty members from Paraná State University to lead 100 through the intensive campaign. An incredulous Moisés Paciornik, one of the helpers from the university who agreed to assist more out of curiosity than anything else, watched seventy participants throw their tobacco away. A second program by the same church in the Paraná State Library produced 180 quitters out of 200 who attended. Within three years the *South American Bulletin* noted that these and other anti-smoking campaigns reached “lawyers, veterinarians, government employees, society ladies, students, professors, graduates of the military school, bank employees, industrial workers, businessmen,” and others. Hundreds kicked the nicotine habit.²⁹

Years later, Alcides Campolongo recalled that his first five-day plan to quit smoking began with a couple of short introductions that stressed the dangers of tobacco. After showing *Um em Vinte Mil*, the Portuguese version of *One in 20,000*, physicians and university personnel continued the discussion of the effects of tobacco

and led out in group therapy. At the end of this set of meetings, Campolongo declared that about 800 out of an attendance of 1,200 dropped the habit. The media devoted extensive coverage of the meeting. Attendees received Adventist literature and invitations to view *A Voz da Profecia*.

During the final session, many stood to testify about the blessings of achieving a tobacco-free life. "The closing ceremony was tremendous," Campolongo said. "Unbelievable!" Surrounding himself with a coterie of medical professionals, he continued his war against tobacco. The appreciative city government of São Paulo voted official recognition to Campolongo, making him an honorary citizen. These activities, he claimed, drew hundreds to the church.³⁰

Argentine editor and television speaker Enrique Chaij began five-day plans in Buenos Aires in 1965 after witnessing the impact of the program in Montevideo. For ten years he conducted these meetings, speaking to an accumulated audience of approximately 15,000 in several South American countries and even Miami, Florida, in the United States. Some of his gatherings attracted more than a thousand who wanted to break the habit. A major outcome of his five-day courses was to draw attention to Seventh-day Adventists as a socially conscious church.³¹

In 1967 "Fernando Fumador," the Spanish version of North America's manikin, "Smoking Sam," made his first appearance in South America. In Ecuador speakers combined Fernando with the film, *One in 20,000*, and in Brazil audiences packed lecture halls to watch the manikin foul his lungs with tar and nicotine. E. E. Bottsford, division medical and temperance secretary, reported that doctors as well as evangelists caused more than an ordinary stir with temperance films.³²

In time even governments responded to the anti-tobacco offensive. When the Ecuadoran Ministry of Health sponsored a five-day plan in 1974, public workers attended at the "request" of the heads of the departments. Dubiously, Antonio Ottati and Luis Rueda began their routine for their captive audience, but after they showed *One in 20,000*, a marked change seized the crowd. One worker was so impressed after discarding his cigarettes that he convinced his two secretaries to follow his example, even though they had not attended the program.³³

In their fight for temperance, church leaders and evangelists did not stop with five-day plans, movies, and smoking manikins. To meet the growing prevalence of drugs, they sometimes staged marches against narcotics. Brazilian youth in the Paraná Conference joined a campaign during April and May 1972 that eventually blanketed the country with temperance messages broadcasted from nearly 250 radio

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transmitters and numerous television stations. One Chilean pastor, Dany Almonte, led a young husband and wife, both still under 20 years of age, to a dramatic conversion from their drug-plagued life.³⁴

Innovative doctors and church members in São Paulo extended their outreach even farther by organizing the Federation of Recuperation Schools to assist victims of alcoholism. They also included five-day plans, typically conducted prior to an evangelistic series. By the end of 1975, thousands quit smoking. For their inspiration in this combined campaign against tobacco and alcohol, workers leaned heavily on Ajax Walter da Silveira, an Adventist doctor who was also head of the Brazilian Medical Society for the Fight Against Tobacco. By 1979 the program expanded to involve psychologists, educators, and social workers who helped doctors in sixty-three centers. Rehabilitated drunkards ranged in age from 14 to 85. Once cured, they sometimes contributed their services freely to keep the centers going.³⁵

More closely related to direct evangelism was a continuation of the radio ministry that had begun enthusiastically during the 1940s. "The radio work has merely begun in South America," President W. E. Murray wrote after the division council met for its year-end meeting in 1952. "Our program for 1953 includes a large number of radio spearhead lecture series to be given in our large cities." A tightly packed schedule of *Voice of Prophecy* meetings around the division followed, featuring Braulio Pérez, speaker for the Spanish versions of the program, and Roberto Rabello, his Brazilian counterpart. Response to the broadcasts grew so well that before the end of the year Juan Ferri, head of the Austral Union's correspondence school, laid plans to open branch offices in Santiago, Chile, and Montevideo.³⁶

Organization of radio correspondence schools had much to do with promoting the broadcasts. By 1951 the Inca and Austral unions assumed control of their own schools. With increased publicity and interest in radio, in 1953 the division committee assigned the task of administering broadcasts and correspondence schools to the unions.

East Brazil Union leaders combined the growing radio and television ministry with urban evangelism housed in a single headquarters. Originally, they visualized an apartment building for workers employed in Rio de Janeiro, but larger plans evolved. When the inflation of real estate prices slowed down in 1955, the division committee decided to purchase a lot in Copacabana where the East Brazil Union could build a large church and an evangelistic center. Even though the General Conference had earlier turned down a request to support a similar project in Buenos Aires, the division asked world headquarters for US\$50,000. Not until 1958 did enough

appropriations come through. Meanwhile, union leaders scoured the city beyond Copacabana for land, finally settling on a lot in Botafogo. But Division President J. J. Aitken, who arrived in South America in 1958, convinced them that their objectives were still too narrow, and suggested radio studios as well.

Construction did not begin until 1959. By then the originally proposed cost of 800,000 *cruzeiros* for the radio offices had mushroomed to 7,850,000 *cruzeiros*, but even that figure was overshadowed when the price tag skyrocketed to 22,150,000 *cruzeiros*, the anticipated construction expenses for the entire project. Total bills approximated an astronomical 60,000,000 *cruzeiros*. “It cost us about US\$350,000 to build that center. Today we couldn’t purchase it for US\$3,500,000,” Aitken recalled nearly twenty years later. Inasmuch as *A Voz da Profecia* was the first religious program to be broadcast nationally in Brazil, it was fitting that Juscelino Kubitscheck, president of the republic, attended the dedication ceremony in 1962.³⁷

Opening the new center was symbolic of South America’s rite of passage in the media ministry. Long delays—nine years—and unanticipated costs did not smother the purposes of the new center. By 1961 *Voice of Prophecy* broadcasts in Brazil spread to 168 stations, and plans were underway to begin telecasting *Faith for Today* programs. For twenty years the *Voice of Prophecy* offices in California had recorded programs that Rabello and his team had produced, even using Portuguese songs that the North American King’s Heralds and Del Delker sang. After the new center opened, the Brazilian *Voz da Profecia* organized its own male quartet and recording transferred to Brazil.³⁸

On November 25, 1962, soon after the evangelistic center opened, South America’s first Adventist homegrown television program went on the air in São Paulo. In charge of this project was Alcides Campolongo of the São Paulo Conference, who began producing *Fé para Hoje* at the radio-television studios in Rio for replay in São Paulo, Porto Alegre, and the nation’s capital. For Campolongo who had no experience in television, it required extensive consultation with professionals before developing a skillful production team.³⁹

South America’s emphasis on television did not mean a neglect of radio. On the eve of the debut of *Fé para Hoje* in 1962, Brad Braley and the North American King’s Heralds toured the division, accompanied by Braulio Pérez and Roberto Rabello. Massive audiences poured into auditoriums where the quartet sang in either Spanish or Portuguese, according to the crowd. In Rio alone 40,000 listened. Long before the tour ended, Aitken estimated that a half million heard the group.⁴⁰

By 1964 South Americans were airing 505 weekly broadcasts and six telecasts, a volume unequaled by any other division outside North America. According to the records kept by radio departments, 12,144 baptisms were in some way attributable to the *Voice of Prophecy* programs. Brazil claimed over 9,000 of that number. According to M. S. Nigri, division secretary, the number of weekly *Voice of Prophecy* broadcasts in South America was more than the rest of the world combined, excluding the United States.⁴¹

As phenomenal as that achievement was, it was only a start toward the mark the division reached during the 1970s. Lay members prepared communities for visits by Rabello and his team, including the quartet, *Arautos do Rei*, by enrolling people in the radio correspondence lessons and systematically visiting individuals who evinced an interest. Rabello's visits were, in a sense, a culminating evangelistic activity during which he awarded certificates to those who had completed the correspondence course and called for decisions to be baptized.⁴² This extensive program did not prevent the North American King's Heralds from returning in 1978 for a triumphal sweep through twenty-seven cities in all eight countries of the division. Among the estimated 97,000 spectators were generals, governors, and other public officials.

At the end of thirty years of radio, approximately 30,000 had joined Adventist congregations around the continent, partly as a result of studying lessons from the correspondence schools. At the annual division meeting in 1976, radio secretaries reported a total of 495 stations carrying 1,100 Adventist programs weekly, with an audience estimated to be 25,000,000 out of 150,000,000 potential listeners. By 1980 the Inca Union established its own recording studio in Lima.

While these numbers are impressive, Roberto César de Azevedo, South American educator and researcher, observes that a conversion directly resulting from radio was not easily defined. Léo Ranzolin, a Brazilian convert who eventually became a General Conference vice president, emphasized this point when he recalled that after Bible studies from two Bible workers, encouragement from a local pastor, and listening to *A Voz da Profecia*, his family was baptized. "Who deserves stars in their crown?" Ranzolin asked.⁴³

South Americans were convinced that radio was an effective evangelistic tool, but no one could doubt Azevedo's conclusion that it was only one of several agents that worked together to produce new members. Campolongo remembered that he always linked his evangelistic meetings with *A Voz da Profecia* and, later, *Fé Para Hoje*. During his precedent-setting series in São Paulo that resulted in the largest baptism in South

America up to that time, he advertised that he was the speaker for *Fé Para Hoje* and incorporated theme music from *A Voz da Profecia*. Because these connections were beneficial, he regularly informed the public about his ties with radio and television.⁴⁴

During the 1960s and 1970s, South America branched out with original programs. In 1964 Enrique Chaij created *Una Luz en el Camino*, a fast moving, five-minute radio program that became an immediate success. Response from all parts of Argentina led him to produce a television version of the same program. As he discussed social, moral, and religious issues, he became a television personality in his own right, a fact well demonstrated when 10,000 showed up in Luna Park sports stadium in Buenos Aires to celebrate the program's twelfth anniversary. Evangelists found his name to be a drawing card when they announced his appearance at the beginning of their meetings. By 1979 Chaij had broadcast 4,000 programs of *Una Luz* over fifteen years. Ninety radio and twenty television stations included the program in their regular schedule. *Una Luz* became standard fare in Argentine life.⁴⁵

Chaij linked programs to his anti-smoking courses by holding interviews on both radio and television. "And in turn," he wrote, "this contributed to scheduling the program *Una Luz en el Camino* on more stations without charge."⁴⁶

Other ministers tried their hand at television. Daniel Belvedere of Colegio Adventista del Plata blitzed Santa Fe with both the *Voice of Prophecy* and Enrique Chaij's program besides adding one of his own, *Conversing with Life*.

Convinced that organized support of the media ministry was necessary, Brazilian Adventists established Centro Educacional Ilustrado, a media center in the South Brazil Union. Technicians produced filmstrips with accompanying narration on cassettes and sound tracks designed especially for Latin audiences. Chaij gave the Adventist media another twist when he wrote and directed a thirty-five minute motion picture, *El Desierto Floreció*, depicting the true experience of a conversion in Bahia Blanca, Argentina. Chaij produced the film for public showings to accompany evangelistic appeals.

Communication consciousness was becoming a way of life for the Adventist ministry in South America, a fact that convinced James E. Chase, director of the General Conference Communication Department, to hold seminars in Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, and São Paulo for denominational workers. Telephone evangelism, known in Brazil as Telepaz, was commonplace when Chase visited the division in 1979.⁴⁷

Braulio Pérez and Roberto Rabello, successful pioneers of large-scale radio broadcasts, became very successful and well-known throughout South America. Both

drew inspiration from North America's H. M. S. Richards and the *Voice of Prophecy*. After the opening phase of broadcast when they translated the English versions, they put their own stamp on their editions, which gave the programs more local credibility and contributed to their success. After a dozen years of broadcasting under the borrowed name of *La Voz de la Profecía*, the Spanish program changed its name to *La Voz de la Esperanza*, which, Braulio Pérez explained, was more compatible with Hispanic culture and thinking. Frequently, total strangers who met Rabello in public as he traveled through Brazil recognized him by his voice and would call him by name.⁴⁸

As the division entered the 1980s, its correspondence schools grew to ten and served 62,000 students. Branch offices in individual churches enrolled another 75,000. Around the continent 510 stations aired Adventist programs. Church leaders estimated that 40 percent of their converts traced their membership at least partially to exposure to radio and television ministry. Throughout Latin America millions recognized Braulio Pérez as the founder and speaker of *La Voz de la Esperanza*. At age 70, thirty-two years after going on the air, he died in California, having seen radio become a prominent part of South American evangelism. Rabello, whom one Brazilian writer called "an icon in his time," retired in 1976 but continued his connections with radio as long as he was physically able.⁴⁹

CHURCH GROWTH IN THE BACKLANDS

Whatever their successes in reaching South America's burgeoning cities through applications of Schubert's methods in a variety of ways, division leaders still felt the burden of penetrating primitive regions of the continent. Although events after 1950 were not comparable to those of the Stahl era, Adventist presence remained among the indigenous peoples, and in some cases made noticeable progress. One of the signs of advancement was the arrival of the John Elick and his wife, who arrived at the Nevati Mission in Peru's Campa Indian territory in 1951.

Immediately the fresh missionaries encountered tests, but their responses bettered their challenges. Jungle life demanded that they set up housekeeping in a native hut, not knowing that they would occupy that primitive shelter for four years before moving into a larger home. Winning the confidence of their new neighbors was another problem, sometimes requiring courage the Elicks did not know they had. One such incident erupted when a nearby tribe, disgruntled because of a misunderstanding, attacked the Indians living at the mission. Quite oblivious of the

danger, Elick's wife singlehandedly broke up the fight by striding into the melee and gathering up bows and arrows.

Each year the Elicks planned a patriotic campmeeting for the Indians. In 1954 the affair lasted a week. For the 500 who came, the missionaries scheduled games and other celebrations and began and ended each day with worship. On Sabbath they conducted a special service and organized a baptismal class. On July 28, Peru's independence day, the crowd ate a picnic lunch prepared from food grown at the mission.⁵⁰

Lake Titicaca was the scene of another innovation that drew attention from government circles. On top of 100 oil drums that they used as floats, mission leaders erected what became known as the Adventist Floating School. Opening enrollment in 1963 was only sixteen, but the next year it reached forty-two, and the government accredited the school. News of this novelty spread, prompting a visit by the United States ambassador in 1964. Three years after beginning the school, the first convert from the students joined the church.⁵¹

More progress followed. Three months after the floating school began about 500 tribespeople converged on the training school at Juliaca to participate in a five-day "Fiesta Adventista," the first campmeeting conducted in the Lake Titicaca Mission. A year later, in 1965, Justo Taina became the first ordained Quechua. Shades of former years appeared on May 12, 1966, when three ministers joined to baptize 164 converts, the largest ceremony in forty years. Still alive to witness these events was Luciano Chambi, Stahl's interpreter and the first Aymara to teach at the Broken Stone Mission.⁵²

In both Ecuador and Bolivia, Adventist missions opened up new frontiers, sometimes with a touch of irony. To save his life from the outrages of *La Violencia*, a bitter, ten-year fratricidal conflict in Colombia beginning in 1948, Benigno Guzmán fled to Colorado Indian territory in Ecuador, where he began sharing his beliefs with the tribespeople around him. Shortly, he had converts ready for baptism. His witness awakened a new sense of commitment to the indigenous population. Juan Riffel, division home missionary secretary, reflected that "all that has been done for the Inca region of South America is very little compared with the great need. We must remember that God has told us that every nation, tongue, and people is to hear the story of salvation. We can pass none by, even these humble folks of the jungles of Ecuador." Following their next biennial session, Ecuadoran workers explored possible sites for a new Indian mission, finally settling on a spot among the Otavalos.⁵³

In Bolivia evangelistic objectives pushed workers down from the heavily populated Andean regions to new frontiers in the tropical east. The people thus reached were not Indians but rather backland dwellers, long neglected by Adventist outreach except for an independent medical unit at Guayaramerín. North American missionary Richard Gates conducted the first evangelistic campaign in eastern Bolivia at Trinidad, a community of 20,000 on the shores of the Mamore River. He baptized eighty-six in 1963. Moving nearly 300 miles north to Guayaramerín, he added almost a hundred new converts to the church before returning to Trinidad for additional soul-winning.⁵⁴

Still eluding the grasp of Adventist evangelism were the tribes along Brazil's Araguaia River where A. N. Allen planted a mission in 1928. Scanning this region in 1954, Arnaldo Rutz, superintendent of the Goiana-Mineira Mission, observed that it had "hardly been touched by our saving message." In 1947 the mission received instructions to reestablish Adventism in the area formerly reached by Allen. Action was slow. Two years passed before Rutz himself explored the territory with leaders from the South Brazil Union, and another four years slipped by before Layhr Montebello and his wife set up a medical launch ministry with the *Pioneira* in Araguacema, a community about one hundred miles downstream from Bananal Island.⁵⁵

By the end of 1955 a company of nine Adventists worshiped at the Montebellos' headquarters. South Brazil Union officers admitted that the launch workers had accomplished little among the Indians, but the missionaries did not retreat. In June 1959 R. E. Adams left Goiana with a truck of food and supplies to retrace A. N. Allen's odyssey thirty-two years earlier. Spending their nights on sandy beaches, the party of thirteen spent twenty-three days on the river, putting in at Fontoura, where Isaac Fonseca and his wife maintained a clinic and a launch in addition to the school begun a quarter century previously for the Carajás. Welcoming the travelers were 280 Indians. The visitors could not count a single convert, but Adams thought that they liked the school. Of the forty-two students some were seriously considering becoming Adventists.⁵⁶

Adams's observation revealed that Adventist outreach among the tribespeople for whom A. N. Allen had dedicated his foray into the backland had been barren of baptisms, but it opened a door. E. A. Bergold, an early worker at the mission, reported two baptisms from the Carajás in the 1930s. In 1966 Adventists rebuilt the village at Fontoura, redesigning and improving homes that retained native characteristics. Medical and educational outreach to this community reduced sickness and encouraged productive citizenship, but not until 1973 did the project yield baptisms. After

eleven converts became Adventists in 1975, David Moroz reported that in the prior two years seventeen had been baptized. Two Carajá members from the island of Bananal represented the mission at the biennial session of the Central Brazil Union Mission in 1977. By 1980 the company grew even more, but Brazilian law forbade religious instruction among the Carajás except by the Indians themselves.⁵⁷

Long on the periphery of Adventist evangelism were the Araucanians in southern Chile. O. R. Scully, president of the Chile Conference, gestured toward this group in 1957, among whom about forty baptized members lived and constituted the foundation for a school of forty-five students.⁵⁸

As South America entered the 1980s, stories of evangelism among the continent's primitive peoples stirred memories of past exploits, but many of the division's indigenous groups remained beyond the reach of Adventism. In his 1966 division report to the General Conference, Aitken referred to the two basic programs in South America—one to evangelize the cities and the other to reach indigenous regions—but church administrators succeeding him did not mention Indian projects when recounting the division's growth and responsibilities.⁵⁹

Whatever official statements may have been, individuals continued to feel the impact of the uncompleted task of reaching tribespeople. Wesley Blevins, a North American departmental secretary in the Mato Grosso Mission, expressed it well after traveling seven days and spending ten more at Pôrto dos Gauchos, a Brazilian interior community far from civilization. Leaving seven newly baptized members and a Sabbath school of thirty behind him, he traveled by river boat through territory occupied by cannibals who shot at the passengers with arrows but failed to hit anyone. "Needless to say," he wrote after his journey, "these 17 days of adventure for Christ left deep impressions on me. The deepest impression was the responsibility of the Advent Movement in one of the world's last frontiers deep in the jungles of South America."⁶⁰

For the record it must be said that in spite of greater emphasis on urban evangelism, indigenous missions continued to grow. Schools among the Andean tribespeople remained the basic evangelistic device. Don Christman, president of the Inca Union in 1963, noted that the Lake Titicaca Mission maintained sixty schools, some of them dating back to the Stahl era. One teacher alone prepared fifty-two for baptism in 1962.

Membership growth among the Aymaras and Quechuas was encouraging, but it did not stay abreast with the rest of the continent. At the beginning of 1980, four missions and conferences in South America superseded the membership of Lake Titicaca, and the South Brazil Union exceeded the Inca Union by 32,000 members.⁶¹

An important element in South America's growth after 1950 was lay evangelism. Scarcity of ministers always gave laymen's activities a special importance, but as the post-World War II era evolved, educational and organizational programs for laymen formed an increasingly significant aspect of the division's plans to reach a rapidly growing population.

Inspired by training programs during 1953, laymen in Brazil and Argentina organized scores of efforts. Spearheaded by R. E. Adams, home missionary secretary for the East Brazil Union, leaders in his field conducted nine institutes. By December a fired up laity had held 104 campaigns resulting in 344 baptisms. L. H. Olson, the division secretary, noted large membership gains, commenting that "the zeal of our lay members is a cause for special encouragement."⁶² Bigger things lay ahead. During 1955 J. Ernest Edwards, General Conference home missionary secretary, led fourteen laymen's institutes throughout the division, creating a vision for a wider and more intense program. A new *Manual for Lay Workers* came off the press in 1957. Dubbed the year of the laymen, 1957 was an unequivocal success with 4,000 out of the division's 10,000 baptisms partially attributable to the laity.⁶³

Events showed that the 1950s were only a prelude to the 1960s. R. E. Adams, after transferring from East Brazil to South Brazil, spent eighteen months training and equipping an army of laymen with films and projectors before launching 1,600 lay efforts on April 2, 1960. According to reports he received, 2,800 baptisms resulted from these meetings. The following year Adams organized a distribution of a million tracts to stir up interest. Laymen found their way into 2,500 new homes as a result of this campaign. In 1964 division leaders began another cycle of lay evangelism by circulating several thousand manuals and conducting another series of training institutes. When R. A. Wilcox became South America's president in 1966, he estimated 5,000 lay evangelists were available for active soul-winning.⁶⁴

In the late 1950s, Inca Union officers organized "120" clubs, groups of laymen devoted to evangelism. H. O. Burden, departmental secretary in the Lake Titicaca Mission, reported that by 1967 baptisms in his field reached an all-time record, an achievement directly related to lay evangelism. Special schools at Platería to train lay preachers attracted fifty students; 150 more joined another series of classes at the training school in Juliaca.⁶⁵

H. E. McClure, who succeeded to the division Lay Activities Department, added free Bibles to the projectors and filmstrips that lay evangelists carried with them in 1967. Statistics compiled the next year by V. W. Schoen of the General Conference Lay

Activities Department showed South America to be the denomination's third most active division in lay evangelism. Schoen generated more momentum when he brought his fluent Spanish to South America to conduct a series of laymen's congresses in the large cities, sometimes attracting as many as 5,000 to a single auditorium. With a zealous laity in mind, division leaders dedicated 1971 as another "Year of the Layman."⁶⁶

For many South American Adventists formal witnessing became a way of life. Bible studies, evangelistic meetings, and distribution of pieces of literature by the million became common during the 1970s. Inventive members innovated unique methods of sharing their faith. José Filho, a taxi driver in São Paulo, made his cab a miniature concert hall and theater by mounting a projector on the ceiling that threw pictures on a screen attached to the right visor. He also played cassettes. He tempted the curiosity of his passengers with classical and religious music and filmstrips about the Second Advent. Among those he introduced to a new spiritual experience were discouraged church members as well as persons unacquainted with Adventism.⁶⁷

South America's leaders of the lay movement approached the end of the 1970s still unsatisfied with their accomplishments. "To transform inactive laymen into volunteer workers for the church is the task that is challenging every department and field in the South American Division," Arthur S. Valle, division communication leader, wrote in 1979. In keeping with the division's evangelistic motto, "Penetration," the church organized another round of congresses and rallies to mobilize the membership of their "nontransferable responsibilities to share their faith."⁶⁸

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS IN POSTWAR SOUTH AMERICA

South American evangelism affected the church profoundly. Of immediate concern were the growing pains felt at the congregational level. Baptismal goals were always higher than actual membership increases, but both were rising consistently, and conference presidents and mission directors knew that a massive construction program would be necessary to house larger congregations. Although official statistics for 1950 disclosed that the division had thirty more church buildings than organized congregations; seating capacity left hardly any space for growth. A church dedication in Callao, Peru, in August 1954 prompted W. E. Murray to tell the Adventist world that as a part of South America's urban evangelistic program the division planned to open seventy sanctuaries during the year. "We certainly have many reasons to praise our heavenly Father for helping us to establish His work in our larger cities by erecting church buildings," he wrote.⁶⁹

During the ten years ending in 1960, South America added more than 300 church buildings, thus increasing seating capacity to 120,000. Actual membership fell behind that figure by 10,000, about half of the lag occurring in the Inca Union. Thanks to the emphasis on church construction, the gap between membership and seating capacity was diminishing, but not all fields enjoyed the luxury of sufficient meetinghouses. In the Austral and Inca unions, a combined total of more than fifty congregations did not have their own places of worship, while in East and South Brazil, the number of church buildings exceeded the total of organized congregations. Even in those fields where existing sanctuaries provided room for growth, the margin could be uncomfortably narrow. John Baerg, president of the Northeast Brazil Mission, admitted that the greatest need of his field was churches and chapels, and he guessed that church leaders elsewhere felt the same lack.⁷⁰

Preparations for intensive evangelism during the late 1960s and the next decade triggered talk among the division officers about how to accommodate the influx of new members. If they fulfilled their ambitions, they would produce another crisis in membership and seating space. With their eyes on baptismal goals of 120,000 by the end of 1970, they resolved in 1966 to erect 1,000 new buildings with an average capacity of 150. South American President Roger A. Wilcox publicized the movement, but true to denominational practices, the responsibility to raise money and construct the buildings rested on the shoulders of local field leaders and congregations.

Neither baptisms nor growth met these goals. Despite this shortcoming the nearly 300 new congregations organized in the five years ending in 1970 created a severe pinch, which the 100 new buildings that actually went up only began to relieve. The statistics showed that if all South American Adventists in 1970 showed up for church, 75,000 would have had no place to sit.⁷¹

However unlikely that possibility might be, division officers applied additional pressure to build more sanctuaries. Setting a slightly more realistic goal of 800 new meeting places by the end of 1973, they urged field leaders to provide adequate worship facilities for anticipated growth. The 1970s turned out to be a decade of recovering ground lost during the 1960s. By 1975 the division reported more than 700 new church buildings, erected during the past five years. This achievement was still short of the recommended figure, but construction went on, and by the end of 1980, South America's 2,231 church buildings could hold more than 570,000 worshippers, figures that exceeded Adventist membership by 75,000.⁷²

South America's accomplishment becomes clearer when placed in the thirty-year perspective of 1950 to 1980. While congregations were increasing by 1,215, the number of church buildings rose by 1,866. Similarly, membership grew 440,000, and capacity to accommodate worshipers expanded by 514,000. These figures are impressive enough in their own right but are even more so when compared to the economic difficulties of the period that made church construction uncertain. Beyond these comparisons lay the all-pervasive conviction among South Americans that their church was a lively, vibrant organization with an increasingly bright future.

The compulsion to worship in their own churches and to provide room for growth was a contagion not easily avoided. The church in Valdivia, Chile, was a case in point. For twenty-five years through the Great Depression and the postwar era, members of this congregation rented their meeting place. Only when it was sold and they faced the problem of having no place to go did they act. Previously complacent, they attacked their new project almost with vengeance. One member donated a stand of timber, another furnished a sawmill, and a team of workers put in ten days felling trees and dressing lumber.⁷³ Probably equally inspiring events occurred around the division. Maintaining a margin for growth was not easy, but it was one of the most vivid indications that South American Adventists were serious about their future.

South America's post-World War II evangelism produced more than a larger membership; it also made reorganization necessary. Beginning in 1945 the division's twenty-three local conferences and missions divided and subdivided, expanding to thirty-three in 1980. Anticipating sharp membership increases and proposals from missions to become conferences, Figueroa began mulling over the possibility of standardizing criteria for upgrading. Consistent advice from Washington about this question was not a blessing he enjoyed; consequently, he found himself on his own. Actual decisions were left to his successor, W. E. Murray, who led the division committee in 1951 to approve conference status for missions when they reached 2,000 members, raised their own operating and working capital, supplied their own workers, and established a balanced program of activities.⁷⁴

Based on these rules, one of the most significant changes in the Adventist map in South America occurred in Chile. Evangelists in the shoestring republic labored diligently to raise membership to 3,357 in 1945, but the country's geography made the single conference almost unmanageable. Although Chile split into two conferences in 1950, church growth slackened for a decade following. Infused with a new spirit in the 1960s, membership spiraled upward. In the five years ending in 1965,

church rolls lengthened by nearly 3,500, with total membership topping 10,000.⁷⁵

For more than two years before reaching this milestone, leaders of the Chilean conferences urged division officers to grant them union status. In 1963 a commission established to study the proposal reported favorably to the division committee, but recommended approval on condition that finances in Chilean institutions should improve to policy standards.⁷⁶ As favorable as the report was, Austral Union leaders were reluctant to lose part of their territory, but time would bring them around. Twenty months later in November 1964 South America's officers raised the question again, appointing a second commission of nine chaired by Division President James J. Aitken.

By the following August, events moved rapidly enough to permit Aitken to conduct preliminary organizational talks with Chilean leaders. Within eight weeks the division committee approved his recommendation to form a separate Chile Union that would comprise three local fields: the existing South Chile Conference, the Central Conference, and the North Chile Mission. This last unit would be organized by snipping off the northern half of the existing North Central Conference.⁷⁷

General Conference approval came quickly. At the division year-end meetings in November 1965, the new Chile Union became an official organization, which would become effective with the new year. Another year and a half passed before officers moved into their new quarters, a three-story building on Americo Vespucio Norte, one of Santiago's main traffic arteries, with space for all departments and radio offices, besides apartments. The price tag of the building was so low that Aitken called it "a miracle of God." The long wait by Chileans was over. Fittingly, their jubilation burst out in a Chile Union song composed especially for the occasion by Mario Vera.⁷⁸

A variety of causes contributed to another important shuffle in Brazil. Membership growth in this largest of all countries in South America was impressive to workers both in and out of the division. The "work in Brazil is getting to be a project of large proportions," W. E. Murray declared in 1951. After scrutinizing South America during a series of annual meetings following the 1957 Autumn Council, W. R. Beach, General Conference secretary, echoed the same opinion, attributing Adventists' success in Brazil to a well-integrated evangelistic program and strong institutions. Baptismal reports for the first half of 1959 gave Brazil more than 50,000 members, more than half of the entire South American Division.⁷⁹

During the 1930s the General Conference fended off a campaign to establish a Brazilian division, but talk about the issue did not stop. Although ecclesiastical nationalism played an important part in the attempt to separate Brazil from the rest

of the division, denominational leaders in Washington could not dismiss the fact that as the Brazilian wing of the South American Division became larger, it also became more difficult to manage without more than token recognition of unity among the Brazilian unions.

Legal problems exacerbated the situation. Notwithstanding different state laws, the three Brazilian unions all used the same currency, answered to the same national constitution, and were subject to the same regulation. Pragmatically, it would be easier to administer at least the financial matters common to all Brazilian fields from a Brazilian office rather than from Argentina.

Although the renewed discussion about a Brazilian division did not actually produce a break from the South American Division, it did lead to a semi-independent division sub-treasury in Rio de Janeiro that handled Adventist finances for Brazil's unions and institutions. Popularly known by its abbreviated name, the "Igreja" passed problems on to the division only if they pertained to the division at large.⁸⁰

Before the 1950s ended, division officers knew that the Brazilian unions required more formal unity. In November 1958 they authorized a single legal organization for all Brazilian Adventist institutions. Within two years a constitution for a new overseer organization was ready for approval. The document created the Confederation of the Brazilian Unions. The proposal called for a headquarters in Rio to administer financial matters and empowered a board of fifteen to supervise Confederation affairs as a subsidiary unit under the division.⁸¹

Approval by the division came on October 12, 1960, but delays prevented the Confederation from beginning its official existence for nearly five years. A set of by-laws did not appear until June 1961. Hope that the new offices would open in January 1962 was destroyed by postponement until after the 1962 General Conference session. In clearing away other snags, the division started over again by drafting a new constitution for the Confederation. Not until January 1965 did this new instrument reach the division committee for approval, and another eight months slipped by before it became effective.

On September 2, 1965, the new Confederation of Brazilian Unions finally organized. Aitken became the first president. Adequate office space was always hard to find, a problem the Confederation solved by moving into the evangelistic center in Rio. According to Aitken, the Confederation was a necessity. It established a legal entity for the church in Brazil and provided official unity that the church needed in order to transact business.⁸²

500 A Land of Hope

Through the decade and a half following the formation of the Confederation, the Brazilian church grew phenomenally. Of the division's 165,000 members on December 31, 1965, more than 97,000, or nearly 59 percent, were Brazilians. Fifteen years later, with the Confederation's offices at the division headquarters in Brasília, South America's membership reached 497,000, 60 percent of whom, or more than 298,000, were in Brazil. The Confederation was not the sole contributor to success, but in Aitken's opinion, it had "paid off in a mighty way."⁸³

Overshadowing both of these organizational developments was yet a third event—transferring the division headquarters from Buenos Aires to Montevideo and on to Brasília. For more than thirty years, ever since the South American Division organized in 1916, officers had operated out of the Argentine capital. Changing such long established habits was a difficult process. Several conditions stimulated South America's officers to think seriously about moving their offices out of Buenos Aires, not the least of which was the more stable monetary unit the division treasury would enjoy in Uruguay. Roberto Gullón, a former division secretary, has also observed that the political climate in Argentina was deteriorating and hampering effective administration.

Convening in Progreso, Uruguay, in February 1950, the division committee discussed frankly what a move would entail. With a unanimous vote favoring a transfer, the treasurer began an immediate investigation of property. Two weeks later the committee appropriated 200,000 Uruguayan *pesos* to remodel division offices and an equal amount to purchase property on Larrañaga Avenue in Montevideo.⁸⁴

Negotiations for the land and buildings continued through the year. At the division year-end meetings in December, held in the Montevideo church, Murray and his colleagues voted to establish offices at the new location for the president, secretary, and treasurer, while leaving departmental leaders in Buenos Aires, at least for the time being. New houses for workers would go up as soon as they could be erected.⁸⁵

Murray admitted that this arrangement was awkward, but he could not allow problems with the currency to continue. The division president hoped that he would be able to return to Buenos Aires, but events did not turn out that way. The 4,000 square meters of land and new living quarters in Uruguay became more comfortable than first anticipated, and a divided headquarters proved unworkable. Within nine months division officers voted to purchase more land adjacent to the existing holding and to transfer all departments from Buenos Aires to Montevideo in 1952. Actual moves occurred quickly. By the end of 1951, the departments began their voyage across the Rio Plata; hardly had the new year begun before the process was complete.⁸⁶

Continued battles with post-World War II inflation indicated that the move to Montevideo did not eliminate monetary problems for the division treasurer, but events showed that establishing a new headquarters was a wise decision. For several years the Uruguayan *peso* was the least affected of all South American currencies.⁸⁷

The Montevideo address for division offices was short-lived. Four years after settling into their remodeled building, leaders of South American Adventists watched the opening phases of Brazil's long awaited dream for a new federal capital in the interior. In four more years, from 1956 to 1960, Brasília, a metropolis with stunning futuristic architecture, broke through the red soil of Goiás, immediately posing questions about church presence in the new federal district. As a part of its program to foster a variety of churches, the government gave the South Brazil Union 25,000 square meters of land on which to construct a church by 1968. According to the agreement, failure to comply would force the division to relinquish the land.

In May 1967, with only seven months left, South Brazil's leaders could point to a set of foundations as the only evidence of an expenditure of 40,000 *cruzeiros*. Hastily gathering up funds, division leaders in Montevideo sought to redeem the opportunity without forfeiting the land. With a celebration ceremony that drew the attention of the national government, the new church was dedicated, which Wilson Sarli, president of the Central Brazil Union, called an evangelistic center. Simultaneously, inability to expand their cramped quarters in Montevideo compelled division leaders to lay plans for another headquarters at a different site.⁸⁸

Long before the end of the decade the two needs blended. Moving the division office to Brasília had been a conversation piece even during the Aitken presidency. For years the weight of the division had been swinging toward Brazil, and scarcely had he arrived in South America before he felt renewed pressure to create a Brazilian division. "All along I resisted this idea," he recalled years later, "because I thought that we really needed the cross-feed . . . and inspiration from both sides." Aitken's respect for the contributions of both the Hispanic and Brazilian sectors of the division constituted the balanced view of South America that the church needed, but before he left South America in 1966, he promoted Brasília as the most likely site for a new division office.⁸⁹

The longer South American Adventists waited, the more convinced they became that leaving Montevideo was imperative. Inflationary problems that had driven Murray out of Buenos Aires were also affecting the Uruguayan currency. It was no surprise that economic conditions as well as location became primary considerations

as Division President R. A. Wilcox and his fellow officers studied the question. Nor could they overlook the fact that by the end of 1970, Brazilian Adventists numbered more than 161,000, compared to 112,000 in the rest of the division. With all of these factors in mind, a nine-member committee, headed by Wilcox, went into action after the 1970 year-end meetings. Two years later the division committee voted to move from Montevideo to the world-famous capital.⁹⁰

To celebrate the decision, Wilcox presided over a cornerstone ceremony on January 15, 1974, slipping a Bible into a specially prepared pit to mark the spot where the new offices would stand, and declaring that the forthcoming building was a tribute to the growth and influence of the Brazilian branch of the South American Division. Witnessing the ceremony was Ernesto Geisel, Brazil's president.⁹¹

In a festive ceremony a year and a half later, June 22, 1976, the new building officially opened. Honoring the occasion were the president of the Federal Senate, a representative of the Brazilian Department of Education, and five deputies. Other celebrities were also present. It was a moment of mixed feelings, however. Only nine days preceding the dedication, four office secretaries were severely injured in Brasília when their van collided with a small car. Two others died in the accident. Clarence Laue, who, as treasurer of the division, had stretched every *cruzeiro* to its limit to build the offices, expressed the view of many that the tragedy that produced two deaths, many broken bones, and shattered nerves outweighed the importance of the new headquarters.

The two-story structure, erected in the city's zone for churches, completed an Adventist complex that already included a church and a primary school. In addition, the division constructed workers' homes in two neatly arranged compounds about fifteen kilometers from the offices. It was appropriate enough that the South American Division's first national president, Enoch Oliveira, presided over the dedication celebration. Ever conscious of the struggles the field had experienced to maintain its unity, he reminded spectators of the symbolism in the building, which, he said, represented "the evangelical ideal, the Adventist ideal, by uniting the political fragments, nations, and flags in one purpose, only one objective, that is to honor God and serve humanity."⁹²

As South American Adventists prepared to enter the 1980s, they could not expect a more fitting description of their division.

¹ SAD Minutes, November 27, 1959/GCA.

² R. R. Figuhr, "The South Brazil Union," *RH*, February 28, 1957.

³ "Spot News," no name, *ibid.*, March 23, 1950; R. R. Figuhr, "Evangelism in South America," *ibid.*,

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GREATER THAN THESE

“WE HEARD MUCH more and we shall endeavor to report some of it as we visit other parts of the field,” General Conference Secretary W. R. Beach wrote midway through his seven-week tour of the continent in late 1967. “I can do no better in closing this letter than to repeat the words of Jesus, replying to Nathanael, ‘Thou shalt see greater things than these.’”¹ Amazement frequently marked the comments of General Conference representatives who traveled South America. For Beach, however, his 1967 trip was not his first to this field, but nonetheless, his visit inspired an eight-part series in the *Review*, a stroke of public relations that few other world divisions enjoyed.²

Adventist accomplishments in South America during the years 1950-80 were not by happenstance. W. E. Murray, succeeding to the presidency in 1950, assured workers at the year-end meetings that he viewed the future of the field as a time of large plans.³ If the emphasis on evangelism and the division’s burgeoning membership had been the only fulfillment of Murray’s hopes, they would have sensed satisfaction enough, but paralleling that movement was an equal expansion of institutions and programs. Education was one example.

TRAINING SCHOOLS AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

No school in South America enjoyed a longer set of traditions than River Plate College. In 1973 this campus celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary by matriculating more than 200 students at the post-secondary level and graduating forty-eight. Besides an undergraduate degree in theology, the school offered four-year programs in business and education and granted recognized certificates in music, secretarial training, and elementary teaching, all requiring two or three years.⁴ By 1980 enrollment in post-secondary studies exceeded 500, and as many as ninety-four graduates from programs requiring three or four years of study left the campus in a single year.⁵

Much had happened since Walton Brown reported after the 1950 term that River Plate College had experienced one of its best years. The division poured tens of thousands of *pesos* into the school's treasury and helped to improve the plant. In 1951, while a waiting congregation marched into the new building to the tune of "Open the Gates to the Temple," the college dedicated a 1,000-seat church, symbolic of the size of the growing community.

A glaring need was a men's dormitory. In 1961 the admissions office turned 100 applicants away because of lack of living space. Commonly three students and sometimes five or six shared quarters that measured about ten feet square. After moving necessary furniture into the room, scant space remained for the occupants themselves. Some of the rooms never received sunshine. A Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering of US\$71,688 in September 1961 helped to correct these problems.⁶

In spite of cramped space and other deficiencies, church leaders repeatedly cited the school's contributions to the progress of the division. After the 1953 school year, alumni records showed that 365 graduates were in denominational employ; five years later the figure reached 400. By 1968, after seventy years of operations, River Plate had furnished more than 1,000 workers to the church, scattered around the globe.⁷

This record was attributable to a combination of factors, among them an undeviating commitment to the principle of favoring curricula that prepared denominational employees. Chief of these was the theology program which achieved four-year degree status with the denomination in 1959.⁸ The school's professional standards were also capturing official attention. In 1967 the Argentine government accredited degrees in economics and administration, and philosophy and pedagogy.

Further recognition came in 1971 when Universidad del Litoral in Santa Fe approved third level studies. Later in the same year the National School of Educational Sciences in Paraná recognized the degree in philosophy and pedagogy, thus enabling

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graduates from CAP to pursue graduate programs in other schools. Academic facilities also improved. A music building in the 1950s and life sciences and physics laboratories in the 1960s were significant additions to the school plant. In 1975 the library catalogued more than 19,000 volumes, the seventh largest collection among the sixty-three Adventist tertiary institutions outside North America.⁹

Among the Brazilian schools, Brazil College in São Paulo maintained its role during the post-World War II era as South America's leading institution for Portuguese-speaking Adventists. A new staff member in 1956 described the tree-shaded site as "neat and clean," with the three-story administration building in the center facing a 500-seat chapel and a dormitory on each end of the campus. Next to the chapel stood a new music building, completed "almost on the day school began," which was part of a massive building program that would virtually reconstruct the school.¹⁰

Like its sister institution in Argentina, Brazil College benefitted from frequent and large appropriations from the division. While the school had made commendable progress during the 1940s, all was not well, as a special study commission discovered in 1953. Headed by M. S. Nigri, the group shocked the division committee with a dozen recommendations to correct the college's "unusual emergency and the serious financial condition." First were instructions to college administrators to operate within their income. Also on the list were the need for an improved accounting system, better collections from students, and a finance committee that would convene weekly to monitor institutional problems. The commission also established a subsidy schedule for all three Brazil unions and urged substantial support from the division.¹¹

Six months later the division committee voted to advance the college 300,000 *cruzeiros* immediately, on condition that the institution would prepare an annual operating budget, initiate a fund-raising program, and implement curricular and personnel changes to economize, including alternating classes and terminating specific courses to reduce expenses.¹² The specific nature of these recommendations revealed the fundamental weakness of the college—inefficient administration.

If the hard line from the division meant anything, it was an indication that because the school symbolized Adventist education for Brazil everyone intended to prevent its demise that seemed unavoidable if present conditions continued. In February 1956 division leaders approved a master plan for the campus, showing existing and future buildings and roads. Church leaders regarded the institution's rehabilitation so important that they delayed the school's four-year theology degree until finances could accommodate the added expense.¹³

Concentration on fulfilling the master plan was immediate. Following the music building in 1956, a new service center opened in 1958, housing an 800-seat dining room, kitchen, bakery, laundry, and other rooms. Cold storage rooms and stainless steel cookers were part of the additions. The only major aspect of the master plan still unfinished was a new ladies' dormitory, but the cornerstone was already in place for this structure when the dining room opened.¹⁴

It was not until after most of the construction plans were complete that curricular development occurred. In 1959, six years after requesting permission to grant a theology degree, the four-year ministerial program began. A major obstacle to General Conference approval of this petition was the poor library. Located in the basement, the skimpy collection was subject to dampness and rapid deterioration. In March, world headquarters granted permission for the four-year degree on condition that the college would find a better location for the library and establish a budget for regular accessions. Indicative of Brazilian intentions to make their school a serious member of the denominational circle of colleges was their library—by 1975 it consisted of nearly 22,000 volumes, the fourth largest in Adventist colleges outside North America.

In 1962 the division appropriated 750,000 *cruzeiros* to upgrade equipment for classes in secretarial training to conform to government stipulations. Eight years later, in 1970, Alcides Alva, South America's secretary of education, announced that the Brazilian government would soon approve a school of music, and that an application to offer an official secondary teaching course was in process. By 1966, the school's fiftieth anniversary, 600 graduates were serving in denominational employ in Brazil. With its 703 post-secondary students in 1980, Brazil College was the largest tertiary institution in the South American Division, and the seventh largest outside North America.¹⁵

Dramatic upgrading also took place on other campuses. Training schools that had spent most of their existence up to 1950 trying to establish viable secondary programs became post-secondary institutions by 1980. One such campus was Northeast Brazil College, whose rise from pioneer conditions was mercurial in contrast to other schools. Adventists had frequently talked about a campus in northern Brazil, but not until 1943 did they finally acquire land. Ten years later João Bork, director, recalled that the school was so poor when classes began in 1944 that students had to bring their own eating utensils and a hammock. Teachers taught under roofs supported by four posts.¹⁶

In 1950 the division invested 72,000 Uruguayan *pesos* into the campus, the largest appropriation for any project that year except for remodeling the division

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headquarters.¹⁷ It was the beginning of a rebuilding program. The following year the division committee voted a US\$18,000 gift from General Conference Mission Extension funds to help meet construction costs. By the end of 1953, two dormitories and a gymnasium were erected to comply with accreditation standards. Fourteen years after beginning classes, enrollment rose from thirty to 282, making it one of the fastest growing schools in the division.¹⁸

Sharp increases in attendance, beginning in 1951, forced the North Brazil Union to act. In 1954 teacher-training and business courses received official recognition, and in 1957 the school began offering a two-year, post-secondary theology curriculum. Construction continued, expanding dormitory space and providing a dining room, library, and additional classrooms. Eighteen years after beginning the school, the division conducted a feasibility study for a four-year theology degree curriculum, a dream that became a reality in 1963. On this campus the division planned to train all workers for northern Brazil.¹⁹

One of the greatest assets this tropical campus possessed was a rich agricultural environment. Avocados and bananas rolled off the farm by the truckload, and hundreds of sacks of manioc went from the processing plant to the marketplace. With seventeen varieties of fruit growing on the premises, students suffered little risk of hunger.²⁰

By contrast, the development of a post-secondary program at Chile College was slow and at times agonizing. Until Chilean Adventists achieved union status, their training school functioned as the second institution in the Austral Union and competed against River Plate College for support. Irrespective of the difficulty of supporting two training schools in one field, union leaders had to face the hard reality that Chileans were reluctant to cross the Andes for an education.

Chile College entered the period 1950-1980 with recent government recognition of its elementary and secondary programs and denominational approval of post-secondary coursework in theology. Enrollment in 1950 reflected this status—more than 300 in the lower levels, but only twenty post-secondary students.²¹ The success of curricular expansion, especially the theology program, depended on church growth which would supply more students. Rapid membership increases did not take place in Chile until the late 1960s. Meanwhile, in 1950 the single Chile Conference split into two and the possibilities of future institutional expansion became apparent. In 1954 the division approved the elementary teacher-training course and a third year of theology, effective with the 1955 term.²²

Attendance improved. During the two years, 1954-1955, the school graduated thirty-four, all of whom entered denominational employment, although half worked outside Chile. In 1955 sixty-four post-secondary students enrolled. With a focus on the possibility of recognition as a tertiary school, the division committee authorized Chile College to apply for government accreditation in 1957, but at the same time allowed only two years of theology instead of the previously approved three-year program. Within months the school received recognition as a “Cooperador de Funciones Educativas del Estado,” which was official approval but at a lower level than an institution with complete degree-granting authority. The faculty responded by seeking to reinstate their ministerial training program.²³

Not until 1959 did the college regain permission for a third year of theology, and then only provisionally. A year’s trial run was enough to convince the division committee to grant permanent approval. Three years later the college inquired about the feasibility of the four-year degree program. The college Bible department waited yet another three years until receiving full senior college status in theology, but after the 1965 school year, the General Conference gave its nod.²⁴ The Chilean government also rewarded the efforts of school leaders by granting official recognition to their three-year business curriculum and the two-year elementary teacher-training program.²⁵

Not without reason, advancement at Chile College was a battle. About sixty years of operations preceded the theology degree in 1965. Symbolic of slow growth was the library, which housed approximately 4,000 titles, only a small margin above the collection at Northeast Brazil College, where classes had begun barely twenty years earlier. Enrollment in theological studies was lean—only half of that in northern Brazil.²⁶

Competition with River Plate College for support was a struggle in itself, but it was complicated by earthquakes that required diversion of money into reconstruction rather than expansion of existing facilities. In May 1960 another quake hit southern Chile that inflicted additional damage, but much less than the destruction two decades earlier. Only a couple of faculty homes were demolished, but to replace this relatively light loss was a serious challenge to the school’s already tight finances.²⁷

Regarding operational standards of denominational institutions, other problems affected the progress of Chile College. Much to their surprise, Dorothy and J. J. Aitken discovered in 1965 that non-Adventists made up two-thirds of the school enrollment. Although some were students from Adventist homes who had not had an opportunity to be baptized, the majority had no connection with Adventism, many of them commuting students who attended the school because of its convenience.

Although the Aitkens found denominational traditions intact, they admitted that the situation required untiring monitoring.²⁸

On a positive note, the college built new homes within eighteen months after the 1960 earthquake, but even more impressive to the division treasurer was a productive farm, an aspect of the school unaffected by earthquakes. From college land came more wheat, potatoes, beans, lentils, peaches, cherries, apples, boysenberries, raspberries, and milk than the school could consume. A food-canning industry preserved thousands of liters of juice, fruit, and berries, and a fruit dehydration process produced an annual supply of raisins. Sales of sugar beets netted more than US\$6,000 in 1961.²⁹

Additional accreditation continued through the 1970s and enrollment increased. Recognition for programs in business and the humanities was followed by an affiliation with the University of Concepción in elementary teacher-training. In 1980 post-secondary students numbered more than 200, of whom thirty-four graduated from three- and four-year curricula, a substantial growth from post-secondary matriculation only a decade and a half earlier.³⁰

The division's remaining major educational enterprises were in the Inca Union. Both Colegio Unión in Peru and Colegio Adventista de Bolivia moved to new sites in the 1940s and spent much of the 1950s in construction programs. For the Peruvian school the transfer was traumatic. Original agreements with owners of land occupied by the school in Miraflores required the Inca Union to erect a model school. Successive problems with temporary closure and eventual removal to Ñaña produced a lawsuit by the family originally owning the land, who charged that the institution had not fulfilled the terms of the deed. The case hung unresolved for ten years. Despite favorable decisions in lower courts, the Supreme Court ruled against the school in 1951, which penalized the Inca Union approximately 300,000 Peruvian *soles* in damages and legal costs.

After more than a decade of dealing with Peruvian laws prohibiting coeducation, this adverse decision was a blow that caused near desperation among church leaders in Lima.³¹ With a justifiable complaint that he was paying for mistakes made years earlier, Ray Jacobs, the newly elected president of the Inca Union, halted all repairs and construction elsewhere in the field to accumulate money to pay the fine. The division sought help, requesting a US\$20,000 gift from the General Conference. Within a couple of months, a much relieved Jacobs received the funds and resumed other truncated projects.³²

In spite of this setback, the Inca Union maintained cordial relations with the Peruvian ministry of education, and the school continued to grow. At ceremonies celebrating the school's fortieth anniversary in 1959, Emilio Romero, Peru's minister of education, recalled F. A. Stahl's humanitarianism when he laid the cornerstone for a new administration building. This new structure housed a chapel and music rooms. To finance this addition to the school plant, the division appropriated half the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering collected in December 1958. Erection was rapid. In December 1959 the college conducted its graduation in the new auditorium.³³

General Conference visitors noted that the combined enrollment at all levels was climbing beyond 300. But this prosperity exacted its price. Married students surged onto the campus, precipitating a minor housing crisis, and dormitory space was at a premium with up to six students in a room. The school needed other buildings to accommodate the growing student body and the improving curriculum. Increases in campus activity spread to the farm, where milk production doubled since 1952.³⁴

Curricular advancements were also occurring. Faculty unofficially offered elementary teacher-training and a third year of theology beginning in 1956. Three years later the theology curriculum officially became a three-year program, and in 1962 the division began investigations of the feasibility of a four-year theology degree. A specific request for four-year post-secondary status in ministerial training reached the General Conference in February 1964 where it waited only two and a half months for final approval.³⁵

Colegio Unión reached a milestone in 1969 when faculty and students celebrated the school's fiftieth anniversary. The previous year the Federico Villarreal National University of Peru accredited the department of education at Ñaña. With this official recognition, the school could command attention. Federal and local dignitaries flocked to the campus as guests of the celebration. Among the visitors was a group of sisters from a nearby convent. Enrollment that year topped 600, nearly half of them employed in school industries. One, a bakery, could hardly satisfy its market with enough wheat bread.³⁶

Further accomplishments came in the 1970s. Government approval of a degree in business added impetus to enrollment, which exceeded 450 at the post-secondary level in 1980. Other denominationally approved courses included secretarial training.³⁷

At Vinto, where R. V. Vinglas established a training school for the Bolivia Mission in 1949, upgrading was much slower than at Colegio Unión. As the post-World War II era progressed, the role of the Bolivian school became clearer. Historically,

it compared with Lake Titicaca Training School as a center for indigenous students, but as educational expectations rose, the Vinto campus came to be seen more as the mission's training school, although it retained its Indian character. To its financial disadvantage, it was the third training school in the Inca Union, and its administrators could expect keen competition for support in an already poor field.

A scare shook the campus in 1953, a year after a revolution, when government officials led mass meetings with indigenous residents in Cochabamba, and newspaper stories predicted that land expropriations would include church-owned property. Taking no chances, Edmund D. Clifford, head of the Bolivia Mission, temporarily closed the school, but heaved a sigh of relief only days later when he learned that land partitioning decrees would not affect the school because of its size. Classes resumed immediately, and as a token of its security, the school received additional water rights as an unforeseen bonus.³⁸

The institution remained primarily a secondary level school, but limited offerings in post-secondary coursework were available. Beginning in 1957 the faculty added a teacher-training course and an industrial department. Two years later additional office and classroom space opened. As Richard Gates pursued evangelism in eastern Bolivia, youth from that region enrolled on the Vinto campus. In 1964 students from the eastern jungle communities numbered thirty-nine. However, with all of the school's growth, in comparison to other South American campuses, enrollment of post-secondary students was minuscule, only forty-one, less than 2 percent of the division total in 1980.³⁹

Similarly, curricular improvements at Lake Titicaca Training School left that institution short of post-secondary status. In 1962 Lynn Baerg, principal, confessed the school's shortcomings, suggesting that the reason why Adventist membership in the Lake Titicaca Mission was near static at the time might be related to the training school's inadequacies. Rising levels of literacy made training beyond the secondary level necessary, but expensive education prevented all except a few students from leaving the institution to pursue their studies, and of the few who left, fewer still came back to work among the Aymaras and Quechuas. In Baerg's opinion the only solution to the problem was to offer post-secondary courses at Lake Titicaca. However real the needs may have been, such a curriculum remained out of reach. As of 1980 the best the training school could offer was an officially recognized course that enabled students to enroll in advanced schools elsewhere.⁴⁰

Despite its inability to develop a post-secondary curriculum, Lake Titicaca Training School improved its facilities and agricultural program. A new dining room

and kitchen opened in 1955. At the same time, administrative offices and classrooms were under construction. To benefit the school's farm, the Inca Union purchased a tractor and silage cutting equipment. More than a decade later, a Peruvian industry donated nine miles of copper wire, enabling the school to hook up with a commercial electric power company and thus protect its industries with consistent voltage. Students found employment in the school's cement block factory and wood shop, and on the 617 acres of farmland, they kept busy tending fifty cattle, 600 sheep, 400 hens, and vegetable lands.⁴¹

During the thirty years after 1950, many South American schools emerged from their training school status. Schools did not offer a broad variety of study programs, and theology remained the primary curriculum, but by 1980 the direction of post-secondary education was better defined. Schools were advancing toward institutions of higher learning. By 1980 no Adventist campus in the division had yet received blanket institutional accreditation, but governments recognized some specific programs, and affiliations with other institutions brought legitimacy to other curricula. In view of the rapidly increasing Adventist population after 1950, these changes came none too soon.

Of all the reasons why church leaders developed a system of post-secondary schools, the most compelling continued to be the need of preparing denominational workers. Yet, the need to broaden curricula also became more apparent. In 1980, 2,282 students matriculated in South American post-secondary schools, with 349 graduating from programs requiring three or more years. To employ all of these graduates, church leaders would fill a vacancy or create a new position for every twenty-three existing workers in the division. The unlikelihood of this possibility was obvious. The trend in Adventist education to offer more options to students strengthened a tendency that educators had seen for years—an increasing number of students in Adventist schools who attended simply to acquire an education in a denominational environment. It had always been part of the system but intensified as the size of the Adventist community grew.⁴²

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A significant aspect of Adventist education in South America during the years 1950-80 was an increase in secondary schools. In 1950 the division listed twelve such institutions, including those at major training school campuses. Thirty years later the number grew to twenty-four complete secondary programs and fifteen other schools that offered incomplete programs above the elementary level.

All schools functioned according to the legal restrictions of their host countries. Among the seven Hispanic countries of the South American Division, Adventist schools faced a variety of laws, but it was in Brazil where the largest single bloc of Adventist schools were subject to a national legal framework. Brazilian education changed in 1943 from a combined ten years of instruction to eleven years before students entered university level. The new legislation prescribed four years of “Primário” followed by four more years of “Ginásio”, after which students would take three years of “Colegial,” classified as secondary or pre-university coursework. The practical impact of this law was to upgrade secondary education and define it better. As Adventists established new secondary schools in Brazil, by necessity they followed this pattern.⁴³

All secondary schools maintained their own uniqueness, but perhaps the most dramatic was Instituto Adventista Agro-Industrial, a school carved out of the jungle near Manaus, Brazil. Founder of this experiment was Robert H. Habenicht, namesake and grandson of R. H. Habenicht, the founder of River Plate Sanitarium.

In 1965 Habenicht and his wife and their two children moved to the 8,000 acres to clear land for the school. The first building was a thatched roof structure Habenicht put together with his own hands. Students came in droves. Ten years after he cut the first tree down, 150 students enrolled, the next year 300 came. The peculiarity of the institution centered on its vegetable industry, primarily tomatoes. A dozen years after opening, the school had a hundred greenhouses that produced three tons of tomatoes a week. In Manaus no garden products enjoyed a better reputation, and restaurant and hotel managers bought nearly the entire crop.

The school was also growing its reputation. A visit by the ambassador from Holland resulted in financial assistance from his country. Later, participants in a symposium on tropical agriculture visited the campus, sampling some of the school’s products in the dining room. Two Dutch professors were so impressed they requested permission for two of their students to study at the school. By 1980 secondary enrollment stood at 119.⁴⁴

Another significant breakthrough for Adventists was a boarding school in Ecuador, an often forgotten corner of the division. With membership approaching 2,000 in 1964 and authorization to purchase 150 hectares near Santo Domingo de los Colorados to establish a secondary school, officers of the Ecuador Mission set to work. A year later construction began. When classes started on July 5, 1968, the administration offices were in the repair shop, the classrooms lacked ceilings, and

water was delivered in trucks. Ecuadoran youth, who had waited longer than most local fields for their school, tolerated these annoyances with a certain satisfaction that they now had a school of their own. Three years later enrollment reached 300, the plant consisted of twelve buildings, and 190 acres had been converted to farmland.⁴⁵

While South America was increasing the number of its secondary schools from twelve to twenty-four, attendance rose from 1,475 to 7,137, including more than 450 students enrolled in the denominational correspondence school and fourteen other incomplete programs. Brazil added four secondary schools while all other fields established eight.

Elementary education also expanded throughout the division during the post-World War II period. Reports for 1950 showed 431 primary schools with 17,217 pupils. Thirty years later the figures changed to 581 schools and 79,281 students. Brazilian church schools increased more rapidly than those in other parts of the division. The total of Brazilian elementary schools rose from 165 in 1950 to 372 in 1980. Primary education in the three Brazilian unions kept pace with membership growth by enrolling one student for nearly every five members in 1950 and only a fraction less in 1980. The size of elementary schools in Brazil also grew, enlarging from an average of thirty-five per school to 146 pupils during the same years.

Educators also found it necessary to comply with Brazilian legislation in 1971 that required schools that offered the four grades of Primário to raise their curriculum to eight grades, which would mean that they were to offer the four grades of Ginásio as well. This regulation affected Adventist church schools seriously inasmuch as the majority of the schools functioned in the churches, which made expansion difficult. In the long run this upgrading would improve Adventist education, but at the time Brazilians saw the situation as a crisis.⁴⁶

Schools in Spanish-speaking countries also increased in size, but not at the same rate as their Brazilian counterparts. For these fields the statistics are skewed somewhat by including Indian schools in the Lake Titicaca Mission, thus making comparisons difficult. However, all fields outside Brazil conducted 266 schools in 1950 and only 209 thirty years later. The slippage took place in the Peruvian uplands. Compensating somewhat for this loss, the average size of the school increased from forty-three students to 119, a difference of seventy-six. A trend to enroll a smaller percentage of Adventist students also developed in the rest of the Spanish sector of the division. In 1950 more than one pupil matriculated for every three members; thirty years later the comparison had changed to slightly more than one student for eight members.

To focus on educational needs and professional development, South America observed 1978 as Adventist Education Year with seven teachers' conventions. Hundreds of teachers met on college campuses for renewal of denominational philosophy of education. Adding an air of celebration to these sessions was the news that in 1977 elementary enrollment in the division surpassed North America's to take the lead among the twelve world divisions.⁴⁷

Among the problems raised by a growing educational establishment was that of developing an actual system embracing institutions at all levels rather than a large number of unconnected schools under the aegis of the denomination. Of supreme curricular importance among the post-secondary schools was theology and ministerial training. The division committee added a touch of regularity in 1956 by imposing uniform standards on the length and number of classes in all four-year post-secondary programs. Representatives from all colleges met at River Plate College in 1964 to refine the theology curriculum and arrange reciprocity of academic credit, which would allow students to transfer from one school to another without loss of courses.⁴⁸

Systematic planning also reached other aspects of division education. At their year-end meetings in 1964, the division committee established a permanent board to advise South America's leaders on all matters pertaining to education. All college presidents, union presidents and educational secretaries, division officers, and the medical secretary were members of the body, which was chaired by the division secretary of education.⁴⁹

Behind favorable statistics and systematization were some troubling facts, however. Nevil Gorski, South America's educational leader, admitted in his annual report in 1976 that the division's educational program was not as prosperous as it appeared at first glance. Reminding his colleagues that "we have the responsibility to put forth greater effort in order to make the church in South America appear in better light," he pointed out that fewer than 20,000 of the 33,000 children from Adventist homes enrolled in church-operated schools, and that only 48 percent of the primary school enrollment was Adventist, 27 percent below the denominational recommendation. In several comparisons, such as the ratio of schools to membership, and the ratio of schools to the number of churches, the division fell below the denominational average.⁵⁰

Annual statistical reports bear out Gorski's concern. In 1950 South American Adventists conducted one primary school for every 131 members. In 1980 that

figure changed to one school for nearly 950 members. During the same period, the ratio between schools and churches developed a negative trend—in 1950 the total number of primary schools exceeded the total number of churches. That relationship in 1980 declined to about three schools for every eight churches.

A similar but less intense problem characterized secondary level education. While the increase of this category of schools was better than at other levels, enrollment compared to membership remained almost constant for two decades after 1950. In 1970 the ratio was one student for thirty-nine members; in 1980 the ratio fell to one student for seventy members. Brazilian secondary schools consistently lagged behind those in the other fields of the division in both total enrollment and comparison with total membership.⁵¹

Awareness that the number of available Adventist students was growing faster than the number of schools led division leaders in 1966 to establish a branch of Home Study Institute, the denomination's correspondence school, on the River Plate campus. "Increasing pressures on the Adventist schools in Latin America due to rapid growth of our colleges to full four-year status," the action read, "the eager demand for more and better education by our youth and the increasing acceptance of more flexible educational patterns in South America have led to the realization that branches of the Home Study Institute should be organized in some of the colleges in the South American Division."⁵² Three years after its beginning, the correspondence school reported 202 students at both secondary and post-secondary levels.⁵³ The figure was small, but it represented a beginning for additional options in education.

In 1980 South American Adventists could say that their educational establishment had grown, but it faced dilemmas. Statistics suggested that rapid membership growth beginning in the 1960s left the educational system behind. The division was investing proportionally more money in direct evangelism than in education. In total numbers the figures lent an appearance of prosperity, but relative growth was not nearly so impressive; in fact, the division was losing ground.

All of that was a problem within the church. Externally, South American governments were acknowledging that Adventist educators were making their mark, which were signs that reflected the increasing effectiveness of denominational education. Walter Manrique, head of the Inca Union Education Department, also chaired the National Council of Religious Education for Peru. Eurides Brito da Silva, wife of a Brazilian dentist, began her career in education as a teenage teacher of a small Adventist school near Belém, eventually becoming a professor at the University

of Brasília before her appointment as assistant minister of education for secondary education and later as secretary of education and culture in Brasília. Another Brazilian Adventist, Ruy de Vieira, was a member of the National Council of Higher Education.⁵⁴ Whatever internal problems South American Adventists faced on the education front, their dilemmas were not a cloud without a silver lining.

THE MEDICAL MINISTRY CONQUERS SAVAGE FIRE

The division's medical ministry, which only began to take shape by 1950, matured into one of the denomination's flourishing systems by 1980. With 46,275 admissions and a capacity of 1,169 patients in 1980, the division's hospitals eclipsed the 1950 figures, which then stood at 4,185 house patients and 282 beds. The number of institutions also grew from five to eighteen. Only Uruguay and Bolivia were completely without an Adventist medical center in 1980. In Chile the sole Adventist medical service was a clinic that opened in August 1979.⁵⁵

The church's most conspicuous achievement in medicine was a treatment center in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso, built exclusively for patients suffering from savage fire. Brazilians called this malady *fogo-selvagem*, a skin condition characterized by blisters and open sores that drove its victims into orgies of scratching and pain, sometimes resulting in unconsciousness. A more appropriate term than savage fire was hardly possible. A state hospital in São Paulo was researching the disease, but achieved little. Myths about the disease were nearly as dangerous as the illness itself. It was not contagious, but many believed it to be, and ostracizing those who had it as though they were lepers.

Until Áurea Barbosa de Souza, wife of Alfredo Barbosa de Souza, an Adventist minister, contracted the disease in the 1940s, almost all victims of the disease gave up hope. Aurea's husband refused to admit that nothing could be done. Dragging his exhausted wife from place to place and from doctor to doctor, he spent thousands of *cruzeiros* on would-be cures. Finally, in desperation he traced down a story that someone in Sidrolândia near the Paraguayan border had concocted an effective potion for his cows and then given it to sufferers of the disease. The rumor was that his remedy worked.

A disappointed Alfredo located the man, Isidoro Jamar, who lived in a crumbling shack from which he staggered regularly to the local saloon to consume his income. After coming this far, the distraught minister would not turn away without taking some of the medicine to his wife. First making certain that it was not a fetish, he

talked the intoxicated Jamar into mixing a large supply for the cost of 500 *cruzeiros*. With two liters of the pitch-based salve, Alfredo returned home and applied the black stuff to his wife's body. It was as though he were pouring fire over her. Her reactions convinced him she would die, but after three days Áurea herself believed she would recover.

Full restoration took weeks. On Alfredo's mind was one compelling desire: how to learn the secret formula and aid other people. On his own he began treating sufferers, but it was not long before the word was out that a cure was available for one of Brazil's most repulsive ailments. A church member in Campo Grande donated forty acres of land for a recovery center, and on March 18, 1951, church officials laid a cornerstone on the land where they would build a small hospital.

Meanwhile, attempts to extract the secret formula from Senhor Jamar always ended in noncommittal grunts and promises that when the Adventists finished their hospital he would work with them. Frustrated church workers were dubious, but nature took care of the situation. Isidoro's alcohol-soaked body could endure little more of the punishment he habitually gave it, and realizing that death was near, he divulged the information to Adventists who were attending him. Hurriedly they prepared a batch. Experiments proved that the potion was real.

Adventists did not keep their find a secret. They registered it with the University of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, where they also gained access to research laboratories to develop the medicine. Edgard Bentes Rodrigues, a Brazilian doctor, took charge of the recovery center. After one year of operation, he reported 80 percent success. Eventually, newspaper publicity prompted the government to take notice.

Rodrigues felt compelled to share his findings with the medical profession. After delivering a paper to the Medical Association of Minas Gerais, he published it in the April 1952 issue of *Revista Brasileira de Medicina*. Other doctors soon picked up on savage fire treatment. Three years later Luis Rodrigues de Souza, a Brazilian dermatologist, informed fellow specialists about Adventist treatment of *pemphigus*, the technical name of the disease, by circulating 3,000 copies of a ninety-six page report of his survey of results at the recovery center.⁵⁶

After three years of experimenting with treatments, Rodrigues reported he had handled 120 cases at the center and had directed fifteen more by mail. Of these patients 38 percent enjoyed complete cure, 20 percent had progressed enough to return to work, 29 percent were still under treatment, 6 percent reacted negatively, and 7 percent were fatal cases.⁵⁷

Because patients outnumbered the capacity of the small Adventist hospital, Rodrigues and his colleagues soon planned to enlarge their facilities and move them closer to the city of Campo Grande. The division committee approved the proposal in 1955.⁵⁸ Progress was slow because money was hard to find. Five years after receiving division approval, the South Brazil Union borrowed 1,000,000 *cruzeiros* from the division treasury and donated another 500,000 *cruzeiros* to the reconstruction program. This financial shot in the arm brought results, and in the same year building began at the new site.⁵⁹

During 1961 the three Brazilian unions collected two special offerings for the hospital. At the year-end meetings in December 1961, the division voted a monthly subsidy of 200,000 *cruzeiros* to the hospital. In spite of this support, construction still lagged. New plans received division approval in 1963, and a fourth of the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering in December 1966 went to the project.⁶⁰

Support also came from other sources. Gunter Hans, the hospital's director beginning in 1960, so impressed the German consul in São Paulo with his appeal for improved transportation that the diplomat donated a new 1962 Volkswagen bus, driving it from São Paulo to Campo Grande himself. Other contacts yielded results. A West German philanthropic organization donated US\$50,000 to rebuild the treatment facility and another \$13,000 to equip it with electricity. Support also came from agreements with federal, state, and local governments, which by 1975 amounted to 75 percent of the hospital's revenue.⁶¹

In April 1971, twenty years after establishing the center, new research facilities opened. In cooperation with the University of Mato Grosso, physicians and technicians at the hospital dedicated themselves to discovering the cause of savage fire.⁶² Although Adventist doctors continued their work with this dreaded disease, publicity declined during the 1970s. Pênfigo Hospital reported eighty beds with an average census of seventy-five in 1970. Ten years later the facility had seventy-five beds and a census of forty-one.⁶³

Ironically, this trend was a sign of success, unmistakable evidence that doctors were learning to treat and control the disease. It was also a testimony that the Adventist medical ministry had made a historic contribution to the country's well-being, a fact that Brazil's federal government also recognized. On April 19, 1978, Brazil's Minister of Interior awarded the Adventist church an Indigenous Medal of Merit, an honor that came largely because of the benefits resulting from accomplishments at Pênfigo Adventist Hospital.⁶⁴

HEALTH-CARE CENTERS SPREAD TO SOUTH AMERICA'S CORNERS

Another significant advancement in denominational medical outreach took place in Paraguay where Adventist fortunes had never been good. The country's 243 members made it the division's smallest field in 1950. Growth was so slow that not until 1948 did the Austral Union organize this landlocked country into a separate mission. The manager of Casa Editora called the event the moment of stabilization for Adventists in Paraguay.⁶⁵ Call it whatever one will, organization injected new energy into the church. Basing their hopes on the reputation of Fisioterapia Mayo, a clinic that had been functioning with notable success in Asunción since August 1945, Paraguay Mission officers decided to establish a hospital.

Between 1950 and 1952 the division approved their request to purchase land, promised them one half the Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering in June 1951, and voted to contract a mission appointee as medical director.⁶⁶ Reaction to their plans was less than encouraging. The division waited nearly two years while the General Conference searched for a North American doctor, finally locating Ira E. Bailie. Compounding this delay was a dubious attitude in the General Conference Medical Department, expressed by T. R. Flaiz, who advised Murray to drop the project. With 600 doctors already practicing in Paraguay—400 of them in Asunción—an Adventist physician was hardly a necessity. In Flaiz's opinion other regions needed denominational medical expertise much more.⁶⁷

Notwithstanding this counsel, Bailie went to Paraguay anyway. After arriving he found Flaiz's warnings were exaggerated. Negative conditions were worse than the medical secretary described them. Not one to give up easily, Bailie studied the circumstances and drafted plans for a modest institution that would offer physical therapy, charity services, minor surgery, and obstetrics. Essentially, he was proposing simply to upgrade Fisioterapia Mayo rather than to establish an institution to compete against existing services. Construction on the new Adventist clinic did not begin until November 1954; after two years of shortages, delays, and other problems, Bailie could only express hope that opening date was no more than months away.

Six weeks after his arrival Bailie began working in the medical school hospital, thanks to the contact of a friend. After receiving a "feeble green light from the government, in December 1954 he opened an office in Fisioterapia Mayo where he practiced for eight months until authorities withdrew their permission. Bailie absorbed the blow philosophically, explaining that he would have more time to supervise construction and to study for revalidation. He also continued working at the medical school hospital.⁶⁸

Not until July 26, 1959, did the Asunción Sanitarium open. Bailie had waited more than five years but had accomplished the near-impossible—he successfully revalidated his diploma, nudged necessary imports through Paraguayan customs, and retained the respect of medical personnel in both the government and the university.⁶⁹ What he had was a ten-bed clinic, the division's smallest medical center, but it was a forward step in Adventist medical ministry in South America.

Flaiz had been right when he warned the division that the medical profession in Paraguay was highly competitive, but the clinic thrived anyway, even outgrowing its facilities while they were still new. Less than a year after opening day, the division voted to purchase adjacent land for expansion to twenty-five beds.⁷⁰ It was an auspicious moment in November 1964, only five years after opening the original facility, that Bailie again conducted an opening ceremony. In addition to Gonzales Torres, Paraguay's Minister of Health, the United States ambassador also attended the event.⁷¹

Patients from many parts of Paraguay and even Argentina came to the small sanitarium. After undergoing successful treatment, residents of German descent from Hohenau and Obligado, 450 kilometers south of Asunción, asked for a clinic in their community. Funds were not plentiful, but church leaders in Paraguay agreed to solicit local citizens for G5,000,000 (guaraní), half of the needed amount. Pledges totaling three times the quota came in, and in November 1963 service in Paraguay's second Adventist hospital began. Fifteen months later, on February 1, 1965, a three-ward unit with facilities for surgery officially opened. Like many Adventist institutions, the Hohenau Sanitarium began functioning before its construction was complete. Like Pênfigo Hospital in Campo Grande, this new venture also enjoyed West German aid—a grant of 375,000 marks in 1967 to finish the building.⁷²

In 1980 these two Paraguayan institutions offered more than fifty beds, less than 20 percent of the division's total, but they represented an important advance in a country where the impact of Adventists had always been minimal. It is a matter of speculation to say whether a cause and effect relationship existed, but during the thirty years after the Paraguay Mission seriously pursued medical ministry, membership multiplied more than ten times, growing from 243 to more than 2,800.⁷³

Ecuador also furnished a challenge to Adventist medical ministry. In 1950, after nearly a half century of trying one approach after another, workers could report only 395 members, a record that rivaled Paraguay for slow growth. After serving several denominational hospitals in the Inca Union off and on since 1936, Waldo Stiles and his wife moved to Ecuador in 1957. With a revalidated diploma, the Stilese began

a self-supporting medical unit in Quito, the American Clinic, which offered surgical and obstetrical services. Investing thousands of dollars in a new structure, this veteran couple hardly completed their new medical unit before donating it to the church with the understanding that it would continue as a denominational institution for at least five years.⁷⁴

Stiles remained as medical director of the American Clinic, exceeding his five-year stipulation almost unnoticed. When he retired in 1972, the original ten-bed capacity had expanded to twenty-eight. Plans for additions came soon after the institution changed hands, which included a kitchen, a physical therapy unit, and increased space in the maternity ward. Stiles also added Ecuadoran doctors to the staff in 1968—Carlos Dorado, who had trained in Argentina, and José Ottati, who held a diploma from the University of Guayaquil.⁷⁵

In an attempt to identify this small, general hospital more closely with the denomination, in 1976 the directors changed the institutional name, calling it Quito Adventist Clinic. It remained the only denominational health-care unit in Ecuador, but in a region where Adventist progress had been slow, the medical center was a well-known and respected part of denominational activity.⁷⁶

Symbolic of Adventist presence in the Amazon basin was the health-care center in Belém. Progress at this unit was slow during most of the 1940s. But Halliwell had plodded on, and after collecting US\$48,000 from the December 1949 Thirteenth Sabbath overflow offering, activity picked up.⁷⁷ Plans were ambitious, calling for a two-story structure with forty-five beds. Even more ambitious was the notion that the church should invest in such an institution when it also faced a dearth of Adventist doctors in Brazil and difficult revalidation requirements for alien physicians. “Many were called [from the United States], but only one submitted to these demands,” Olga Streithorst recalled.

Four years of planning and building, two of them waiting for a doctor, climaxed on April 10, 1953, when Belém Adventist Hospital officially opened. On hand to participate was Catete Pinheiro, chief of public health for the state of Pará, who pleased the crowd with accolades about Halliwell’s river launch ministry that had already become an Amazon legend. Lopo Álvarez de Castro, mayor of Belém, cut the ribbon. Adventist elation obscured the fact that only about two-thirds of the projected forty-five beds were ready.⁷⁸

The hospital’s first years were difficult. Initially, patronage was poor, a condition that E. E. Bottsford, the first medical director, thought would correct itself over

time. More serious was the instability in the office of medical director. It changed hands five times during the first eight years. For this lack of continuity, the North Brazil Union paid a heavy price. The hospital became a financial burden, equipment came up missing or broken, buildings were in poor repair, and a staff hardly existed. Because it was no longer a credit to the denomination, leaders in the mission mulled over the possibility of ending their embarrassment by closing the institution, but they decided to make one final attempt to reverse the slide by inviting Zildomar Deucher from River Plate to take charge.⁷⁹

Deucher proved to be a man with a magic wand. Within five years he had assembled a staff of seven doctors, established a school of practical nursing with 100 students, and began constructing a new medical unit with his own money. One of Deucher's favorite projects was to integrate his program into that of the local school of medicine. By 1966 a dozen or more Adventist medical students at the University of Belém were working in various departments at the Adventist hospital, acquiring valuable clinical experience. A year later the number rose to nineteen and in 1969, twenty-eight, besides four more studying dentistry, nutrition, and pharmacy. Even a couple of social science students had joined the group. In return for their work, they received a small stipend, room, and board.⁸⁰

Deucher's ten-year career at Belém was a turning point for the institution. At the time of his arrival, his predecessors made little headway in fulfilling the original goal of forty-five beds. Only 700 patients entered in 1961, hardly an impressive statistic even with only thirty beds. Four years later, by 1965, Deucher and his staff added thirteen beds and signed in more than 1,900 patients for the twelve months, a record that ranked Belém second only to Silvestre Hospital in Rio de Janeiro in admissions. The figures continued to rise. When Deucher left in 1972, capacity stood at 100, the second Adventist medical center in South America to reach that figure.⁸¹

Although progress slowed after Deucher's departure, it was clear that the hospital had survived its severest tests. Before the decade ended, management added twenty more beds. Throughout the 1970s Belém Adventist Hospital maintained a high rate of admissions and a favorable census. In 1979 it admitted the largest number of house patients among denominational health-care units in South America.⁸²

At the other end of the Amazon basin, Adventist medical outreach appeared in Iquitos, Peru, which shared with the Belém unit the symbolism of Adventist penetration of Amazonia. Since the days of Ana and Ferdinand Stahl, health care had been a part of Adventist outreach in this region. In 1927 Ana Stahl opened a

small maternity clinic, an enterprise that functioned more than thirty years before closing in 1958 because of the lack of a doctor. Concerned mission workers could not allow this institution, so small, but so symbolic of Adventism, to remain dead. A crash building program resulted in a fourteen-bed clinic. Even before the new facility was complete, Rodolfo Alfaro, a Lima doctor, arrived to take charge, and until the clinic opened in 1961, he received patients in his own home. Fittingly, workers named their new unit Ana Stahl Clinic.⁸³

Although this new member in the circle of Adventist health-care centers may have been steeped in denominational history, the work was neither romantic nor easy. D. R. Christman, president of the Inca Union, observed that the doctor in charge had thirty-five beds to watch and fifty consultations a day, a very heavy load. One medical director called the place a “drafty 20-bed hospital,” but in spite of all, it was a meaningful gesture to combat the woe and poverty in one city of the Amazon basin.⁸⁴

Understandably, physicians were reluctant to go to Iquitos. Medical directors consistently put in short terms. But instead of buckling under the difficulties at Ana Stahl Clinic, the other workers plugged on, even planning for expansion. By the mid-1970s the Inca Union approved reconstruction with enough added space for sixty beds. The actual total fell short of that goal, but it mattered little to delighted Adventists and townspeople who gathered on June 14, 1977, to dedicate the renovated institution. Appropriately, they stood in silence to honor Ana Stahl, a moment broken by the speech of Javier Mendes Pereyra, Prefect of Loreto. “I am alive today thanks to this pious woman,” he said. “I became very ill as a child, and if it had not been for the Christian selflessness that kept this heroine beside my bed . . . I would not now be standing before you.”⁸⁵ With fifty beds the clinic ranked eighth among the eighteen denominational health-care units in South America in 1980, but its 10,240 admissions were the highest total in the division.⁸⁶

Elsewhere in the Inca Union the fortunes of Adventist medical services were mixed. Good Hope Clinic on the outskirts of Lima, known as Miraflores Adventist Clinic, and Juliaca Adventist Clinic both underwent expansion to become significant community institutions. Marking the fortieth anniversary of Juliaca Clinic in 1962 was a new building with four operating rooms, private rooms with telephones, and general wards. Planned capacity was sixty, but the actual was forty-five. “It is the best building in Juliaca,” Medical Director Erwin Beskow wrote, “and is highly appreciated by the city and provincial authorities.”

Providential intervention was Beskow's explanation for the structure. Reflecting upon the clinic's history, he recalled that early leaders in the Lake Titicaca Mission searched many communities to establish medical service, but finally settled on Juliaca. Beskow observed that "the years have revealed that a divine hand was leading us, for those towns . . . are dead today, and this former insignificant village—Juliaca—is today a prosperous city." During the four decades following the founding of Juliaca Clinic in 1922, the community grew to more than 20,000 persons with 5,000 business people visiting the city each year. Because of its strategic location on the shore of Lake Titicaca, it became a commercial center for trucking, airlines, and railroads.

The region had changed in other ways. Beskow recalled that during its early years Juliaca Clinic was unique, but dozens of doctors and medical service buildings now dotted the Lake Titicaca region. "This competition has obliged the clinic to make progress," he said. The Adventist center was the first to bring medical advances to the area, the first to install running water, electric lights, private telephones, X-ray equipment, and labs. During the five years prior to opening the new building, the Inca Union spent about US\$130,000 on improvements.⁸⁷

Although less spectacular, the story of Good Hope Clinic was also one of success. From a fifteen-bed facility made over from an embassy, additions and improvements characterized the years 1950-80. The outlook appeared bright enough in 1963 for C. E. Counter, medical director, to suggest an expansion from thirty-five to one hundred beds. Besides heading the medical center, Counter was also medical secretary of the Inca Union, and his vision expressed a hope that Good Hope Clinic would be an Adventist beacon in one of South America's largest metropolitan areas on the western slope of the Andes.⁸⁸

But Counter's views did not materialize. Growth more than doubled the hospital's services, but through the 1970s capacity gradually declined only to rise again to forty-nine by 1980. Additional expansion would have to wait for more propitious times. Meanwhile, the combined capacity of the Juliaca and Miraflores hospitals stood at ninety-three and represented the most stable medical programs in the Inca Union.⁸⁹

Probably the most serious problem facing Adventist medical units in the Inca Union was staffing. Shuffling doctors from place to place was routine. To use Counter's terms, after patching, splicing, and cutting all corners, in 1963 the Inca Union still needed two doctors for six medical units and 172 beds.

Two years later division officer M. S. Nigri unloaded his exasperation after long and unsuccessful searches for physicians in both North America and South America

who would accept mission appointment. "I understand that it is very difficult for you to get doctors to come to the mission field," he wrote to N. W. Dunn, "and agree with you that you need at least one year to find a man. Because of the large number of medical institutions in the Inca Union and the frequent movement of personnel, the brethren there are very often in need of doctors on short notice . . . As you know it is difficult to get an American doctor to come down, and it is not easy either for us to get an Argentine doctor to go to the Inca Union."⁹⁰

Through the 1950s and 1960s, the Inca Union tried to compensate for its lack of doctors by arranging working vacations for North American practitioners who would fill in at mission outposts, clinics, and other spots that regular doctors routinely serviced. L. E. C. Joers was the first to test the plan. Equipped with a special permit from the Peruvian ministry of health, he began his short term in August 1951. Less than two years later, R. A. Pellow spent two months conducting consultations in Iquitos and traveling rivers in the upper Amazon basin. Howard Smith temporarily headed the Juliaca Clinic in 1954. Orval Patchett, an ophthalmologist, spent a vacation with his family at the Ana Stahl Clinic in 1962, a welcome blessing for several patients needing eye surgery. William Palmer from the denominational school of dentistry in Loma Linda, California, gave the plan a new twist when he brought two senior dental students with him in 1957 to treat indigenous people and observe procedures at the Peruvian dental school.⁹¹ While these visiting doctors made a favorable impression on Peruvian authorities and administered much needed aid to sufferers, they did not resolve the problem of personnel shortages.

Also plaguing the Inca Union was medical service at Chulumani and Guayaramerín. These two facilities, built by public money and leased to Adventists, either privately or officially, had been both a blessing and a bane to the division and the union. Typically, church leaders were pleased for an opportunity to conduct a hospital, but a satisfactory contract with the government at either of these locations was elusive. Rarely doctors were willing to work under these conditions.

The division committee zigzagged through the 1950s, voting successively to close, maintain, renegotiate, and relocate Chulumani.⁹² In the absence of a doctor, Kern Pihl, a physician from Good Hope Clinic, put in a three-week emergency stint, working long hours but still turning away scores because of lack of time.⁹³ Pihl's experience was not an isolated one. The 1960s brought no appreciable change in conditions at Chulumani. Finally, in July 1970, South America terminated its agreement with the

government that had begun during Carlyle B. Haynes's presidency and returned the facility to the government.⁹⁴

The denominational experience at Guayaramerín momentarily appeared brighter, but eventually ended similarly. Adventist doctors operated the hospital privately before the government laid it in the hands of the Inca Union in 1961. On September 1 the denomination officially occupied the facility, supported by a thirty-three year contract and financial support from the United States government through the Bolivian Ministry of Health.⁹⁵ Church leaders hailed the event as a miracle that ended an uneven history of medical directors. Denominational presence had ended in 1954 when E. E. Bottsford left to become medical director of Belém Adventist Hospital. Until the Inca Union assumed responsibility in 1961, non-Adventist physicians leased the buildings.

When C. E. Counter took charge in 1961, the plant was in acute disrepair. Electric generators no longer functioned, water pumps were broken down, windows were missing, dirt and grease covered the kitchen, clogged sewage pipes made drainage impossible, animals roamed at will through the building, chickens even perched in the operating room, and termites had nearly destroyed the water tower. Restoration to only partial capacity required nine weeks, but the sick in the surrounding jungle could not wait for the cleaning crew to finish. During those nine weeks, Counter and his staff handled 250 consultations and twenty-five house patients in temporary rooms. These patients were unquestionably in need. One example was a six-year-old girl who passed twenty-four, ten-inch worms after treatment for intestinal parasites.⁹⁶

Officers of the Bolivia Mission cherished high hopes for the future of Guayaramerín. "This hospital provides us with a strong base for our work in the whole jungle area," the mission president, C. L. Christensen, wrote. "In coming months evangelism and education will follow the opening wedge that has finally penetrated into the jungle heartland of Bolivia."⁹⁷

Briefly, evangelism swept through eastern Bolivia. Richard Gates conducted repeated meetings in Trinidad and Guayaramerín, and with his wife, a nurse, he frequented the rivers in a small launch to care for the jungle's sick. Christensen's predictions appeared to be coming true, but however vital to Adventist presence as church leaders deemed the hospital, the three decades of denominational control ended when satisfactory contracts were more slippery than first anticipated. In 1966 the Inca Union returned the facility to the Bolivian government.⁹⁸

With the loss of both Chulumani and Guayaramerín, the Inca Union ceased attempts to lease publicly owned facilities in favor of outright denominational

proprietorship. Working against the agreements between the church and the government was a thinly stretched medical program that included four other institutions in the region that relied on the weakest financial foundation in the division. Adventist hospitals in South America numbered thirteen in 1970. If the Inca Union had continued its arrangements in Bolivia, the total would have reached fifteen, six of them in the field with the division's poorest financial base. Reducing health-care centers in the Andean republics from six to four was economically justifiable and represented consolidation of the division's medical ministry.

While Inca Union leaders lost their struggle to offer medical service in the Bolivian backcountry, the four remaining institutions in the union grew. By 1980 capacity in these facilities totaled 171, a figure that would have amounted to major outreach if combined under a single roof. Medical services in the older parts of the division also grew during the twenty years beginning in 1960. Argentina added three new institutions, Brazil four, and Chile launched its first venture in health-care establishments. The combined capacity of these new centers amounted to one-third of all South America's hospitals in 1980.

No one could remember when Argentine Adventists had not wanted to open a facility in Buenos Aires. After a feasibility study in 1955, Argentineans saw their long cultivated desire finally become real in 1960 when the Public Health Ministry approved outpatient services in the old division headquarters in Belgrano that the Austral Union had remodeled into a small clinic. Despite restrictions, the doctors found space for five beds for patients who underwent minor surgery. In 1963 in-patient treatment began.

Three years later Oldemar Beskow, medical director, suggested an expansion to forty-seven beds, but grander ideas were also on the drawing board. In the same year, 1966, H. E. Rice, associate secretary of the General Conference Medical Department, approved plans to enlarge Belgrano Clinic to a four-story, 140-bed institution. If growth was to occur, it would be necessary to expand either up or down, or both, inasmuch as residential buildings hemmed the clinic in on all sides. It was a grandiose idea, almost visionary, and actual changes were slow and lagged far behind hopes.

As the Adventist world prepared to give its Thirteenth Sabbath overflow in March 1979 to improve this small medical center, Beskow admitted that in Buenos Aires the odds were against him. "There are specialized centers in every branch of medicine, with most modern and costly equipment," he wrote in his appeal to fellow

Adventists. “With only twenty-two beds and the limited equipment at the Belgrano Hospital, it seems impossible to carry out the effective plan of reaching the millions of people in Buenos Aires through medical missionary work . . . Our funds are totally insufficient, so we ask for help from our family around the world.” The thirty beds that the hospital reported in 1980 were still substantially fewer than Beskow recommended fourteen years earlier, but with an offering exceeding US\$300,000, part of which would assist Belgrano Clinic, the Adventist world served notice that this small light in one of the world’s largest cities would not go out.⁹⁹

The Austral Union erected two more health-care units in Argentina, the first in Saenz Peña, Chaco Province, and the second in Leandro Alem, Misiones. In both instances the local communities furnished the majority of construction funds. The chief promoter of Chaco Sanitarium and Hospital was owner of a Chevrolet franchise in Saenz Peña, whose treatment as a patient at River Plate convinced him that his hometown needed a similar institution. In 1966 the facility opened.

Already in the planning stages was another small hospital in northeastern Argentina, only a half-mile from the Adventist boarding school at Leandro Alem. The division committee processed construction plans in 1966, but not until 1972 did the forty-bed institution open. At the end of the decade, hospital directors reported fifty-six beds with a disappointing census of eighteen. Outpatient service was booming, however. Doctors held more than 10,500 consultations in 1979.¹⁰⁰

On August 15, 1979, Chilean Adventists realized their long unfulfilled hopes for a medical center. In Los Ángeles, about seventy-five miles inland from Concepción, the South Chile Conference opened the first phase of a small clinic that for the time being offered no inpatient services, but administrators promised it would become a twenty-five bed sanitarium.¹⁰¹

Brazilian Adventists added four medical units in rapid succession in the four years ending in 1980. Rio de Janeiro received its second denominational institution in 1977, São Lucas Adventist Hospital in Copacabana, the heart of downtown Rio. It began services with fifty beds, soon upgrading to fifty-five. Two tiny units, Clínica Adventista de Manaus in Manaus, with a dozen beds, and São Roque Clinic in São Paulo, with nine beds, opened in 1978 and 1980.¹⁰²

Happenings in Belo Horizonte were spectacular. Even non-Adventist doctors called the events providential that led them to transfer a 722-bed hospital from their private group to the East Brazil Union. Ambitious physicians had over-built a massive facility and were sustaining regular financial losses trying to maintain it. Prospects

of selling their white elephant were diminishing because successful medical services were too competitive in the city. The most likely possibility of jettisoning their problem appeared to be a sale to the Golden Cross, a national insurance company owned by Milton Afonso, a member of the Botafogo Adventist church in Rio de Janeiro.

Although the Belo Horizonte doctors approved Afonso's offer, they balked when he proposed to turn the hospital over to the East Brazil Union. Their reluctance evaporated after a visit to Silvestre Hospital where they observed Zildomar Deucher's open heart surgery program and where a pancreas transplant had taken place. Quoting Genesis 39:3, "the Lord made all that they did to prosper," they consummated the transaction, and on August 5, 1980, Santa Mônica Hospital reopened as Belo Horizonte Adventist Hospital. Only 200 beds—a fraction of its total—were made available, but as clientele increased, the administrators planned to increase services.¹⁰³

Consistent growth characterized River Plate and Silvestre hospitals. From the days of its origins, the Argentine hospital had battled against undeveloped communication with the outside world. In 1969 paved roads finally connected Diamante and Paraná, and a tunnel under the Paraná River expedited traffic between Paraná and Santa Fe. An airstrip also made small plane travel possible to surrounding cities. All of these improvements made River Plate Sanitarium more accessible. The medical center repeatedly added new wings that enlarged capacity from sixty in 1950 to 186 in 1980, requiring an increase of staff physicians from four to thirty-five. A rotation plan enabled the doctors to follow specialized training programs in both Europe and the United States.¹⁰⁴

In Rio de Janeiro the forty-eight-bed institution expanded to 138 by 1980. A staff of two doctors that barely got by in 1950 numbered 136 thirty years later. Heading the medical center was Zildomar Deucher, whose reputation in cardiovascular surgery became widespread. In 1976 new facilities opened that nearly doubled the floor space, all financed without denominational aid. An outstanding feature at Silvestre was a scholarship plan for Adventist medical students who at the time numbered more than three hundred throughout the division.¹⁰⁵

Not so impressive was the story of the Adventist hospital in São Paulo. Although clientele gradually inched upward, actual capacity declined during the thirty years beginning in 1950. Location was a problem. Hospital managers bought adjacent land in 1960 for expansion purposes, which included plans for a nine-story structure. This change did not occur, however, and in 1976 Daniel Nestares, secretary of the division health department, reported that a complete removal to a rural site was in progress.¹⁰⁶

In spite of these struggles, Casa de Saúde Liberdade had its bright spots. During the 1950s and 1960s, it gained a national reputation as a center for polio treatment.¹⁰⁷ As control of this disease helped to reduce its incidence, the hospital's importance as a nursing education center grew. The decade of the 1960s saw both educational and medical leaders wrestling with financial and legal technicalities until they established a government accredited nursing program in 1969.¹⁰⁸

A combination of conditions focused the division's emphasis on nursing education throughout the division. As Adventist health-care units increased in South America, competent denominational nurses became a premium. Some hospitals trained nurses, but except for River Plate, these programs produced only nurses' aides. A lengthy report by General Conference representative D. Lois Burnett in 1954 pointed out that even in Argentina Adventist nurses experienced great difficulty when seeking professional employment because their education was approved only by the Red Cross rather than a government agency.

A recommendation by Burnett advocated a genuine school of nursing at Brazil College to supply professionally trained help for denominational medical centers. Her proposal stirred opposition at the division level, primarily because of the suggestion that the program should be independently administered in Rio de Janeiro. In 1959 Oldemar Beskow's announcement of a nursing school at Hospital Silvestre in Rio de Janeiro came with his expressed hope that no longer would Adventist health-care institutions have to look elsewhere for nursing help. However, the need for nurses continued.¹⁰⁹

A decade later, when the division's fourteen medical centers offered 470 beds and expansion was common talk, nurses trained in both accredited programs and Adventist health traditions became a necessity. A sequence of division actions directed officers of Brazil College to investigate possibilities and to seek financial aid from non-denominational sources. The German Confederation of Evangelical Churches helped to finance a new nursing education facility on the campus, and Brazil College sent two nurses to the University of São Paulo to prepare to teach and lead the new instructional unit. Success came in 1968 when government approval came through. Four years later on May 9, 1973, the new nursing building opened on the campus of the college. This program was the first Adventist course that the Brazilian Ministry of Education and Culture recognized.¹¹⁰

Simultaneously, Colegio Adventista del Plata and its neighbor, the sanitarium, collaborated to institute an official nursing program. Transfer from the old to the new

curriculum came in phases. Termination of affiliation with the Red Cross opened the way for training in practical nursing in 1967. In 1969 the program earned official recognition, and in 1971 the first class graduated with recognized diplomas. The Adventist college and hospital in Libertador San Martín—the community of Puiggari had changed its name about 1950—conducted the courses and the National University in Rosario validated the program.¹¹¹

As part of the upgrading process, the division conducted nursing councils on the campuses of Brazil and River Plate colleges. Mazie Herin, associate secretary of the General Conference Medical Department, inspected each program and spoke at meetings that drew personnel together from the schools and the hospitals. Much of her emphasis lay in preserving Christian ideals in Adventist institutions.¹¹² Herin's meetings reflected concerns in administrative circles about directions in the medical profession. Broadening medical services around the globe prompted Adventist headquarters to step up improvements in the quality of facilities and to cultivate the notion of a ministry. Advice from Washington in 1963 led Division President Aitken to appoint a division medical secretary to assist General Conference inspections of the program and to maintain higher standards. Until Aitken made his appointment, division supervision of medical facilities had been *laissez faire*. Not until 1958 did the position of medical secretary exist, and then its first occupant, H. C. Smith, held the post only until 1961. Until E. E. Bottsford took over in 1966, the office remained vacant.¹¹³

Besides institutional quality as measured by medical standards, church leaders also wanted more emphasis on the mission of the church. A medical council in commemoration of Silvestre's eighteenth year convened in 1966 at the Rio de Janeiro institution, but its sessions revolved around institutional administration and advances in medicine. South America's first division council convened at River Plate Hospital, June 12-15, 1972. Assembled at the meeting were division and union officers, directors of the health-care units and the schools of nursing, besides others involved in medical work.

Two years later eighty delegates met at Silvestre Hospital to renew their commitment to denominational medical ministry, to promote professionalism, and to increase services. Again, eighty representatives gathered in La Molina, a suburb of Lima, for a third convention in August 1977 to develop a keener sense of Adventist professionalism and to discuss how to maintain the distinctiveness of Adventist medical ministry. Concluding their conference with the "Declaration

of Lima,” an official statement of their aims, delegates pledged to practice denominational health principles and to participate in evangelism.¹¹⁴

What R. H. Habenicht began in an out-of-the way corner of Entre Rios three-quarters of a century earlier bore little resemblance to the chain of eighteen medical centers stretched across the continent in 1980. The Habenichts, the Butkas, the Stahls, and the Halliwells were gone, but Juliaca, River Plate, Pênfigo, and Belém were parts of a legacy whose inspiration compelled South American Adventists to look for accomplishments that were greater than these.

¹ W. R. Beach, “A Hill I See!” *RH*, February 8, 1968.

² See *ibid.*, January 11–February 29, 1968 for Beach’s reports.

³ W. E. Murray, “South American Division Annual Session,” *Bulletin*, XXVII (January–February 1951), 1.

⁴ Egil H. Wensell, “River Plate College Celebrates 75 Years of Service,” *RH*, September 27, 1973.

⁵ *Statistical Report*, 1980.

⁶ Frank L. Baer, “Camp Meeting in the Central Argentine,” *RH*, March 15, 1951; Daniel Ramos, “River Plate College Needs a New Dormitory,” *ibid.*, August 17, 1961; Mario Rasi, “Gracias! From South America,” *ibid.*, March 1, 1962; J. J. Aitken to Friends (W. R. Beach), August 17, 1961, GCA/21, GF/1961, officers’ folder. For data on subsidies and investments in River Plate College, see financial actions recorded in SAD Minutes, *passim*, 1950–1970/GCA.

⁷ A. V. Olsen, “Austral Union Conference Session,” *RH*, March 4, 1954; W. R. Beach, “Progress in the Austral Union South America,” *ibid.*, March 20, 1958; Paul E. Moore, “Anniversary Celebration at River Plate College,” *ibid.*, March 13, 1969.

⁸ SAD Minutes, September 8, 1958/GCA; Brown, *Chronology*, 113.

⁹ “In Brief,” *RH*, October 27, 1955; Paul E. Moore, “Anniversary Celebration at River Plate College,” *ibid.*, March 13, 1969; news note, no name, *Today*, XLIX (March–April 1973), 7; Nevil Gorski, “Adventist Education in the South American Division,” *ibid.*, LII (July–December 1976), 4.

¹⁰ Dean E. Friedrich, “The Thrill of a Mission Call,” *RH*, October 11, 1956.

¹¹ SAD Minutes, July 23, 1953/GCA. Also see annual financial actions, *ibid.*, *passim*, 1950–1970.

¹² *Ibid.*, December 30, 1953.

¹³ *Ibid.*, November 27, 1953, December 30, 1953, February 18, 1956.

¹⁴ Dean E. Freidrich, “The Thrill of a Mission Call,” *RH*, October 11, 1956; Dario Garcia, “Progress at Brazil College,” *ibid.*, February 5, 1959.

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A PROGRAM OF PENETRATION

“WE MUST MOBILIZE . . . for a program of penetration never before seen in the history of the Adventist Church on this continent,” Division President Enoch Oliveira told his fellow workers as South America celebrated its sixtieth anniversary in 1976. “We must abandon the traditional, routine plans and substitute others that are more far-reaching and effective,” he admonished. “We must diligently use the time and resources we have in that which is fundamental, laying aside the nonessential and the secondary.”¹

One might think that Oliveira was implying that workers in the South American Division had been idly watching time and events pass by. Such was not the case. While they were not faddists, Adventists in South America had shown remarkable flexibility to technological and social change since World War II and had formed one of the fastest growing fields in the denomination. Oliveira was simply reminding his fellow workers that programs and movements that did not keep pace with their environment died a Darwinian death—a demise caused by inability to survive new forms of competition for existence and growth.

In the opinion of South America's president, innovation among division workers should connect to the change around them. Penetrating the continent had been a standing objective of South American Adventists. Evangelism, education, and medical services revolutionized after 1950, and there was reason to suppose that similar change would typify other programs. By 1980 the division introduced new activities in penetrating to the corners of South America.

THE RIVER LAUNCH MINISTRY MATURES

One of the most striking changes was a much broader view of health services that ranged from formal medical treatment on one hand to a variety of approaches to disaster-stricken people and the sick and the hungry as well as the *aficionados* of physical fitness. No single project satisfied all sectors of the public, but in the spectrum of services the church offered, there was something for everyone.

River launch ministry was an example. River travel was not revolutionary, but Adventists in South America had shown that rudimentary health care in the labyrinthian Amazon basin and other river systems could be a successful means to bring relief to the poverty-stricken. In 1950 the division had five launches in service, a fleet that had developed during the prior two decades. After 1950, new craft, some the size of floating clinics, replaced old models. The most dramatic change in river launches was one of scale and scope.

An awareness that the river launch program was achieving institutional status brought launch captains, mission directors, and union and division leaders together at Belém Adventist Hospital in June 1952 for a convention to study common needs and to systematize river launch ministry. Among the guests were Wayne McFarland of the General Conference Medical Department, Brazilian health officials, and political leaders. Before the gathering disbanded, Halliwell and McFarland staged a one-day model voyage on the Amazon.

The boatmen's concerns were many. The convention recommended a minimum crew of four—a husband and wife combination of captain and nurse, a male cook, and a boat boy. New rules required all launches to carry lifesaving equipment, water purification devices, and critical spare parts for repairs. Record keeping was also an important part of the work. Twice each year captains were to furnish four copies of the number of navigational hours they had put in during the previous six months, the number, length and location of their visits, kinds and number of maladies treated, and the nature of their treatments.

Boatmen placed evangelism high on their list of responsibilities. In addition to religious meetings, boat captains added cooking classes, health talks, and child-training sessions to their schedule. Prophetic charts, slides and projectors, literature, and sound amplification equipment were as much a part of the launches' cargo as was fuel.²

The captains wanted to meet again the next year and invite experts in nutrition and dermatology to conduct inservice training sessions, but they had to wait until 1955 for their next convention, a six-day affair in June, again at Belém. By then the fleet of launches had grown to nine, and they plied on other waters, among them the Araguaia River, the Mamore River that separated Brazil and Bolivia, and the coastal inland waterways in southern Brazil. For professional development the delegates listened to Howard Mozar and C. E. Counter, both from the College of Medical Evangelists in California, lecture on tropical medicine and skin ailments. Joining them were E. E. Bottsford and Gunther Ehlers, both physicians at the Belém hospital and knowledgeable about tropical maladies.³

The boatmen convened a third time at Belém, August 18-22, 1959. R. A. Olson, a North American physician, discussed procedures of diagnosis, but more significantly, two Brazilian doctors, Jetro Carvalho and Waldeyer Arouca, counseled captains and nurses about infant care, nutrition, and hygiene.⁴ Boat captains disclosed that they treated patients for intestinal parasites more frequently than any other malady. Teeth extractions and malaria were also high on the list.

A comparison between the first six months of 1957 and 1958 revealed that boat crews lived up to their pledge to conduct evangelism. Approximately 40,000 attended religious meetings and more than 200 were baptized. Boatmen were least successful with education classes for cooking, general health, and child training. Reports from eight launches for the same period in 1961 indicated similar trends, but they also indicated significant increases in the number of persons treated.⁵

Church leaders were pleased with the results the captains turned in. "Truly, the launch fleet is doing a marvelous work that could not be carried forward by any other means," L. H. Olson, division secretary, wrote. He commended boat crews for conducting evangelism but did not base his opinion only on that activity. "How we wish those who read this summary could spend a few days on one of these launches and get a direct view of the work done, and above all, the look of gratitude on the faces of those who have been blessed with this service."⁶

Olson's remarks indicated that while evangelism was an integral part of river launch ministry the program was also a denominational program of humanitarianism.

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At their first convention in 1952, boatmen and church leaders voted to offer their services free—they would turn no one away who could not pay for medicine or treatment. Such generosity was hard to conceal, even in the Amazon jungles.

In 1958 the Brazilian government awarded the Halliwells the National Order of the Southern Cross, an award to civilians for outstanding contributions to the country, but before Brazil's officials could award the decoration, Jessie and Leo retired to the United States. On July 27, 1959, the Brazilian government finally caught up with them at the Oregon Conference campmeeting, where Paulo Monteiro Lima, the Brazilian vice-consul from Portland, presented the medal. "It is conferred by the President of the Republic with approval of the Congress exclusively upon foreigners whom the Brazilian Government considers as having rendered outstanding service to Brazil," Monteiro Lima said, "a distinguished list to which the Halliwells are now added, even if in our hearts they are no longer foreigners." It was the first time in Brazilian history that a woman had received the medal.⁷

Brazil contributed more than decorations to show appreciation. L. C. Scofield, a North American worker, depended heavily on public money to build *Luminar II*, a forty-ton, sixty-foot floating clinic complete with examination rooms, pharmacy, X-ray lab, surgical facilities, and space for six patients. It was the first of its kind. "It took so long [to build] that we began to call it Noah's ark," Scofield joked, but there was no joking about what he did with it. The two-decked craft rose from a steel hull with water-tight compartments, an improvement over wooden craft that could break on hidden rocks. Its appearance on the São Francisco River was a "turning point in the attempt to display the light of Heaven to this dark valley," Scofield wrote.⁸

Scofield's routine began with a religious service, usually during the first night after anchoring at a community. Persons wishing medical treatment received tickets allowing them aboard the next day. Whether they liked it or not, all patients went through a series of blood tests and immunization shots before receiving treatment. In 1964 Scofield's crew took 6,000 X-rays, extracted nearly 8,000 teeth, and treated more than 9,000 cases of subnutrition. Comparing these figures with the total of 11,168 patients that Scofield's crew attended suggests that patients came with multiple maladies. The captain also conducted two major evangelistic campaigns and 333 other meetings.⁹

The appearance of the *Luminar II* marked the beginning of radical change in riverboat ministry. Some of the small launches continued, but larger, better equipped, double-decked craft began showing up as the older boats retired or were sold.

Through the 1970s these modernized boats, still called launches, dwarfed their earlier precursors in both size and service. On the Araguaia River such a vessel, the *Luzeiro do Araguaia*, replaced the *Pioneira* in 1977. Five years earlier the *Luzeiro d'Oeste* began a ministry along the Paraguai, São Lourenço, and Cuiabá rivers with headquarters at Corumbá, deep in Brazil's southern interior. On the Amazon the original *Luzeiro* multiplied into new crafts that Halliwell would not have recognized, such as the *Luzeiro XIV*, a sleek marine clinic. In 1979 the fifteenth *Luzeiro*, another large river vessel, went into service on the lower Amazon with José and Rosalinda de Gracia, mission appointees from Panama, in charge.¹⁰

At the end of 1980, the division maintained fourteen riverboats that reached an estimated 250,000 needy persons annually. Although only one, the *Luminar II*, could be classified as a floating hospital, medical services available on the new launches eclipsed what the original *Luzeiro* offered. Associated with these riverboats were nine doctors, seventeen nurses, and twenty-six other employees. All of this effort did not go unnoticed by the Brazilian government. In October 1980 the president of Brazil decorated Walter Streithorst, Halliwell's successor, for his twenty-seven years of humanitarian service in the Amazon region.¹¹

Through the years the division monitored the evangelistic impact of river launches. As early as 1953, five boat captains reported a combined total of more than 1,000 baptisms, fifteen organized congregations, and fifty-six companies, all embracing a membership exceeding 600. In their wake the boatmen also left schools. One, the Instituto Rural Luminar on the São Francisco River, consisted of a farm and orphanage where a hundred children attended in 1967.¹² Probably the best evidence that launches were evangelistically beneficial was the consistent support the church gave them.

Typically, the Adventist world associated medical launch service with Halliwell and the Amazon, but the fleet also plied the Araguaia and the São Francisco rivers and other streams in the upper Amazon region. Dating back to Stahl's mission in Iquitos, workers experimented with river launches that carried the name of *Auxiliadora*. In 1959 a North American physician furnished a large yacht-like craft, christened the *Auxiliadora II*, that operated in Iquitos and Pucallpa. Only mixed results came from this latest addition to the river fleet. It lasted less than a decade and was replaced in 1973 by a smaller, diesel-powered fiberglass pontoon boat.¹³

With E. E. Bottsford's lease of Guayaramerín Hospital also came an attempt to develop a medical launch program. The Enrique Markers, who transferred from Chile to Bolivia in 1955 to operate the craft that Bottsford had put into the Mamore

River, immediately perceived that the boat was too small. At a loss to know where or how to acquire a larger vessel, Marker decided to build one. He cut the wood from the jungle, and, with the help of a builder from Manaus, shaped the parts in a local shop. Bottsford furnished the motor, even though he had long since taken up work at Belém Adventist Hospital. Medical launch ministry continued intermittently in Bolivia through the mid-1960s but was phased out because of expense.¹⁴

To a degree, the quality of life aboard the launches improved with time, but most crew members found their work exhausting. Sometimes the crew took baths in the river or washed by dumping cans of water over themselves on the aft deck. Jeanine and Ronald Wearner on the *Luzeiro IV*, like their fellow boat families, boiled their drinking water and stored their food in sealed containers to avoid contamination from rodents that invaded the vessel when in port. Extermination of rats was always one of the first duties the crews fulfilled after putting out into the open river. Generators supplied power for appliances and lights. Wives stocked their pantry for three-month voyages, a problem that became more complicated if small children were on board. When tiny Kenny Wearner learned to walk, his mother dropped most of her duties as nurse on the *Luzeiro IV* in favor of chasing her son around the boat because no one else was available to keep him from tumbling into the Amazon.¹⁵

Boat captains accepted dangers on the rivers as a matter of course, and within reason they usually did not spare money for safety and maintenance. They were not always successful, but a minimum of accidents testifies that their precautions were worth the trouble. One of the leading safety concerns boatmen discussed at their first convention in 1952 was the risk of gasoline on board. Their recommendations specified strict precautions for containers and storage locations. A disaster in 1964 illustrated the issue. Hardly had the *Luminar III* entered service before it caught fire in Salvador Bay, Bahia. Loss of the vessel was serious enough, but eighteen-year-old Cecilio dos Santos, the boat boy, died in the flames. Officials blamed the gasoline engines for the tragedy, and M. S. Nigri lost no time recommending that captains should exchange their gasoline motors for diesel.¹⁶

As the fleet began to include large, commodious vessels in the 1960s, questions of bigger crews, expense, and relationship to other programs also arose. Consistent maintenance and other duties required captains to remove their craft from service about six months each year. Scofield voyaged about two hundred days a year, spending the remaining months painting and repairing the *Luminar II*; collecting medicine, clothes, and other supplies for trips the next season; and handling paperwork

connected with the boat. Small launches, such as the *Luminar I*, could get by for US\$3,500 a year at exchange rates of 1962, but larger vessels, such as the sixty-foot *Luzeiro IV*, could never function on such a small budget.

To keep their launches afloat, local fields had to scrape up the money, but in 1963 the division committee subsidized the North Brazil Union more than US\$10,500, only a fraction of the operating expense for the four craft in that field. To these funds, the union added about US\$5,000 for each boat. The captains still relied on local donations. Halliwell had depended on private gifts from friends in the United States, but Division President Aitken hoped to avoid that kind of solicitation by furnishing subsidies to the North Brazil Union. One of the most generous donors was Adventist businessman Milton Afonso. Large sums of government money from Brazil also became available, but instead of spending these funds on ordinary operating expenses, boat captains often used them for insurance and to maintain and renew their craft, to restock their medicine and other supplies, and to establish small medical stations along their way.¹⁷

Ronald and Jeanine Wearer kept their crew down to four, even though their boat, the *Luzeiro IV*, was as large as the *Luminar II*. The Wearers' living quarters were on the upper deck, and the clinic below, including a dental care unit. This arrangement provided a degree of family privacy and allowed Ronald to conduct clinic hours from dawn until dark every day, and then hold religious meetings. Besides captain, he was pastor of fifteen groups and congregations, and a jack-of-all trades on board. A larger crew would have made life easier, but operating with minimal manpower was traditional to river launch life.

While the *Luminar II*, the floating hospital Scolfield captained on the São Francisco River, was a major advance, its crew was larger than average—six or seven—but still small for the range of service they offered. The more sophisticated services they gave produced more expensive operations, which sponsoring fields often could not afford to duplicate.¹⁸

Motivating this ministry was the desire to penetrate the continent. In helping to achieve that objective, the boat captains successfully combined the gospel with humanitarianism and established an enduring legacy of missions in South America.

COMMUNICATION, AVIATION, AND MOBILE CLINICS

Communication was another problem that grew as the river fleet increased. Aitken complained openly about his inability to maintain constant knowledge of



the whereabouts of the boat captains. Radios solved the problem partially, but even this added luxury was not a panacea. A three-month absence by the *Luzeiro VI* from Manaus with no radio contacts caused worry in the division office, a concern that was exceeded by a sense of exasperation and helplessness when the captain returned without having pursued his normal activities because the launch had broken down. After the launch encountered problems, thirty days out of Manaus, the pilot had no choice but to leave his wife and child aboard while he returned for repair parts. Aitken argued that a denominational plane could have flown the parts to the distressed launchman in a few hours and avoided extensive delays, to say nothing about the personal danger to the stranded wife and baby.¹⁹

To rectify this problem, Aitken proposed to install short wave radios on all launches and to complement riverboat ministry with aviation. Walter Bolinger, a physics professor at North America's Pacific Union College, spent his summer vacation in 1965 installing radios in all launches on the Amazon and mission stations in the Inca Union.²⁰ This communication was a convenience that workers in the hinterlands, including the rivers, had not known before, but Aitken had even more ambitious plans in mind. With airplanes he could ferry patients from riverboats to Adventist hospitals and send evangelistic workers to respond to interested persons that boat captains had inspired but could not attend to because of their tight schedules and the slowness of the launches.

Air travel in the South American Division did not begin with Aitken. As early as February 1928, Ferdinand Stahl jungle-hopped from Iquitos to Lima, an adventure that he called the first missionary air trip in South America. To Stahl's misfortune, the airplane crashed, but he traveled on by other means, arriving in Lima shaken and bruised a bit, but otherwise in good spirits and unperturbed.²¹

Three years later, in January 1931, a crash of a mail and passenger plane near the Sutsique Mission led William Schaeffler, the mission director, to arrange with airline officials to clear an airstrip that would expedite communication between the missionaries and civilization. The Schaefflers were no strangers to air travel—they had made their first flight from Iquitos to Lima with their infant son. After installing the airstrip, the missionary family flew from San Ramón to Sutsique in twenty-four minutes, a trip that required four or five days by traditional methods.²²

As inspiring as was the Amazon basin to Aitken, the Inca Union fascinated him with the possibilities of air transportation. Intrigued by the remoteness, isolation, and vastness of the region still untouched by Adventist missions, he could not

shake the conviction that Adventist missions needed newer procedures to evangelize the jungle. Reading about the use of air travel in *Two Thousand Tongues to Go* and *Through Gates of Pearly Splendor*, both stories of the Wycliffe Bible Translators in South America, only confirmed his opinion.

Aitken's visit with Cameron Townsend, founder of the Translators, was almost embarrassing. After showing Aitken a well-organized jungle airbase, complete with repair hangars, Townsend chided, "You see our air bases here. We have all these facilities. The whole purpose for this is to bring the knowledge of the Bible to these people. Now, Brother Aitken, why aren't you Adventists out there doing something about this? . . . What has happened to the vision of Seventh-day Adventists? . . . Your boats are hung up on sand banks and things like that out there. Why don't you move out?"²³

"I just felt like that we couldn't take it lying down, and so I decided that we should do something about it," Aitken remembered.²⁴ When Rudolfo Belz, president of the East Brazil Union asked him to spend a month inspecting the river launches and other aspects of the union, he knew he had his chance to demonstrate how air travel could save time. With Belz and L. C. Scofield, he left Rio at 7:30 a.m. by commercial air liner to Belo Horizonte, where the trio rented a Beechcraft Bonanza to fly to four mission sites, returning home in Rio by 9:30 p.m., a fourteen-hour trip. "We had compressed a two-week itinerary into one day!" Belz wrote euphorically. Aitken also put it graphically. "Twenty-five-hundred kilometers of visits instead of a month of hotel bills and wasted time and energy," he wrote General Conference president Figuhr, trying to generate support for mission airplanes.²⁵

Even more impressive was John Elick and Aitken's flight with an evangelical pilot to several Adventist outstations along the rivers. "In one day we made a journey that would have required about three months by dugout canoe," Elick remarked, mindful that Adventists were working among only eight of the forty tribes in the Peruvian jungle. Aitken and Elick were not waiting for the formalities of official action to introduce airplanes to the Inca Union. By the time Elick wrote his story for the *Review*, weeks after his trip, mission directors had already cleared airstrips at several stations to allow planes with conventional landing gear rather than float planes only to make flights.²⁶

To introduce aviation into South America, Aitken benefitted from Inter-America's experience with planes that began more than a decade earlier. When W. E. Baxter, Jr., joined the faculty at Escuela Vocacional y Profesional in Montemorelos, Mexico, in 1948, he took an airplane with him. Ten years later the entire denomination saw the

results of Baxter's work when the Inter-American Division featured air ambulance service at Montemorelos Hospital in its booth at the 1958 General Conference session. It was at this gathering that Aitken became president of the South American Division.²⁷

Aitken probed attitudes at world headquarters, which brought a favorable response from W. R. Beach, who had been to Mexico and flown with Baxter. Once in South America, Aitken was convinced that he would not be able to pioneer an aviation program unless he knew how to fly. Consequently, he took lessons and received a pilot's license while on a furlough in the United States. Meanwhile, an airstrip and buildings were under construction at Pucallpa, Peru. Aitken did not return to South America empty-handed. He had purchased a used Helio Courier, an aircraft engineered to take off and land on strips of 300 feet or less.²⁸

The Helio Courier itself was still in the United States, where ninety-three-year-old Ana Stahl had christened it the *Fernando Stahl* by smashing a bottle of orange juice on its nose. In March 1964 Clyde Peters, a former spray pilot at the University of Nebraska, flew the plane to Lima, aided by a pilot from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. On June 29 he piloted it to Pucallpa. In his first ten days as mission pilot, the new missionary saved three lives and transported seventy persons a total of 5,400 miles. The effect of this service was electrifying. Less than a year after the *Fernando Stahl's* arrival, T. R. Flaiz reported that plans were underway to assign a second plane to Pucallpa, remarking that "those who have not observed the barriers to free transportation over these long distances in the jungles of South America can scarcely appreciate what air transportation means to our mission operation, and particularly to our medical work in this difficult field."²⁹

Air service expanded rapidly. Less than two years after Peters arrived in Pucallpa, tribespeople gouged more than a score of airstrips out of the jungle so the plane could set down in their villages and mission stations. When the South American Division celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, a special edition of *Revista Adventista* announced that thirty-five landing fields existed in the jungles. Alfredo and Flora Kalbermatter, nurses from River Plate Sanitarium, joined the mission at Pucallpa to take charge of treatments for fifty to seventy-five patients daily. Robert Seamount, former member of the King's Heralds Quartet, moved to Pucallpa with his wife, Ellen, and took over the air service program. Accompanying the Seamounts for a few months were Walter Bolinger and his wife from Pacific Union College. Seamount, an experienced radioman as well as pilot, and Bolinger, a physics professor, spent weeks installing radios at mission stations and river launches.

It was clear to the Seamounts that air service took precedence over even their personal needs. When they ran out of construction money before building their house, they moved into the plane hangar. While Seamount flew and supervised repairs, his wife assisted with radio communication to surrounding villages.³⁰

The fleet of planes was also growing. In October 1965 Peters flew a Piper Supercub to Lima from Brownsville, Texas. The new plane would be available for small flights and leave the Helio Courier for larger assignments. Five months later he flew a second Supercub from Lima to Pucallpa after dedication ceremonies at a youth congress at Inca Union College. Richard Hayden, a worker with more than thirty years of service in the Inca Union, helped to unveil this plane that was named after him.³¹ Richard Gates, following Aitken's example, spent his furlough in 1965 taking flying lessons and receiving instrument rating. With no intentions of letting these credentials remain idle, he and a friend flew a Cessna 170B into his field around Guayaramerín.³²

For Aitken these events were marks of progress, but at world headquarters church leaders seasoned his exuberance with caution, which precipitated a flurry of arguments flying back and forth between Montevideo and Washington. A particularly thorny question was whether plane service absorbed funds that were tagged for medical launches. Aitken protested that the question only emphasized his point. Even though they had served the division well, launches were slow, expensive, and inefficient, and for those reasons Inca Union leaders had phased some of them out. South America had no plans to scuttle its river launch program, but Aitken argued that with planes workers could support the boats and accomplish much more in less time with improved economy.

Another problem was the lack of a denominational policy governing the use of planes. Policies existed in North America, which Aitken believed applied, *de facto*, to South America. He assured General Conference leaders that he would not exceed those policies, but he promised that South America would develop a set of division regulations upon the advice of flyers and mechanics whom he was requesting. When Aitken requested a float plane for Manaus as a support to the launch ministry, the General Conference established an ad hoc committee to investigate how real the needs were. Approval came soon thereafter, but the General Conference ad hoc committee threw up another obstacle, claiming that the growing number of planes in South America violated policy because a general approval for air service did not mean that the world headquarters consented to every aircraft.³³

Aitken interpreted the policy differently. He argued that after an air service program in South America received the blessing of world headquarters, importing planes was a decision to be made in Montevideo, not Washington. This would comply with policies that were in effect in North America. The misunderstandings between the South American Division and General Conference leaders rested on what N. W. Dunn of the world headquarters secretariat admitted was conservatism in Washington.

The climate in Washington did not radically change, but at least momentarily the air cleared, thanks to some quick thinking by Aitken. Knowing that Dunn was scheduled to visit South America during the last weeks of 1965, he planned to demonstrate what planes meant to the division by flying him to places that needed air service. After his itinerary Dunn lost his cautious attitude. "I believe God has led you brethren to attempt a more efficient evangelistic and supervisory program for the jungle," he wrote to Aitken. "I am fully convinced that the key to success in the jungle areas is the carefully planned use of the small airplane." In the following months, the General Conference approved of additional planes for Bolivia, Brazil, and Peru.³⁴

Dunn may have been convinced, but his visit did not completely eradicate what he called conservatism at the General Conference. Church leaders continued to require approval for each plane brought to the division and regarded privately owned craft as a violation of denominational policy. Apprehension about liability for workers flying their own planes and concern that service was expanding too rapidly prompted a denial to the request to add a third airplane in Bolivia.³⁵

Much of the impetus for aviation vanished when Aitken transferred to the United States after the 1966 General Conference session. R. A. Wilcox, who followed him, possessed neither the credentials nor the enthusiasm for air ministry that Aitken had. Prompted in part by more stringent legislation in Brazil affecting importing planes, in September 1967 Wilcox submitted a revised policy proposal to control both private and official planes in South America. Personally owned craft, financed and sponsored without denominational approval, were the primary object of his concern. "It is time to turn off the motor," he wrote to David Baasch, associate secretary of the General Conference, referring to this category of planes.³⁶

Near-tragedy struck the aviation program, raising once again the matter of safety. On February 25, 1967, Clyde Peters and his family narrowly avoided drowning when he failed to execute a takeoff from a soggy airstrip at Amacaria, Peru, and nosed the *Fernando Stahl* into the Ucayali River. The accident was not a reflection on the

skills of either Peters or Seamount, according to J. R. Spangler, at the time visiting South America from the General Conference Ministerial Association, but was rather a matter of an airstrip temporarily damaged by weather.

Describing the escape of all passengers as miraculous, Spangler added that he hoped the loss would “in no way militate against the use of planes, but rather should give us greater impetus to put more planes in use.” He observed that “the increase in the tempo of our evangelistic program has been tremendous since the introduction of these planes,” and that in the Inca Union several workers had died in automobile accidents during 1966, obviously inferring that the safety issue was not a valid reason to terminate mission aviation in South America.³⁷

Although the expansion of air services slowed, it did not stop. Only days following Peters’s crash, M. S. Nigri wrote from the division office that “we shall continue to support the aviation program.” A year later Wilcox himself participated in the dedication of the *Fernando Stahl II* during the Inca Union annual meeting.³⁸ The first float plane for the Amazon was christened the *Leo Halliwell* at Andrews University on November 5, 1967. Its promoters predicted that workers would be able to cut long trips, one lasting as long as four weeks, to less than an hour. Seven years later a second *Leo Halliwell*, with larger cargo space, replaced the well-used original. These amphibious craft fulfilled Aitken’s proposal to make the ministry of launch captains more efficient. Flying directly to the side of one of the *Luzeiros*, these small water craft would bring needed supplies to launch crews and sometimes transfer emergency patients to hospitals.³⁹

Like all new phases of technology, planes did not produce results exactly as workers originally thought. Probably early promoters of mission aviation visualized a jungle opening to them as they penetrated its depths with their planes. Such a movement would have required more aircraft than the few—both official and private—that workers brought to South America. It is doubtful that planes enabled workers to establish missions among untouched tribes as rapidly as they anticipated. By 1965 twenty-three villages in the Inca Union had cleared airstrips from the jungle. At the year-end meetings in that field, N. W. Dunn learned that pastors had baptized 200 new members where they took in only twenty-five the previous year.⁴⁰ Ten years after Clyde Peters began his aviation ministry, Wellesley Muir, a former worker in the Lake Titicaca Mission, observed that while the fortunes of the church improved because Peruvians in high places appreciated the humanitarianism associated with the *Fernando Stahl*, twenty-five tribes of indigenous peoples still lived beyond the range of Adventist missions.⁴¹

In 1980 the South American Division maintained air service at three airbases—the original center at Pucallpa, Peru, the second in eastern Bolivia, and the third at Manaus, Brazil.⁴² After nearly twenty years of promotion by a few enthusiastic church administrators and mission pilots, the notion of aviation ministry had still not caught on as had launches. Similar to some of the launches, planes were perceived as too expensive for local missions and unions to support. In addition, some leaders possibly regarded aircraft as too dangerous to justify their risk, an attitude that forced planes to the periphery of church activities.

Whatever the expenses and risks were, enough support remained to keep a few in the air. With occasionally dramatic emphasis, pilots could point to exciting experiences that demonstrated the benefits of air service. Minimizing the expense and risks, they argued consistently that air travel was as important to workers in the hinterlands as automobiles were to their counterparts in urban missions. To this group, airplanes were the only way to penetrate the vastness of South America effectively in the late twentieth century. Despite their place in the history of South America, planes remained a controversial element in the division.

Another application of technology to Adventist outreach in South America was the mobile clinic. The first to appear was in Bolivia in 1958 where Burton Keppler, a North American nurse, improvised a rolling clinic out of a four-wheel-drive International Travelall. Keppler drove this vehicle to scores of villages where he pulled teeth, performed laboratory analyses, and lectured on both health and spiritual topics. Included in his equipment was a small refrigerator for medicines, a portable dental chair, microscope, generator, projector, and films.

Keppler usually stopped at a convenient public center, such as a school, to spend a day or more extracting rotten teeth and vaccinating children for small pox, whooping cough, and diphtheria. In the evenings he counseled patients about nutrition and hygiene. Sometimes he would pack only the most essential equipment on a mule and pick his way along a trail to a remote village too isolated to reach with his vehicle.

Keppler's itinerary required more than a year to complete. "This is probably the first such clinic anywhere, but it is certainly my prayer that it will not long be the only one," he wrote. "Here in Bolivia alone several could be used to great advantage. There are tremendous areas with thousands of villages and hundreds of thousands of inhabitants that are awaiting their first visit."⁴³

Clinics on wheels increased more slowly than Keppler wanted. The experiment in Bolivia did not last long, but workers elsewhere found the idea challenging enough

to try. Brazil put its first mobile clinic on the road at Parnaíba, Piauí, in the North Coast Mission. In 1966 workers driving this vehicle held twenty-one evangelistic campaigns, a number equal to those sponsored by all of the launch captains and airplane pilots in the entire division. The 9,000 persons the rolling clinic reached with medical aid exceeded the number of patients that several of the launches reported. At the same time, another clinic on wheels operated out of Juliaca, Peru. Later, the church provided the mobile medical service to Lima, Peru, and its environs.⁴⁴

Not until the 1970s did rolling clinics make a strong impact. In 1974 the division reported fifteen on the road, nine more than during the previous year. All but one functioned out of Brazilian communities. This sudden rise was a direct result of the Brazilian government's push to build the TransAmazon Highway and develop the country's interior. Aware of the reputation that Adventist launches had gained, officials of Funrural, Brazil's social service agency for rural regions, agreed to provide four mobile clinics to serve construction workers who were hewing the new road out of the wilderness. Later, additional contracts raised the total to more than twenty clinics on wheels. Funrural donated salaries and medicines besides paying for operating expenses.

These clinics displayed Funrural logos, which identified them as government vehicles that functioned under contract with the Adventist church. Broadly speaking, their task was to assist in the development of Brazil. The estimated value of the agreement was nearly 11,000,000 *cruzeiros*. While this arrangement smacked somewhat of earlier agreements between the denomination and the municipality at Chulumani, Bolivia, the church was able to make its identity known. Soon after launching the program, nurses in the rolling medical aid stations extended their attention to inhabitants of the region as well as the highway workers.⁴⁵

In a sense, airplanes, launches, and rolling clinics bore a similar stamp—they all made medical aid portable and represented positive action in searching out the sick in remote areas where clinics or hospitals did not exist. Nurses rather than doctors usually directed a launch or rolling clinic, but airplane pilots rarely were professionally trained in health care.

Recognizing the similarities among these three categories of mobile medical units, division officers called pilots and directors of launches and rolling clinics together in 1968 to discuss ways to improve and coordinate their work. The group met in a public library in Manaus from April 30 to May 4, and they passed on to the division committee a set of recommendations for inservice training workshops

and better integration with local medical units and personnel. They also requested a two-month apprenticeship for launch captains, advocated compliance with local laws governing the use of vehicles and watercraft, and suggested an increase in the number of mobile clinics.⁴⁶

Again in 1974 the same group of workers met in Brasília to take classes in emergency accident treatment and medical missionary work. Physicians helped the division officers conduct the convention. A trend that had become obvious by the time of this meeting was the growing tendency to associate launches, planes, and rolling clinics with the welfare branch of the church. Daniel Nestares, division medical secretary, observed that wherever these mobile units went they carried the name of the denominational social assistance agency.⁴⁷

Nestares's remarks reminded the Adventist world that the growing medical missionary program was too costly for local missions and conferences to bear alone. He was also confirming the distinction between professional medical ministry by doctors and a less sophisticated health care available as charity in endemic or emergency conditions. To place river launches, planes, and rolling clinics under the direction of *Obra Filantrópica y Asistencia Social Adventista* in the Spanish countries and *Assistência Social Adventista* in Brazil, also put them side by side with the disaster relief and community service arm of the church rather than with the Medical Department.

This practice was not a sudden event but rather a trend that reflected the denominational tendency to regard chronic problems such as malnutrition and poverty as much an object of church welfare as victims of disasters. This trend was evidence of growing support for the church's humanitarian program that emerged from welfare societies in local churches.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN HEALTH FOOD AND PUBLISHING

Another aspect of Adventism in South America that touched the well-being of the public was health food production. Since the late 1930s, this industry had been a part of the ministry of the church in Argentina and Brazil. During the 1970s, significant changes revealed different perceptions of health food factories and altered their impact on the public. Applying marketing techniques to vegetarian restaurants was the pivotal change.

It was probably a new factory for Superbom that Brazil College dedicated in 1960 that set off a wave of optimism about expansion. Soon after the inauguration ceremony, the division committee voted to centralize the food industry by using

Superbom as a brand name for all products of Adventist food in Brazil.⁴⁸ The committee also asked Brazil College to plan to erect food processing plants at other institutions in Brazil, but the circle of industries did not materialize.⁴⁹ It was the plan for all factories to become branches of the central plant in São Paulo.

In 1969 the college relinquished control of Superbom to the division; the following year South America organized a health food department. Leaders of this new entity immediately began studying methods to improve both the efficiency and quality of their food and marketing techniques. One of the first results was to organize all food production into a division health food company that coordinated but did not manage the separate factories.⁵⁰

More action came in 1973 when Superbom opened a vegetarian restaurant on the third floor of a commercial building in São Paulo. Individuals had experimented with similar enterprises, but this was the first denominational eating establishment in South America. Within a week 150 hungry and health-conscious customers were climbing the three stories to eat their noon meal at *Restaurante Vegetariano*. "This restaurant opens a new era for our work in Brazil," M. S. Nigri wrote.⁵¹

Adventists soon discovered that Superbom had a message for them as well as the public. Aware that by tradition South Brazil was less than friendly to vegetarianism, Superbom administrators organized a vegetarian congress in August 1975 that began on a Friday evening in one of São Paulo's churches. Healthful diets monopolized the discussion of the 600 adults who attended. By Sunday the crowd had dwindled to eighty, who watched demonstrations of vegetarian meal preparation, but both Superbom officials and R. S. Ferreira, manager of the restaurant, regarded the weekend a success.⁵²

The restaurant flourished. By the end of 1974, the noon meal was averaging 300 customers. A second establishment in 1977 raised this figure to 700. To increase the spiritual impact of mealtime, Superbom hired a chaplain to eat regularly with customers and mix freely among them, chatting about Adventism to everyone from Catholic clerics to business executives who patronized the enterprise. A third restaurant in Belo Horizonte raised the total meals to nearly a thousand meals daily. By 1979 eight public eating places were operating in the division.

To get a literal flavor of the Adventist movement in South America, Alf Lohne, a General Conference vice president visiting the division in 1979, sampled a meal in one of the São Paulo restaurants. After listening to glowing reports of its success, he expected to find a spacious room with attractive windows opening to the

teeming public. He was more than a little taken aback when his hosts took him to the third and fourth floor business, advertised by only one sign. To make matters more unlikely, patrons could reach it only by elevator.

Lohne quickly learned that the meals had advertised themselves. He had to stand in line to ride up to the third floor, only to wait again for a table. For about US\$2.15 he picked the ingredients for his own salad from a salad bar, drank all the grape juice he wanted, downed a bowl of soup, and devoured a vegetarian plate and desert. During the five days of the work week about a thousand persons daily kept the waitresses and cooks busy for four hours from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Impressed businesses in São Paulo were badgering Superbom to cater meals for their employees, but restaurant managers refused, arguing that patrons had to come to them. It was in keeping with the ultimate intention of Adventist food service to attract customers where Chaplain Jairus could strike up a friendship and promote health, temperance, and Bible studies. Baptisms resulted from his work.⁵³

While the restaurants teased the public's taste buds with new foods, the factories prospered. During the post-World War II era, South America's food industry grew to be the denomination's third largest—only North America and Australia hired more employees. In 1980 more than 900 persons, both students and full-time workers, kept the food plants going. This statistic was a direct result of one of the principles the newly-formed division food company adopted in 1971—to provide work opportunities for students in Adventist schools and also for church members who may have encountered problems trying to find jobs that allowed them to be free on Sabbath. In time the circle of establishments grew beyond Granix in Buenos Aires and Superbom at São Paulo to include a Superbom branch at Chillán, Chile, and Frutigran at Uruguay Academy. In 1978 these four companies turned a profit of US\$1,500,000.⁵⁴

The increasing size of the division health food company demanded improved monitoring and encouragement. In 1979 food plant managers and church administrators gathered at São Paulo to discuss the mission of health food ministry. Of special interest were discussions about evangelism stemming from vegetarian restaurants as well as coordination of aims and purposes with other denominational institutions. Although it was a profitable business, for South American Adventists the food industry was another method to spread the word.⁵⁵

It is safe to generalize that in all of its ramifications, South America's ministry to the physical well-being of people, from hospitals to civic development, represented

a massive movement to adapt Adventism to the needs of the contemporary world. But never did church leaders believe that this movement diminished the essential character of the scriptural foundations of the church. To recognize that the church needed to change its approaches to remain abreast of a changing world was a philosophical question. To implement that notion was a practical one. There is little doubt that as a result the public viewed Seventh-day Adventists differently in 1980 than in the pre-World War II period.

Even literature production and sales, the most traditional of all phases of Adventist outreach except preaching, could not escape the inexorable modernization process. Through the thirty years beginning in 1950, Brazil's Casa Publicadora became one of the denomination's most prolific manufacturers of books and periodicals. Although its production also advanced, Casa Editora in Argentina did not keep pace with its Brazilian counterpart; nevertheless, the combined record of the two houses ranked the South American Division as one of the foremost fields in the Adventist world for consistent and effective literature distribution.

In 1953 total sales in the South American Division exceeded US\$1,000,000 for the first time. Three years later the Brazilian press became the first Adventist publishing house outside North America to record more than a million dollars in sales in a single year. Again in 1968 Casa Publicadora was the first to surpass the two million mark, and by 1980 it reached an astounding US\$15,000,000. The combined sales of Casa Editora and Casa Publicadora approached \$18,000,000. With 226 employees the Brazilian plant was the largest printing establishment in the Adventist world beyond the United States.⁵⁶

Achievements did not always come easily, especially in the case of Casa Editora, which suffered more than its share of problems. The post-World War II era started off on a pessimistic note when import regulations in Chile forced the Argentine plant to establish a branch in Santiago. The plan was to contract with non-Adventist firms to print literature supplied by editors in Buenos Aires, but in 1964 Casa Editora donated minimal equipment to print necessary reading materials for the local Chilean market. The Argentine house also maintained other depositories in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. At times Casa Editora found it necessary to invest in the branches in order to keep them afloat.⁵⁷

In 1948 trouble arose at Casa Editora over legal rights to use the name *Atalaya* for the Spanish missionary paper. Attempts by church officials failed to settle the issue amicably with another publisher that proposed to use the same name, and

in the ensuing litigation, the judge ruled against Casa Editora. In 1956, after an eight-year battle that drained financial resources and sapped emotional energy, the forty-three-year-old missionary paper changed its name to *Vida Feliz*.⁵⁸

But woes at Casa Editora were not over. In July 1974 a fire destroyed the library and archives of the plant. Firemen soaked the fifty-year-old building with water and saved the printing equipment, but the editorial offices, and photography and art studios went up in smoke. Also gone were priceless collections of irreplaceable literature produced in South America since Frank Westphal began *El Faro* in 1897.

“Although it was heartbreaking to see the smoky, water-soaked ruins, and to see the sky through the few partly charred beams that were the only remains of the roof, the publishing house workers did not feel discouraged,” Hector Peverini wrote. He and Gaston Clouzet, editor in chief, met beside the smouldering building with an “embrace of solidarity,” determining to put the disaster behind them as quickly as possible. Orlando Cesán, plant manager, spent no time in mourning, but continued printing with the undamaged equipment that remained. Reconstruction began almost immediately. On April 27 and 28, 1978, division and publishing house officials welcomed visiting dignitaries to the official opening of the rebuilt press, although the new plant had been in operation long before.⁵⁹

While struggling with these issues, the management of Casa Editora continually faced an inflationary Argentine economy. Unfavorable exchange rates in foreign currencies repeatedly bit chunks from publishing house profits and sometimes inflicted losses on transactions involving other countries. By 1978 the unstable Argentine *peso* was inflating at an annual rate of 160 percent. At the same time, a drop in the number of *colporteurs* raised questions about whether or not the plant could continue operations, despite reconstruction after the fire.⁶⁰

Casa Publicadora also faced financial challenges. The three and a half decades after 1945 were economically volatile in Brazil, characterized by sometimes shaky governments with unbalanced budgets and falling monetary values. Momentarily in the 1950s, these problems paled in the light of Brasília, the new national capital in the state of Goiás, which engendered national pride and captured international imagination with its spectacular architecture. The new city became one of the most costly items on the public agenda, but it seemed to symbolize the will of Brazilians to prosper, no matter the price. Despite unstable times, the economy continued to expand, although Brazilians paid for their prosperity with inflation that at times was out of hand.

Casa Publicadora was not immune to these national moods. It began the decade of the 1950s with sales of nearly US\$630,000 and six years later exceeded \$1,135,000. During the 1960s its rise to the top of the list of Adventist presses outside North America furnished evidence that it was able to keep going in spite of economic challenges.⁶¹

Beginning in the 1940s Casa Publicadora lost employees who had been bright lights that had served the publishing industry for years and had provided stability and continuity to the press. Augusto Pages, a pillar of strength since his arrival in Brazil from Germany in 1905, retired in 1941. As a result of personnel changes in the 1940s, some of the best writers left the house to connect with other phases of church work. Hardly had the 1950s begun when the new manager, Domingos Peixoto da Silva, installed only two years earlier in 1949, left to take charge of more immediately pressing responsibilities relating to religious liberty and public affairs in Brazil. Another symbol of longevity, Leopoldo Preuss, who landed in Brazil from Germany in 1905 to put the press into working order at Taquari, retired in 1961 after a career of fifty-six years. Later, in 1965, Luiz Waldvogel, whom Rubens Lessa calls the most prolific Adventist writer in Brazil, retired after spending an entire career at the press.⁶²

If the departure of these personalities exerted a negative impact on Casa Publicadora, the record does not reveal it. Other faces appeared that gave the publishing house new energy and direction. During the 1960s the house produced 111 new works, the most of any decade in its history. The following decade eighty-eight new titles came off the press, a lesser figure, but nonetheless an effective showing. The pressroom underwent dramatic expansion in 1956, and during the 1960s a large three-story building went up, providing new space for the administration, library, and the editing and art departments.⁶³

At the heart of literature production and distribution were colporteurs who became known as literature evangelists. From 1945 to 1980, their number rose from 452 to 689 throughout the division. When compared to the overall growth of the South American Division, this increase is not striking, but the number does not reveal all of the facts. Publishing secretaries could only guess how high the total went when it included students and part-time salesmen. In 1978 the all-inclusive figure for Brazil alone approximated 3,000. Breaking down the total figure also indicates that the increases in literature evangelists were largely a Brazilian phenomenon. During the 1970s the number of bookmen actually decreased in the Spanish fields,

and by 1980 their number did not differ much as compared to 1945. By contrast, in 1980 three of every four literature evangelists in South America worked in Brazil.⁶⁴

Improved techniques also increased book sales. In 1951 Casa Editora participated in a book fair, “Feria del Libro,” in Buenos Aires, and later began selling literature through selected retailers in the Argentine capital. Book fairs continued as a phase of public relations to boost sales.⁶⁵ To keep up with orders, the presses at Casa Editora ran round the clock in 1953, and still the manager had to contract some work to complete it. At the same time, book agents in Brazil entered factories, business firms, and even military establishments, sometimes canvassing the same place three times in a single year. In 1955 the division Publishing Department announced that book sales were up 40 percent.

Casa Publicadora raised its annual total of books from 190,000 copies in 1954 to 535,000 only two years later, and like Casa Editora, its equipment ran twenty-four hour schedules. In South America Adventist literature was spreading like the leaves of autumn, to use a favorite denominational figure of speech. “Perhaps there is no other place in the world where literature is sold so widely and so successfully as in Brazil,” R. R. Fighur wrote from Washington.⁶⁶

Not to be outdone by their colleagues on medical launches, some colporteurs used riverboats as a means to penetrate the Amazon basin with literature. This practice harked back to Hans Mayr and Andre Gedrath, members of the original mission to Belém who built and operated colporteur launches beginning in 1927. Church leaders viewed the new launches as part of the river ministry, naming some of them *Luzeiro*, but followed by a “C” and a number to designate them as colporteur craft, although the crews often administered medical aid.⁶⁷

To encourage reading among Adventists in the Spanish fields, Casa Editora initiated its successful Open House program in 1978, an occasion when church members visited the plant to acquaint themselves with the industry, attend seminars, and purchase literature at promotional rates. Casa Publicadora also started an Open House tradition in 1979. At the Brazilian house, book circulation attained unprecedented levels. Between the date of its beginning until 1950, Casa Publicadora published sixteen different titles that surpassed 1,000,000 in circulation; in 1979 alone Casa Publicadora published more than 1,000,000 volumes.⁶⁸

Such a heavy schedule inflicted a toll on equipment. In 1955 most of the machines in Casa Editora were about thirty years old and replacements were hard to import. But conditions changed dramatically. Slightly more than a year later, Samuel Alberro,

plant manager, announced that the house acquired a new linotype machine and two reconditioned models. Within the following months, the General Conference shipped US\$100,000 in new equipment. Both the Brazilian and Argentine publishing houses repeatedly added new equipment to remain competitive.⁶⁹

Penetrating the continent also meant improving the market for literature within the church. In July 1973, after months of negotiation and planning that began at the 1972 Annual Council in México City, the *Review* appeared in three different Spanish editions, one becoming the general church paper for the South American Division. Four and a half years later, in January 1979, a Brazilian *Revista Adventista* went into circulation for Brazil. The difference between these papers and the long standing *Revista Adventista* that Brazilian and Hispanic readers had read for years in South America was the attempt to create digests of the North American edition.⁷⁰ However, the Brazilian and Argentine papers continued as predominantly South American periodicals.

To facilitate the production of Spanish publications, representatives from the General Conference, both the South American and Inter-American divisions, North America's Pacific Press, and the Argentine and Brazilian publishing houses formed a committee that met in July 1974 at Miami Beach, Florida, in the United States. Among their decisions were plans to produce materials from the General Conference departments, to publish textbooks for Bible classes in denominational schools, to assign specific books to specific publishing houses, and to improve working relationships with Adventist Book Centers.⁷¹

Two years later in São Paulo, the group reassembled, this time including the managers of the Spanish Publishing House in Madrid and Casa Publicadora. For the publishing houses represented at this meeting, production of Adventist literature had become an enterprise amounting to US\$13,000,000, or about 16 percent of the entire Adventist publishing industry. Again, the group discussed methods of supplying literature to both members and nonmembers.⁷²

Ranking high on the agenda at the Miami meeting in 1974 was the promotion of Spirit of Prophecy books. Already Spanish and Portuguese translations provided greater availability of Ellen White's writings than in any languages except English. During the preceding five years, Casa Publicadora and Casa Editora had published more than 1,000,000 Spirit of Prophecy volumes, but church leaders sensed a need to encourage Adventists themselves, both laymen and workers, to read these works. The following year during a special campaign, the South American publishing

houses each produced 15,000 copies of *Ministry of Healing*, 10,000 in paperback from Casa Publicadora. Accompanied by a guide book, the package sold quickly. While division leaders were happy with the results of this project, they viewed the 30,000 distributed copies as only a partial rather than a major success.⁷³

The ultimate test for literature evangelism was its impact on church growth. Nelci Viegas, division publishing secretary, offered an insight into what multi-million literature sales accomplished. Reports for 1978 showed that 1,219 new members in South America owed their baptisms to canvassers, but Viegas was not satisfied with that record. Additional information that was coming showed “that in the past year these workers brought more than 5,000 people to Christ,” he declared.⁷⁴

Facts and figures from South American publishing enterprises in 1980 showed how far the traditions of literature distribution had gone since Snyder, Nowlen, and Stauffer began canvassing in Argentina in 1891. Thousands had followed them, penetrating to the corners of the continent. The few crates of books that the original trio brought with them had grown to twenty-four periodicals and scores of books with millions of copies. The earnings of the first colporteurs grew to exceed US\$17,000,000 in total retail sales in 1980. Times had changed, but the literature evangelists who still went from door to door or arranged to sell to large groups were still the cutting edge of Adventism.⁷⁵

SOUTH AMERICA'S POSTWAR YOUTH MOVEMENT

After World War II it was inevitable that programs for the division's youth would change. What occurred in youth ministries in South America after 1950 became a denominational byword. “Before going to South America,” Alf Lohne wrote after his trip in 1979, “I had been told that our church there is made up predominantly of young people. But even this didn't prepare me for what I saw.” To his surprise, the majority of the 500 persons who listened to his sermon in Belo Horizonte were under thirty. Lohne was still excited about that demonstration of youth power when he and Walter Streithorst spoke to 2,000 in the afternoon, again largely a youth audience.⁷⁶

Most denominational leaders perceived such a large proportion of young as boding well for the church, but they realized that retaining the loyalty of teenagers and young adults was singularly challenging. Enoch Oliveira alluded to this aspect of Adventism when he told the 1980 General Conference session that 55 percent of South America's population was under twenty-one years old and that the division had set a number of programs in motion to win and hold converts from this group.⁷⁷

The momentum of youth ministry began building in the 1950s. What took place were traditional youth congresses emphasizing consecration to the principles of Adventism and service to the church. South America's Missionary Volunteer Department reached a milestone in July 1956 when 3,000 youth traveled to the plush Quitandinha Hotel in Rio de Janeiro for the first division youth congress. Jairo T. Araújo, division Missionary Volunteer secretary, organized the meetings that E. L. Minchin of the General Conference described as deeply spiritual. Five days of programs featured guest speakers, phases of division history staged by actors, and the colorful diversity of nationalities within the division.⁷⁸

After the gathering at the Quitandinha, Araújo took Minchin around the division for fourteen smaller meetings. "Thousands more of our youth were enlisted in a crusade for Christ," Minchin reported. A second division-wide congress in Curitiba gave more impetus to youth assemblies. In August 1959, 10,000 gathered under one roof in São Paulo to commemorate forty years of youth activity in Brazil. It was one of the largest Adventist gatherings in South America up to that time. Events were showing that the decades-old tradition of youth congresses had not died, but youth leaders were transforming them into youth activist events in support of public well-being and evangelism. When the East Brazil Union planned a six-day session in Belo Horizonte in 1973, Adventist youth asked for and got a spot in a central plaza where they erected a permanent model of the ten commandments.⁷⁹

Six years later about 1,500 youth duplicated that event in Fortaleza where they gathered for a large congress called a Festival of Faith. It was the first of a series of three in the division, which Mario Veloso, South America's youth leader, executed with John Hancock of the General Conference. The second meeting drew 5,000 to Campinas, São Paulo. The spirit of conviction among the youth was deep. In order to attend, a group of 127 lived with local non-Adventist families, all of whom showed up for the opening meeting. So stirred was the city from the influence of Adventist youth that the West São Paulo Conference planned an evangelistic series. From Campinas, Veloso and Hancock moved on to Lima, Peru, for their third Festival of Faith.⁸⁰

Commitment to congresses by South American youth and their leaders enabled them to transform tragedy into a witnessing exercise. Early in the morning of December 22, 1973, a busload of youth who had attended the meetings in Gramado, Rio Grande do Sul, and were traveling home to São Paulo, collided with a truck carrying steel beams. Nineteen died along with the two bus drivers. Only months before he died, one of the victims of the crash had originated Heart to Heart, a

program of carrying roses to patients in hospitals in São Paulo. All of Brazil heard of the tragedy and wept with relatives at a mass funeral in the Central São Paulo church on Christmas Day. Many Paulistas were too touched to celebrate the holiday. In the aftermath the media emblazoned Adventism across the country, and relatives and friends of the dead experienced spiritual renewal.⁸¹

To prevent these congresses from becoming commonplace, youth directors sometimes startled a community with temperance marches or assistance to needy families. Iquique, Chile, was the scene of an anti-drug march in 1972 when the North Chile Conference held a youth congress. Accompanied by an Air Force band, delegates began their walk through the city on the steps of the Iquique church and ended in the central plaza where both José Vianna of the division and Lawrence Nelson of the General Conference appealed to the crowd to abstain from narcotics. Earlier, the manikin, Ferdinand Colilla, Chile's equivalent of North America's Smoking Sam, attracted much attention. Leaders of several youth organizations joined the Adventist demonstration that closed with singing the Chilean National Anthem.⁸²

Youth at the Belo Horizonte congress the following year also marched against drugs, alcohol, and other debilitating practices. They donated blood for charity hospitals in the city, built a house for a widow, and visited hospitals, carrying three thousand roses as messages of hope to patients. Before leaving town they erected a monument of the ten commandments and gave a *Telepaz* system to the city, a program providing opportunities for distressed persons to call by phone to receive encouragement and help from church members who were prepared to talk with troubled people. The event in Belo Horizonte became the cover story for the *North American Review*, January 24, 1974.⁸³

More often than not, youth did not wait for congresses to reach out to the public. In a gesture of good will, young Adventists in the East Brazil Union took to the streets for a week beginning on May 1, 1976, to give flowers to mothers in the name of the church. In Salvador youth passed small cards to smoking women, comparing them to beautiful flowers and asking them to imagine what tobacco was doing to their image. "How unromantic a flower would be with a hacking smoker's cough!" the cards read in part.⁸⁴

Community service projects included a camp for deaf mutes in the Rio Minas Conference. Anthony Caloroso, a volunteer missionary and a deaf mute who had graduated from a North American college, inspired the idea in 1972. In 1976 units of the São Paulo *Desbravadores* (Pathfinders), hurriedly donned their uniforms and

collected seven tons of relief supplies to assist 20,000 flood victims in Cubatão, thirty miles away. In an effort to involve Adventist university students, youth leaders organized PRISMA, a task-force organization that assigned young church members to specific tasks in denominational institutions or to assist in an evangelistic effort. Some also joined the staff of a mobile clinic or lent a hand in developing a school campus.⁸⁵

The first Pathfinder club appeared in Lima, Peru, and although other congregations around the division organized units, the practice did not catch on as readily as other phases of youth ministry. Activity picked up after John Youngberg, a North American youth leader in Chile, organized a club that performed at a youth congress in the Austral Union in 1960. In the audience was Wilson Sarli, recently appointed youth director in São Paulo, who, for the first time in his life, observed how impressive a disciplined group of uniformed Adventist youth could be as they demonstrated their skills. Returning home loaded down with materials that Youngberg gave him, Sarli arranged for their translation into Portuguese and promptly organized one of the first Desbravadores clubs in Brazil. A rash of clubs broke out, but when seventeen Pathfinders spent a weekend at a borrowed camp, Fazenda Santa Elisa, in Mato Grosso in May 1962, camp director Ron Bottsford noted that this was only the second Pathfinder camp ever conducted in Brazil. Church-owned camps were a thing of the future.⁸⁶

No matter how enthusiastic youth leaders were about Pathfinders, some church members did not immediately lend their good will. Cláudio Belz, a young youth leader in the Rio Minas Conference, stirred up a controversy in the early 1960s when he donned the first Pathfinder uniform in Brazil and preached a sermon in a Rio de Janeiro church, emphasizing the importance of youth ministry and Desbravador clubs. Some members called him crazy and walked out. Unshaken was Cláudio's father, who happened to be president of the conference and supported his son in what was the beginning of a thirty-three year career in youth ministry.⁸⁷

A decade later directors of junior age Adventists innovated a program of outdoor activities that even government officials could not overlook. José Silvestre, coordinator of clubs in the city of São Paulo, led a band of Desbravadores on a fifty-mile hike into the Santos Mountain Range where he put them through a survival camp, eating hearts of palm trees, wild berries, and other foods that they could scrounge. From logs and leaves they constructed shelters. Further participation in civic events in 1971, including a parade on Veterans' Day and a meet for forty clubs in a city park, caught the eye of city officials who paved the way for them to perform for the Brazilian House of Representatives.⁸⁸

Pathfinder units proliferated rapidly during the 1970s, but one obstacle to their growth was the lack of interest in camping at the junior age level—9 to 15 years. In place of engaging in traditional camping, this age group usually staged fairs and conducted camporees. Not until 1975 did the Rio Grande do Sul Conference conduct its first camporee, an event that attracted nearly 400 to three days of pancake contests, fire building, and a tug of war. A problem for club leaders was the lack of instructional materials and manuals about operating clubs. Silvestre recalled that youth directors insisted on training leaders as they went along, improvising as best as conditions allowed.⁸⁹

For senior youth, however, camping became a popular pastime. Beginning in Brazil, the practice spread to other fields in the division. The Inca Union held its first experiment in 1973. A strenuous schedule beginning with flag raising and devotionals, and followed with arts and crafts, group games, and swimming. Camp directors filled the evenings with campfire programs. Inspiration for Christian service was a part of all activities. As camping evolved into a prominent youth program, South American conferences and missions built camps. By 1980 eight were scattered around the division, one in each conference of the South Brazil Union and in both the Inca and Austral unions. Typical facilities included cabins, a dining room, recreational courts, and a swimming pool.⁹⁰

Probably no aspect of youth ministry was more striking than participation in evangelism. School campuses were ready-made locations to organize youth in this activity. For five years beginning in 1966, students of Inca Union College organized outreach activities for their surrounding territory, resulting in 400 baptisms, two new churches, eleven companies, and a primary school.⁹¹

Voice of Youth meetings in which young persons conducted an actual evangelistic series were common. In 1968 a youth membership drive brought fifty converts—an entire congregation—into the Adventist circle in Arequipa, Peru. For more than thirty years, one of the mainstay members of this group had maintained a bitter resentment toward Adventists, but when the youth began preaching in his community, his attitude melted. In 1973 a similar event took place in Águia Branca, Brazil, where young members of the local Adventist church convinced the pastor of a different faith to let them use his sanctuary to hold meetings. Before the meetings ended, the pastor and his congregation became Adventists. The members sold their building to the local Adventist mission.⁹²

Some youth launched their own plans independently. Elida Potschka, a medical student in Santa Fe, Argentina, took time from her studies to conduct Voice of Youth meetings and join ten lay-efforts. Helping her was Flora Steffen, a dental

student at the same university. Similarly, Armando Setembrino do Nascimento, a 20-year-old who simultaneously attended Paraná Academy and the School of Fine Arts of Curitiba, still found time to lead forty-eight to baptism in 1970.⁹³

To stir up interest in Bible studies or public meetings, youth leaders invented original approaches that were both simple and effective. In South Brazil young Adventists placed notes of sympathy on gravestones on Memorial Day, inviting relatives of the dead to meetings to learn more about death and the afterlife.⁹⁴

Church leaders took advantage of the publicity youth activities gave them, but they did not stage stunts to curry good will. In a manner of speaking, the undergirding rationale of the entire youth program was to create a taste among Adventist children and youth for identification with the church. Léo Ranzolin, leader of the General Conference Youth Department, observed that active youth programs helped to compensate for the lack of Christian association many South American youth experienced who were not attending denominational schools.⁹⁵

One of the best symbols of successful youth ministry was Ranzolin himself. A new member of the church, he enrolled in Brazil College at age fifteen; three years later the faculty asked him to lead the campus Missionary Volunteer organization. He was not yet fully familiar with denominational habits, but he was bursting with ideas that he convinced fellow students to adopt. For the 18-year-old novice it was the beginning of a career that took him to the General Conference Youth Department within another eighteen years.⁹⁶

A vibrant South American Division presented itself to the 1980 General Conference session in Dallas, Texas, still short of its goal of 500,000 members, but nonetheless emblematic of what Adventism could accomplish. Lest anyone should mistakenly think that Oliveira and his colleagues were satisfied with their record, the division president set the record straight during his report. "Adverse circumstances have been overcome, barriers have been broken down, and the Advent message has victoriously reached into new areas," he said, but added, "upon turning our attention to the work that needs to be done, we realize that we must undertake even greater things for God in the future."⁹⁷

By 1980 Adventism passed to a new generation of South American Adventists. The array of projects they pursued in response to the gospel commission to penetrate the world would have smothered the pioneers, but for them the pulsating activities of the division, everything from preaching to digging latrines, was the beating of a drum, summoning them to a cause that for them had just begun.

¹ Enoch de Oliveira, "Sixty Years of Vigorous Life," *Today*, LII (January-June 1976), 10-13.

² "Recommendations Voted at the First Medical Missionary Convention for Launch Workers of the South American Division Held in Belem, Para, Brazil, July 20-22, 1952," GCA/21, GF/1951; Wayne McFarland, "Medical Work on the Amazon," *RH*, October 9, 1952; W. E. Murray, "Boatmen's Convention in Brazil," *ibid.*, November 27, 1952.

³ F. C. Webster, "Importante Convenção em Belém," *RA* (B), October 1955. See Webster's article, "Missionary Launch Convention in Brazil," *RH*, September 15, 1955; W. E. Murray, "Belem, host to veteran and visitors at medical convention," *Bulletin*, XXXI (November-December 1955), 1, 2.

⁴ L. H. Olson, "South American Launch Workers Convene," *RH*, November 19, 1959.

⁵ L. H. Olson, "Summary of Medical Missionary Launch Reports for the Six Months Ending June 30, 1957," GCA/21, GF/1957, officers' folder; and *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, GF/1958; L. H. Olson to fellow-laborers, August 31, 1961, *ibid.*/1961, officers' folder.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ B. M. Preston, "Brazil Honors the Halliwells," *RH*, January 21, 1960; Streithorst, *Halliwell*, 153-155; Ramos, *Desafio nas águas*, 64, 65.

⁸ SAD Minutes, December 1, 1959/GCA; Wilbur Olson, "Luminar II Now Serves the Sao Francisco River of Brazil," *RH*, April 19, 1962; L. C. Scofield, "Today on the San Francisco River," *Bulletin*, XXXVIII (April-September 1962), 6; and "A New Light in Brazil-Luminar II," *RH*, October 18, 1962; and "On the Sao Francisco River of Brazil," *ibid.*, July 1, 1965.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Hector J. Peverini, "Thirteenth SDA Mission Boat Operating in South America," *ibid.*, April 26, 1976; Arthur S. Valle, "New Medical Launch Inaugurated in Brazil," *ibid.*, December 30, 1976; and "New Brazilian Launch Is Dedicated for Social Assistance Work," *ibid.*, September 8, 1977; and "New Luzeiro launch in Brazil," *AR*, December 6, 1979; and "Halliwells arrived in Brazil 50 years ago," *ibid.*, December 27, 1979.

¹¹ Arturo de Souza Valle, "Pastor adventista condecorado por el gobierno de Brasil," *RA* (A), February 1980; *Statistical Report*, 1980.

¹² D. E. Rebok, "Medical Launches in South America," *RH*, September 3, 1953; C. L. Torrey, "The Work Grows in Northern Brazil," *ibid.*, March 2, 1961; Peverini, *En las huellas*, 383.

¹³ F. C. Webster, "Newest Medical Launch on the Amazon," *ibid.*, December 24, 1959; A. M. Tillman, "The Wedge at Work," *Bulletin*, XXXVIII (April-September 1962), 10; Robert G. Wearner, "What Happened to the Luzeiros on the Amazon?" *RH*, March 30, 1972; Jose Riffel, "New Launch Arrives at Amazon Port," *ibid.*, November 1, 1973.

¹⁴ See a series of *RH* articles: Elmer E. Bottsford, "Chulumani Mission Hospital Activities," January 17, 1952; L. L. Moffitt, "A New Medical Launch in Brazil," October 22, 1959; F. C. Webster, "A New Mensajero for the Amazon," February 18, 1960; Gunnar E. Wensell, "A New Hospital for Bolivia," May 17, 1962; Richard M. Gates, "New Medical Work in Trinidad, Bolivia," June 27, 1963; and "Launch Maranatha Plies the Mamore River," August 13, 1964.

¹⁵ For valuable insights into life aboard the riverboats, see Robert G. Wearner, "Lighthouse Keeping," *ibid.*, June 3, 1971; and Jeanine Purdey Wearner, "Come Quickly," *ibid.*, May 3, 1973.

¹⁶ James J. Aitken, "Fire Takes Life, Destroys Launch in South America," *ibid.*, June 25, 1964; M. S. Nigri to coworkers, July 8, 1964, GCA/21, GF/1964, officers' folder.

¹⁷ Ana Paul Ramos provides one of the best summaries of the sources of financial support of the river launch ministry in her book, *Desafio nas águas*, 65-68. Support from the Brazilian government was the largest single source. Also see SAD Minutes, November 30, 1958/GCA; Leslie C. Scofield, Jr., "On the Sao Francisco River of Brazil," *RH*, July 1, 1965; Merlin Kretschmar, "The Luminar I Brings Medical Missions to a New Area of Brazil," *ibid.*, January 3, 1963; J. J. Aitken to N. W. Dunn, October 7, 1965, GCA/21, GF/1965, officers' folder.

¹⁸ Robert G. Wearner, "Lighthouse Keeping," *RH*, June 3, 1971; Jeanine Purdey Wearner, "Come Quickly," *ibid.*, May 3, 1975.

¹⁹ J. J. Aitken to N. W. Dunn, August 25, 1965, GCA/21, GF/1965, officers' folder; J. J. Aitken to N. W. Dunn, October 7, 1965, *ibid.*; J. J. Aitken to N. W. Dunn, October 26, 1965, *ibid.*

²⁰ J. R. Ferren, "Radio Mission to South America," *RH*, July 29, 1965.

²¹ F. A. Stahl, "Over the Andes by Airplane," *ibid.*, May 17, 1928; Carlyle B. Haynes, "The Inca Union Meeting," *ibid.*, June 14, 1928; Barbara Westphal, *Bride*, 35. Barbara Westphal states that on February 20 Stahl wired his wife that he had arrived safely in Lima despite his accident.

²² William Schaeffler, "Via Airplane Over the Amazon Jungle," *RH*, July 24, 1930; J. T. Thompson, "An Accident and the Outcome," *ibid.*, July 21, 1932; Olga Schaeffler to W. R. Beach, February 11, 1968, GCA/21, GF/1968.

²³ Interview, J. J. Aitken with Floyd Greenleaf, Washington, D.C., July 1981.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Rudolfo Belz, "Circuit-riding East Brazil by Air," *RH*, March 23, 1961; J. J. Aitken to R. R. Figuhr, September 15, 1960, GCA/21, GF/1960, officers' folder.

²⁶ John William Elick, "Station Hopping by Air in the Jungles of Peru," *RH*, October 26, 1961.

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TOWARD A NEW HUMANITARIANISM

BY 1980 EDUCATION, medical institutions, and local church welfare societies, the traditional tools Seventh-day Adventists used to reach the community, no longer shaped the denomination's humanitarian image as effectively as the World Services program. From small beginnings in the 1950s, this new institution grew to full maturity by 1980, ready to spring into action to aid victims of hurricanes, floods, and other natural disasters. Adventists often depicted themselves as a people dedicated to "health, education, and welfare," a phrase that had become a cliché but expressed a growing reality, nonetheless. Some of those who promoted these new humanitarian activities thought that the church had delayed its contribution to society's well-being too long, despite the rhetoric. For others, the new humanitarianism raised questions.

BACKGROUND OF THE ADVENTIST HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENT

Two world wars and a worldwide economic depression forced Adventists to look at their world as something more than potential audiences for evangelistic meetings. They came to view disaster

more pragmatically and less as an opportunity to proclaim trouble as the fulfillment of apocalyptic signs of the end of the world. Hunger, disease, and lack of clothing continued to ravage Europe and parts of Asia after World War I ended in 1918. With an awakened sensitivity to philanthropy and humanitarianism, church leaders committed the denomination to provide relief. During the 1920s repeated appeals for offerings to aid victims in Western Europe, Russia, Japan, and the Middle East filled the columns of the *Review*. Adventists joined a general Protestant relief movement but channeled some of their money and supplies into the hands of “believers.”

Not everyone was convinced that the church should be involved. Implying that relief was a job for governments or non-sectarian agencies. Critics accused church leaders of buying converts with money, food, and clothes. H. T. Elliott, General Conference associate Missionary Volunteer secretary, shot back with a blunt denial, and the church continued its program.¹ In addition to sufferers from war and its aftermath, recipients of relief money included victims of economic dislocations that afflicted much of the world.

After the Great Depression struck in 1929, even the jobless and hungry masses in the United States benefitted from this practice. Among many, this turn of events turned some critics into sympathetic supporters of the unfortunate and helpless. Adventists in California opened public eating establishments that soon earned the sobriquet, “Penny-A-Dish Restaurants,” because of their ridiculously low prices. E. F. Hackman, General Conference associate home missionary secretary, watched these developments with open satisfaction. In a statement to his fellow believers, he declared that the Great Depression had aroused “us to a greater sense of our responsibility in this hour of need.” And he defined the responsibility. “We are not in this world to preach the third angel’s message alone,” he thundered, “but to do all the good we can, and with such conditions as we now face, let Seventh-day Adventists be the first to respond.”²

Hackman was probably saying out loud what others were already thinking, but years would pass before church leaders would take that position publicly. Meanwhile, calls to help victims of floods, famine, and war in Russia, Finland, and China continued through the 1930s and the years of World War II.³ What church leaders learned about disaster relief following World War I prepared them to meet the destruction after World War II. Relief and rehabilitation offerings that the General Conference collected after 1945 were really a perpetuation of what had become a denominational tradition, but they differed from previous assistance because of their enormity and their impact on the church.

In anticipation of its postwar needs, the General Conference set up a rehabilitation fund in 1942 to reestablish Adventist work in countries devastated by war. Repeated appropriations swelled this account to more than US\$4,800,000 by January 1, 1946. In one offering taken on February 3, 1945, Adventists in South Africa and the American hemisphere brought in nearly US\$1,000,000. In addition to these collections, massive accumulations of money and clothing flowed into the church through the decade of the 1940s, which, for the most part, Adventists redirected into assistance to fellow church members who were victims of the war.⁴

All of this activity produced a new dimension in Adventist consciousness of its relationship to human woe. In view of the war's destruction, Hackman's conviction that the church's mission extended beyond preaching the gospel to being the first to offer relief from misery became much more pertinent. Although church leaders felt a special obligation to assist Adventists in need, they knew they could not restrict their help to fellow church members. Appalled at the colossal wreckage they saw when they traveled through Europe, they found words inadequate to describe the devastation and human need.⁵ With a gargantuan task on their hands, members of the General Conference Committee voted at the 1946 Autumn Council to incorporate the denominational relief organization into a legal body.⁶

The effects of the war did not disappear easily. Hard winters exacerbated poverty, food shortages, and lack of clothing that continued to plague Europeans. Many froze to death. Besides these difficulties a lingering gloom and fear of recurring war persisted, partly because of postwar international rivalries and the awesome pall of atomic weapons. This pessimism only made other disasters appear worse.

Five years after the war's end, delegates to the 1950 General Conference session reconciled their new sense of humanitarianism to their apocalyptic view of world conditions, affirming that "it now seems evident that we are entering the last stages of earth's conflict, with wars, famines, epidemics, fires, flood, earthquakes, each a clarion call upon the Christian church to demonstrate the spirit of the Good Samaritan." A forceful recommendation called all conferences and missions to organize welfare programs and every Adventist congregation to stockpile food, clothes, and other supplies for emergencies. Citing counsel from Ellen White, the action recommended that "conferences and mission fields initiate a well-balanced Welfare program, geared to current conditions, to serve the needs of humanity; and that the churches be organized, and the members be trained, (a) to do disaster relief work, and (b) to engage in every form of Christlike ministry in

their immediate communities.” The measure directed Dorcas societies to establish reserves of food and clothes for disasters.⁷

In 1956 the General Conference incorporated its global charity agency as Seventh-day Adventist World Services, known as SAWS. Since early postwar days, Adventist humanitarian outreach had cooperated with CARE, a leading agency to combat poverty and provide relief. SAWS maintained this link. It also affiliated with IMA (Inter-Church Medical Assistance) and the Food for Peace Program and was listed with the USAID (United States Agency for International Development) besides working with Church World Service. “Our challenge in Christian benevolent service has come,” former missionary J. L. Brown wrote from the Adventist Welfare Depot in Watsonville, California.⁸

In the Adventist mind little if any distinction remained between suffering from war and suffering from natural disaster. It mattered little if bleeding bodies and empty stomachs resulted from bombs or earthquakes. Individuals needed help. W. R. Beach, General Conference secretary, summed up the church’s changing attitude. “From the early days of our history the messenger of the Lord told us clearly that Christian activities such as are now fostered under the Disaster and Famine Relief program should be a permanent part of the church’s program in all the world,” he wrote in 1959. “But not until the fiery hand of war touched humanity did we come to understand more fully our duty and privilege.”⁹

BEGINNING OF HUMANITARIAN OUTREACH IN SOUTH AMERICA

For South American Adventists, the denominational trend toward increased humanitarian activities was not a sudden event. Some of the division’s most dramatic successes occurred as social projects. During the early years of Adventist presence in South America, education was a kind of humanitarian program to improve literacy, although church workers probably did not view it in that light. They typically saw Adventist schools functioning according to their primary purposes of preparing workers and strengthening Adventism among the younger generation. They tended to rationalize large non-Adventist enrollments more as an evangelistic opportunity than as education with a humanitarian flavor. Health care also evolved along a similar line. R. H. Habenicht’s medical ministry in Argentina was in part humanitarian, but it also stemmed from an evangelistic motive. With the passage of time, South American nations raised their educational expectations as well as their norms of public health. Governments and, in some cases, private agencies developed their

own institutions, and Adventist schools and programs of medical outreach lost their humanitarian image as they merged into these larger movements.

The church developed a legendary reputation along the Amazon and among the Andean tribespeople, and had long viewed peripheral peoples with special attention. Church leaders could say with justification that from the early years of the century humanitarian outreach characterized at least some of their work. But disasters evoked a different response. Ministers and laymen alike had always responded to them, but not always with a humanitarian motive. Early Adventists in South America took advantage of earthquakes or other natural problems to remind the public about the imminence of Christ's second coming and that the earth was doomed. As valid and scriptural as their pronouncements may have been, they did little to alleviate suffering. In all fairness, however, the church at large in that era was not financially able to contribute much aid to victims. It took time for South American Adventists to attend to victims of calamities in the same way that Stahl and Hallwell had treated chronic sufferers.

South American Dorcas societies participated in relief programs immediately following World War II. Not only did these units prepare shipments of food and clothing for Europe but they also turned to their own populations with assistance for children's hospitals and orphanages and with adult classes in cooking and home nursing.¹⁰ For them it was hardly an innovation in July 1957 when the São Paulo Dorcas Federation, consisting of twenty-five individual units, collected truckloads of supplies for flood victims on the Ribeira River. Their enthusiasm spread throughout the city. Newspapers backed them with publicity and appeals. The São Paulo state government also contributed to the drive. All supplies converged on Registro, the river community where the Adventist pastor, Benito Raymundo, loaded his launch to distribute the aid along a 200-mile stretch of the river. Appropriately, the launch bore the name, *Samaritana*.¹¹

In the Lake Titicaca Mission, Wellesley and Evelyn Muir demonstrated how the church welfare service could become a distributing agency for government-sponsored commodities. A severe drought in 1956 and 1957 made life on the Peruvian *altiplano* even more precarious than it already was. Heads of many families died, and mothers sometimes tried to sell their babies for a half dollar to buy food for the rest of their families. Between June and December 1957, the Muirs established twenty-two distribution centers for CARE (Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere) packages among 4,000 of the most needy families. Demonstrations by Evelyn Muir

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showed the locals how to mix powdered milk and use flour and cheese that came in the packages. At other meetings the recipients listened to discussions about health and personal hygiene. In total bulk, the food the Muirs gave away weighed 230 tons and filled ten freight cars.¹²

OFASA IN CHILE AND PERU

Although all eight countries in the South American Division benefitted from Adventist emergency aid, the most eye-catching successes took place in Chile and Peru. Perhaps the turning point in the history of the division's community service program took place when a powerful earthquake shook southern Chile on May 21 and 22, 1960. L. H. Olson, division secretary, toured the affected region only days later, recognizing the destruction as a major catastrophe but not realizing the magnitude of the disaster until reports from seismologists prompted the speculation that if the area had been densely populated a million persons could have easily perished. Reports told division officers that losses to church properties amounted to US\$72,000 beyond insurance coverage.

The government in this earthquake-prone country had food and health problems well in hand, but OFASA (Obra Filantrópica y Asistencia Social Adventista, the Spanish equivalent of SAWS) still found ample opportunities to help. Carlos Ayala, both director of OFASA and president in the South Chile Conference, had stored tons of food at Chile College and churches in Concepción and Talcahuano. To assist him in organizing a distribution program, workers came from the Central North Chile Conference, the Austral Union, and the division.

South America benefitted from Aitken's previous experience in Europe immediately following World War II where he had traveled extensively through destroyed regions and helped to administer relief to stricken families.¹³ Now facing a staggering catastrophe in South America and the possibility of recurrence, he lost no time stepping up the division's readiness to meet disaster. His first action was to hurry to the United States to arrange shipment of relief supplies from the General Conference. Among his purchases were two trucks. Twenty-seven days after he took them to New York with sixty tons of clothing, they arrived in Valparaíso, Chile. Also, almost 200 tons of food and clothing and two prefabricated buildings arrived. The government waived ordinary import duties and sent the army to help load the food and clothes on freight cars. The Chilean airline donated nearly ninety hours of free transportation to Adventist relief workers.

Adventist relief came from more sources than the General Conference. Dorcas and welfare units in other South American countries, especially the Austral Union, pitched in with extensive assistance. Help also arrived from congregations in Puerto Rico and Germany. From southern California in the United States came 100 tons of clothing. As voluminous as all of this aid appeared to Adventists, their contributions to Chilean relief were small compared to other organizations such as Catholic Relief Services and the Red Cross, but Olson was justifiably satisfied with the showing that OFASA made. Its assistance was truly ecumenical, a fact that drew praise from Chilean officials. The public also noticed, and more interest in Seventh-day Adventist evangelism arose than workers could handle.¹⁴

For the moment nature eased its attacks, giving division leaders a respite to organize themselves for future contingencies. When the South American Division committee convened for year-end meetings in 1961, the members voted a resolution of gratitude to God for a year free from major disasters, an action that testified to the capricious ways of Mother Nature. Relief supplies continued arriving in the division, however, and at their 1962 meeting, division officers appointed a committee to handle requests for aid. In response to the General Conference request for a world Disaster and Famine Relief offering on May 18, 1963, South America's officers prepared slide programs to promote donations. Before the collection occurred, the division committee adopted policies to control emergency aid funds.¹⁵

To conform to Seventh-day Adventist World Service practice, South America's leaders revised their policies in 1964. At the same time, their centers received recognition by the United States as distributing agencies for "Food for Peace," which would make future relief efforts more effective.¹⁶ Between 1963 and 1966, the division responded to calls to help flood victims in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil; earthquake sufferers in Chile; and poorly clothed and impoverished persons in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador.¹⁷ In addition to increased attention that the public gave to Seventh-day Adventists, these activities made each successive relief program easier. C. C. Case, who took charge of OFASA in Peru in 1966, gained official recognition and thus avoided customs problems when importing relief supplies.¹⁸

Case's activities came none too soon. In October 1966 a major quake shook 1,000 kilometers of mainly Peruvian coastal territory, reducing some villages to heaps of rubble. Through OFASA's hands thousands of dollars' worth of medicines, thousands of dollars in cash, tons of clothing, forty tents, and food went to disaster victims. Again, the impact on OFASA policy was profound. At their mid-year

meeting in 1967, division committee members urged every Adventist congregation to form a standing committee to supervise the distribution of food and clothes during emergencies. While this was in part a repetition of former actions, division leaders reminded all assistance workers that food originated at USAID and therefore could not and should not be used as an evangelistic tool.¹⁹

By accepting financial assistance from both the United States and South American governments and becoming official distributors of North American relief supplies, Adventists sailed in uncharted waters. Their new course raised questions. A warning came in 1968 from David Baasch, General Conference associate secretary, who had recently toured South America. After learning that OFASA and its Brazilian counterpart committed themselves to act as agents for both North American and South American governments, and in at least one instance, as the front organization for an ecumenical welfare program, he suggested that the church would be embarrassed if support were withdrawn.

Singling out social assistance projects in Brazil, Chile, and the Inca Union as particularly vulnerable, Baasch pointed out that many members believed that ministers who participated in these programs neglected their pastoral duties. Baasch was neither questioning the validity of welfare programs nor wishing to kill them, but he wanted clarification of denominational involvement in arrangements it could not control.²⁰

No visible outcome resulted from Baasch's caution. If anything at all, community services expanded. In 1969 the Peruvian OFASA acquired 10,000,000 *soles* from the government and teamed up with Alliance for Progress for civic development projects in northern regions of the country affected by drought. A total of one hundred projects, including construction of roads, sewage and drinking water systems, and school buildings were on OFASA's list of accomplishments. A retired worker, Henry Baerg, who was supervising OFASA, was overwhelmed by the potential influence of these activities on the church. "There is no limit to the opportunities that present themselves for witnessing to our message," he wrote. "Doors are open everywhere, from highest circles to the lowest." As the representative of one of thirty-six members of Voluntary Foreign Agencies in Lima, he rubbed shoulders with retired businessmen, specialists in Peruvian industry, and university society.²¹

Again, a Peruvian earthquake in 1970 that left 50,000 dead and 700,000 homeless gave OFASA leaders a chance to put their philosophy into action. Not only did they administer medicine, serve more than 2,000 meals a day, and ration other food and clothes, but they repaired 200 miles of irrigation ditches and 300 miles

of mountain trails, built bridges and roads, drilled wells, reconstructed city sewage systems, dug latrines, and restored schools. After all of this work, James Patton, OFASA director, still did not believe his job was done. “If we can get shelters over their heads before the heavy rains begin I will feel hopeful that the suffering is somewhat lessened,” he wrote.²²

These events electrified the division. At the year-end session of the division committee, South America’s church leaders assessed what had taken place and decided officially to expand OFASA’s activities by doing “a larger practical Christian work, that contributes to a better image of the Adventist work by authorities and the public in general and to gain souls.” Deliberately planning to change the nature of disaster relief, the committee voted to “enlarge the work of OFASA so that it slowly embraces a large area of social assistance, such as: classes for illiterate people, self help projects, community betterment, etc.” The action closed by instructing OFASA to “obtain the largest possible collaboration of workers and members in this work, for practical purposes of evangelization.” The committee selected the Inca and Chile unions to implement these plans on an experimental basis. At the end of 1971, the division officers would study the results.²³

Neither Mother Nature nor the Peruvian and Chilean governments disappointed OFASA. In 1972 the General Conference disclosed that during the previous year “church member cooperation and giving, combined with USAID, made it possible for the church to lend assistance to 36 countries where disaster had struck.” Peru topped the list with aid valued at US\$1,800,000. Added to the benefits the country received were summer camps—six in all—for underprivileged children. USAID furnished equipment and food.²⁴

Patton did not wait for an emergency before plunging into action. Believing that the term *filantrópica* was more than a mere word in OFASA, he organized a spate of community programs in Peru, including 300 school lunch programs, 300 work projects, and fifty feeding centers for expectant women with children under five. Among his public works were roads, bridges, civic centers, and the general physical quality of the cities themselves. City officials and urban governments were his companions in labor.

In Villa Salvador he erected an entire center, consisting of a school, a small clinic, a church, a home for the local pastor, and a dining hall where selected mothers and small children could find a high-protein meal. So well-known did OFASA become that community bands often met Patton to welcome him as a hero entering their

gates.²⁵ Church leaders made sure that governments understood OFASA's objectives. Delegations visited with the Bolivian and Peruvian presidents in 1969 to apprise them of OFASA's work and at the same time gain public approval for their programs.²⁶

Similar events took place in Chile. During their fourteen years in that country, Adventist community and disaster programs had generated a reputation for reliable and effective service. After the 1960 earthquake and the division's quick action to import clothes, trucks, and warehouses to establish a relief program, Aitken wrote that "our relief activities in Chile have now gained national importance, and the government has received us and all of our activities with open arms."²⁷ Famished Chileans in drought stricken northern provinces received aid from *Alimentos por Trabajo*, a food distribution program that the government organized and administered, partly with the cooperation of OFASA.

A couple years later in July 1974 torrential rains washed thousands of other Chileans from their homes and destroyed their crops. OFASA stepped in with 10,000 meals and 5,000 articles of clothing. The event was one more in a long chain that made the organization a major welfare agency in Chile. Special contracts with North America's Food for Peace and grants from the Chilean government enabled OFASA to distribute up to 4,000,000 pounds of food annually. Orphanages, nurseries, and 300 schools received food products.²⁸

Overshadowing this activity in 1976 was a meal program for 75,000 undernourished children, six years old and younger, that OFASA set in motion in cooperation with the government. The agreement gave more than 1,800 metric tons of food from United States AID and US\$240,000 for packaging costs, which OFASA spent on contracts with Frutigran, the denominational food factory in Uruguay. A year later both parties renewed the contract, expanding its coverage to 150,000 meals daily from food that OFASA received from Food for Peace. About 1,200 Chilean hospitals and clinics arranged the meals. Success in these programs led OFASA to plan more help for Chile's hungry masses.²⁹

Similarly, an agreement in 1978 between OFASA leader Dale Kongorski in Peru and USAID brought \$2,900,000 in food to 100,000 inhabitants in Lima's ghettos. Before 1980 nowhere in the world did Adventist humanitarian programs reach the proportions of OFASA's involvement in Chile and Peru. When the General Conference called the world church for the annual offering to support the church's humanitarian ventures, figures disclosed that during the previous year total goods and services disbursed by OFASA exceeded US\$13,000,000, of which Peru and Chile absorbed \$8,000,000.³⁰

No one could question that Adventist World Service programs had proceeded far beyond the notion of disaster relief and had become, at least in part, a development agency. H. D. Burbank expressed this philosophy in 1977 after the Guatemala earthquake. “Christ illustrates the nature of true religion,” he said. “He shows that it consists not in systems, creeds, or rites, but in the performance of loving deeds, in bringing the greatest good to others, in genuine goodness.”³¹

The SAWS policy document, approved in 1978, recognized the shift in philosophy that Burbank enunciated. The statement described SAWS as a “humanitarian relief and development agency” with a primary mission “to supply material aid on a world-wide basis to victims of disasters of all kinds and to aid people in the developing nations, fostering and operating developmental programs which aid these countries to improve the well-being of their population.” On the strength of that declaration, SAWS sponsored projects in “agriculture, community development, nutrition, literacy, adult education, and some aspects of maternal-child health and public health.”³²

The 1978 statement by SAWS was a pivotal point in the evolution of denominational philosophy of church responsibility in social programs. Adventists not only had come to accept chronic problems such as sickness, poverty, and even civic underdevelopment as legitimate objects of relief by the church but they acknowledged that the church had a particular responsibility to extend help. Although the church had not given widespread publicity to the matter, humanitarian programs on the Amazon had been attracting large amounts of public money since the days of Leo Halliwell.³³ Only when this practice became more common and involved monumental projects did it face challenges.

By the 1970s many South Americans regarded programs to relieve human suffering as a Christian responsibility and association with government projects a matter of course. When the Santo André church near São Paulo opened a new community services center in 1971, the local leaders explained that much of the motivation to expand services derived from the need to minister to the needs of hundreds of families that moved to the area in search for employment in the local industries. At the dedication of a new center in Alagoas for Assistência Social Adventista the Brazilian version of World Services, also in 1971, church leaders openly acclaimed their agreement with the idea that Christians had a duty to relieve suffering in a manner that compared with the biblical example of Dorcas.

Even more impressive was the 950m² Centro de Assistência Social in São Paulo that opened in 1975 and featured examination rooms, a pharmacy, dental and X-ray

service, and classrooms for instruction in healthful lifestyle. At the dedication ceremony, Wilson Sarli emphasized that Adventism was a practical religion and that Funrural supported these church activities. It was the combination of a social conscience and the willingness to accept public money that led Adventists to be involved in large projects. One of the most prominent was the invitation by the Brazilian government for Assistência Social Adventista to take charge of medical services along the Trans-Amazonian highway.³⁴

The change in the philosophy of welfare spawned debate. Some viewed it as the creation of a non-sectarian entity within the church that entangled denominational programs with government money. For them the new policy represented both an indefensible involvement with governments and a threat to traditional evangelism. Probably most church leaders in affected fields would not deny the delicate nature of the relationship between the church's social programs and governments. Dependence on government money dictated whether or not the church could sponsor many community services. For Adventists who wished to act independently from, but in a spirit of cooperation with government assistance and developmental programs, arrangements that the denomination entered into during the 1960s and 1970s made for uncertainty. If some church leaders found this relationship bothersome, they did not oppose it so strongly that they were willing to shut down humanitarian operations.³⁵

However these conditions may have affected the church, critics could hardly argue that Adventist World Services in its varied forms detracted from church growth. Some church leaders were quick to assert that the new humanitarianism was a great awakening, a new and blessed opportunity for Adventism. Supporting this view was an unprecedented upsurge in membership in South America. A compatibility between Adventist evangelism with its emphasis on social and health aspects of biblical teachings on one hand and a growing sense of responsibility to the welfare of the masses on the other would be hard to overlook. The advantages of humanitarian programs to the church were undeniable.

It was clear to all, however, that by the late 1970s the South American Division accepted a humanitarian role on a scale unanticipated by pioneers who first brought simpler forms of Adventism to these lands and that these activities affected the church internally. During the postwar period when social causes became the stuff of violent political change, SAWS demonstrated that human needs spoke for themselves and that the church could have a social conscience and administer socio-economic programs without political partisanship.

¹ H. T. Elliott, "European Relief Work," *RH*, November 23, 1922. See also many articles, *ibid.*, *passim*, 1920s, describing funds for sufferers in Russia, Western Europe, and the Middle East.

² E. F. Hackman, "Seventh-day Adventist Welfare Work," *ibid.*, October 1, 1931.

³ See *ibid.* articles, *passim*, 1930s.

⁴ W. E. Nelson, "The Treasurer's Report," *ibid.*, June 7, 1946; and "Million Dollar Offering," *ibid.*, January 10, 1946. See *ibid.*, 1945-1950, for its many articles describing the denominational relief and rehabilitation program.

⁵ See their frequent reports in *ibid.*, 1946.

⁶ W. P. Bradley, "Autumn Council Proceedings," *ibid.*, December 5, 1946.

⁷ "Proceedings of the General Conference," *ibid.*, July 23, 1950; "Proceedings of the General Conference: Forty-sixth Session, July 10-22, 1950," *ibid.*

⁸ "SDA World Service, Incorporated," *SDA Encyclopedia*, second rev. ed., 1335-1336; Josef Doubavsky, "Word from Czechoslovakia," *RH*, September 5, 1946; J. L. Brown, "World Welfare Service," *ibid.*, March 8, 1956; Frank Kuntz, "Pacemaker Donated to Chilean Patient," *ibid.*, November 3, 1966.

⁹ W. R. Beach, "The Gospel in Working Clothes," *ibid.*, April 30, 1959.

¹⁰ J. Ernest Edwards, "Dorcas in South America," *ibid.*, November 18, 1948.

¹¹ Roberto Azevedo, "Samaritana Distributes Welfare Supplies," *ibid.*, March 6, 1958.

¹² Wellesley and Evelyn Muir, "Feeding the Hungry," *Bulletin*, XXXIV (April-June 1958), 7, 8; SAD Minutes, March 18, 1957/GCA; *ibid.*, March 26, 1957.

¹³ For Aitken's work in Europe, see J. J. Strahle, "Distributing Food in Europe," *RH*, July 11, 1946; and J. J. Aitken, "Further Report on European Relief," *ibid.*, August 15, 1946.

¹⁴ F. R. Millard, "Believers Safe in Chile," *RH*, June 16, 1960; W. E. Phillips, "Aid for Chile Disaster Victims," *ibid.*, June 23, 1960; L. H. Olson, "Earthquakes Shake Southern Chile," *ibid.*, July 7, 1960; and "A Report on Disaster Relief in Southern Chile," *ibid.*, October 20, 1960; "On the Religious Front," Religious New Service reports, *ibid.*, July 28, 1960; W. L. Barclay, "Southern California Response to Chilean Appeal," *ibid.*, September 22, 1960; V. G. Anderson, "South American Division Council," *ibid.*, January 19, 1961; L. H. Olson to R. R. Figuhr, C. E. Guenther, F. R. Millard, W. E. Phillips, June 2, 1960, GCA/21, GF/1960, officers' folder; J. J. Aitken to R. R. Figuhr, June 28, 1960, *ibid.*; J. J. Aitken to W. R. Beach, August 23, 1960, *ibid.*; SAD Minutes, May 26, 1960/GCA; *ibid.*, June 8, 1960, 9:15 a.m., 3:00 p.m.

¹⁵ SAD Minutes, November 28, 1961/GCA; *ibid.*, December 1, 1961, December 10, 1962, February 15, 1963, February 27, 1963, April 4, 1963.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1964.

¹⁷ See actions in SAD Minutes requesting aid from the General Conference and granting aid to stricken areas, *passim*, 1963-66.

¹⁸ News note, no name, *Bulletin*, XLII (January-June 1966), 8.

¹⁹ M. S. Nigri to David H. Baasch, October 25, 1966, GCA/21, GF/1966, officers' folder; W. E. Phillips, "Peru Earthquake Aid Appreciated," *RH*, December 15, 1966; SAD Minutes, June 29, 1967.

²⁰ David H. Baasch, "Denominational Participation in Community Service and Welfare Projects," no date, GCA/21, GF/1967, officers' folder.

²¹ Henry Baerg, "SAWS Aids Peru's Drought Victims," *RH*, June 12, 1969; Henry Baerg to David Baasch, February 18, 1969, GCA/21, GF/1969, W. R. Beach folder.

²² Louis James Patton, "SAWS Reports Continued Aid to Peru Earthquake Area," *RH*, October 22, 1970; Arturo Weisheim and Jose Riffel, "A Catastrophic Earthquake," *Today*, XLVI (November-December 1970), 4, 5; SAD Minutes, June 17, 1970/GCA.

²³ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1970/GCA.

²⁴ M. Carol Hetzell, "Aid by SAWS Tops Four Million," *RH*, March 9, 1972; and "SAWS Conducts Summer Camps for Children," *ibid.*, April 27, 1972.

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²⁵ M. Carol Hetzel, "Bands Welcome SAWS in Peru," *ibid.*, March 1, 1973; and "New Welfare Center in Peru," *ibid.*, September 20, 1973.

²⁶ Captions and pictures, *Bulletin*, XLV (September-October 1969), 1, 3, 6, 8.

²⁷ J. J. Aitken to W. R. Beach, August 23, 1960, GCA/21, GF/1960, officers' folder.

²⁸ Werner Mayr, "The Government of Chile and OFASA (SAWS)," *Today*, XLVIII (November-December 1972), 4, 5; H. D. Burbank, "SAWS Aids Chilean Flood Victims," *RH*, August 29, 1974.

²⁹ H. D. Burbank, "SAWS Agreement Will Feed Children," *ibid.*, July 22, 1976; and "SAWS Signs Child Relief Contract," *AR*, August 18, 1977; Jorge A. Iuorno, "OFASA in Chile Aids the Young," *ibid.*, September 8, 1977.

³⁰ "Relief Shipments-Year-1979-Seventh-day Adventist World Service, Inc., Washington, D.C.," *SAWS Reporter*, 1980; R. W. O'Ffill, "SAWS and Aid sign agreement," *AR*, November 2, 1978.

³¹ H. D. Burbank, "Guatemala's President Responds to SAWS Project," *RH*, December 30, 1976.

³² "Seventh-day Adventist World Service Policy Document," July 13, 1978, SAWS, Washington, D.C.

³³ A. L. Ham to W. H. Branson, March 21, 1951, GCA/21, GF/1951.

³⁴ Aluizio Gabriel, "Centro de Assistência Social de Alagoas," *RA* (B), December 1971; Sueli Bergold, "Concretização de um Grande Sonho," *ibid.*, April, 1971; Walter J. Streithorst, "Amplia-se um Setor Importante da Assistência Social," *ibid.*, March 1974; "Inaugurado Centro de Assistência Social-SP," *ibid.*, May 1975.

³⁵ Such was the case in the Inca Union. See D. J. Sandstrom to Albert Sanchez March 27, 1970, *ibid.*/1970.



COMING OF AGE

NOTHING ABOUT THE year 1980 dramatically set it apart as a watershed for Adventists in South America, but events pointed to a new era for them. For the first time in Adventist history North America was not the largest administrative division of the church. With more members than any other field, the Inter-American Division surged to the top of the list, but South America was next in line. Less than three years earlier, division officers had opened their new headquarters in Brasília, a city whose futuristic architecture brightened its otherwise unexciting location deep in the interior. The new national capital told the world that Brazil's eyes were on the years ahead. It was no less true of the South American Division. A North American administration had begun the new division office complex, but South Americans were the ones in charge when the new building opened. Since the 1940s South Americans had become increasingly visible in managing their own affairs, and by 1980 no room for doubt was left about who was leading South America into the future.

The division changed presidents at the General Conference session in 1980, electing João Wolff, a Brazilian, to follow Enoch

Oliveira who moved to Washington as a general vice president of the world church. This change was not momentous, but like the new headquarters, it spoke of growth in church development and of intentions to continue that trend.

The development of Adventism in South America was one of the amazing stories of the church. But as glorious as denominational leaders interpreted accomplishments in this field, what had happened was not nearly as easy as publicity portrayed it. In his final report to the 1980 General Conference session in Dallas, Texas, Oliveira alluded to the problems he and his predecessors had faced. "In spite of ideological controversies and economic crises that frequently agitate the countries of South America," he said, "we can joyfully repeat the words of Samuel: 'Hitherto hath the Lord helped us.'"¹

Oliveira was speaking the mind of all church leaders who seldom made public issues out of their administrative and political difficulties. It was part of the task of leadership to wrestle with issues such as abrupt political changes and economies that sometimes seemed out of control. As much as they needed to avoid intrusions from these kinds of issues, the problems Oliveira mentioned gave them repeated reminders that their experience was a fulfillment of Christ's prayer that His followers would be in the world but not of the world. In the face of difficulties, church administrators did not retreat from their official duties, but their steady focus on evangelism protected the South American Division from becoming politicized or otherwise overwhelmed by problems.

Yet for all of their spiritual emphasis, denominational leaders knew that the church did not exist in a vacuum. Both world wars in the twentieth century inflamed the popular mind with idealistic goals of democracy, equality, and both economic and political liberation. After 1945 political and social climates changed rapidly in many parts of the world, including places in Latin America where people believed that they had too long been the subservient partner in hemispheric relations. Many suffered from perennial poverty. As statesmen, generals, dissidents, and sometimes mobs fought out their differences over these questions, the Adventist church was often caught in the middle.

It would be too much to expect Adventists to be immune to ideals of change that permeated the atmosphere around them, particularly those who lived where social inequalities were especially close to the surface. At times debate even within church circles became less than Christlike. Admittedly, workers from the outside were not always models of altruism and mission service. But convinced that their commission was to carry the gospel, church leaders typically tried to steer neutral

courses, not just for the sake of survival but to demonstrate that they were men of the cloth rather than the sword. Their responsibility was to associate the Adventist name with the gospel instead of human rivalries. Not always was their way easy or comfortable. Coming of age in South America made these issues more visible.

ECONOMIC DILEMMAS IN SOUTH AMERICA

In South America after 1950, economic, political, and social problems seemed to intensify. Inflation, which spread like a virus across the continent, eroded monetary values in country after country and wreaked havoc with denominational finances. The division operating budget for 1950 totaled 1,008,594 Uruguayan *pesos*; twenty years later it rose to 140,779,891 in the same currency, an increase of more than 139 times. During the same period, membership grew from 56,545 to 273,855, an increase of nearly five times.² Above all else, these numbers suggest that the cost of maintaining the church was galloping ahead of membership, but as the gap continued to widen, it was inflation rather than real expense that accounted for much of the increase.

Arthur S. Valle, director of communications in the South American Division, declared in 1976 that some countries suffered inflation rates as high as 900 percent, and that when a country succeeded in lowering its rate to about 30 percent, it was a miracle. In the post-World War II era, he observed, a progressively greater gap separated real income—the actual purchasing power of salaries—from the cost of living.³

Leaders of local fields were hard put to protect personal income from rapidly falling currency values. From around the division came frequent calls to approve huge salary increases, sometimes during the middle of a fiscal year as well as when the division committee formed the annual budgets at year-end meetings. Workers in Paraguay during 1952 illustrate the problem, although no country was exempt from the impact of this problem. After receiving successive annual pay increases ranging from 20 to 35 percent in 1950, 1951, and 1952, the division committee granted another round ranging from 50 to 70 percent in August 1952, retroactive to April 1. Because the slim resources of the Paraguay Mission could not meet this hefty addition, the division committee appropriated special funds to meet salary expenses during the final quarter of the calendar year.⁴ Raises from 10 to 30 percent to compensate for cost of living increases were commonplace, but not always did the division add to workers' salaries on the basis of inflation alone. Governments sometimes forced the issue by legislating raises for workers, including church employees.

Following such a directive from the Bolivian government in 1950 to increase salaries, Inca Union officers studied the decree but raised personal income for workers only 10 to 20 percent in 1951, an ordinary margin compared to the rest of the division. Workers struggled against depreciating money values for another year and a half before church administration finally rescued them in June 1953 with a 40 percent raise retroactive to January 1 and a second 40 percent increase, again retroactive to May 1. From the division emergency fund came an appropriation equivalent to 1,000,000 *bolivianos* to meet the crisis. For 1954 workers in the Bolivia Mission received another 60 percent increase, but even this change, the largest in the division, was not enough. In April 1954, and again in July, the committee approved successive raises of 25 and 15 percent.⁵

The action by the Bolivian government to set minimum wages was neither unique nor out of keeping with political customs in the western world, as many governments commonly protected their working classes with similar legislation. The Bolivian Revolution of 1952 had complicated the issue, but the difficulty for the church derived more from an apparently uncontrollable inflation. Denominational workers usually felt the pinch because salary increases rarely kept pace with actual living costs. The division committee voted a 33 percent raise for 1955 and 15 percent for 1956, but these changes were not enough. The 15 percent improvement Bolivian workers received in 1956 was revised to slightly less than 100 percent, but even with that change, personal income of church employees still lagged behind the 216 percent increase in living costs between January and September.⁶

Keeping a wary eye on the Bolivian and Chilean economies, which were the places that appeared at the moment to be most susceptible to fluctuations, the division had to face a sudden turn for the worse in Brazilian currency. Employees at Casa Publicadora received a 10 percent hike in their income in 1954 following a demand by the Graphic Arts Syndicate for higher pay. Brazil's Minister of Labor approved the action, which the division committee built into the annual salary schedule.⁷ Given the overall economic condition of South America, this action affected the budgets of the Brazilian unions only moderately, but before the decade was finished, other events led to skyrocketing inflation.

Already troubled by a combination of adversities, including declining coffee prices and an erratic banking industry, Brazil's economy took a precipitous plunge in 1956 when Juscelino Kubitschek marshaled the country's resources to build Brasília in the central wilderness about 600 miles from the coast. Imaginative architects erected

a city that dazzled the world and was a marvelous symbol of national resolve, but Brazilians paid for it with cheapened *cruzeiros*. The salary schedule for Brazilian Adventist workers told the story. The base amount, set at 15,500 *cruzeiros* in 1958, climbed higher annually. In 1965, with the government desperately trying to stabilize the exchange unit, the division pegged workers' salaries at 245,000 *cruzeiros*. A year later, after two additional increments, the figure rose to 360,000 *cruzeiros*.

Economic instability affected every aspect of the church, even defying crisis-management techniques. In a rare reference to economic dilemmas, the *Review* published N. W. Dunn's observation that in spite of apparent prosperity, Adventist institutions were hard put to compensate for losses because of unstable currencies.⁸ Attempts to mitigate the disastrous effects of inflation eventually brought the General Conference undertreasurer, O. A. Blake, and an auditor, R. J. Ratcliffe, to South America in April 1969 to survey all fields. Joined by division officers to form a group of six, these men combed through financial data that revealed the deplorable state of affairs in all fields.

Indebtedness was rampant. The division maintained its accounts in Uruguayan *pesos*, which depreciated more than 2,000 percent between 1960 and 1968, the highest rate of any South American currency. Funds transferred from the fields to division headquarters in Montevideo lost their value with alarming rapidity. To protect the purchasing power of their revenues, church leaders at all levels spent money as fast as they could, and transferred funds from one field to another by credit memo. These practices were catastrophic. Trust funds were gone, reserves were almost nonexistent, and debts were accumulating. The division's liquidity nearly vanished, but the survey committee recommended that institutions and fields should resume dealing with each other in cash and that exceptions to denominational policy should be granted to unions and local fields to take advantage of the hardest currencies available to protect money that would normally go to the division.⁹

The survey and recommendations helped, but they did not remove economic problems. Through the 1970s inflation continued to jeopardize the financial health of the church, but a slackened rate of depreciation in Brazil and the removal of the division office to Brasília in 1976 brought improved conditions.

The angry course of economics in South America exacerbated an already delicate question—the presence of foreign missionaries in the division. National workers did not forget that during the depression a scarcity of funds had helped fuel a debate about the high cost of overseas workers. Economic instability after World War II

revived the question. Differences in salaries of the interdivisional workers remained a thorny issue. A General Conference auditor reported in 1952 that in addition to basic earnings, missionaries also received bonuses that raised personal incomes to a level comparable to the same position in the United States. Official salaries for missionaries did not include the bonuses. These additions remained in escrow at the division office and were available upon demand. Overseas workers could also buy many items at cut rates through the denominational purchasing and sales agency in Washington.¹⁰

The national worker interpreted these arrangements as an advantage to the overseas workers, but church administrators continued to argue that missionaries legitimately incurred more personal expenses than their national colleagues. Educating expatriate children in their mother tongue and sometimes in their home country demanded more money than to educate the children of national workers. Missionary families received allowances for education, but this extra money did not pay for all education expenses. The difference was a personal cost to the missionary. Other benefits for missionaries, such as policies controlling vacations and furloughs, continued to emphasize the distinction between national and overseas workers.

J. J. Aitken contended that extra money for alien workers did not mean wealth or favoritism because it was not included in their official salaries which remained much lower than what they would have earned in the United States. Further, Aitken pointed out, mission service meant a sacrifice for expatriate workers with long mission service because their lower official salaries translated into smaller retirement income after they ended their careers in their home countries.¹¹

Arguments for higher incomes for overseas workers did not silence criticism from nationals. Undeniably, the price tag on the overseas missionary was expensive. Orientation of mission appointees and training them in language competency became increasingly costly. Several missionary families whom Aitken had to send back to the United States only emphasized the need for better preparation. Special orientation programs at both Andrews and Loma Linda universities in the United States and an intensive Spanish language course at Pacific Union College helped, but this also added to the expense.¹²

In 1950, at the end of his South American presidency, R. R. Figuhr urged the General Conference to begin in earnest to educate North American workers, especially those in leadership, to plan seriously for the time when nationals would assume responsibility for the South American Division. "Our national brethren do not need to be convinced that they need to take over," he wrote. "I wish there were

some way of discussing this problem with our overseas men alone. They are the ones who should be educated more than the national workers who already have this particular idea.” Figuhr cautioned that open exchanges about the issue were damaging “to the work,” and while he suggested that church leaders should air the topic, he did not want it on the 1950 agenda for the General Conference session.¹³

Expatriate workers and nationals alike may have lost some of their clerical composure when discussing the question of when and how missionaries would finally relinquish their hold on the South American Division, but the statistics for the twenty years after 1950 show that proportionally the number of overseas employees diminished sharply. The division approved seventy-seven missionary salaries for 1950 and ninety for 1970, an increase of slightly less than 17 percent. During the same years, however, the number of ordained ministers in the division rose from 194 to 411, or 119 percent. Besides these employees, the church employed several hundred other national denominational workers. One could hardly argue that aliens were depriving South Americans of jobs or that interdivisional workers were costing increasingly larger proportions of the church budget, even though in total dollars their expenses were rising.¹⁴

Probably many expatriate workers looked forward to the end of their mission service as much as the nationals wanted them to leave. Halcyon Westphal, a 14-year-old, third-generation member of the J. W. Westphal family, recalled that long before her parents returned to the United States in 1944—years before the postwar movement of nationalization—they often talked about going home. Their return voyage took them from Buenos Aires around the tip of the continent and up the west coast of South America. Before they reached the United States, she counted thirty-three members of missionary families who boarded the ship to return home permanently.¹⁵

ISSUES WITH PERSONNEL AND POLITICS

As the post-World War II era advanced, the issue of the overseas worker focused on the question of foreign presence as well as economics, which drew attention to North American dominance in church governance. The question asked whether missionaries or nationals would occupy leadership positions. The issue had an old-time imperialistic taint. No one questioned that national workers at times detected a negative bias in the treatment they received, and occasionally their response was typically human, which should have surprised no one. Even North American missionaries sometimes chafed under what they thought to be differences in policies

affecting conditions in the South America Division as opposed to the same situations in the North American Division. More than a trace of this attitude appeared in Aitken's surprise that a mission aviation program in South America that complied with North American policy was not satisfactory to church leaders in Washington who wanted more restrictive policies for South America.

Similarly, not even the unflappable Brazilian leader, M. S. Nigri, division secretary under Aitken, was immune from an occasional outburst. Polite but blunt after learning that the General Conference had denied South America's request for a loan, he protested candidly to Washington. "You can understand this reply was a shock to us here in the South American Division," he wrote W. R. Beach. Nigri confirmed his confidence in denominational leadership, but challenged the General Conference with a volley of arguments. He drove his final point home. "Perhaps we are the younger children in the family and have not come of age yet as has North America but we have grown and attained a measure of maturity and we feel that in some things we can appear in the same clothes as the North American Division. You cannot consider us little boys in knee pants any more because I think we are wearing long trousers like the North American Division!"¹⁶ Nigri's forthrightness did not hurt him. Six years later in 1970 he became a General Conference vice president, the first South American national to become an officer of the world church.

South Americans long believed they often took a back seat in deference to workers from North America or Europe. Ivan Schmidt notes that when José Amador dos Reis became the first Brazilian ordained to the ministry in 1920 no one took any notice of this event of "transcendent importance." In vain Schmidt said he researched denominational papers to find appropriate recognition for the newly credentialed minister, eventually identifying only one "small and casual reference" published months after the fact. He attributed the failure to grant this event its deserved place in Adventism in Brazil to apathy and negligence of the North American and European leaders in charge of South America, notwithstanding how self-denying they were to leave home and loved ones for the sake of the gospel.¹⁷

Outside the church, a nationalistically conscious public continued to agitate against foreign elements, and governments were increasingly prone to look askance at aliens seeking employment who would displace a national. It required little insight among Adventist circles to see that events were playing against the presence of aliens, and that to plan ahead carefully for nationals to assume leadership of the division would save much trouble in the future.

Beginning in 1963 a sequence of personnel changes finally put the question to rest. South American workers had headed unions and division departments for many years, but it was during Aitken's presidency, 1958-66, that nationals began to move into the ranks of the officers of the division. In 1963 Samuel Alberro became South America's auditor and M. S. Nigri took over as division secretary, a post comparable to vice president. During the next dozen years, more nationals occupied officers' positions. In 1975 the transition was complete when Enoch Oliveira became division president, although North Americans still occupied posts in the treasury. Nearly six decades had passed since Oliver Montgomery became South America's first president. No one could deny that Nigri's long pants had become a reality.¹⁸

Unfortunately for South Americans, some of their number did not help their cause. Workers seeking an education in the United States frequently demurred when the time came to return home. Often they chose to continue their careers in other divisions. In 1967 Nigri compiled a partial list of thirty nationals, former denominational employees, who had jumped ship to the United States rather than to resume their work in South America.¹⁹

Not all of these losses were serious, but *en toto* they represented a personnel drain that hurt. Understandably, Nigri and other South American leaders wished to retain workers they had educated. A loss of such employees meant a loss of money spent for their education. Some could speculate that in some instances departing workers created vacancies that required missionary appointments to fill, which translated into additional expense. Church administrators in inflation-ridden South America were uniquely sensitive to such costs.

But there was another side to this issue. For some the flux of workers emphasized the global character of the church. To them, money values could never equate to the benefits of the international character of Adventism. Wherever they went, overseas workers helped to create a personnel mix that prevented total insulation of one field from the others. *From everywhere to anywhere* was an ideal that the interdivisional worker, and even the national who had gone elsewhere, personified.

Another problem in South America was the presence of dissidents who had soured on church authority and tried to seize control of both property and organizations. Earlier fears of a fractious movement motivated by nationalist sentiments had caused both the division and the General Conference to deal gingerly with Brazil, particularly the South Brazil Union, but in the end loyalty to the denomination proved to be stronger than separatism in that case. When attending the annual division meetings

to lay plans for 1951, A. L. Ham and R. H. Adair observed that fields which had previously been the source of ecclesiastical nationalism were no longer a problem.²⁰

Often tied to nationalism and aimed at overseas leaders, dissidence cropped out more virulently in the 1960s in the Inca Union than in any other field after World War II. The bone of contention was church leadership rather than church beliefs. After a visit to the field, one General Conference visitor confided that in his opinion national workers were angry because they thought they had no influence. Again, church leaders avoided publicity, although privately they agonized with the recalcitrant element.²¹

While not crumbling before demands, leaders at all levels from the union to the General Conference showed a willingness to talk the issues out, but the church would not lock itself in a free-for-all power struggle or tolerate throwing legitimate leaders out. The Inca Union had not yet moved to national leadership, but after the uprising climaxed, the church promoted national workers. Bert Elkins, superintendent of the Bolivia Mission, disclosed in 1963 that in the forty-two years of Adventist presence in his field only three nationals had become ordained ministers. His ordination of two on January 19, 1963, was a landmark event. By 1966 three of the four missions in Peru received national leaders. In the end, the integrity of the church prevailed, and Adventists in the Inca Union went about their business, carrying a few scars but more importantly, the inspiration of an amicable settlement.²²

The issues of inflation, interdivisional workers, national leadership, and dissidence all related to varying degrees to nationalism, a matter of singular importance to South Americans. They expressed no uncertainty about their loyalty to the state, even though the most perceptive among them could do little better than guess where the next ideological conflict would erupt or who would execute the next coup. Under the circumstances, unequivocal patriotism often required skillful footwork.

As politically neutral as Adventist preachers tried to be, they were also apostles of good citizenship and upholders of public authority. To them, the flag was a near-sacred symbol and the state was a thing to honor. Always conscious of loyalty and religious liberty, Adventists sought to minimize points of disagreement with public policies by emphasizing their patriotism. Division, union, and conference leaders had to deal with personalist regimes, military governments, and democracies. Strategies differed from one country to the next, but Adventists went out of their way to establish a reputation of being reliable supporters of the state.

Disaster relief and civic projects never failed to strengthen the church's image. In several South American countries where military training became obligatory,

the Medical Cadet Corps proved to be another effective means to communicate Adventists' patriotism. Brazil was an outstanding example. The return of Getulio Vargas to the presidential palace in 1950 revived memories of the nationalistic trends of the 1930s, and Adventists acted quickly to reacquaint the returned president with denominational programs. On December 5, 1950, before he actually donned the presidential scarf, four Adventist ministers, including Domingos Peixoto, spent an hour with him at his ranch reviewing Adventist views about non-combatancy in military service, the Medical Cadet program, the Sabbath, the nature of denominational organization, and religious liberty.

When discussing non-combatancy and medical training for military recruits, Vargas broke into the conversation. "You, Mr. Peixoto, go to the United States and see what the Americans are doing for the Adventist young people and we will see what we can do here for the Brazilian Adventist young men."²³

Nearly simultaneous with this event, the three Brazilian unions created a new office that handled public affairs and religious liberty, naming Peixoto director.²⁴ Armed with this new authority, Peixoto set to work with offices in Rio de Janeiro, the national capital. He and other church leaders petitioned the government to allow Adventist schools to offer Medical Cadet training as a substitute for compulsory military service that faced Brazilian youth. Vargas himself approved the appeal, which in effect, mandated the course as a part of the curriculum for every male student enrolled in denominational schools. Peixoto himself became a colonel in the Medical Cadet Corps and supervised a rigorous training schedule. Under the scrutinizing eye of the Brazilian military, who sometimes participated in examinations, Medical Cadet officers drilled their men as rigidly as the army itself in first aid, ambulance driving, and basic military discipline.

"It became clear to me," one military officer wrote after watching the Adventist boys in action, "that Seventh-day Adventists are anxious to prepare young men to serve their country and humanity with a vocation so useful in peace and indispensable in war." Although Vargas's presidency ended in 1954, future governments continued to recognize the agreement he had made with the denomination. The program became so professionally administered that the Brazilian army sent hundreds of its recruits to Adventist camps for training.²⁵

Because of their traditional patriotism, a belief in the benefits of peace and order, and support of public authority, Adventists in general struck a conservative image, but this did not mean that they deliberately took conservative positions on all public

issues. Adventists based their loyalty to governments on the biblical injunction to render to Caesar what he justifiably claims, but they did not offer to advise Caesar how to organize his house. However, when policies threatened the principles of conscience and liberty, they became bold enough to suggest changes.

To balance the conservative image, more than a faint strain of liberalism characterized other aspects of the church. Denominational activities in disaster relief, public welfare, and community development were compatible with the liberal ideal of social justice. Within the church, however, these programs were born out of a biblical sense of public responsibility and expressed no political sectarianism. Perhaps it was this absence of political commitments that enabled denominational programs to continue irrespective of abrupt changes in government.

Division leaders worked with governments of all stripe, but Figuhr admitted that liberalism had been favorable to denominational fortunes. After recognizing both liberal and conservative wings in South America, he asserted that “it is to this . . . liberal element that we are greatly indebted, for it has opened the way for our work, granting us the freedom that we have . . . [M]en of this liberal persuasion have arisen to defend us and to plead our cause.”²⁶ Whatever blessings the division enjoyed from South American liberal movements, Adventists maintained a judicious silence about politics. It paid off. After denominational youth earned a reputation in Argentina for avoiding protest marches and subversive movements in the 1970s, the minister of education honored them by issuing a decree forbidding public institutions to coerce them to attend classes and examinations on Sabbath.²⁷

Following the precedents that Domingos Peixoto established in the office of public affairs and religious liberty, his successors maintained a constant vigilance with public and military authorities. “Far from being an obstacle, the name of Seventh-day Adventist is today a recommendation,” Antonio A. Nepomuceno reported after a series of contacts with the government in 1970. Among the leading issues that he and his colleagues discussed with military and civilian officials were the rights of Sabbath observance by Adventist students in public universities and the impact of education reform on Adventist schools. Lending assistance in this effort was Eurides Brito da Silva, an Adventist who, as a member of the Ministry of Education and Culture, helped to shape Brazil’s new education legislation that would require extensive upgrading of elementary schools.²⁸

Not infrequently Adventist leaders pled their own cause before presidents. Denominational radio broadcasts resumed in Argentina on March 7, 1954, following

a visit by several church leaders with Juan Perón, Argentina's president. During a shaky moment in Brazilian politics, Figuhr, accompanied by Aitken and Brazilian Adventist leaders, conferred with President João Goulart, who committed his support to denominational outreach programs. Later, when the Brazilian chief executive inaugurated a power dam in Bahia, he also commented favorably about *Luminar I*, which went into service at the same time. During the division meetings in November 1979, a delegation of ministers and laymen visited João Figueiredo to thank him for legislation that favorably affected the church and to reassure him of Adventist loyalty and their continued commitment to the public well-being through the work of Assistência Social Adventista.

While on an inspection tour of property, officers of the Bolivia Mission met President Víctor Paz Estenssoro, who was horseback riding with twenty other officials. The unplanned meeting opened the way for later conversations about denominational aims and projects. In December 1964 Chilean President Eduardo Frei received a delegation of thirty church leaders from the Austral Union to explain what Adventists were doing in Chile.²⁹

Heads of state invariably affirmed their commitment to liberty and humanitarian projects. Getulio Vargas entertained one Adventist delegation by recounting how he had named his son Luther, in honor of the sixteenth-century Protestant reformer, who, the president declared, was a champion of conscience.³⁰ Small wonder that South American Adventists perceived OFASA as a visible and apolitical agency and the Medical Cadet Corps as essential to the well-being of the church.

Perhaps the greatest fear South American leaders sensed was the satisfaction of success. Speaking at the annual meetings in November 1969, Oliveira, at the time division ministerial secretary, warned fellow workers about the subtle effects of spectacular growth, institutionalism, and the tyranny of the ecclesiastical machine, in short, a caution not to allow the bigness of the church to become a substitute for the genuine source of authority and power. In speeches and articles, he defended statistical measurement of church growth, but continued his warnings about formalism and the lack of fervor, recalling that early workers pursued their tasks without the strength of a huge church behind them.³¹

It would have been only human to stumble into the pitfall that Oliveira described, a possibility made easy by the undeniable human character of the church. In 1980 Seventh-day Adventism in South America was no longer a small movement in out-of-the-way corners of the continent. Although not a household term around the

continent, Adventists had gained a reputation in all South American countries for schools, medical institutions, publications, and a habit of lending a helping hand to needy people.

Possibly South Americans surprised themselves with their own success. “For decades the South American Division occupied a modest position in the world field,” Oliveira recalled during his report to the 1980 General Conference session. When Figuhr suggested in 1950 that the division was anticipating annual baptismal records of 10,000, it “seemed like a visionary dream, an impossible objective.” Thirty years later annual accessions reached 50,000, which was the division’s entire membership when Figuhr predicted his “visionary” figure.

Oliveira’s explanation of what had happened in South America was direct and simple. “In this day and age there may be some who do not believe in miracles,” he said. “But the tremendous growth of the Adventist work in South America can be appreciated only when viewed in terms of a miracle wrought by the Holy Spirit working through a faithful and dedicated people, and a ministry motivated by a consuming passion for lost souls. How else could we explain this phenomenon of evangelistic growth.”³²

If these events meant one thing more than any other, it was probably that church leaders interpreted remarkable growth as evidence of their sense of destiny and their belief in God’s leading. By the same token, they saw the church as a human organization with flaws. At times these inadequacies had been embarrassingly apparent, and when Adventists were beset with political and social issues, sometimes of global dimensions, they doubtlessly had to stretch their imaginations to believe the oft-quoted denominational dictum that despite its blemishes, the church is the object of God’s supreme affection. But leaders had reasons for drawing attention to church successes rather than to point to problems. The conviction prevailed that unity rather than divisiveness would make the going much easier for the church as it picked its way through its dilemmas. Arthur Valle remarked that monetary problems made it necessary for pastors to lean on the support of members who in their turn preached Adventism by visiting and praying with neighbors and otherwise demonstrating that their church was a relevant social as well as a spiritual influence.³³

If one element stands out that enabled South Americans to maintain their part of the Adventist world church, it would probably be the consistency of single-minded individuals who led the division. Dedicated to the fulfillment of the commission to

take the gospel of Christ everywhere, they never let institutions or programs become ends in themselves, but viewed them as means to achieve their central purpose. In 1980 no one claimed that South America was a perfect administrative unit of the Adventist church, but it had come of age.

¹ Enoch Oliveira, "The Lord at work," *AR*, April 27, 1980.

² SAD Minutes, February 19, 1950, GCA/SAD; *ibid.*, December 2, 1969; *Statistical Report*, 1950, 1970.

³ Arthur S. Valle, "Dificuldades, Explosão Demográfica e Crescimento da Igreja – 1936 a 1976," *RA (B)*, December 1976.

⁴ SAD Minutes, February 19, 1950, GCA/SAD; *ibid.*, December 11, 1951, December 3, 1951, August 7, 1952, November 25, 1952.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1950, December 11, 1950, June 18, 1953, November 26, 1953, April 9, 1954, July 22, 1954.

⁶ *Ibid.*, November 26, 1954, November 25, 1955; F. C. Webster to W. P. Bradley, September 27, 1956, GCA/21, GF/1956.

⁷ SAD Minutes, September 22, 1953, GCA/SAD; *ibid.*, August 11, 1954.

⁸ N. W. Dunn "Annual Committee of the South Brazil Union," *RH*, March 17, 1966.

⁹ SAD Minutes, May 20, 1969, GCA/SAD; "Report of Survey Committee-South American Division, April 7-28, 1969," GCA/21, GF/1969; R. A. Wilcox, M. S. Nigri, and R. L. Walden to officers of unions and conferences and missions, May 4, 1969, *ibid.*

¹⁰ H. W. Barrows to General Conference officers, June 8, 1953, *ibid.*/1953.

¹¹ J. J. Aitken to W. R. Beach, May 9, 1960, *ibid.*, officers' folder; W. R. Beach to J. J. Aitken, May 17, 1960, *ibid.*; Memorandum from General Conference officers' meeting, October 30, 1967, *ibid.*/1967; "Secondary Education for Overseas Children, the South American Division," *ibid.*, W. R. Beach folder.

¹² J. J. Aitken to W. R. Beach and F. R. Millard, November 8, 1961, *ibid.*/1961, officers' folder; F. R. Millard to J. J. Aitken, November 29, 1961, *ibid.*; N. W. Dunn to M. S. Nigri and David Baasch, January 24, 1966, *ibid.*; Mervyn G. Hardinge to David Baasch, September, 1969; *ibid.*/GF; R. A. Wilcox to David Baasch, December 31, 1969, *ibid.*/1970; David Baasch to Enoch Oliveira and Jose Figueroa, July 27, 1970, *ibid.*

¹³ R. R. Figuhr to W. P. Bradley, March 30, 1950, *ibid.*/1950.

¹⁴ SAD Minutes, February 17, 1950, GCA; *ibid.*, December 2, 1969; *Statistical Report*, 1950, 1970.

¹⁵ Halcyon Westphal Wilson, *Three Generations*, 150.

¹⁶ M. S. Nigri to W. R. Beach, June 2, 1964, GCA/21, GF/1964, officers' folder.

¹⁷ Ivan Schmidt, *José Amador dos Reis*, 65-70.

¹⁸ See mastheads of *Today* to trace the changes in leadership.

¹⁹ N. W. Dunn to M. S. Nigri, November 5, 1965, GCA/21, GF/1965, officers' folder; M. S. Nigri to David Baasch, October 24, 1967, *ibid.*/GF.

²⁰ A. L. Ham and R. H. Adair to W. H. Branson, March 21, 1951, *ibid.*/1951.

²¹ F. R. Millard to L. H. Olson, April 4, 1961, *ibid.*/1961, officers' folder.

²² Bert Elkins, "Bolivian Ordination a Rare Event," *RH*, April 11, 1963; H. O. Burden, "First Latin President of the Lake Titicaca Mission," *ibid.*, March 31, 1966.

²³ Domingos Peixoto, "An Audience with the President-Elect of Brazil," GCA/21, GF/1951.

²⁴ R. Belz, "Novo Departamento," *RA (B)*, May 1951.

²⁵ W. E. Murray to N. W. Dunn, February 12, 1951, GCA/21, GF/1951; F. N. Siqueira, "Serving Our God and Our Country in Brazil," *RH*, June 9, 1955; H. Eugene Walker, "Medical Cadet Camp in North Brazil," *ibid.*, August 25, 1955; D. Peixoto da Silva, "Brazil Army Helps Give Medical Cadet Training," *ibid.*, July 19, 1956; M. V. Campbell, "America—South of the Equator," *ibid.*, March 10, 1966; H. J. Peverini, "Brazilian Medical Cadet Complete Course at College," *ibid.*, May 9, 1974.

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²⁶ R. R. Figuhr, "The South American Division," *ibid.*, July 16, 1950.

²⁷ Gordon Engen, "Argentina Grants Exemptions for Students," *ibid.*, December 22, 1977.

²⁸ Antonio A. Nepomuceno, "Departamento de Assuntos Cívicos-Religiosos da Confederação das Uniões Brasileiras da IASD," *RA* (B), April 1970.

²⁹ Elmer R. Walde, "On the Air Again in Argentina," *RH*, April 29, 1954; J. J. Aitken, "An Interview With the President of Brazil," *ibid.*, May 24, 1962; Merlin Kretschmar, "Photo Story on Recent Events in the Bahia and Sergipe Mission, Brazil," *ibid.*, February 13, 1964; "Relatórios, Planos e Metas da DSA," *RA* (B), January 1980. Bert Elkins, "A Visit With the President of Bolivia," *RH*, July 25, 1963; David D. Dennis, "Austral Union Committee Visits Chile President," *ibid.*, March 18, 1965.

³⁰ Domingos Peixoto, "An Audience With the President-Elect of Brazil," *GCA*/21, GF/1951.

³¹ SAD Minutes, November 28, 1969, *GCA*/SAD; Enoch Oliveira, "Souls and Statistics," *Today*, L (May-June 1974), 4, 5; and "Denominational Fervor," *ibid.*, LIII (January-June 1977), 2-4.

³² Enoch Oliveira, "The Lord at work," *AR*, April 27, 1980.

³³ Arthur S. Valle, "Dificuldades, Explosão Demográfica e Crescimento da Igreja – 1936 a 1976," *RA* (B), December 1976.



THE THROB OF SOUL-WINNING

ONE OF THE most visible signs that the South American Division had come of age was its ability to achieve an identity during the years after 1950 as a productive soul-winning region in the Seventh-day Adventist world. Although historians and theologians have found many ways to analyze the meaning of Seventh-day Adventism, membership growth has remained as the primary measurement of effectiveness of the church in fulfilling its mission. It has been the foundation on which the structure of all church activity rests.

A sense of world mission did not appear in Adventism immediately upon denominational organization in 1860. Only years later did a compulsion seize them to fulfill the gospel commission to go into all the world with the gospel. By the 1890s their conviction became a denominational passion. "Go ye into all the world" was never an official church slogan, but it developed into something perhaps even more powerful, a statement that defined the reason for the church's existence and its identity as a mission-oriented institution.

Over the years, the annual *Statistical Report*, a collection of numbers published by the General Conference, provides raw data about how far the spiritual heirs of Joseph Bates, J. N. Andrews,

and James and Ellen White have carried the church's commitment to go into all the world. The 144th report, which summarized the year 2008, was a mind-boggling array of tables, charts, and graphs of both current and historical data. The bottom line revealed that the fourteen world divisions of the church claimed 15,921,408 members on December 31, 2008, of whom 2,250,520 were on the rolls of South American churches. Another way of stating this fact is to say that when the year 2008 ended, a fraction above 14 percent of all Seventh-day Adventists lived in South America, or that one of every seven Adventists on the planet was a South American.

As much as South America grew since 1980, its proportional comparison to the church at large did not change dramatically, which meant that the world church itself also experienced a monumental upward trend in membership. Nearly three decades earlier in 1980 the statistics showed that the General Conference was divided into ten world divisions and two additional inaccessible fields, China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, all of which combined for a total of 3,480,518 members. At that time South America reported 496,954 congregants, which translated into 14.3 percent, or one in seven Adventists being a South American.¹

If South Americans thought that the term "explosion" appropriately characterized their membership increases from the 1950s to 1980, perhaps "seismic" or "volcanic" would describe the surge during the years that followed. The facts show that South America played its part in this movement well.

ONE THOUSAND DAYS OF REAPING AND HARVEST 90

It was at the Annual Council in 1981 that General Conference President Neal Wilson called for a new emphasis on evangelism. Known as "One Thousand Days of Reaping," this campaign established a goal of a million baptisms by the time the next General Conference session convened in 1985. All world fields utilized the eleven months between October 1981 and September 1982 to prepare for the new undertaking.² However, with a new division president, João Wolff, installed in 1980, South Americans were already gathering evangelistic momentum before One Thousand Days of Reaping began.

"At the beginning of the quinquennium," Wolff said in his first report to the General Conference in 1985, "leaders from all the division gathered and prepared a plan of action." Among the major points of the planning was a recognition that God's Spirit was to direct all resources of the division. The term "resources" included more than money; it extended as well to persons, institutions, and even

plans. “Sowing, Reaping, and Keeping” became a division motto, with specific emphasis on involvement by local congregations.³

Events unfolded quickly. In September 1980 as the South American summer neared, officers of the Austral Union committed themselves to eighty evangelistic series before the end of the year. Some local conferences purchased tents to conduct meetings. During 1981 the Inca Union planned 150 evangelistic meetings. Even with this strong impetus, membership growth in Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay remained at the rate achieved during the 1970s, which indicated less productive evangelism in the Austral Union as compared to other South American fields.⁴ By contrast, membership in Brazil was increasing voluminously. In June 1981 Brazilian Seventh-day Adventists edged above 300,000, making that country second only to the United States with the most church members.⁵

South American church leaders interrupted their projects to attend a division council meeting in July, preceded by a nine-day session with departmental officers to discuss ways to unite their efforts in carrying out their plan for the quinquennium. Wolff left no doubt that the reason for the meeting was unity of action.⁶ During the Autumn Evangelistic Drive in April 1982 when division leaders laid further plans, pastors and church members in the South Brazil Union proposed 1,500 soul-winning campaigns. Inspired by this bold stroke, the rest of the division’s workers added their commitments to raise South America’s total to 6,000 evangelistic efforts in order to fulfill their part in the One Thousand Days of Reaping.⁷

Wolff elaborated in his 1985 report that ministers mobilized all resources in a given area to conduct “intensive metropolitan evangelism.” Division officers took charge of the campaign. In order to spur South American ministers on, in 1983 Mario Veloso, secretary of the division, published a statistical summary of the progress that the Thousand Days campaign had made during 1982. Capitalizing on Holy Week as an opportune moment to organize evangelism was a key strategy for much activity. The Thousand Days program, Veloso explained, was of “absolute priority,” and he promised evaluative and planning sessions before the year 1983 ended.⁸ During 1983 each of the division’s six unions concentrated on a major metropolitan campaign. The following year all conferences and missions applied the same idea in their local fields, and in the final phases of the One Thousand Days of Reaping, each pastor was expected to repeat the process in his own district.

Textbook examples of metropolitan evangelism occurred across the division. In 1982 Daniel Belvedere, the division evangelist, scheduled meetings in all of the

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churches in the area of Guayaquil, Ecuador. Thirty ministerial students from Inca Union University, later known as Peruvian Union University, participated. After a torrid pace of ninety consecutive nights of preaching, ministers baptized more than a thousand converts. According to former Division President Enoch Oliveira, these results were “of a magnitude never before achieved in the history of evangelism in South America.” From Ecuador, Belevedere went on to Buenos Aires to participate in another highly organized metropolitan series that anticipated the involvement of more than a thousand lay workers. Meanwhile, in 1983 Alcides Campolongo organized the Baixada Santista campaign in a region of the São Paulo Conference in which teams of workers conducted twelve separate sets of meetings. Each speaker led two series on alternating nights. The campaign lasted seven months and ended with the baptism of 1,300 converts.⁹

A similar story unfolded in Aracajú, capital of Brazil’s smallest state, Sergipe, where only 700 members existed when the One Thousand Days of Reaping began. Severino Bezerra de Oliveira, another division evangelist, organized about fifty workers in a campaign that also ran for ninety nights at eight locations. Thirty-nine of the workers were theology students from Northeast Brazil College. The series climaxed on a Sabbath afternoon when participating ministers baptized 1,240 persons in an Olympic-sized swimming pool. Membership in the city reached nearly 2,000, and the number of congregations rose to seven.

During the last stages of One Thousand Days of Reaping—the first six months of 1985—South American ministers baptized more than 42,000 new members, more than in any other world division during the same period. For the entire thousand days, however, the South American Division ranked third in accessions. The statistics show that the net increase in membership in the field during the entire period from 1980 to 1985 approximated 200,000.¹⁰

The impact of metropolitan evangelism was phenomenal. For the first time in division history, in 1980 the number of converts exceeded 52,000 in a single year, averaging more than 1,000 per week. After his tour of South America in 1981, even before the Thousand Days campaign officially began, General Conference Vice President Lowell Bock described what he observed as “the throb of soul winning activity.” In 1984, for the first time, more than 5,000 converts were baptized in Chile in a single year. In the East Brazil Union, several pastors reported the conversion of entire congregations of other faiths, including the pastors. In some instances these new congregations transferred ownership of their church properties to the local Adventist conference or mission.¹¹

By 1985 Seventh-day Adventists had become the second most populous church in Peru. More than a hundred congregations worshiped in Lima. A thousand miles upstream from the mouth of the Amazon the twelve congregations in Manaus, Brazil, grew to about fifty churches that claimed 6,000 members. Participating as an evangelistic speaker in this sharp rise was Léo Ranzolin, a native Brazilian who at the time was director of the General Conference Youth Ministries Department. Even more impressive was growth in the huge city of São Paulo where about 300 congregations met each week. During the first part of 1985, all of them united to conduct what Wolff called a massive evangelistic effort, consisting of more than 600 nightly meetings.¹²

At the beginning of One Thousand Days of Reaping, the world divisions established separate goals to meet the overall denominational aim of a million baptisms. On the first Sabbath afternoon of the General Conference session in 1985, division leaders celebrated the end of the campaign by announcing their total membership accessions during the thirty-five months that the campaign had been underway. South America reported 181,282 accessions. Its goal was 170,000.¹³ These figures indicated evangelistic results during the thirty-five-month campaign of One Thousand Days of Reaping only. South America's quinquennial plan that embraced the entire period, 1980-1985, produced 309,000 baptisms, a figure which Wolff emphasized more strongly than accomplishments during the Thousand Days.

Wolff's enthusiasm for the division's plans was not a snub of the denominational campaign, but he obviously implied that evangelistic fervor was not new to his field, declaring that when the Thousand Days campaign began in 1982 South American leaders were already involved in their own evangelistic plans. They had reached record levels of baptisms in 1979, which had inspired them to work even more aggressively for 1980 and beyond. Arthur S. Valle acknowledged that the baptisms in 1979 were the result of a coordinated effort involving not just public evangelism but literature distribution, radio and television programs, correspondence lessons, and "the most important of all," participation by the lay membership who had visited 5,000,000 homes and given away 10,000,000 pieces of literature.¹⁴ For South Americans to conduct their existing plans under the rubric of a denominationally adopted slogan was more a case of adopting official terminology than beginning something new.

Church leaders did not believe that their emphasis on evangelism should end in 1985. When delegates to the General Conference gathered that year, a more ambitious program awaited them, "Harvest 90," which challenged Adventists to add two

million during the next five years. To encourage continuing awareness of the goal, a logo depicting a minister baptizing a new convert appeared on denominational materials with almost predictable regularity.

Unlike One Thousand Days of Reaping which started at an annual council more than two years after a General Conference session, Harvest 90 began at the world gathering in 1985. Adventist leaders left the session with a global program in place and with specific baptismal goals to achieve. The South American Division's share of the five-year program was 350,000 accessions which officers in Brasília took humbly but with an appropriate spiritual aplomb. "At the close of the fifty-fourth General Conference session . . . in 1985," Wolff recalled five years later, "when Elder Wilson gave opportunity to division leaders to present their objective for the coming quinquennium, we said that our greatest effort would be in preaching the gospel, announcing that Jesus Christ, our Saviour, is soon to return."¹⁵

With a goal that amounted to more than a sixth of the entire denominational mark for Harvest 90, the South American Division had its work cut out for itself, but the soul-winning levels that South American Adventists achieved during the One Thousand Days of Reaping became a commonplace during the next five years. Ranzolin, now an associate secretary of the General Conference, reported more than 1,500 baptisms in São Luís, Maranhão, Brazil, in 1987. During the same year, another General Conference visitor returned from a tour of the division, speaking in superlatives about evangelism in Ecuador and Bolivia that had resulted in more than a thousand converts in each country. During Harvest 90, South American ministers baptized more than 448,000 persons.¹⁶ South America reached another milestone at the end of 1990—breaking the 1,000,000-member "barrier," as the division secretary described it in *Revista Adventista*. At the same time, South America became the second largest division in the Adventist world.¹⁷

Metropolitan evangelism, the division's signature method during the first half of the decade, continued, broadening into national campaigns in which church leaders organized all workers in a given country to conduct membership drives. Evangelist José Justiniano explained that in Chile the national campaign brought together ministers, lay members, physicians, teachers, chaplains, and other workers in an all-inclusive effort of soul-winning. More than 5,500 baptisms resulted from this coordinated effort to involve Adventist churches in the entire country in a concerted membership drive.¹⁸ This new twist on coordinated evangelism lasted until 1989 when the focus shifted again to a division-wide program called the Continental

Campaign of Renewal in Christ. From 1985 to 1990, evangelistic vision in South America thus progressed from metropolitan campaigns to national programs and on to a continental view of spreading the gospel. The entire division pulsated with meetings that followed the motto “Sowing, Reaping, and Keeping.”

Results were greater than anticipated. By September 1989 the division reached its total, led by the Inca Union, the first field in the world to achieve its share of the Harvest 90 goal. Large cities, especially national capitals, felt the surge. More than 1,000 new members joined Adventist congregations in Lima, Peru. Membership in La Paz, Bolivia, increased by more than 800, and nearly 600 converts joined in Brasília. Lesser communities did not remain out of reach. In Paragominas, a relatively small city with fewer than 100,000 persons southeast of Belém in the Brazilian state of Pará, evangelists baptized more than 700 converts. In Tucumán, deep in the hinterland on the Andean slope of northwestern Argentina, about 400 new Adventists were added.¹⁹

GLOBAL MISSION

Before Harvest 90 ended, planners at the General Conference were ready to launch Global Mission (originally called Global Strategy), a more aggressive campaign to “reach the unreached,” to use phraseology that had become a popular Adventist paraphrase of the gospel commission, “go ye into all the world.” This new venture became an institution in itself, established as the Global Mission Department of the General Conference with its own director. Later, the Global Mission Department morphed into a larger entity, Adventist Mission, with its own researchers, statisticians, and planners.²⁰

At first glance one might assume that the South American Division needed no prodding for these evangelistic initiatives, since membership growth was already one of its well-established benchmarks. There is some truth in that opinion, but South Americans themselves saw matters differently. As intense as they had already become about membership growth, they saw themselves surrounded by high rates of population growth and cities that were sprawling outward more rapidly than civic leaders could adequately govern them. Theirs was a continent growing at a rate that was outstripping even their best evangelistic endeavors.²¹

Among the concerned was Roberto Cesar de Azevedo, who began his professional career in 1964 as a young biology teacher at Brazil College. Earning a degree in biology from the University of São Paulo in 1967, he quickly moved into areas

of communication, youth ministry, and educational administration, besides finding time to conduct research projects, one of his favorite activities.

By 1973 Azevedo's research produced "Difusão 73," which focused on Brazil, but was an audit of all communities in the world exceeding 10,000 persons. His purpose was to discover how well Adventism was spreading. The next year he added new information to the international section of his study, such as languages associated with specific locations and the extent of Adventist penetration. In 1976 the Department of World Missions, Andrews University, published Azevedo's paper, *The Uneven Strength of the SDA Presence in the World*, a title that implied a single major idea to readers: the methods Seventh-day Adventists employed to carry out their mission needed some improvements. Azevedo involved his wife and brother in still further research, which increased to hundreds of pages by the time Global Mission became an official program of the church.

In a brief summary in *Revista Adventista*, Azevedo challenged church growth trends in Brazil during the 1970s, calling them unsatisfactory despite the high figures. While complimenting church leaders for the total numbers of membership increases, he pointed out that entering municipalities where no Adventist presence existed was still occurring so slowly that more than sixty years would pass before the church could say it had covered just the country of Brazil. His larger study, *Projeto Estratégia de Missão Global 1991-2000*, overflowed with data about the entire South American Division. Church leaders in South America recognized it as one of the most objective analyses measuring the success of the church in fulfilling its mission in their field.²²

While Azevedo's research was an invaluable contribution to South American evangelism, he was not alone in carrying out such studies. In 1985 workers in the Far Eastern Division were also working on a similar project that defined "people-groups" as the basic evangelistic target and outlined specific strategies to reach populations still untouched by Adventism.²³ Azevedo's project differed in that it began before the One Thousand Days of Reaping, but research in both South America and the Far East was a tacit acknowledgment that organizing the church for spiritual action was based more on an understanding of the cold objectivity of hard data than church leaders had heretofore admitted.

The fires of evangelism burned hot in the South American Division during One Thousand Days of Reaping and Harvest 90, but Global Mission added more fuel, albeit in a different manner. The programs of the 1980s outlined specific evangelistic goals with beginning and ending dates. For all of their success, One Thousand Days

of Reaping and Harvest 90 were predicated on baptismal goals. While the programs fired up evangelistic enthusiasm in all fields, the most notable membership growth occurred in regions already known for large numbers of converts. Global Mission differed by shifting the attention of the church to the gospel commission, which was still unfulfilled. It focused on regions where success had been elusive. The goal of Global Mission was to complete the gospel commission rather than to achieve a specific number of baptisms.

The new emphasis was on what in Adventist parlance was called the 10/40 Window, or those regions between latitudes ten and forty north of the equator where about 60 percent of the world's population lived. In this window Christianity was a scarce commodity, but in it lay the heartlands of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Jon Dybdahl of the World Mission Department at Andrews University called Adventism's commitment to this part of the world "The Great Recommission," explaining that in order to reach the unreached in this region new techniques in conducting missions would be necessary.

Dybdahl was not alone in his opinion. "If you were to ask me to show you a strategy for reaching these groups, I couldn't," the General Conference president said at the Annual Council in Rio de Janeiro in 1986. "I'm grateful for the initiative by the churches. But that's not a global strategy." One of the major actions by the Annual Council delegates that year authorized the General Conference to develop a global plan to reach the unreached. At the 1990 General Conference session, Neal Wilson unveiled a plan called Global Strategy that divided the entire world into people-groups, each group being an identifiable population cluster consisting of about a million persons. He declared that the goal of Global Mission was to plant an Adventist presence—a new church—in every one of the 1,800 people-groups that were still unreached by Adventism. Most of them lay within the 10/40 Window. The General Conference president designated the ten years from 1990 to 2000 to accomplish this goal.²⁴

The South American Division lay outside the 10/40 Window, but this did not mean that Global Mission did not apply. Although church attention focused on the 10/40 Window as a responsibility that all fields shared, strengthening the Adventist presence everywhere was a parallel goal. Instead of promoting a specific baptismal goal with its ensuing sense of satisfaction after achieving it, Global Mission cultivated world mission as a universal mood of the church.

South America was fertile soil where this kind of evangelistic mentality flourished. Roberto Azevedo's study had already shown to South Americans that Adventism had

progressed at an uneven pace, even in their own division, and that evangelistic strategy should correct this problem as much as possible. His findings were not intended to initiate an evangelistic movement in South America. Such a movement already existed. His purpose was to encourage an improved direction. As Global Mission advanced, recognition emerged that evangelism in South America had developed into more than an activity for the professional ministry—it had become a way of life.

In 1995 Wolff confirmed the Global Mission concept, characterizing South America as “a blazing continent.” “Evangelism is a constant among us,” he said, emphasizing again the fact that a mentality of evangelism permeated his field. Some district pastors were baptizing as many as 2,000 converts a year. As impressive as these numbers were, baptismal goals seemed less important after 1990. Wolff described Global Mission as “an evangelistic strategy aimed to finish the mission Jesus entrusted to the church.” He confessed that the new program “led us to stop, analyze which places were less evangelized, and then take steps to establish the work there.”²⁵

In a sense the fundamental spirit of Global Mission had been the compelling motivation in South America since the beginning of Adventism on the continent. It had been the dominant attitude among the pioneers when they first met with German settlements in Argentina and Brazil in the 1890s. It was an unmistakable element in the minds of Fernando and Ana Stahl and their colleagues in the Peruvian hinterlands as well as Leo and Jessie Halliwell and their fellow workers on the Amazon. A consciousness that South America still posed similar challenges had never died. They had also been part of the evangelistic outlook during the programs of the 1980s.

Numerous cases of Adventism entering new territory occurred during the years of the Thousand Days of Reaping and continued into Global Mission. Adventists regarded free land grants that the government offered along the Trans-Amazon Highway as an opportunity to migrate to new land and plant churches. Again, a westward migratory movement in Brazil prompted the North Brazil Union Mission to organize the state of Acre and the territory of Rondônia into the West Amazon Mission. Both of these regions lay in the extreme west bordering on Bolivia and Peru. *Revista Adventista* explained that the influx of colonists, mainly from southern Brazil, was creating new markets in agricultural, cattle, and mining industries and that this demographic and economic activity affected the church. The South American Division discovered how much of an impact the regional economy exerted on the church when this field became the first conference to be organized in the North Brazil Union in 1990. At least one of the local fields in the union dated

from 1927, an indication of how long Adventist presence had existed before it matured into a self-sustaining part of church organization.²⁶

There were other examples of Adventism penetrating the backlands or reaching out to peripheral groups. Converts from the Japanese community, mainly in southern Brazil, became numerous enough to organize separate churches, beginning in 1965. Earlier, from 1959 to 1964, Kiyotaka Shirai, a Japanese minister, produced a Japanese version of the *Voice of Prophecy* in São Paulo. During the years after 1980, the number of Japanese Adventists failed to grow, however, partly because of a decline in immigration, but also because of traditional anti-Christian attitudes and secularism. After successful outreach among Mennonite communities in Mexico, in 1980 Santiago Schmidt turned to colonies of this same religious group in South America. Recalling the ministry of Leo Halliwell, in 1981 Chief Iapé of the Sateré tribe in the Brazilian jungle called on Seventh-day Adventists for help in establishing improved living conditions among his people. Wolff responded by saying that Adventists are “duty bound . . . to develop our work among the Indian population of South America.”²⁷

In 1971 outreach began among the Tobas Indians in the Chaco region of Argentina, which by 1983 had grown to a church of thirty believers. In 1985 João Werreria, a Carajá tribesman and a recent graduate of Brazil College, became the first pastor to the Carajá Indians along the Araguaia River, a work that A. N. Allen had begun during the 1920s. In Chile Isaac Poseck, an ordained Adventist minister and a descendent of Jewish immigrants, initiated efforts to reach compatriots who were of Hebrew background. By 1997 his labors extended into Argentina. More recently in 2001 a group of Argentine youth accepted the challenge to enter Abra Pampa, a location near the Bolivian border at 3,400 meters elevation.²⁸

In Chile, after reading an Adventist tract, *Cristo Viene . . . Prepárese*, a young gypsy sought out an Adventist church and began studying the Bible with the hope of sharing his newfound faith with his people. In 1978 Antonio Tiszavari started to work formally among this group, which many often regarded as social pariahs. Within five years a gypsy congregation of twenty developed. Inspired by this success, the members moved from their meeting place in Tiszavari's home to land of their own. Another five-year interval passed before they raised sufficient money to build their own church in Santiago. By 2010 about a thousand gypsies had converted to Adventism, organized in six congregations.²⁹

One of the most amazing reports of the impact of Global Mission came from Ecuador in 2005. Reviving memories of the earliest denominational workers who

braved the risks of jungle travel, Eddy Núñez Sánchez, an Ecuadoran minister, recounted his response to a call from a Shuara tribesman who had discovered Adventism and had taught a group of fellow villagers the rudiments of belief, including the Sabbath. The Shuara convert wanted someone to baptize these believers. After making contact with church officials, the tribesman led Núñez Sánchez on a flight to the city nearest his destination, deep in eastern Ecuador, and continued two days through the wilderness, crossing “mountain after mountain” and fording six rivers. Exhausted, the pair finally arrived at an indigenous community. For four days the preacher explained Adventism and climaxed his meetings by baptizing sixteen new members. His astonishment reached its limit when he discovered that the source of information about Adventism that had aroused an interest in the first young convert was an old book, *Principios de Vida*, published during the early years of ACES, now yellow and stained with age, but still confirming biblical truths.³⁰

Admittedly, some of these undertakings in out-of-the-way places were small and contributed only limited baptisms to the large goals of denominational campaigns. But it was this kind of outreach that Global Mission emphasized—the need to carry the gospel to places where no Adventist presence existed. By 2009 Edison Choque, director of South America’s Global Mission office, reported more than 1,100 congregations scattered among twenty-six ethnic minority groups. The overwhelming majority of these churches existed within the aborigines in the Andean republics, but inspired by the goals of Global Mission, this movement showed that the church was reaching out to long neglected peoples.³¹

Global Mission also identified other kinds of unreached areas. Roberto Azevedo had long identified the South American municipality as the basic political unit to measure evangelistic penetration of the continent. Wolff reported in 1990 that Adventists were still absent in the majority of these localities, and Ruy Nagel, who succeeded Wolff in 1995, also acknowledged that soft spots remained in the division’s evangelism. “In our division we have areas of high Seventh-day Adventist concentration,” he said. “There are, of course, other areas that are more difficult.” After fifteen years of Global Mission experience, Nagel confessed that “we still have many locations without an Adventist presence. This is a challenge for the Global Mission program.”³²

Soft spots notwithstanding, Azevedo’s observation that the majority of municipalities were without Adventists did not go unnoticed. In 1983 the southern portion of the Central Minas Mission broke off to form the South Minas Mission. This action,

Revista Adventista said, was for the express purpose of evangelizing the more than 500 municipalities in Minas Gerais where no Adventist presence existed.³³

After five years of Global Mission, Azevedo published detailed evaluations of evangelistic challenges and progress in South America. Extensive statistical data and accompanying observations showed how well each conference and mission in South America was advancing. It was a skillful application of the Global Mission principle of people-groups to South American municipalities, identifying “conquered” municipalities as those that reported one Adventist per 500 of the general population. An Adventist presence was completely absent in the “zero” municipalities, and in between were the “entered” municipalities with an Adventist population ratio less than one to 500. Azevedo noted that advancements occurred during the five years, 1990-1995, but he suggested that church members as well as church leaders review the data to establish new priorities and methods to fulfill the purpose of Global Mission.³⁴

Many church leaders looked at overall growth figures to measure success. Reflecting on 150 years of Adventism since the Great Disappointment in 1844, Division Secretary Edwin I. Mayer assured fellow Adventists in 1995 that the presence of the church was strong in South America.³⁵ Statistics bore out his claim, but however encouraging the totals were, no one could deny Azevedo’s point that church growth had been uneven and many dark areas remained in South America.

As the South American version of Global Mission proceeded into the twenty-first century, evangelistic emphasis focus became more intense on the hundreds of thousands in unreached municipal areas. Repeated statistical measurements of soul-winning efforts encouraged the tendency among church leaders in South America to evaluate their progress and to set specific goals. That this mentality had become a dominant ingredient in the evangelistic recipe was evident when division and union leaders met in Brasília in November 2004 to lay plans for the coming year. According to their needs, the ten unions established their own priorities, which varied from field to field, but in common they all committed themselves to “improvement of spiritual life and participation in missionary activities.”³⁶

During a session of the South Brazil Union in February 1996, the officers of the South Mato Grosso Conference reported that only seven municipalities in their territory remained without an Adventist presence.³⁷ When division officers reported to South Americans in 2000, they declared as fact what observers had already sensed—evangelism had become an institution in and of itself. “In South America Global Mission is not a passing strategy; it is a normal, permanent and constant program,” they said.³⁸

By 2009 evangelism recorded substantial progress in entering South America's municipalities. The Division Global Mission office reported an Adventist presence in 5,252 of these political units, which calculated to 55 percent of the continent's municipalities. A presence had begun in another 191. The regions in northern and northeastern Brazil posed both the biggest gains and the most serious challenges.³⁹ Nearly twenty years had passed since João Wolff acknowledged that Adventism had not entered the majority of South America's municipalities, but the statistics showed that a planned response to the issue of spreading the gospel was working.

MEMBERSHIP GROWTH AND ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE

Membership increases after 1980 were most pronounced in Brazil and the Andean republics. During the 1980s net growth in Brazil hovered around 20,000 per year, reaching nearly 30,000 in the final year of Harvest 90. At the onset of Global Mission, the figures skyrocketed, leaping to nearly 40,000 in 1991 and peaking out at more than 114,000 in 2003. In the Hispanic fields, the pattern differed. A brief increase during the first two years of Global Mission pushed net growth above 45,000 in 1992. A decline set in during the middle years of the decade, followed by a sudden surge in 1999 when Spanish-speaking Adventists increased by nearly 70,000. Net growth in the Hispanic fields was more than 90,000 in each of the years 2005 and 2006.⁴⁰

Patterns also existed in evangelistic methods. During the 1990s preaching by satellite became an Adventist movement. Few events evidenced this phenomenon more than Mark Finley's visit to Brazil in June 1999 to lead the third *Acts 2000* campaign. As speaker for the North American television program, *It Is Written*, he was already a recognized celebrity by viewers who were familiar with the Portuguese edition of the program.

The host site for Finley's appearances was Brazil College, which offered a 2,100-seat church for the audience to which Finley would speak. Through the technology of satellite broadcasting, Finley preached to an estimated 200,000 people for nine nights, which capped off preparation meetings that many lay members had already conducted throughout Brazil. When pastors reported their baptisms as a result of the entire campaign, the total exceeded 10,000.⁴¹

Beginning with One Thousand Days of Reaping, membership growth reverberated across the South American Division, which precipitated changes in the Adventist map. In 1986 the South Brazil Union lost about two-thirds of its territory when four conferences and one mission separated to form the Central Brazil Union

Conference. This new unit included Brazil's two long-standing institutions, Brazil College and Casa Publicadora, as well as the city of São Paulo where the Adventist population was burgeoning. Although more members lived in the Inca Union than in the South Brazil Union, it did not divide until years later, most likely because of its status as a union mission, which indicated its financially weaker condition.

Ecuador split from the Inca Union in 1983, becoming an attached field, but this separation from Peru and Bolivia had little to do with church growth. A prolonged border dispute between Ecuador and Peru that erupted into hostilities made church administration from Peru difficult. At that time Ecuador claimed slightly more than 9,000 members, not enough to justify a separation for administrative reasons. Except for this change in Ecuador, the reorganization in Brazil was the first at the union level of the South American Division in twenty years.⁴²

Throughout Harvest 90 and the years after Global Mission began, administrative changes followed church growth almost rhythmically. In 1996 division leaders carved out the Northeast Brazil Union Mission by cutting away a conference and two missions from the East Brazil Union Conference and combining them with a mission taken from the North Brazil Union Mission. This new union embraced the thickly populated shores both to the north and south of South America's hump, including such large historic cities as Fortaleza, Recife, and Salvador. It also became the parent organization for Northeast Brazil College.⁴³

Again in 1996 on the other side of the continent the Inca Union Mission finally divided when Bolivia broke off to organize a separate union mission with nearly 70,000 members. Peru was now the sole remaining component of the field that had once included the three Andean republics. Dropping the term "Inca" from its title, this largest of the original three countries assumed the name Peru Union Mission.

The benefits of this change showed up quickly. After only a decade of existence as a separate field, the Bolivia Union Mission grew spectacularly, reaching almost 185,000 members. Even with the loss of Bolivia, in 1996 Peru retained more than 367,000 members and was still the largest union in the South American Division. By the end of 2006 its membership soared above 770,000, a figure that roughly equaled the entire South American Division only ten years earlier. Faced with such an unwieldy administrative burden, Peru divided into the North and South Peru union missions in 2007. Lake Titicaca, the site of Adventist lore and legend since the days of Ferdinand and Ana Stahl, was part of South Peru, while the original campus of Peruvian Union University remained in North Peru.⁴⁴

Obviously, these organizational changes reflected the locations where membership increases were the greatest. When compiling the numbers for the 2001 edition of the *Statistical Report*, the denominational statistician was duly impressed. “Another milestone was reached,” she said, “when Brazil surpassed the million-member mark and continued to be the country having the largest number of Seventh-day Adventists within its borders.” The actual membership figure for Brazil was 1,063,962.⁴⁵ But the story in Brazil was far from over. In 2005 the new West Central Brazil Union Mission went into operation. By the end of 2007, phenomenal net growth in the North Brazil Union Mission produced a membership of about 450,000, prompting delegates to the Annual Council in Manila to approve another split that created the Northwest Brazil Union Mission.⁴⁶

Another change that went into effect in 2010 reduced the territory of the Austral Union to Argentina only, which took the name of Argentina Union. Both Paraguay and Uruguay assumed the title of a union of churches. This organizational status had been a topic of discussion since the 1980s and represented a major departure from denominational tradition. A union of churches was a hybrid, which for practical reasons resembled a traditional union in status but did not consist of local conferences or missions. It advantageously eliminated one administrative level, which was a financial saving to the tithe-paying constituency. More significantly, however, a union of churches usually appeared in those few regions in the world where political or economic conditions made a national organization of congregations more workable than the time-honored organizational models—conferences and missions that formed union conferences or missions.⁴⁷

As laudable as the overall numbers for South America were, they also represented temptations. First, it became easy to see the South American Division as two fields, Brazilian and Hispanic. For decades some Brazilians had agitated for a separate division, but the facts show while Brazil overshadowed its Hispanic neighbors in raw numbers, it was not running away with a preponderance of members. By 1980 Brazil held a 60-40 edge. The *rate* of membership growth after 1980 was slightly greater in the Spanish-speaking sector, but both parts of the division grew at a rapid pace. When the denomination launched Global Mission in 1990, the ratio had diminished to 54-46, still favoring Brazil. For practical purposes the ratio remained at these figures, but by 2006 the numbers were so large that only huge deviations in the pace of growth could alter the overall balance.

Another temptation has been to allow stratospheric levels of membership in

some fields to eclipse small, more slowly growing regions where baptismal rates were still very commendable and much higher than in other places in the Adventist world. Two examples were the Austral Union and Ecuador. The first, dominated by Argentina but including Paraguay and Uruguay, claimed barely more than 43,000 members in 1980; at the end of 2006 these three countries reported nearly 116,000, which translated into an increase of 169 percent over a twenty-six-year period. Church leaders admitted that a secularist mentality slowed evangelistic success in Argentina and Uruguay, but the church growth numbers were still outstanding.⁴⁸ However, when compared to Bolivia, Peru, and Brazil, they appeared much weaker than they actually were. An evaluation of growth required perspective.

Compared to more productive places, Ecuador had been something of an outpost on the Adventist map. *Nuestra Historia*, a fifty-two-page outline of the history of Seventh-day Adventists in Ecuador, published in 1998 by Augusto Rivas, an Ecuadoran minister, confirms that progress of Adventism in that country resulted only after decades of hard struggles. In spite of an Adventist presence since nearly the beginning of the twentieth century, this corner of the division reported only 6,347 members at the beginning of 1980, an admittedly mediocre showing when compared to the rest of the division. Circumstances did not bode well for Ecuador when it separated from the Inca Union Mission in 1983 and became an attached field. However, in 2001 the country became a union mission in its own right. The figures show that One Thousand Days of Reaping and Harvest 90 lit a fire which Global Mission fanned into a roaring blaze. Membership exceeded 15,000 by 1990, and when the year 2006 ended, the Ecuador Union Mission reported more than 68,000 names on its church rolls.⁴⁹

Yet another pitfall was to become so busy with evangelistic programs that local church clerks failed to maintain accurate records of membership in local congregations. This problem was not unique to South America. In 1997 it became acute enough in other fields as well to compel statisticians at the General Conference to add a new column to the *Statistical Report* called “adjustments,” which were changes either up or down according to inaccuracies in membership lists. After church clerks updated church membership lists, some South American fields had to admit to embarrassingly large numbers of apostasies that showed up as statistical losses after the corrections. By contrast, “adjustments” were necessary to clear up inaccurate and inconsistent bookkeeping and did not always represent actual loss or addition of members.

Events in the Austral, Chile, and North Brazil unions were cases in point. A negative adjustment of 3,000 members in the Austral Union in 1998 produced a decline in the official membership record. Similarly, the Chile Union Mission membership changed negatively in 2001 because of a large downward adjustment. But neither of these incidents compared with the massive change in the North Brazil Union Mission in 2006 when a negative adjustment of more than 196,000 members wiped out gains from an upward adjustment of more than 138,000 members. When combined with other changes, this audit of church books resulted in a statistical loss of more than 47,000 members. If anything, these experiences were a cautionary message to local conferences and missions to encourage orderly church records.⁵⁰

Although these adjustments in North Brazil were officially the result of sloppy bookkeeping, it is likely that because church leaders were handling such large numbers of membership accessions, they also faced the problem of hasty baptisms and apostasies. A huge negative adjustment exceeding 290,000 in 2008 combined with larger than average losses in northern Brazil and Peru resulted in a severe drop in the division membership. South America slipped from its position as the second largest division to fourth.⁵¹

Notwithstanding these negatives, number crunching for the South American Division produced some of the most exciting statistics in the Seventh-day Adventist world. The eight countries in this field had achieved more than a half century of sustained growth. Not only had South America come of age, it had forged ahead to become a denominational leader.

¹ *Statistical Report*, 1980 and 2008. The denomination began publishing statistics in 1862, first as part of the *Review and Herald*. As the volume of numbers increased, the report became a separate publication.

² A copy of the action appears in *AR*, November 12, 1981.

³ Wolff's report appears in at least three versions: in Spanish, *RA* (A), July 1985; in Portuguese, *RA* (B), May and June 1985; and in English in the General Conference Bulletin, "The Lord has done great things for us," *AR*, July 1, 1985. Although all three versions follow similar outline, they differ to fit the reading audience for which they are intended.

⁴ Arthur S. Valle, "'80 in '80' in So. America," *ibid.*, January 22, 1981; Haroldo Morán, "Ciento cincuenta ciclos de conferencias," *RA* (A), January 1981. See *Statistical Report*, 1970-1980.

⁵ Arthur S. Valle, "Membership passes 300,000," *AR*, October 29, 1981.

⁶ "Concílio Departamental e Administrativo da Divisão Sul-Americana," *RA* (B), August 1981.

⁷ Arthur S. Valle, "Soul winning is stepped up," *AR*, June 24, 1982.

⁸ Mario Veloso, "Evaluación de los Mil Días," *RA* (A), July 1983.

⁹ Enoch Oliveira, "New strategy in Ecuador is successful," *AR*, April 21, 1983; "Ciclos metropolitanos 1983 en Argentina," *RA* (A), July 1983. Campolongo, *Evangelismo*, 163, 164.

¹⁰ João Wolff, "The Lord has done great things for us," *AR*, July 1, 1985; *Statistical Report*, 1980, 1985.

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¹¹ Arthur S. Valle, "1,011 won per week in 1980," *ibid.*, April 23, 1981; Lowell Bock, "Visitor sees soul winning activity in South America," *ibid.*, March 25, 1982; News note, *ibid.*, May 2, 1985; "For the record," *ibid.*, March 8, 1984. For examples of entire congregations converting to Adventism, see "Pastor pentecostal se convierte," *RA* (A), February 1986, and "Iglesia entera acepta el adventismo," *ibid.*, April 1999.

¹² João Wolff, "The Lord has done great things for us," *AR*, July 1, 1985.

¹³ *Statistical Report*, 1985; B. B. Beach, "The Day in Review," *AR*, June 30, 1985; Roy F. Williams, "South America reports continued growth and optimism," *ibid.*, February 21, 1985.

¹⁴ Arturo de Souza Valle, "Más de cincuenta mil bautismos," *RA* (A), July 1980.

¹⁵ João Wolff, "A Story of Gratitude and Praise," *AR*, July 11, 1990.

¹⁶ Newsbreak item, *ibid.*, July 23, 1987; Gilbert J. Bertochini, "SAD Sabbath School Seminars Bring Happy Results," *ibid.*, November 5, 1987; *Statistical Report*, 1985-1990.

¹⁷ Edwin Ivan Mayer, "Rompimos la barrera del millón," *RA* (A), July, 1991; "DSA é a segunda do mundo," *RA* (B), April, 1991.

¹⁸ José Amasías Justiniano, "Resultados de la Campaña Nacional de Evangelización," *RA* (A), April 1985.

¹⁹ João Wolff, "A Story of Gratitude and Praise," *AR*, July 11, 1990.

²⁰ To trace the development of this department, see editions of *SDA Yearbook* from 1990 onward.

²¹ *Revista Adventista* discussed this problem in northern Brazil and how it affected the growth of Adventism as well as orderly record keeping by congregations. "Un crecimiento inimaginable," *RA* (A), April 1987.

²² For a brief sketch of Roberto Cesar de Azevedo, see Douglas J. Menslin, "Roberto Cesar de Azevedo," in *Educação no Brasil*, 257-268. Roberto Cesar de Azevedo, "Difusão: Após 10 Anos," *RA* (B), May 1985.

²³ See J. H. Zachary, "Far Eastern Division works to reach the unreached," *AR*, September 5, 1985.

²⁴ Jon L. Dybdahl, "The Great Recommission," *ibid.*, June 30, 2000; Carlos Medley, "Wilson Calls Church to Adopt Global Strategy," *ibid.*, October 30, 1986; "Actions of General Interest From the 1986 Annual Council—1," *ibid.*, January 22, 1987; Neal Wilson, "Global Mission: Person to Person," *ibid.*, July 5, 1990.

²⁵ João Wolff, "A Blazing Continent," *ibid.*, July 7, 1995.

²⁶ "Crescimento e Desafios," no name, *RA* (B), November 1981; "Missão Amazônia Ocidental torna-se Associação," no name, *ibid.*, February 1991.

²⁷ Guenji Imayuki, "A presença Adventista na comunidade Nikkei de São Paulo," research paper, Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo, 2008; "Work among Mennonites is expanded to South America," *ibid.*, June 11, 1981; Arthur S. Valle, "Indian chief asks help for his people," *RH*, June 10, 1982.

²⁸ Alberto Ribeiro de Sousa, "A União Norte-Brasileira em 1977," *RA* (B), January 1978; Arthur S. Valle, "North Brazil Union needs 150 chapels," *RH*, September 3, 1981; Haroldo J. Seidl, "Work progresses among Tobas Indians," *ibid.*, July 28, 1983; news note, *ibid.*, August 1, 1985. Daniel Plenc notes that contact with the Tobas Indians had actually taken place many years earlier. Pedro M. Brouchy, who was ordained in 1923, visited them and showed colored slides, which aroused the curiosity of the Indians who invited him to return. See Plenc, *Misioneros*, 129. For Poseck's activities, see José Carlos Rando, "El Trabajo por los Judíos," *RA* (A), January 1998, *EM*; "Jóvenes conquistan Abra Pampa a 3400 mts. de altura," *ibid.*, June 2001, *EM*.

²⁹ E-mail report, Antonio Francisco Tiszavari Horn to Floyd Greenleaf, April 26, 2010.

³⁰ Eddy Núñez Sánchez, "Tribu indígena conoce el mensaje Adventista gracias a libro editado por la ACES," *ibid.*, January 2006.

³¹ E-mail report, Edison Choque to Floyd Greenleaf, April 26, 2010.

³² João Wolff, "A Story of Gratitude and Praise," *AR*, July 11, 1990; Ruy Nagel, "Our People on the March," *ibid.*, July 4, 2000, and "From Small Beginnings, a Bountiful Harvest," *ibid.*, July 6, 2005.

³³ "Divindo-se para Crescer," *RA* (B), February 1983.

³⁴ Roberto C. de Azevedo and Henrique Berg, "Misión global 2000 – DSA," *RA* (A), January 1996 ESP; Roberto C. de Azevedo, "Missão Global 2000," *RA* (B), March 1995. When comparing statistical data in Wolff's General Conference report in 1990 to Azevedo's reports in 1995, inconsistencies appear. Wolff

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placed the number of municipalities in South America at 7,099 in 1990 while Azevedo reported 8,005 in 1995. Wolff declared that Adventists had no presence in 4,169 in 1990, but Azevedo stated in 1995 that 4,441 municipalities had no Adventist presence in 1990. These differences may have confused calculations of progress, but they did not erase the notion of using the South American municipality as the basic unit to measure the advancement of evangelism.

³⁵ Edwin I. Mayer, "A Presença da Igreja na Divisão Sul-Americana," *RA* (B), February 1995.

³⁶ Rubens Lessa, "De um humilde começo até nossas dias," *ibid.*, December 2004.

³⁷ "Assembléia mostra crescimento da União Sul," *ibid.*, April 1996.

³⁸ Ruy Nagel, Roberto Gullón and Alipio B. da Rosa, "Sudamérica en marcha," *RA* (A), July 2000, Inf. A revised edition of this article appeared in the North American *Adventist Review*, July 4, 2000, as Nagel's report to the General Conference session.

³⁹ "Dados Estatísticos por Municípios – 2009," e-mail, Edison Choque to Floyd Greenleaf, April 23, 2010. At the time of the communication, Choque was director of South American Global Mission.

⁴⁰ *Statistical Report*, 1980–2006.

⁴¹ Roger Morton, "ACTS 2000 Impacts Brazil," *AR*, September 9, 1999.

⁴² *Statistical Report*, 1965–1986, 2001, 2006. For a concise summary of these and later changes in southern and central Brazil, see maps and text in Edson Rosa, *100 anos conduzindo vidas em São Paulo*, 65–73. Dates of administrative changes may differ from publication to publication, reflecting when changes were voted and when they became effective. The dates in this chapter are those found in *Statistical Report*. For a complete account of administrative and territorial change in the South American Division, researchers will find "Historia de la Estructura Organizacional de la División Sudamericana" by Roberto Gullón invaluable. Gullón, a former secretary of the division, presented his paper at Simpósio da Memória Adventista no Brasil in 2001. He revised his paper as of 2004.

⁴³ *Statistical Report*, 1995, 1996; *SDA Yearbook*, 1995, 1996.

⁴⁴ *Statistical Report*, 1995, 1996, and 2006; *SDA Yearbook*, 2007.

⁴⁵ *Statistical Report*, 2001.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2001, 2007; Márcia Raposo Ebinger, "DSA tem nova União," *RA* (B), December 2004; Ansel Oliver, "High Growth in North Brazil Adds Second Union," *AR*, November 20, 2008.

⁴⁷ Interview, Alberto Timm with Floyd Greenleaf, November 16, 2009; "Union of Churches, a report to the Commission on Ministries, Services and Structures," October 4–6, 2006, www.adventist.org.

⁴⁸ "Crescimento da Igreja na América do Sul," *RA* (B), December 1997.

⁴⁹ M. Augusto Rivas, *Nuestra historia* (Quito, 1998). See *Statistical Report*, 1980, 1990, 2006.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2006. For a concise summary of the advancement of Adventism in Ecuador, see Miguel Augusto Rivas, "La iglesia cumple cien años en la Rep. del Ecuador," *RA* (A), August 2004.

⁵¹ *Statistical Report*, 2008.



INTEGRATED EVANGELISM

THE QUESTION OF explaining consistently high rates of church growth in South America inspired many in Adventist circles to inquire about how it had been happening so well for so long. One such person was *Adventist Review* editor William G. Johnsson on whom the South American report at the 1985 General Conference left an indelible impression. A few months after the session he embarked on an investigative tour that took him to Argentina, Brazil, and the Andean *altiplano*.¹

Johnsson shared his conclusions with the Adventist world, pointing out that time-tested methods, enthusiasm, an especially receptive public, a well-defined sense of church identity, and an abundance of youth and energy all contributed to the story. His observations helped Adventists to know South America better. However, more than twenty years later, Alberto Timm, rector of the Latin American Theological Seminary, suggested that sustained membership increases in South America were “built across time through many efforts and ongoing methodological experiments.” The two decades of perspective that Timm enjoyed over Johnsson taught him that the South American experience

was neither an accident nor, as some had explained, simply a characteristic of an extraordinarily receptive society.²

FROM WALTER SCHUBERT TO INTEGRATED EVANGELISM

Marcos Blanco, editor of *Logos*, a River Plate Adventist University academic journal concentrating on theological and biblical studies, reminded readers in 1997 what some of the original methodological experiments had been. Recalling Walter Schubert's epoch-making evangelism, he pointed to the key issue of resolving the problem of conducting Protestant evangelism in a Catholic society.

"The campaigns began with 100 or 150 non-Adventist persons," Blanco wrote, describing the traditional evangelistic meeting, "but when they received hymnals, the people began to tremble because they realized that they were in a Protestant worship service. Many left the hall immediately and the rest did not return."³ By laying aside Protestant trappings and delivering lectures rather than sermons that he sometimes introduced with concerts of classical music, Schubert broke the ice. He proceeded to biblical topics only after establishing a rapport with the audience with observations on current events and social or family issues.

Salim Japas, a South American evangelist who also labored extensively in the Inter-American Division, regarded Schubert's impact significant enough to make it the subject of his doctoral dissertation. According to Japas, Schubert's methods spread to other continents and by 1978 had produced about 50,000 baptisms. Rubén Pereyra, secretary of the South American Division Ministerial Association, suggests that a relaxation of Catholic attitudes after Vatican Council II also contributed to a favorable atmosphere for evangelism. Catholics came to see Protestants as "separated brethren" rather than heretics, and the Bible as a valuable book to study for personal reasons.⁴

Schubert's methods brought systemic change to Adventist soul-winning in South America. Although Catholic-Protestant tension triggered Schubert's experiments, the principle that he followed was to design soul-winning methods that were compatible with the people whom he intended to reach. As his experiments demonstrated, it was as foolhardy to ignore the religious background of South American audiences as it would be to begin education among illiterate aborigines with a discussion about Platonic philosophy.

To accomplish his plan, Schubert broke out of the evangelistic mold that church leaders had transplanted from North American to South American soil. By the time One Thousand Days of Reaping arrived in 1980, another generation of evangelists

broadened Schubert's first experiments into a wide spectrum of activity that he could have hardly imagined, but the practice of tailoring the format of the gospel to fit the needs of the audience was always the undergirding principle of evangelistic method. This technique appeared elsewhere. After broadcasting the leading Adventist radio program a dozen years under the transliterated title, *La Voz de la Profecía*, Hispanic leaders changed to *La Voz de la Esperanza*. Milton Peverini, who followed Braulio Pérez as speaker-director of the program, says the change took into consideration the Hispanic mentality, which served as evidence that Hispanic culture helped to shape Adventist evangelism.⁵

Time brought even more modifications in evangelism. Alejandro Bullón, public evangelist in South America beginning in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, explained that during the 1990s evangelism shifted away from a focus on the evangelist himself and an evangelistic team, which required large outlays of money for advertisement. "Today, the resources must be channeled to inspire, challenge, and equip the members," Bullón said.⁶

Division leaders coined the term *integrated evangelism* to describe the new process.⁷ But neither that idea nor the conviction of entering unreached areas was new. In 1944 the North Brazil Union voted to organize the health-care branch of the church into soul-winning endeavors—"intimately integrated with the evangelistic efforts," the action read. The plan was to use the medical profession to help penetrate the most difficult places and communities without an Adventist presence.⁸ During the 1960s Brazilian evangelist Alcides Campolongo organized a team of health professionals and intellectuals to assist him in alcohol recovery programs and five-day plans to quit smoking.⁹ Probably the major difference between these efforts and those after 1980 was that by the later date the South American Division had many more tools to employ in evangelism, which meant that integrating all forces was a much more complicated and impressive process.

This became evident when João Wolff and Ruy Nagel filed their reports to the General Conference with allusions to the breadth of South American integrated evangelism during One Thousand Days of Reaping, Harvest 90, and Global Mission. Such terms as "metropolitan evangelism," "Pioneer Project," "Holy Week meetings," "Action units," "Caravan of Power," "Spring baptism," and others gave a South American twist to South American evangelism. Most of the terms represented how evangelists found different ways to adapt their techniques to South American society, which not only harked back to Walter Schubert but also represented how extensively

church leaders utilized the variety of resources at their command for soul-winning purposes. These activities did not appear all at once, but developed over time.¹⁰

Such a variety of activities generated a powerful momentum and fit into the uniqueness of South American society. “Because of strong Catholic influence throughout South America,” Wolff observed, “intense focus is placed on the celebrations of Holy Week.” Adventist churches capitalized on this tradition by organizing special series of public meetings that emphasized Holy Week themes. “Thousands of people have flocked to hear more of their risen Lord, His saving power, and soon return to this earth,” Wolff said. Nagel added that for thousands of listeners, Holy Week was the first time they heard about a crucified and returning Savior. Some congregations discovered that Holy Week meetings also benefitted the host congregation by energizing existing members and sometimes bringing a healing balm to the discouraged and the contentious.¹¹

Wolff and Nagel were not exaggerating their stories. In Lima, Peru, the 1982 Holy Week endeavor produced a campaign that involved 160 separate evangelistic centers throughout the city and hundreds of lay members who helped keep the meetings going. The first baptism resulting from these gatherings took place in an Olympic-sized pool with twenty pastors administering the rite while about 8,000 watched. It was not a private event. The church used the media to explain beforehand what was happening. When the service ended, the public was well informed that the Inca Union had 356 new members.¹²

Sometimes Holy Week and church planting went hand in hand. A division-wide plan known as Pioneer Project called for fifteen or twenty members of a larger church, perhaps a single Sabbath school class, to separate from their congregation, designate a location where they would conduct Holy Week meetings, and continue with Sabbath services as a small group. “The unit leaves never to return,” Wolff explained, pointing out that the Pioneer Project was one of the most effective ways to establish a new congregation. During the first five years of Global Mission, lay members conducted more than 150,000 Holy Week series.¹³

Another extension of Schubert’s notion of contextualizing evangelism was participation in the Day of the Deceased, a day set aside to honor dead relatives. Instead of inviting the public to a powerful sermon that would set the record straight about the biblical teaching concerning death, many Adventist youth frequented cemeteries on the Day of the Deceased, empathizing with sorrowing families, singing hymns, and offering hope and comfort. In the process they also distributed

appropriate literature. Such reassurance did not guarantee converts, but in a culturally compatible manner, it extended Christlike, sympathetic support and planted seeds that would generate inquiry.¹⁴

One of the leading ideas that Wolff emphasized was metropolitan evangelism under the motto, “Sowing, Reaping, and Keeping,” an evangelistic standard on which effective soul-winning plans pivoted. Ideally, metropolitan evangelism involved each congregation, institution, and all church departments in the area where a set of meetings occurred. Wolff stated that metropolitan evangelism had become the cornerstone of the sowing, reaping, and keeping cycle.¹⁵

Metropolitan evangelism was a coordinated plan aimed at urban centers, which fit well into the long tradition of big city soul-winning campaigns that church leaders in South America had promoted since the days of Carlyle B. Haynes. But metropolitan evangelism also meant harnessing the energy of individuals and congregations for soul-winning purposes as much as it presupposed preaching to large audiences. The notion of coordinating a variety of activities became the key factor in the developing tradition of membership growth. Before Ruy Nagel succeeded Wolff to the division presidency, the term “integrated evangelism” became the standard definition of this evangelistic activity. Nagel said that those two words “summarize our work philosophy.”¹⁶ “The time is over when church departments are only concerned with the topics of their area,” he once said. “We have two departments that move the church—Personal Ministries, which involves all members, and the Ministerial Association, which orients and trains pastors and elders.”¹⁷

That integrated evangelism had helped to create a prevailing mood of soul-winning became obvious in October 2001 when church leaders from around the division gathered in Brazil for a discussion and planning session. Even as they met, church members in Teresina, the capital of the state of Piauí, and Timon, a nearby community, were completing their ten-month campaign during which more than 2,200 converts were baptized. Melchor Ferreyra, president of the Peruvian Union, pointed out that in integrated evangelism church members were united around a program, not just a motto. Similarly, the president of Bolivia Adventist University expressed satisfaction that church leaders expected institutions not only to play a role in evangelism, but to accept that role as their mission. It was doubtlessly with this ideal in mind that Chile Adventist University included a baptism of fifty-seven persons on the final Sabbath afternoon of the institution’s centennial celebration, an unmistakable reminder of the ultimate purpose of Adventist education.¹⁸

Integrated evangelism was not just another slogan. When the division council assembled in Brasília in 2005, Nagel announced that the “focus of this gathering is the philosophy of the work of the departments of the church.” *Adventista Revista* reported that the departmental reports made it clear that they all worked for church growth and the preservation of members. “The results are proof that we work unitedly,” Nagel summarized. The theme continued at Iguazú Falls when the division planning session set new goals for the next five years.¹⁹

Events bore out Nagel’s statements. On the Andean side of the continent, Caravans of Hope embodied the ideal of integrated evangelism and brought unprecedented results. These projects were so named because evangelists traveled along an established itinerary of cities at which they stopped, usually for a single preaching appearance before ending their journey in a large city. In 2003 a Caravan of Power in the Lake Titicaca region included visits by Adventist pastors, physicians, and nurses, terminating in Puno for a series of meetings.²⁰

The next year Alejandro Bullón began a caravan that took him through twenty-four Peruvian cities. He integrated the Adventist Development and Relief Agency into his schedule and offered free medical attention along the way. According to *Revista Adventista*, the event produced more than 37,000 baptisms. The *Revista* was quick to point out that besides the logistical planning that required months, the teaching and spiritual preparation of prospective members also occurred over a long period. The caravan was a capstone activity. “The idea was that during the previous months all interested persons would be prepared,” *Revista Adventista* explained. When Bullón made his appeals for surrender to Christ, most of the converts had already decided to be baptized, although admittedly, some decided at the moment of the call.²¹

In 2005 Bullón teamed up with Guido Quinteros, president of the Chile Union, to lead a double-pronged Caravan of Hope in Chile. Bullón and his associates began in the south and proceeded north, and Quinteros started with his team in the north and went south. The two speakers converged on the National Stadium in Santiago on November 26 where an estimated 45,000 had gathered to hear Armando Miranda, a General Conference vice president, speak. On the playing field thirty-five portable swimming pools formed a cross in which seventy pastors baptized more than 600 converts. On the way to Santiago, the two teams collaborated with the Chilean Red Cross to collect more than 2,000 liters of blood and more than 5,000 pledges to donate body organs to waiting patients.²² In 2006 Bullón led another “moving outreach event” that began at Cuzco in southern Peru and continued to Puno, Juliaca, Arequipa, Lima,

Trujillo, and climaxed at Chiclayo. He continued the caravan by leading it into Ecuador. Six months previous to the Caravan of Hope, local congregations were already preparing the way by initiating community activities and other evangelistic endeavors.²³

Caravans of Hope also involved visiting personalities, such as occurred in 2005 when Mark Finley preached at the culminating gathering in Lima, Peru. Finley and Roberto Costa, the speaker for the Hispanic version of *It Is Written*, traveled to audiences in Arequipa, Moquegua, Tacna, Ilo, and Trujillo. The final stop was in Lima's Monumental Stadium, where an estimated 55,000 listened to the General Conference vice president and former speaker of *It Is Written*. Organizers of the caravan believed that about 135,000 listeners heard Finley at all locations. This nationwide campaign brought more than 34,000 new members into the church.²⁴

Such stadium-sized evangelistic gatherings may have added a large number of converts, but they also brought the church much favorable publicity, especially when organizers coupled them with civic projects aimed at the public well-being, a fact that Miranda was quick to acknowledge after the Chilean Caravan of Hope. The caravans also involved thousands of members in preliminary work that began months before the itinerary started. In the case of Finley's appearance in Peru in May 2005, nearly 13,000 small groups, called action units, had been regularly gathering since the previous December to prepare prospective members for baptism. Such extensive member involvement overwhelmed Finley, who characterized what he experienced as evangelism becoming "a way of life. It's not a program and it's not an event—it's a lifestyle," he said.²⁵

SMALL GROUPS AND PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

Small groups became a basic evangelistic tool. In much the same manner as friends paying each other an evening visit, small cells of church members, led by both pastors and lay members, assembled to study the Bible and pray. Building on a sense of spiritual camaraderie and belonging, the small groups became evangelistic nuclei within congregations scattered through urban areas that were constantly furnishing candidates for baptism. On December 18, 1999, about 3,500 joined the church in Peru as a result of this technique.²⁶

With the small group concept firmly in place by 1999, Peruvian membership increased at a phenomenal rate. The method was especially adaptable to urban environments where a house-size gathering could meet with minimal difficulty and at no expense to the church. Peruvian church leaders deliberately focused on

major urban areas with the goal of establishing churches in communities within cities where an Adventist presence did not already exist. In 2002 Peruvian pastors reported more than 50,000 baptisms.²⁷

The notion of small groups was not a sudden innovation. In 1987 the North American *Review* noted that in preparation for a large evangelistic campaign in São Luis, Maranhão, Brazil, “40 small meetings were held.”²⁸ The Pioneer Project, which called for a small group to break away from an established congregation to plant a new church was an adaptation of the idea of smallness. Over time, the concept of a small, personal, relational group not only caught on but became a movement in itself. One of the persons most responsible for this trend was Osmar Reis, who headed the division Personal Ministries and Sabbath School Department from 1995 to 2005. Conducting intensive training on the subject for pastors and church leaders, he popularized the idea until it became an evangelistic benchmark in South America. In 2003 Brazil reported more than 7,000 such groups in the southern part of the country that helped in the conversion of 15,000 new members. In northeastern Brazil about 10,000 small groups resulted in almost 30,000 baptisms.²⁹

According to Jolivê Chaves, director of personal ministries for the South American Division, small group ministry was one of the most effective means of church growth.³⁰ He also declared that small groups helped to retain members. More than two and a half decades earlier in 1983 the issue of membership loss as it related to rapid church growth arose as matter of importance at the division council. Delegates agreed that the number of apostasies was “excessively large” and that much of the responsibility to hold members rested on the leaders of the local churches. In the “Declaration of Buenos Aires,” a statement by the 1983 council, delegates committed themselves to “sowing, reaping, and keeping” as a part of evangelistic policy.³¹

Obviously, the idea of “keeping” was an increasing concern. But in published reports describing membership growth, the division secretary disclosed the sobering news that apostasies continued at disturbing rates. At the division council meetings in 1987, the problem of apostasy appeared on the agenda, eliciting assurances from church leaders that they would carefully study the issue and publish suggestions to lessen the hemorrhaging. While celebrating the increase of more than a million members during the five-year period, 2000-2005, and noting that the official apostasy rate had dropped but remained slightly more than 25 percent, *Revista Adventista* reminded South Americans that “the number of persons who leave our ranks continues being a concern and efforts are being made to reduce this problem.”³²

South American church leaders saw small groups as the best agency to reverse the trend of losses. Peruvian Union President Melchor Ferreyra discovered this blessing as membership in his field surged upward. Citing an apostasy rate of an astounding 87 percent, he said in 2003 that small group activity had lowered the rate to only 17 percent.³³ According to Chaves, experience showed that small groups fostered discipleship and made members feel that they were engaged. They became more consistent in attendance and faithful in giving tithes and offerings.³⁴ In an interview with *Ministry* in 2008, South American Division President Erton Köhler agreed that the 65,000 small groups in his field helped to retain members. He observed that members who left the church were prone to depart because they were not involved, rather than because of disagreements with doctrine. A similar opinion had surfaced during the annual division meeting in November 2002 when small groups became the topic of discussions about methods to lessen the rate of apostasy. Alejandro Bullón believed that the primary cause of apostasy was the lack of nurturing and spiritual companionship, which small groups could supply.³⁵

Historically, to avert apostasy has been a perennial issue in Adventism. Within the South American Division, the Peruvian uplands had suffered from the problem probably more than other areas. Skeptics tended to view high apostasy rates as evidence that massive evangelism resembled a dragnet operation more than a soul-winning activity. Most baptismal candidates underwent months of preparation prior to the huge gatherings that culminated evangelistic campaigns, which weakened the dragnet argument, but little doubt existed that evangelism had changed in more ways than simply becoming larger. Converts in recent years were left to learn more about Adventism *after* baptism, which contrasted with the experience of their spiritual forebears who concentrated more on an understanding of Scripture *before* their baptism, including distinctive Adventist beliefs.

Sônia Gazeta, a teacher at Brazil College and interim director of the Ellen G. White Research Center, identified one result of this trend after traveling around Brazil to promote the writings of Ellen White. To her concern, she observed in 1992 that compared to previous Adventists, many converts entering the church were uninformed about the Spirit of Prophecy “treasure,” as she called it, which Adventists commonly regard as one of the identifying marks of the church.³⁶

Despite the dragnet argument, evangelists and church leaders could point to the parable of Jesus that described a sower casting the seed, much of which produced quick growth but did not endure, symbolic of converts who responded with

excitement but whose enthusiasm rapidly waned because their spiritual roots found scant nourishment in thin or stony soil. Because some seed was not productive did not mean that the sower should stop his work, but church leaders could conclude that the sowers should cast their seed with more care.

Chaves and Ferreyra were adding the argument that once converts are in the church, well-grounded members have a duty to help them grow. Chaves referred to one Brazilian pastor who claimed to have nearly eradicated apostasy from his field because effective small groups were cultivating the spiritual soil on which members thrived.³⁷ Probably the debate about this question would never end, but promoters of small group ministry could cite convincing evidence that by involving members in church operations and responsibilities they had found an antidote for backsliding. By placing explicit reliance on small groups, both Chaves and Ferreyra implied that evangelistic fervor in South America was heavily dependent on the laity who would make individual congregations viable organizations.

Erton Köhler, elected division president in 2007, brought a new emphasis on personal involvement as an antidote to apostasy. In 2008 the division executed *Impact Hope*, a plan that centered on a small magazine, *Living with Hope*, printed especially for the occasion. The magazine presented seven articles about hope and its affect on Christian life. Casa Editora and Casa Publicadora produced a combined total of 21,000,000 which church members distributed on the target day, September 6, 2008. The publishing houses also printed 26,000,000 copies of the final article with a separate cover, which included a special appeal to readers.

To prepare the public for the countless members who would blanket the continent with free literature, the South American Division advertised *Impact Hope* on television, busses, taxis, billboards, and even bumper stickers, and established Web sites in both Portuguese and Spanish where interested persons could further investigate the question of hope. Individual churches added local appeal to their distribution plans. The Web sites received tens of thousands of hits, and members who engaged in literature distribution reported reaching persons who were searching for spiritual meaning in their lives.³⁸

In 2009 the division continued its emphasis on large-scale evangelism but combined it with personal involvement in simple projects. A division-wide satellite program during Holy Week produced more than 17,000 baptisms. In May division leaders inaugurated *Homes for Hope*, a plan that led more than 500,000 Adventist families to open their homes for friendship evangelism. Participating members offered their

guests a light meal or refreshments, showed them a video featuring Mark Finley, and gave them a missionary book written for the occasion. Following this event, members continued to gather for prayer sessions and to prepare interested persons for an evangelistic event in October. The South American Biblical-Theological Symposium, an annual meeting of Adventist ministers dedicated to research and discussion, helped to make pastors ready by devoting the 2009 session to mission and evangelism.

Twenty-two weeks of study, preparation, and meetings of small groups reached a climax in October when a week of satellite programming, both in Spanish and Portuguese, blanketed the continent. An estimated 1,400,000 persons attended more than 14,000 centers each night to watch the downlinked programs. The lights were hardly out before South Americans were working with plans for 2010. Of first priority was to continue working with the 138,000 persons who made decisions for baptism as resulted from the year-long campaign.³⁹

These projects not only brought personal involvement to new levels in South America but they also represented a strengthened effort to balance Adventist doctrine with the spirit of conversion. A calculated design to emphasize the seventh-day Sabbath marked the entire 2009 campaign. Finley had written the missionary book, which focused on the meaning of Sabbath observance. The immediate impact on the church was to create a sense of belonging to a unique and dynamic organization. Families could open their homes, show hospitality, and show a video even if they may not have been ready to lead small groups, offer Bible studies, or conduct small meetings. *Impact Hope* and *Homes for Hope* also expressed the extent to which South America depended on the laity to maintain evangelistic momentum and the spiritual health of local congregations.

Köhler was quick to admit this point. The fact that in 2008 South America had about 20,000 Adventist churches and only about 3,000 pastors meant that approximately 17,000 laymen filled the pulpits each Sabbath. "Their ownership and leadership role is vital to the growth and stability of the church," Köhler explained. Further, he stated, "The ministry of elders is a priority in our field."⁴⁰

YOUTH MINISTRY

Integrated evangelism extended to youth ministry. Intimately associated in outreach activities since the late 1960s, Adventist young people continued with more of the same, but with improved organization they involved themselves more intensely in a broader range of activity and possibly with a greater emphasis on community

services. PRISMA, an acronym for Projeto de Integração e Serviço da Mocidade Adventista, continued to recruit volunteers among Brazilian youth. Begun in the late 1970s, this program attracted ninety-eight Adventist university students in 1983 who spent their vacations working on mission launches, hospitals and clinics, schools, and churches. In Barra Azul, Paraná, a group of students lived in the home of the president of the Community Association who was so impressed with their witness that he joined the church and began the locally so-called Church of PRISMA.⁴¹

Youth congresses and camporees also continued apace, frequently featuring a well-advertised activity aimed at public health or a civic project. Léo Ranzolin reported an example in 1982 when about 22,000 youth gathered in São Paulo for a weekend of inspiration and rededication. During the week prior to their invasion of the city, youth directors organized blood drives and a tree-planting program that included diplomats from Italy, Canada, and El Salvador. For their final activity, representatives from both SAWS and the Brazil College School of Nursing entered one of the *bairros* of São Paulo and rendered needed assistance to about 2,000 persons.⁴²

Approximately 4,000 Pathfinders descended on Iguazú Falls in December 1983 for the first division-wide camporee, a seven-day affair that brought Ranzolin and Mike Stevenson from the General Conference as special guests. Organizing the event was Claudio Belz, Pathfinder director for the South American Division. On the agenda were the usual drills, athletic events, and other activities associated with survival skills, but the focus was on methods of deliberate witnessing.⁴³

With time, youth events assumed a more activist character in non-political affairs. In Vitoria da Conquista, one of the largest cities in Bahia, Brazil, 500 Adventist youth staged a march against drugs in August 1998. Trumpets blared fanfares, which helped to attract the attention of the public. Not content with simply the march, the demonstrators passed out hundreds of pieces of anti-drug literature. In the main square of the city, they scheduled a series of speeches against drugs and testimonies by former addicts. A final gesture was to collect about 200 kilos of food to donate to a local institution that rehabilitated alcoholics and drug addicts.⁴⁴ Scores of similar activities thrived around the division, each with its own peculiar slant on the public well-being.

In a much grander flourish in 1999, about 3,800 young people came together in Florianópolis for a four-day gathering, intent on drawing attention to the Scripture. To accomplish this objective, they copied the entire Bible in twenty-five minutes on a paper three kilometers long. Each person was limited to a small passage. This event was advertised as “The Bridge of Hope,” an analogy of the historic bridge that

linked Florianópolis to the mainland. The youth director who planned this event deliberately played upon the idea of the bridge to convey the message that the hope of this world lay in connecting to Jesus. During the four days, the youth cleaned up the beaches and engaged in environmental activities. The sheer size of the project required cooperation with city officials who were quick to see the connection between biblically-oriented living and issues of city management.⁴⁵

Sometimes activities took on a more direct relationship with the Bible, such as a Bible exposition organized by the youth in the church at Paraná, Entre Rios, Argentina, in September 1999. Taking advantage of the fact that September was the Month of the Bible, they displayed many differing versions of the Scriptures in a park that skirted the Paraná River. The youth gave away hundreds of copies of New Testaments and other portions of the Bible besides other Adventist literature. More than fifty persons signed up for Bible correspondence courses.⁴⁶

By 2000 Brazil claimed about 75,000 members of more than 2,300 Desbravador clubs throughout the country. Francisco Lemos spoke for all youth leaders in the division when he reminded Adventist adults that while these thousands of uniformed youth participated in conventional evangelism the methods they used to approach other young people were different. Arguing that an 11-year-old youngster would not remember very many Bible texts after a traditional Bible study, Lemos suggested that Desbravadores were in a better frame of mind to absorb fundamental biblical teachings about creation and the love of God if they were actively involved in nature-oriented activities.⁴⁷ He left little room to question why the outdoors and nature study played such an important part in Desbravador agenda.

Pathfinder activities spread and camporees became larger, sometimes gaining national attention. Uniforms, marching, and drill and flag ceremonies—all associated with military life and patriotism—were part of the activities in which Pathfinders participated, but their most important agenda items were other projects that supported Christian living and good citizenship. When 20,000 Los Conquistadores—Hispanic Pathfinders—and Desbravadores marched into the southern Brazilian community of Santa Helena in January 2005 for the third division-wide camporee, nearly fifty television references directed the attention of viewers to the event. The Adventist crowd nearly doubled the size of the town. Braced for the usual youth rowdiness, local city leaders and police could not understand when no one got into trouble with the law.

Among the attendees was Roberto Requião, governor of the state of Paraná. Neither did Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva overlook the event. Writing

a message to the Pathfinders, he commended them for upholding human values, for promoting environmental issues, and for other activities that improved the quality of life. The media coverage also included hundreds of newspaper and radio stories. That the president of the republic would notice what was going on was a major accomplishment for youth ministry.⁴⁸

In Guayaquil, Ecuador, an Adventist high school math teacher convinced officials that the Pathfinder organization would satisfy the law that required all secondary level students to put in several months in pre-military education or to engage in an official community services program. Working with non-Adventist high school students, the teacher organized a Pathfinder program that within six months brought visible changes, both academically and socially, to the participants. Eighty participants asked to join a “real” Pathfinder club at the Adventist church. The Ecuadoran minister of recreation was so impressed that he asked Seventh-day Adventists to help him plan ways to improve life for Ecuadoran youth.⁴⁹

From Ecuador came a unique example of youth ministry. Ricardo Palacios, youth director for the South Ecuador Mission, realized that many young people did not involve themselves in church activities and that some had stopped attending church altogether. Palacios organized what he called Youth Olympics, which was an athletic league for soccer, basketball, and volleyball teams formed by the churches in the mission. Both male and female teams competed. In order to participate, each team had to bring a specified minimum of non-Adventist players. The games led to a final playoff and a championship.

Palacios watched as members whose spiritual commitment had cooled reconnected to their congregations. Others who simply needed the exercise joined the games. Shortly after the games began, players started to carry out another objective—engaging the non-Adventist guest players in Bible study. After two months, Palacios could report that some had already joined the church and others requested baptism.⁵⁰

In December 2000 and again in December 2001, South American youth leaders conducted youth leadership training sessions that reached all eight countries in the division by satellite. The communication facility making these events possible was the church-owned chain, ADSAT-New Time. The first broadcast reached an estimated 17,000 viewers, the second 30,000. On March 22, 2001, sandwiched between these two seminars, an international youth leadership council brought more than 400 Adventist youth leaders to São Paulo for a series of meetings that lasted for the rest of the month. Representatives from all world divisions were present. A smorgasbord

of eighty-nine workshops provided the delegates with a variety of choices to glean information and inspiration.⁵¹ Youth ministry in South America had come a long way since that Sabbath morning forty or more years earlier when young Cláudio Belz created a minor crisis in the Rio de Janeiro Church by daring to put on a Pathfinder uniform and promote youth activities.

In a series of articles in the North American *Adventist Review* during 2004 and 2005, Alicia Worley de Palacios, wife of the youth director in the South Ecuador Mission, reflected on the impact of evangelistic mentality on a congregation. With the honesty of a balanced journalist, she did not portray church life and evangelistic procedures as picture-perfect. At times she referred to divided congregations and to quarreling church members. She also admitted that new converts sometimes reverted to their former ways. However regrettable all that may have been, she left no doubt about the desire of church members to keep going, despite problems. A pervasive mood among the rank and file to spread the gospel was a reality that propelled the church onward.

It was this missionary spirit that sparked a desire in the minds of Alicia Palacios and her husband, Ricardo, to plant a church in the Andean town of Guaranda. Together they planned *Salvación y Servicio*, a weekend campaign that began by organizing about 300 Ecuadoran youth to clean up the community. They swept the town clean and painted buildings. The mayor himself furnished some of the cleaning supplies and even his wife was caught up in the enthusiasm and lent a helping hand. At night the youth camped out with sleeping bags instead of expecting the town to accommodate them. On Sabbath afternoon they descended on the jails, hospitals, and homes for the aged, conveying the message that they cared for those on the periphery of society.

Spontaneously, a local couple wanted to know where the church of the cleaning crew was. Of course, there was no Adventist church in town, but the question signaled that a door might open to establish one. Several months after that memorable weekend, about 800 people in Guaranda were studying the Bible with Bible workers. It would be only a matter of time before a new congregation would be worshiping among the heretofore unreached in that mountain community. *Salvación y Servicio* proclaimed no magical methods; it simply offered an opportunity to those with a desire to witness.⁵²

THE CONCEPT OF A CONGREGATION

The experience of the Palacios couple was illustrative of both Ecuador and the rest of the division. Wolff and Nagel often spoke about formal evangelism, but it

was evident that by themselves preachers did not raise membership to unheard of levels. At the foundation of evangelism was the Adventist congregation. Nagel described this combination of laity and ministers as a trio of pastor-elder-layperson. “Everything revolves around the ‘trio’,” he said. In 1996 he reported that members in the South Ecuador Mission launched the “One Thousand of Gold Plan,” in which 1,000 members committed themselves to offer Bible studies and to work in homes of interested people. Each of the 1,000 pledged to gain the conversion of at least one person. “The results of this plan have been amazing,” Nagel said.⁵³

In 2005 when Nagel announced that evangelistic returns in the South American Division had boosted the membership to nearly 2,500,000, he commented about the secret of such a high growth rate. First and foremost he attributed success to the “innumerable blessings” of God, but he also pointed to a general receptivity of religion among South American people and a vibrant missionary spirit among Adventists.

But Nagel also believed that a key element was the concept of a local church. His point emphasized the experimental nature of South American evangelism. Nearly twenty years earlier, Mario Veloso, at the time the secretary of the South American Division, said that most of the Adventist churches and companies in South America were comparatively small “fraternal” groups and that large congregations functioned under a plan to subdivide to form new groups. Each local body of believers regarded itself as a tool of evangelism, an agency to win souls. As One Thousand Days of Reaping evolved into Harvest 90, Veloso repeated his convictions that the individual church, organized, inspired, and informed about its evangelistic opportunities, was one of the key factors in the growth of South American Adventism.⁵⁴

The notion that the congregation as a unit is an agent of evangelism had long been a part of South American mentality. An example of this conviction was the report of the decisions by the 1940 Division Council. The entire two-page statement in *Revista Adventista* elaborated on the soul-winning potential of Sabbath schools, youth ministry, temperance activities, and colporteur endeavors without mentioning institutional matters. It is doubtful that during their discussions division leaders completely ignored issues pertaining to schools, publishing houses, and a medical ministry that was just beginning, but the important message was to instill in the rank and file a greater consciousness of evangelistic possibilities in the activities of the local congregation.⁵⁵ During the evangelistic movement from the 1980s onward, evangelistic skills were more developed and a broader spectrum of church activities

was available to members. Innovation became more imaginative, but the fundamental idea of using the church group remained.

It is impossible to determine the size of specific congregations because official denominational statistics include neither the number of members in the congregations nor the number of companies and groups that function in addition to the official churches. Likewise, the tables do not reveal how many members are isolated beyond reach of a group. However, a tangible illustration of Veloso's idea of subdividing churches comes from the 300 identifiable groups that existed in the city of São Paulo in 1985, which became evangelistic centers during metropolitan evangelism. Because there were only 174 officially organized churches in the area at the time, the figure of 300 suggests that a large proportion of Adventists in that city commonly gathered in small groups that were not yet officially organized churches to conduct their weekly services.⁵⁶ Even without hard statistical evidence to substantiate Veloso's observations, the numbers in São Paulo point to a practice of members in larger churches planting new congregations by simply separating to form a small group. This nucleus would develop into an official church by adding members through personal evangelism. From there the process would repeat itself.

Members assumed much of the responsibility to fulfill the "sowing" in the motto, *Sowing, Reaping, and Keeping*, while ministers did the "reaping" in formal meetings. "Evangelism in Ecuador is scheduled around 'reaping' events," Alicia Palacios wrote when describing her husband's participation in special services he held in a neighboring church. At the end of one such "reaping event," a pastor finished his baptism, Palacios recounted, but before leaving the water he said he had one robe left in case any hesitant hearer wished to use it. A moment later he saw a girl about 7 years old tap just such a person on the shoulder and encourage him to respond to the pastor's invitation. The minister watched the little girl and the young man walk down the aisle together to the baptismal pool where the child delivered her charge to the minister. The young man declined the robe, entering the water, clothes and all.

After the ceremony the pastor looked for the girl, but she had disappeared. His wife said she had not seen the child even though she had sat beside the struggling soul, praying for his decision. Later that day, as the pastor's family watched a video of the baptism, they saw the young man make his way to the baptismal pool, but he walked alone. No one except the pastor and the reluctant listener had seen the little girl.⁵⁷

Doubtters may have complained about massive dragnet evangelism, but some pastors could explain conversions only as miraculous interventions.

¹ Johnsson published a three-installment story in the *Adventist Review*, April 3, 10, 17, 1986. “We have come to find out what makes the South American Division work,” he wrote in his first report.

² Alberto R. Timm, “Building a Growing Church: the South American Division Experience,” *Ministry* (July 2008), 20.

³ Marcos Blanco, “Walter Schubert,” *Logos* (April 1997), 5 ff. For descriptions of Schubert’s contributions to South American evangelism, see chapters in this book titled: “Growth During a Troubled Decade” and “Membership Explosion.”

⁴ Salim Japas, “A Strategy for Seventh-day Adventist Public Evangelism within a Roman Catholic Society in Hispanic America,” doctoral dissertation, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 1978, cited by Marcos Blanco, “Walter Schubert,” *Logos* (April 1997). See Rubén Pereyra’s insightful article, “História da Evangelização na América do Sul,” *RA* (B), October, 1976.

⁵ Peverini García, *Braulio Pérez Marcio*, 73, 74.

⁶ Marcos De Benedicto, “An Interview With Alejandro Bullón,” *Ministry* (October 2008), 27.

⁷ Timm, “Building a Growing Church,” *ibid.*, 22.

⁸ Quoted by Ana Paula Ramos, *Desafio nas águas*, 109.

⁹ Campolongo, *Evangelismo*, 61-72.

¹⁰ See Wolff’s and Nagel’s reports in *Adventist Review*, July 1, 1985; July 11, 1990; July 7, 1995; July 4, 2000; July 6, 2005. Also see Timm, “Building a Growing Church,” *Ministry*, 21, 22.

¹¹ João Wolff, “The Lord has done great things for us,” *AR*, July 1, 1985; Ruy Nagel, “Our People on the March,” *ibid.*, July 3, 2000. See the account of a Holy Week event by Alicia Worley de Palacios, “Vacation,” *ibid.*, August 12, 2004.

¹² “Extraordinaria cerimonia bautismal,” *RA* (A), December 1982.

¹³ João Wolff, “A Blazing Continent,” *AR*, July 7, 1995; and “The Lord has done great things for us,” *ibid.*, July 1, 1985.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Ruy Nagel, “From Small Beginnings, a Bountiful Harvest,” *ibid.*, July 6, 2005.

¹⁷ “South American Church Leaders Call for ‘Massive Participation’ in Evangelism,” *Adventist News Network*, May 8, 2001. Hereafter this source is abbreviated as ANN.

¹⁸ “‘Integrated Evangelism’ Continues in South America,” *ibid.*, November 5, 2001; “Centenario de la Universidad Adventista de Chile,” *RA* (A), August 2007.

¹⁹ “Coordinación de esfuerzos,” *ibid.*, July 2005, ES, 1; “Grandes planes para los próximos años,” *ibid.*, January 2006, ES.

²⁰ “South America: Church Holds Largest-Ever Evangelism Event,” ANN, September 30, 2003.

²¹ *Ibid.*, July 6, 2004; “‘Caravana de Esperanza’ impacta a todo el Peru,” *RA* (A), September 2004, ES.

²² Patricio Matamala, “Gran Caravana de la Esperanza,” *ibid.*, febrero, 2006; “Chile: Evangelism Series Inspire Life-saving Gifts,” ANN, December 1, 2005.

²³ “Peru: Adventist Caravan of Hope to Walk the Inca Trail,” *ibid.*, December 13, 2005.

²⁴ Michelle Stotz and ANN staff, “Más de 30.000 personas responden a la *Caravana de la Esperanza*,” *RA* (A), December 2005. See the English version of the same story: “Peru: More Than 30,000 Respond to ‘Caravan of Hope,’” ANN, June 7, 2005; Nancy Costa and Michele Stotz; “Caravan of Hope in Peru,” *AR*, (World Edition), October 2005.

²⁵ “Peru: More Than 30,000 Respond,” ANN, June 7, 2005.

²⁶ “Peru: Over 3,000 Join Adventist Church in One Day,” *ibid.*, January 26, 2000.

²⁷ “Peruvian Adventists Celebrate Church Growth,” *ibid.*, April 9, 2002; “Small Groups in Peru Bring Large Gains—and Pains,” *ibid.*, August 5, 2003.

²⁸ “Brazil Campaign Brings 1,500 Baptisms,” no name, *AR*, July 23, 1987.

²⁹ “South America: Church Grows via Bible Study Groups,” *ANN*, November 11, 2003; e-mail, Jolivê Chaves to Floyd Greenleaf, April 21, 2010.

³⁰ Jolivê Chaves, “Small groups in the Adventist church in South America,” *Ministry* (October 2008), 17–19.

³¹ Rolando A. Itin, “Concilio de la División Sudamericana,” *RA* (A), February 1984; “Declaración de Buenos Aires,” *ibid.*

³² “Líderes do Continente Sul-Americana Têm Encontro no Chile,” *RA* (B), January 1988; Edwin Ivan Mayer, “Rompimos la barrera del millón,” *RA* (A), July 1991; and “¡Continuamos creciendo!” *ibid.*, July 1993.

³³ “Small Groups in Peru Bring Large Gains—and Pains,” *ANN*, August 5, 2003.

³⁴ Chaves, “Small groups,” *Ministry* (October 2008), 18.

³⁵ Nikolaus Satelmajer and Willie E. Hucks, II, “The Church in Inter and South America,” *ibid.*, 7; Carlos Steger, “Triunfos del evangelio en la División Sudamericana,” *RA* (A), January, 2003, ES.

³⁶ “Centro Ellen White: um tesouro inesgotável,” *RA* (B), February 1992.

³⁷ Chaves, “Small groups,” *Ministry* (October 2008), 18.

³⁸ Alberto Timm, “‘Impact Hope’ Project: An Integrated Missional Experiment,” in *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies*, v. 5 (no. 1, 2009), 60–67; interview, Alberto Timm with Floyd Greenleaf, November 16, 2009; e-mail, Magdiel Perez to Floyd Greenleaf, April 14, 2010.

³⁹ Interview, Alberto Timm with Floyd Greenleaf, November 16, 2009; e-mail, Magdiel Perez to Floyd Greenleaf, April 14, 2010.

⁴⁰ Satelmajer and Hucks, “The Church,” 6.

⁴¹ Assad Bechara, “Youth enjoy PRISMA service,” *AR*, October 20, 1983.

⁴² Leo Ranzolin, “22,000 youth gather in Sao Paulo,” *ibid.*, December 30, 1982.

⁴³ Claudio Martín, “Primer *Camporee* Sudamericano de Conquistadores,” *RA* (A), June 1984.

⁴⁴ “Brazil: Anti-Drug Campaign Mobilizes More than 500 Youth,” *ANN*, September 1, 1998.

⁴⁵ Ray Dabrowski, “Brazilian Youth Write out Three-Kilometer-Long Bible in 25 Minutes,” *AR*, February 24, 2000.

⁴⁶ “Argentina: Bible Exposition impacts Community,” *ANN*, November 9, 1999.

⁴⁷ Francisco Lemos, “50 anos de história,” *RA* (B), April 2000.

⁴⁸ Leo Ranzolin, “Pathfinders Nearly Double size of Host City,” *AR*, April 2005 (World Issue); “Brazil: President Highlights Importance of Camporee to Country’s Ideals,” *ANN*, January 20, 2005.

⁴⁹ Alicia Worley de Palacios, “Los Conquistadores,” *AR*, July 8, 2004.

⁵⁰ Alicia Worley de Palacios, “Just a Game?” *AR*, October 14, 2004; “Ecuador: Soccer and Evangelism,” *ANN*, November 4, 2003.

⁵¹ “Live Satellite Training Attracts 17,000 Church Youth in South America,” *ANN*, December 12, 2000; “South America Celebrates Second International Youth Leadership Seminar via Satellite,” no name, *AR*, February 14, 2002; Ron Whitehead, “Youth Leaders Capture a Vision in Brazil,” *ibid.*, July 12, 2002.

⁵² For this story, see Alicia Worley de Palacios, “The Road to Guaranda,” *AR*, May 13, 2004. Her series title was “The View from Here,” which was a monthly column during 2004 through August 2005.

⁵³ Ruy Nagel, “Our People on the March,” *AR*, July 4, 2000.

⁵⁴ Mario Veloso, *RA* (B), October 1986, cited by Ruy Nagel, “From Small Beginnings, a Bountiful Harvest,” *AR*, July 6, 2005; Mario Veloso, “Crecimiento en Sudamérica,” *RA* (A), October 1986.

⁵⁵ “Importantes Resoluções do Concílio de 1940 da Divisão Sul-Americana,” *RA* (B), March 1941.

⁵⁶ See João Wolff, “The Lord has done great things for us,” *AR*, July 1, 1985; data from *Statistical Report*, 1985 and the *SDA Yearbook*, 1986.

⁵⁷ Alicia Worley de Palacios, “Vacation,” *AR*, August 12, 2004, and “Whatever It Takes,” *ibid.*, January 13, 2005.



HEALTH AND PUBLIC WELL-BEING

INTEGRATED EVANGELISM, THE prevailing mood in South America especially after 1980, also involved institutions, a fact that João Wolff underscored at the 1990 General Conference.¹ From the early days of his administration, he intended to include them in evangelistic plans, which became clear in July 1981 when a group of 400 institutional administrators and church leaders met together to plan evangelistic projects that would penetrate new fields.²

Schools regularly scheduled theology teachers and students to join evangelistic campaigns, and the division's presses produced a steady supply of spiritual literature for public consumption. Hospitals were also part of the evangelistic initiative. A Bible instructor joined the staff of Belo Horizonte Adventist Hospital to minister to patients who were interested in Bible studies, and even continued to work with them after they returned home. The chapel at Belgrano Clinic in Buenos Aires became the site for active evangelism, and baptismal reports came from Miraflores Clinic and Juliaca Adventist Clinic, both in Peru, as well as Silvestre Adventist Hospital in Rio de Janeiro.³

Quito Adventist Clinic in Ecuador took advantage of its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1985 to schedule an entire month of activities

that mixed public relations with health awareness and Adventism. Activities began with a week of spiritual emphasis followed by a week during which recognized specialists lectured on diseases such as cancer, diabetes, and allergies. Another week devoted to preventive medicine included instruction about a diet of natural foods and how to deal with alcoholism and tobacco addiction. Physical fitness was also on the agenda. As a part of its routine, the small health-care institution provided daily chaplain service to all patients and a library of reading and audiovisual materials that encouraged spiritual growth. Medical institutions also engaged in direct evangelism, using health care as a means to introduce Adventism to the public in heretofore unreached locations.⁴

SOUTH AMERICA'S HEALTH-CARE OUTREACH

But apart from their evangelistic commitments, South American medical centers, schools, and publishing houses operated with very specific purposes that determined their functions, and during the years after 1980, the Adventist public came to expect progressively higher professional performance from them.

From the early years of the twentieth century, church workers tried to establish medical centers in South America. Aside from River Plate Sanitarium that dated from 1908 and Juliaca Clinic in 1922, health-care units were slow in coming. Besides the nearly universal stonewall of resistance toward alien physicians, the church had little money to invest in opening up new institutions. However, because of repeated attempts to organize a medical program, it is reasonable to suppose that had conditions been favorable, church leaders would have found ways to establish hospitals, despite the scarcity of funds. Ironically, as events turned out, their lack of success presented them with an unforeseen blessing—it spared them the financial headache of maintaining a circle of health-care institutions during the challenging years of the Great Depression.

The real breakthrough years for Adventist health care in South America were the 1940s when two hospitals began in Brazil, one in Rio de Janeiro and another in São Paulo, and a third unit started in Lima, Peru. During the thirty-one years from 1950 through 1980, an average of four new institutions appeared each decade, including two in Paraguay and one in Ecuador. Chile also established its first medical center in Los Angeles in the southern part of the country, a memorable event in the history of that field. Government personnel attended the dedication ceremony. This institution also had received international assistance before opening in August

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1979.⁵ Of the eight countries in the South American Division, in 1980 only Bolivia and Uruguay remained without official Adventist medical centers.

As difficult as circumstances had been, by 1980 South American Adventists owned eighteen institutions with a bed capacity of 1,169, which constituted the third largest cluster of hospitals in the Adventist world outside North America. Excluding the health-care industry in the United States and Canada, which dwarfed its counterparts in all other divisions, only the Far Eastern and Northern European divisions provided more space for patient care than South American hospitals.⁶

The size of health-care institutions in South America varied from two, nine-bed units in Manaus and São Roque, São Paulo, to the 200-bed hospital in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. Three institutions maintained more than 100 beds: Belém Adventist Hospital with 120, the 186-bed River Plate Sanitarium and Hospital, and Silvestre Adventist Hospital in Rio de Janeiro with 138 beds. Ten of the eighteen centers in the division maintained fewer than 50 beds.⁷

Until 1980 health care in South America had trended upward, but during the next two and a half decades, Adventist hospitals in the division followed a zig-zag course. According to the General Conference *Statistical Report*, between 1982 and 1995 South Americans launched fifteen medical units, most of them in Brazil. These new ventures lasted from one year to as long as a decade, which betrays the fragility of Adventist attempts to enlarge their share of the health-care market during the late years of the twentieth century. Bed capacity in the division reached a high point of 1,481 in 1985. The number of institutions fluctuated as high as twenty-four in 1995 and 1996. However, by 2004 the number of hospitals diminished to sixteen and the number of beds dwindled to 966, both figures representing declines compared to 1980.

Notwithstanding the favorable publicity denominational hospitals received and the energy that South American Adventists invested in their health-care centers, issues continued to plague institutional leaders. As increasing numbers of South American Adventists became physicians, the problem of validating the credentials of missionary doctors evaporated, but nursing education became a necessity in order to furnish institutions with a denominationally oriented staff. This meant that preparing nurses for critical care in hospitals would replace the older program of training missionary nurses. Official recognition of nursing courses was a legal question that affected Adventist schools and became a leading influence in upgrading training schools to genuine institutions of higher learning. The process was slow and laborious and sometimes required years.

Quite separate from questions of preparing qualified personnel, both professionally and denominationally, internal matters impeded Adventist health care. A discouraging blow struck the division in 1986 when Belo Horizonte Adventist Hospital, which had joined the Adventist system with high expectations in 1980, reverted to its previous owner, the head of the Golden Cross insurance firm. In 1981 this unit expanded its capacity to 250 beds, and during three of the nearly six years it remained in Adventist hands its patient census reached 90 percent or more. A decline in the final two years of its operations as an Adventist hospital presaged potential financial problems.

The question of patient census (the average daily occupancy over a single year) was critical to successful operations throughout the division. In spite of the progress in health care prior to 1980, South American institutions reported a patient census of about 55 percent, the lowest of any division in the Adventist world. This portending omen became habitual during the years to come. In only seven of the twenty-five years beginning in 1980 did the combined patient census in South American medical centers rise above 60 percent. During the period 1994-2004 the figure dropped below 50 percent five times. Although the rate during some individual years produced optimism, the overall trend during the years from 1980 onward was less than satisfactory.⁸

During the two and a half decades after 1980, the number of outpatients (persons arriving and leaving the hospital during the same day without being admitted to a room) in South American medical centers consistently ranked third or fourth among all divisions in the Adventist world. By 2004 the outpatient count rose to more than 700,000. Under normal conditions this brisk traffic would help to compensate for a low rate of room occupancy, but while South American hospitals were generating this large outpatient clientele they reported more than US\$9,000,000 in charity service, the highest amount in any world division beyond North America. The four institutions in Rio de Janeiro, Belém, Manaus, and São Paulo wrote off a combined total of more than US\$8,000,000 of the divisional total.⁹

Since the days of the nineteenth century Battle Creek Sanitarium, Adventists regarded health care as an opportunity to demonstrate social consciousness. Charity service was unquestionably a humanitarian gesture that satisfied the traditional denominational attitude toward reaching out to needy people. But however laudable this sentiment was, Adventist medical centers were also businesses, not public welfare centers, and for the sake of their own survival, they had to furnish favorable

profit and loss statements. The frequently frustrated attempts to expand health care after 1980 told South American Adventists that their investments in health care had reached the point of diminishing returns.

Roberto Azevedo reminds Adventists that Brazilian conferences and missions sustained a substantial reduction in financial resources beginning in 1996 that resulted in less money for both education and hospitals. In 1999 the precipitous devaluation of Brazilian currency only added to financial woes.¹⁰ Cold statistical reality also pointed out that operating South American hospitals and clinics at an acceptable efficiency rate was proving to be a serious challenge. Some institutions ranked far above the divisional averages, but in the aggregate, the South American Division health-care industry struggled after 1980.

After the mid-1990s a mood of consolidation rather than expansion characterized South American denominational hospitals. Nine medical centers grew, adding a total of 181 beds. In this group were Manaus Adventist Hospital, which expanded from nine to fifty-five beds, and São Roque Adventist Clinic, which grew from nine to forty-four. The two hospitals in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro also recorded modest expansions. But by 2004 six institutions that had been in operation in 1980 had shrunk, losing a total of eighty-eight beds. The largest loss was at River Plate Hospital, which reduced its capacity by thirty-six beds. Hospital closures also contributed to the overall loss of 203 beds from 1980 to 2004. Yet, among the world divisions in 2004, South America still ranked third in the number of institutions and fifth in bed capacity.¹¹

The official statistics, however, did not reveal all the facts about Adventist health care in South America. An increasing number of Adventist physicians maintained their own private practices, some of them providing more service than the ordinary office visits. Small clinics and other health centers whose services did not qualify them to be classified as hospitals also helped to spread the news about denominational interest in health.

One such institution was Centro Adventista de Vida Saudável in Nova Friburgo, about 140 kilometers from Rio de Janeiro. Opening its doors in 1997, it offered sixty beds and a program of natural therapy. Known as CAVS, it emphasized teaching a healthy lifestyle rather than critical care, which recalled the philosophy of Adventist sanitariums during an earlier era. Although it was administered by the East Brazil Union, the official denominational list of health-care institutions did not include this new experiment.¹²

Regardless of the ups and downs Adventist health care experienced in South America, the medical profession itself attempted to keep pace with both technological

and philosophical advances in the field. In September 2000 a South American Adventist Congress of Health convened in Buenos Aires that attracted about 500 professionals, mainly from South America but from other parts of the world as well. The leading topic was preventive medicine, but the participants included practitioners from related areas such as psychology and nursing. Pharmaceutical companies, health food producers, and journalism organizations supported the gathering. Besides discussions about traditional health, the presenters also drew attention to tobacco addiction and lifestyle. Pedro Mainetti, a well-known Argentine physician, observed that Adventist medical practice was progressively more attentive to the importance of spiritual values in the healing processes.¹³

One of the greatest success stories in South American health care emerged from the Penfigo Adventist Hospital near Campo Grande, Mato Grosso. Founded in 1951, the hospital provided treatment for *fogo-selvagem*, or savage fire. The hospital turned no one away. Even patients who could not pay received care, a policy that made for excellent goodwill but threatened institutional finances. Dependence on outside funding was necessary, but even with this precarious financial status, the hospital was able to enlarge its bed capacity in 1966. In 1975 the hospital launched another expansion, but construction soon halted because of insufficient funds and the damaging impact of the national economy on monetary values.¹⁴

The fortunes of the hospital turned a corner in 1982 when Amanda Simpson, an 8-year-old Seventh-day Adventist girl from Manchester, England, arrived for treatment. Since the age of three months, she had endured a tormented existence because of a skin disorder that defied specialists in both England and New York. With no prospect of hope after her doctors gave up, Amanda and her mother were at the point of ultimate desperation when a new minister assumed the pastorate of their church in Manchester.

The new pastor was from Brazil, a graduate student fresh from Newbold College outside London where he had completed a master of divinity degree but was unable to find employment even after searching in twenty different countries. As a last resort he took the Manchester church. One look at Amanda Simpson told him that she should go to Penfigo Adventist Hospital. In short order he arranged for her and her mother, Marlene, to fly to Brazil. Air Portugal provided free round-trip tickets.

In less than two months, João Kiefer, medical director at Penfigo, diagnosed Amanda's disease and cured her. Her malady was not savage fire but a skin allergy that the hospital was equipped to treat. Before returning to England, Amanda

appeared on a widely viewed Brazilian television show with her mother, Dr. Kiefer, and the Penfigo Hospital administrator. By the time the interview ended, the entire country knew that Penfigo Adventist Hospital, which had restored the health of many Brazilians, faced a financial crisis and possible closure. Marlene Simpson recalled that during their six weeks at the hospital the electricity went off forty times.

Within a few days the hospital received a letter from a 9-year-old girl who placed her personal savings of thirty cents in an envelope and wrote that she did not want Penfigo Hospital to close. She signed it simply as Carla. It was the first of a torrent of other gifts, among them cash, water mattresses, linens, food, capital improvement items, a new institutional vehicle, and equipment to maintain the plant, grounds, and food service. New patients also arrived. Without planning to do so, Amanda Simpson had saved the hospital.¹⁵

Amanda's story reached Bihar, India, where 7-year-old Cecilia Sunita Guria agonized daily from a skin disease that caused her to resemble an old, shriveled up man. Through friends in the United States, her parents contacted Penfigo Hospital, which sent medicines that brought some relief, but no cure. Her case became known among Indian employees at the General Conference headquarters. Shortly, free round-trip tickets were negotiated through Alitalia Airlines, and with other financial assistance Cecilia and her mother flew to Brazil. Four months later the girl's crusty skin was clear and Penfigo Adventist Hospital declared her ready to return home. Partly as a result of Cecilia's experience, ADRA, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency, which had already supported Penfigo with equipment, medicine, and money, provided funds to upgrade the treatment rooms at the hospital.¹⁶

Few could doubt that the institution had improved the quality of life in Brazil. Arthur S. Valle noted in 1981 that the incidence of pemphigus had diminished, partly as a result of the treatment that the hospital offered. From its beginning, the medical center's exclusive medical purpose was to care for victims of this dermatological malady, but a decreasing patient count allowed the institution to enter the general health-care market, including surgery.¹⁷ Before the twenty-first century began, Penfigo Adventist Hospital had become a well-established medical center in Campo Grande with savage fire treatment as only one of its many services.

While the purpose of Penfigo Adventist Hospital was to treat victims of savage fire, the experimental nature of the treatment and its impact on the public well-being helped to give the institution an international reputation. From the outset it was involved in research, but it did not have the resources to become the exclusive

research center for pemphigus. It became prominent mainly because it was a pioneer in establishing a cure for the strains of *fogo-selvagem* that appeared in Brazil, but it also became a partner in extensive research, both in Brazil and elsewhere.

Gunter Hans, a German-born immigrant to Brazil who graduated from the medical school in Paraná in 1957, served as medical director of Penfigo Adventist Hospital, 1960-1973. He was one of the organizers of the first Brazilian Conference on Pemphigus (I Congresso Brasileiro sobre Pênfigo). Because of his meritorious service in treating savage fire and his extensive knowledge about the disease, the Federal University of Mato Grosso employed him as professor of dermatology, a post he held until his death in 1991.

Meanwhile, Hans' son, Gunter Hans, Jr., also a dermatologist at the same university, continued his father's legacy by becoming a prominent international researcher about savage fire. During the latter years of the twentieth century, investigative studies produced much information about the various forms of pemphigus, the locations of its incidence around the world, and its treatment. Penfigo Adventist Hospital had played a significant role in generating this body of knowledge.¹⁸

ADVANCEMENTS IN HEALTH FOOD MINISTRY

Besides medical care, another aspect of Adventist teachings about physical well-being was nutrition and diet, which had helped to produce a denominational tradition of health food manufacturing. In 1968 the church organized an advisory agency, World Food Service, to maintain a consistent mission in the growing industry of food factories. In 1987 the name changed to International Health Food Association. Sales of food products from denominational plants around the world rose encouragingly through the 1970s, but not all factories shared in this success. In 1979 the English firm, Granose, passed into Australian control, as did the North American Loma Linda Foods the following year. Australian control was short-lived. Complexities of food manufacturing forced production expense up. Also, doubts arose about the likelihood of denominationally owned food plants making a significant dent in the food market, although Sanitarium Health Food Company had become a major supplier of health food for Australia and New Zealand. From the 1980s onward, health food production as a church industry left an uneven record.¹⁹

Even though Superbom of Brazil dated its beginning in 1925, the starting date of the South American Division health food industry is usually taken to be 1939 when Granix of Buenos Aires began operations. Since that time the Argentine factory continued

to be a fixture among the institutions of the South American Division. In 1971 the division formed the Division Health Food Company as an umbrella organization under which the separate food factories operated.²⁰ By 1980, Superbom had grown to approximately the same size operation as Granix, as measured by the number of employees. By 1979 the two South American companies together formed the second largest Adventist-owned food production industry in the world. Only Sanitarium Health Food Company in the Australasian Division exceeded South American operations.²¹

In 1984 Granix expanded its manufacturing capacity to a second plant in Baradero, located about 90 miles from Buenos Aires. According to Benjamin Reichel, manager of Granix, the food firm operated four major sales centers in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Rosario, and Mar del Plata, besides a dozen smaller outlets in the national capital. Granix also owned a fleet of nineteen trucks that conveyed foods to various locations, and another fifty-six privately owned distributors drove their own delivery vehicles. Alimentos Granix had become one of Argentina's major food suppliers. In 2009 sales reached more than 36,000,000 kilos, valued at nearly US\$70,000,000. Exports went to twenty different countries, most of them in Latin America, but the list also included the United States, Canada, and nations in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Argentineans had little excuse not to know that Adventists promoted dietary reform.

Superbom assumed a different approach. Since 1973 it became the hub around which a chain of vegetarian restaurants flourished in Brazil. The idea spread to Buenos Aires where an eatery opened in 1981. The combined total meals reached 4,000 daily. By 1982 a second restaurant opened in Buenos Aires, and in December 1987 yet another in Córdoba.²²

South Americans saw these restaurants as a vehicle to introduce Adventism to the public by carrying the message of diet reform, including vegetarianism. In 1985 the Superbom restaurant in Rio de Janeiro attracted several hundred customers by featuring the Arautos do Rei, the quartet for *A Voz da Profecia*, and offering lectures on obesity. More than seventy signed up for correspondence courses. South Americans were obviously pleased with the prospects that vegetarian restaurants represented—some Adventist laity and even non-Adventists also opened competitive eating establishments—but, during the latter part of the 1980s, the Brazilian Superbom establishments closed because of unfavorable economic conditions in the country.

It was the beginning of a downward slide for Superbom. By 1990 Granix was employing almost 600 workers, about twice as many persons as Superbom. João Wolff briefly described the food industry in his report to the General Conference

session in 1985, calling attention to the restaurants as a means to reach the public, but except for a general acknowledgment in 1995 that a food industry existed, this was the last reference of the food industry in reports to the General Conference sessions by South American Division presidents.²³

The decline in recognition did not mean that the South American health food industry was failing. A small enterprise in Uruguay added its products to the market and other ventures at schools around the division provided work opportunities for students to earn their education expenses. Eric Fehlberg, director of World Foods Service, noted in 1985 that Superbom products had made their way onto the shelves of supermarkets, signaling a more health-conscious public.²⁴

Health foods meant more than meat analogs. Superbom produced millions of bottles of fruit juices, packaged more millions of cereal beverages, processed hundreds of tons of honey, and baked tons of bread. A small food factory at River Plate Adventist University manufactured a line of soups and stews with pasta, soybeans, and rice. But vegetarianism, even in such a heavy meat-consuming society as Argentina, was making some headway, as online directories of vegetarian eateries showed. One, the Happy Cow Guide to Restaurants and Health Food Stores, published customer reviews of about 9,000 eating locations around the world in 2008 to allow vegetarian tourists to plan their travels with confidence. On a five-point scale, this guide rated Granix Restaurant above four, an envious reputation to hold in global competition. The most often repeated complaint was that Granix was open for lunch only. Guests obviously wanted more.²⁵

The Division Health Food Company may have stopped garnering headlines in the denominational media, but by 2007 Alimentos Granix had become the third largest denominationally-owned food factory in the Adventist world. Meanwhile, in 1997 Superbom sold its entire line of cereals to Kellogg, but retained the right to use its name on other products.²⁶ By the end of the century Superbom had shrunk to only a fraction of its former size. Compared with factories in the rest of the Adventist world, it was still among the leading producers of health foods. While not a partner in direct evangelism, health food manufacturing and sales helped the church to present itself as a contributor to public health.

HUMANITARIAN OUTREACH EXPANDS

With its policy of free treatment, Penfigo Adventist Hospital had been an exemplary illustration of social consciousness by the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Although it was not financially feasible for the entire hospital system in the South American Division to function on a similar basis, church leaders found other means to maintain the church's humanitarian image. In 1983 Seventh-day Adventist World Service changed its name to reflect a shift in its predominant activities. The new title, Adventist Development and Relief Agency, or ADRA, indicated that the purpose of the organization was to deal with chronic problems such as hunger, nutrition, poverty, sickness, and poorly developed resources in addition to relief from disasters.²⁷ In South America OFASA had been functioning in this role since the mid-1970s.

Practically on the eve of its name change, OFASA cooperated with government agencies to bring relief to sufferers of devastating floods in northern Argentina. This response included fifty-five bundles of clothing, 800 blankets, and fifty tents to help the flood victims.²⁸ Soon after, now recast as a developing agency as well as a relief organization, OFASA reorganized itself in light of its new title. In Santiago, Chile the newly formed ADRA conducted its first division-wide planning session in early 1985.²⁹ In March of the same year, a destructive earthquake struck Chile, giving South Americans in the vicinity of the Andean spine a jolting reminder that they lived along the Pacific rim, a region prone to geological disturbances. This latest temblor completely destroyed about 70,000 homes and affected about half the national population. ADRA sent food, tents, clothing, and emergency medical supplies to the stricken country, and appropriated \$100,000 to replace an estimated 100 small homes.³⁰

Other earthquakes hit Peru in 2001 and 2007. Moquegua, about seventy-five miles south of Arequipa, was the epicenter of the first quake, which reduced 60 percent of the city to rubble and killed about a hundred people. ADRA distributed blankets, drinking water, and tents for temporary protection to 1,000 families. The second disaster was even more serious, leaving about 500 dead in Ica Province near the coast south of Lima. Five Adventist churches opened their doors as shelters for victims, and ADRA furnished the usual tents, blankets, drinking water, and emergency medical care.³¹ Meanwhile, Tungurahua, an active volcano in Ecuador, erupted on August 16, 2006, killing seven persons and dumping ash and debris on 300,000 acres of agricultural land. Thousands were displaced. Under ADRA's auspices, volunteer physicians treated people suffering from respiratory problems. Other workers distributed food staples to 2,000 victims.³²

If the South American west was geologically unstable, the rest of the continent was vulnerable to flooding by the large rivers that drained off the Andean slopes and flowed eastward to the Atlantic. Seasons of heavy rainfall beginning in December

2000 and continuing at various places around the continent for two years created heavy floods, which were opportunities to furnish relief to survivors. In cooperation with local authorities in Viacha, Bolivia, ADRA organized three emergency camps with food service, health care, and sanitation facilities and shipped in more than fifty tons of food. Scant months later, ADRA distributed bedding, personal hygiene kits, and other supplies to flood victims in Mato Grosso, Brazil.³³

In May 2002 the worst downpours in ninety years washed away homes and crops and eroded farmland in the region of Pilar, southern Paraguay, and President Roque Sáenz Peña in northeastern Argentina. ADRA stepped in with food and clothing for thousands of affected persons. In Argentina volunteer workers continued food distribution into August. Again, after record rainfall in Bolivia left thousands of people homeless in January and February of 2006, ADRA sent medicine, emergency supplies, and enough food to last two months, and furnished medical care and installed tanks to provide safe drinking water.³⁴ Another earthquake in Chile in 2010 brought the usual relief from ADRA. Plaudits came from United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who met with ADRA personnel at the Santiago airport.³⁵

As impressive as these activities were, they were relief interventions that differed from earlier SAWS projects only in that they represented greater quantities of aid, probably because ADRA could afford more help than SAWS. But it was in its new official capacity as a development agency that ADRA also made a significant impact. Especially since the mid-twentieth century, demographic shifts in South America brought huge waves of migration to the cities, creating severe difficulties in public services such as health care, sanitation, and housing. Residents of rural areas were also often left in neglect. Before it changed its name to ADRA, SAWS had already begun to address these issues and had attracted enough attention to inspire CBS, a North American national broadcasting network, to air an hour-long television documentary in the spring of 1984 about Adventist humanitarian work in Peru.³⁶

A prime example of ADRA's development projects actually began in 1983 by SAWS in Peru. The plan was to offer free seeds to convince indigenous residents in the Lake Titicaca region to plant vegetable gardens. A few skeptical families agreed, but their reluctance melted when their experiments succeeded far beyond their imagination. Within two years 3,800 participants were cultivating their own plots. They grew enough vegetables to supplement their own family needs, which enabled ADRA to stop its free food handouts. The families also sold about US\$100,000 worth of produce in the local markets. Professors in the agricultural program at the university in Puno sent

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their students to the local community to observe gardening techniques that improved public health by changing the traditional diet of potatoes, grains, and meat.³⁷

Bolivia was also the site of early development projects. By 1986 ADRA launched a plan to prevent dirt from sliding off residential hillsides and to improve water and sewer systems and pave streets. Later, ADRA remodeled train cars and a river launch as dental and medical clinics in order to provide service to inhabitants of remote regions. By 1994 the ADRA office in La Paz employed 130 persons, including thirty engineers. Besides this central office, a half dozen regional branches functioned throughout the country. The entire operation was one of the largest ADRA projects in the world.³⁸

The general issue of human resources did not escape ADRA's eye. An ADRA project in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, known as the Center for Abandoned Children of Drug Addiction, offered a special home for boys, aged six to thirteen. In Lima, Peru, María-Elena Villasante directed a corps of fifty volunteers in the ADRA-financed New Way (Nuevo Rumbo), an agency to provide guidance and help to the thousand or more homeless street children in the national capital. Some of the youngsters were runaways, practically all were addicted to substance abuse, and some had become prostitutes. All were high risk social problems. Rather than a rehabilitation center, Nuevo Rumbo was more of an agency of counselors that encouraged a new sense of self-esteem and direction in the lives of urban waifs. Rebuilding trust in humans was the primary strategy of the counselors. Frequently Nuevo Rumbo reestablished the street children in foster homes.³⁹

As the program in Lima grew, the ADRA office in the United Kingdom became involved. Visits by personnel from England led to a grant by the British government through ADRA equivalent to US\$954,000. The money was to enlarge the scope of the Peruvian program to include more careful observance of child labor laws in addition to combating poverty and dealing with squalid conditions of life on the streets.⁴⁰

Although not mentioning ADRA by name, General Conference President Jan Paulsen reminded Brazilians in 2003 that Seventh-day Adventists were committed to collaborating with governments and humanitarian agencies to heighten the consciousness of child abuse and neglect. During his ten-day tour through South America, Paulsen addressed a gathering of 170 Brazilian deputies and senators representing the Parliamentary Front for the Defense of Child and Adolescent Rights, commending them for legislation that protected children. Brazilian churches preceded Paulsen's visit with a widely publicized campaign, "Breaking the Silence,"

which promoted the fourth Saturday of every August that Seventh-day Adventists had designated as “Abuse Prevention Emphasis Day.”⁴¹

Related to the question of child abuse was safe motherhood. During April 2002 ADRA conducted a series of programs in the Chuquisaca Department of Bolivia, primarily to promote maternal health. Workshops, community discussions, and health fairs were some of the activities. A hundred health promoters distributed information and enlightened people about the benefits available from the national health insurance program that provided benefits to all Bolivians. For these efforts the White Ribbon Alliance, a consortium of more than a hundred organizations promoting safe motherhood, awarded ADRA its annual award in 2002.⁴²

Working for the public well-being sometimes involved development projects that were less dramatic but nonetheless essential for community success. In Argentina’s Jujuy Province ADRA received a large donation of land on which to build a community center for gatherings and other activities that would cultivate local civic pride. Plans also included religious services. The provincial governor hailed the action as a major step in building community relations.⁴³

One of the spinoffs of ADRA’s activities was a greater sense of responsibility among South Americans to support humanitarian projects with their own resources. As individual cases dictated, ADRA worked with local or national governments and sought to collaborate with appropriate agencies in the host countries of South America. The net effect of this practice was to support local authority even though ADRA might be the leading partner in any given development project. When São Paulo Adventists celebrated the centennial of their organized existence in 2006, they collected 150 tons of non-perishable food for the local food banks. Using the occasion to draw attention to the seventh-day Sabbath, they publicized the event as “Saturday: a world day of joy” and scheduled the actual donation on a Saturday at a local stadium before an estimated crowd of 50,000. Earlier in the day they distributed a million pieces of literature about the Sabbath.⁴⁴

Brazilian Adventists earned national acclaim in 2007 when thousands of volunteers from churches across the country collected a record 3,200 tons of food for local food banks. The campaign was an annual event, the brainchild of Sergio Azevedo who had created it fourteen years earlier. The 2007 drive climaxed during the Christmas season with a televised gala in the Botafogo Adventist church in Rio de Janeiro. Called Christmas Mutirão, the program featured performances by children’s and youth choirs and celebrities from both the political and entertainment

worlds. General Conference President Jan Paulsen was also on hand. One actress openly wept as she performed before the audience, referring to her own Adventist background and expressing pride in what the church was doing for the needy.⁴⁵

During the years after 1983, ADRA became a powerful branch of church activity in South America. R. R. Drachenberg, a General Conference assistant treasurer and the executive director of ADRA, disclosed that at the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1984, Latin America had received more than US\$7,000,000 of the near \$24,700,000 that the organization spent on projects.⁴⁶ By 2007 ADRA's budget rose to more than US\$140,000,000, much of which originated in grants from the United States government. Benefits to countries in the South American Division approximated US\$24,000,000 of that amount. Peru topped the list of recipients with more than US\$13,500,000. Nearly \$7,000,000 went to projects in Bolivia.⁴⁷ The annual records show that the amounts spent in any country could vary sharply from year to year, depending partly on the extent of needed relief or on specific development projects. It was the pattern of activity over time rather than the amounts of a single year that demonstrated which areas of the world were habitual beneficiaries of ADRA. Unquestionably, South America was one of the regions most abundantly blessed by ADRA's activities.

The rise of ADRA constituted a new umbrella for Adventist public service. It had helped to give Seventh-day Adventism a new face, but, at the same time, one of the most legendary humanitarian activities of Adventism in South America silently disappeared. Since 1931 when Leo Halliwell set out with the *Luzeiro* on his maiden voyage on the Amazon, the river launch ministry had captivated the imagination of Adventists around the globe. Probably more than any other single activity, the *Luzeiro* came to symbolize the social conscience of the church. The fact that Adventist humanitarians had done more than anyone else to penetrate the world's largest river basin only added to the luster of the story of Halliwell and his Brazilian successors. Through the twenty years after 1960 as they broadened the original concept of reaching the people in South America's heartland by traversing waterways and extending medical assistance to inhabitants of the riverine wilderness, the centuries-old dream of subduing the continental interior seemed increasingly within reach. Although it was not their intention to open up the vast center of the continent for commercial and political development, it was a natural result of helping to make the region safe for human life.

Despite the success of the river launch ministry in conveying goodwill, medical care, and the gospel to an increasing number of heretofore unreached tribes and communities, by the end of the twentieth century it was a thing of the past. A multiplicity

of causes contributed to the decline of the river launches. After the heyday of the boats in the 1970s and early 1980s, the government tightened its regulatory grip on medical services, which made it impossible to continue the launch ministry as it had functioned for decades. Complicating the situation were increased operating and maintenance costs. Financial support from the church, government, and private sources also dried up. A plan to coordinate qualified volunteers succeeded for a few trips, but in time, promoters also discarded this idea.⁴⁸

Former boat captains and river launch workers viewed the demise of the ministry with sadness. No one could deny that the church had shifted its focus in helping to preserve the public well-being. Health-care institutions and food factories still functioned as an integral part of the South American Division, but ADRA, with its ramified activities, had become the church's chosen means to convey to the public that Seventh-day Adventists believe the biblical declaration that the human body is the temple of God and deserves respect and good treatment.

¹ João Wolff, "A Story of Gratitude and Praise," *AR*, July 11, 1990.

² News note, no name, *ibid.*, September 10, 1981.

³ *Ibid.*, December 31, 1981.

⁴ Fausto Salazar and Sergio Celcis, "Clínica Adventista de Quito," *RA* (A), August 1985; "La obra medica misionera penetrando lugares no alcanzados," *ibid.*, December 2002, *EM*.

⁵ Arturo de Souza Valle, "La primera institución médica adventista de Chile," *ibid.*, January 1980. It is important to note that the Chilean institution did not appear in the *Statistical Report*, the official report of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, until 1987, which means that Adventists could have been unofficially operating more institutions than the official denominational statement acknowledged.

⁶ *Statistical Report*, 1980.

⁷ These statistics have been adapted from *SDA Yearbook*, 1980, and *Statistical Report*, 1980.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1980-2006. According to sources in North America, a patient census of 65 to 70 percent is minimal to meet operating expenses of hospitals. We can assume that a similar figure applied as well to South American institutions. Interview, William G. Robertson with Floyd Greenleaf, November 3, 2008. At the time of the interview, Robertson was president of Adventist HealthCare Corporation, Rockville, MD.

⁹ See *Statistical Report*, 1980-2004.

¹⁰ Roberto César de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Fundamental," 42.

¹¹ These numbers may be traced from *Statistical Report*, 1980-2004. South American statistics for health-care institutions remain the same for the reports of 2004-2006, hence 2004 is the cutoff date for this study.

¹² Zinaldo A. Santos, "Sonho de Deus," *RA* (B), January, 1998.

¹³ "Congreso sudamericano de salud, La Plata 2000," *RA* (A), January 2001, *EM*.

¹⁴ Signe Peterson, "Construction at 'savage fire' hospital," *AR*, January 14, 1982.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Arthur S. Valle, "Thirty cents given to save hospital," *ibid.*, March 10, 1983; Victor Cooper, "SDA hospital in Brazil gives English girl new lease on life," *ibid.*, July 7, 1983.

¹⁶ J. R. L. Astleford, "Savage fire—unquenchable faith," *ibid.*, April 12, 1984; and "Savage fire victim receives treatment," *ibid.*, September 20, 1984; Aileen Sox, "Indian girl cured of savage fire, thanks to generosity of fellow SDAs," *ibid.*, May 9, 1985.

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¹⁷ Arthur S. Valle, "Treating 'savage fire' in Brazilian hospital," *ibid.*, July 23, 1981.

¹⁸ For an example of the international research about savage fire, see Simon J. P. Warren, M.D., *et al.*, "The Prevalence of Antibodies against Desmoglein 1 in Endemic Pemphigus Foliaceus in Brazil," *New England Journal of Medicine*, v. 343, no. 1 (July 6, 2000), 23-30. One of the participants in this study was Gunter Hans, Jr. For an impressive bibliography of research about *fogo-selvagem*, see online article, Robert Schwartz, M.D. "Fogo-selvagem," www.emedicine.com/derm/topic156.htm. At the time of the article, Schwartz was the head of the dermatology department at the New Jersey Medical School. The Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia honored Gunter Hans, Sr. in Sebastião A. P. Sampaio, "In Memoriam: Gunter Hans 1924-1991," *Anais Brasileiros de Dermatologia*, v. 69, no. 4 (jul/ago 1994), 329. Sampaio was a fellow dermatologist from the University of São Paulo. Numerous online references to the research of Dr. Gunter Hans, Jr. are available online.

¹⁹ See Richard Schwarz and Floyd Greenleaf, *Portadores de luz: historia de la Iglesia Adventista del Séptimo Día* (Buenos Aires, 2002), 494-497, for a discussion of the denominational food industry.

²⁰ *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 638.

²¹ *Statistical Report*, 1980.

²² Enoch Oliveira, "Restaurant opens in Buenos Aires," *AR*, June 25, 1981; news note, no name, *ibid.*, November 12, 1981; Esther I. de Fayard, "Restaurante vegetariano Gránix," *RA* (A), August 1981; and "Noticias de nuestros colegios," *ibid.*, September 1982; Benjamin Reichel, "Alimentos Granix," *ibid.*, September 1984; Hugo D Posse, "Nuevo restaurante Granix," *ibid.*, July 1988. For sales by Granix, e-mails Adriana Wiedemann to Cristina Moran, April 9 and 12, 2010.

²³ News note, no name, *AR*, March 7, 1985; *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 638; *Statistical Report*, 1990; see successive presidential reports to the General Conference sessions, *AR*, July 1, 1985; July 11, 1990; July 7, 1995; July 4, 2000; and July 6, 2005.

²⁴ See *Statistical Report*, 1980-2007; Eric Fehlberg, "World Foods Service," *AR*, July 7, 1985.

²⁵ News note, no name, *ibid.*, November 28, 1985; "Argentine Factory Launches New Food Products," *ANN*, February 18, 2003. See the Web site at happycow.net.

²⁶ "Crescimento da Igreja na América do Sul," *RA* (B), December, 1997.

²⁷ For a discussion of ADRA's work, see Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Portadores*, 459-464. The English edition, *Light Bearers: A History of the Seventh-day Adventist Church* (Nampa, ID, 2000), discusses the same issue in the same pages.

²⁸ Hugo D. Posse, "OFASA con autoridades del Chaco," *RA* (A), November 1983.

²⁹ News note, no name, *AR*, May 9, 1985.

³⁰ Conrad Visser, "Three minutes and 22 seconds: earthquake hits Chile," *ibid.*, May 9, 1985; Aileen Andres Sox, "Chileans benefit from houses built by ADRA," *ibid.*, September 12, 1985.

³¹ "Adventist Humanitarian Agency Helps Earthquake Survivors in Peru," *ANN*, June 26, 2001; "ADRA Assists Homeless After Peru Earthquake," no name, *AR*, July 26, 2001; "Peru Earthquake Damages Churches, Schools," *ANN*, August 16, 2007; Adventist Review Staff, "ADRA Speeds Relief to Peru Following Massive Quake; Church, School Damaged Ica," *AR*, September 13, 2007.

³² "Also in the News: Ecuador: ADRA Aids Survivors of Massive Volcanic Eruption," *ANN*, September 12, 2006.

³³ "Adventist Humanitarian Agency Responds to Flooding in Bolivia," *ibid.*, April 16, 2001; Norma Sahlin, "ADRA Responds to Flooding in Bolivia," *AR*, May 10, 2001; "Adventist Humanitarian Agency Responds to Flooding in Brazil," *ANN*, May 15, 2001.

³⁴ "Paraguay: Flood Survivors Receive Assistance," *ibid.*, June 18, 2002; "ADRA/Argentina Aids Flood Victims," no name, *AR*, July 25, 2002; "Bolivia: ADRA Provides Emergency Aid to Nearly 7,000 Flood Survivors," no name, *ibid.*, May 2006; "Also in the News: Flood Survivors in Bolivia Receive Aid from ADRA," *ANN*, March 8, 2006.

³⁵ Mark Kellner, "Adventists Respond to Chilean Quake," *AW*, May 2010.

³⁶ David R. Syme, "SAWS meets escalating needs of the world," *AR*, April 29, 1982; Victor Cooper, "CBS news team films SAWS activities in Peru," *ibid.*, November 10, 1983.

³⁷ "Huertos familiares proveen alimentos en el altiplano," *RA* (A), August 1985; "Peruvians Respond Enthusiastically to Gardening Project," no name, *AR*, June 5, 1986; Barry Casey, "Your Church Is Fighting Hunger," *ibid.*, November 6, 1986; Ken Flemmer, "The Challenge of Village Agriculture," *ibid.*, May 21, 1987.

³⁸ Schwarz and Greenleaf, *Portadores*, 462.

³⁹ "Adventists Act to Help Street Children in Peru," *ANN*, June 13, 2000. See Charleen Williams, "I Don't Know How to Be a Son," *AR* (North American Division Edition), August 2001.

⁴⁰ "Peru: British Government Gives ADRA-UK Nearly US\$1 Million to Help Street Children," *ANN*, April 5, 2004.

⁴¹ "Plight of Abused Children Addressed by World Church President," *ibid.*, September 2, 2003.

⁴² "Adventist Humanitarian Agency Recognized for Bolivian Projects," *ibid.*, June 4, 2002.

⁴³ "En la capital Jujena el Gobierno Provincial donó a ADRA un terreno para la construcción de un Centro Comunitario," *RA* (A), August 2000, *EM*.

⁴⁴ Márcio Tonetti, "Passarela do Sábado," *RA* (B), September 2006.

⁴⁵ "Brazil: New Record for Nationwide Christmas Food Collection Initiative," *ANN*, December 18, 2007.

⁴⁶ R. R. Drachenberg, "Adventist Development and Relief Agency International," *AR*, July 3, 1985.

⁴⁷ Online edition of *ADRA Annual Review*, 2007.

⁴⁸ Ana Paula Ramos provides a poignant explanation of the decline of the river launch ministry in *Desafio nas águas*, 108-123.



COMMUNICATION, PUBLISHING, AND EDUCATION

MORE CLOSELY RELATED to direct evangelism than either medical ministry or programs that promoted public well-being were publishing houses, schools, and departments of communication. Dramatic changes characterized these categories of church institutions after 1980.

The idea of planned dissemination of information about Adventism in the non-Adventist community began in 1912 when the General Conference established the Bureau of Public Relations. The principal duty of this office was to issue statements about denominational activities for publication. With the proliferation of broadcasting, the General Conference established a radio commission in the late 1930s, which evolved into the General Conference Department of Radio and Television in 1950.¹ Although broadcasting was evangelistic in character as contrasted with disseminating data, the Bureau of Public Relations and the Department of Radio and Television merged in 1973, taking the name of the Department of Communication.

This new arrangement did not last. Two years earlier in 1971 the General Conference organized Adventist World Radio, known

as AWR, to oversee large-scale international broadcasting. It concentrated on short-wave broadcasts but did not restrict itself to that medium. Its rapid expansion led to its separation from the Department of Communication in 1990 when it began functioning with its own board of directors. The Department of Communication switched its emphasis back to press relations and releasing information.²

It did not necessarily follow that communication and broadcasting in the world fields would duplicate the growth pattern and organizational developments at the General Conference. In the case of South America, the practice of publishing prepared information took hold in the 1960s, led by Arthur de Souza Valle, the division's first professional journalist, and his photographer-partner, Roberto R. de Azevedo. During the decade of the 1970s, Adventist journalism became more professional and spread from the print media to radio and television. It became common for church administrators and institutions to employ trained public relations experts to present their message in attractive ways to the public.³

Serious radio programming in South America began in the 1940s. The inspiration for this innovation came from religious radio broadcasting in North America during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Shortly after introducing the *Voice of Prophecy* in South America, the division established a Radio Commission to guide both official and independent broadcasting.⁴ Until the mid-1990s South Americans continued to pursue radio broadcasting and television programming in traditional ways, although the format of the programs changed. Production became more sophisticated and contemporary and the coverage widened. Instead of the thirty-minute broadcasts that Roberto Rabello and Braulio Pérez introduced in the 1940s, the programs shrank to fifteen and sometimes even five minutes.⁵

For purposes of organizing Spanish radio programming, denominational leaders viewed much of South America as part of the Hispanic societies that extended from the Straits of Magellan northward through the Inter-American Division and even into the United States. *La Voz de la Esperanza* was aimed at this entire Spanish-speaking community. However, its Portuguese counterpart, *A Voz da Profecia*, was a Brazilian enterprise, which gave the South American Division more influence in its production and airing. Just as the Spanish and Brazilian versions of the *Voice of Prophecy* were spinoffs from the original North American program, Aymara and Quechua editions evolved for listening audiences in Peru.⁶

Although the church sponsored its official programs, broadcasts of local origin continued on both AM and FM radio. Enterprising speakers experimented with new

formats, some of which became widely recognized. Radio and television programs, including the *Voice of Prophecy*, presented defining doctrines of Adventism to varying degrees, but for the most part, preachers who took to the air waves based their appeal on spiritual values rather than doctrine. Speakers often left biblical instruction to the lessons that listeners studied by enrolling in radio correspondence schools.

Argentine speaker Enrique Chaij recalls that in both his radio and television versions of *Una Luz en el Camino* he spoke about universal spiritual issues that were of contemporary interest. For example, he illustrated his discussion about the life-changing impact of God's influence by televising an interview with a pottery maker in his shop in Buenos Aires. The artisan demonstrated his skills before the camera and explained some of the details of his craft, all of which gave Chaij the opportunity to direct his viewers to the prophet Jeremiah who had used the metaphor of pottery-making when appealing to wayward Israelites. Such techniques gave *Una Luz* the quality of a genuine home-grown program. After many years of producing both radio and television versions of *Una Luz en el Camino*, Chaij introduced a fast-moving, five-minute television program, *Encuentro Con La Vida*, which daily encouraged audiences in the Buenos Aires viewing area to reflect on spiritual issues. The earlier program, *Una Luz*, continued as one of the main Adventist television presentations in Spanish South America.⁷

Although Roberto Rabello spoke under the auspices of *A Voz da Profecia*, a term that bore a kind of denominational trademark, he gave the program an unmistakable Brazilian character, which appealed specifically to Brazilian listeners. However, by 1983 Brazilians were exporting *A Voz* to Portuguese-speaking communities in Europe, the United States, Oceania, Africa, Canada, and Paraguay. In 1975 Brazilians also began producing *Uma Luz no Caminho*, their own Portuguese version of Chaij's Spanish *Una Luz en el Camino*. Five years later, Adventist television programs began in Brazil with *Encontro Com a Vida*, which like its Spanish counterpart, consisted of five-minute spots devoted to social, inspirational, or sometimes doctrinal issues. According to data compiled by the division in 1983, 42 percent of newly baptized Adventists attributed their conversion in part to these broadcasts. Brazilians also added a new local twist in 1987 when they gave listeners in five Brazilian states the opportunity to hear a live radio broadcast of a Sabbath morning service from the Botafogo church.⁸

During the fifty-year anniversary of *A Voz da Profecia* in 1993, Darcy dos Reis, director, reminded Brazilian Adventists that the program was still a powerful evangelistic tool in South America, claiming that it had played a role in the conversion

of 200,000 Adventists. However, he suggested that the fiftieth anniversary should not pass without changes that would make radio broadcasting even more effective.⁹

COMMUNICATION ENTERS THE HIGH TECH AGE

During the latter half of the 1990s, high tech evangelism entered South America. Neumoel Stina, who became head of the South American Adventist Communication System in 1997, continued the theme of change that Darcy dos Reis had enunciated. Stina realized that the golden age of radio was gone and that radio programming would have to change in order to be competitive in a new era. Short programs, aired daily, that went directly to the heart would be the norm. With all of the change, however, Stina recognized that broadcasting success rested to a great extent on the personality of the speaker. “The church will never have another Rabello,” he said. “He is a legend and legends cannot be duplicated.”¹⁰

South Americans had already formed a network of radio stations known as Novo Tempo in Brazil and Nuevo Tiempo in the Spanish-speaking countries. The new communication system that Stina directed was an umbrella organization that embraced the *Voice of Prophecy*, *It Is Written*, and the Adventist networks of both radio and television. One of the changes that Stina inaugurated began in 1998 when Adventist World Radio started satellite transmissions to expand its programming. Both AM and FM Spanish stations in the Inter-American and South American divisions received these programs. The AWR broadcasting center in Costa Rica sent the programs by CD-Rom to the South American media center where they were uplinked to a satellite. Individual stations in South America downlinked the programs for local broadcasts. This process caused as much as a month delay between production in Costa Rica and when listeners actually heard the programs. By 2001 AWR developed the technology to transfer programs from Costa Rica to Novo Friburgo by satellite, which made availability nearly instantaneous.¹¹

Satellite television evangelism began in the United States with a pilot program in 1995 by *It Is Written* speaker Mark Finley. Adventist churches around the world installed downlink equipment and invited the public to watch the program. Already committed to using the media, South American Adventists responded enthusiastically in what would become worldwide television evangelism. A new agency, Adventist Satellite Services of South America, known as ASDAT, assumed responsibility for program production and promotion of satellite technology throughout the division. Its director, Erlo Braun, explained that with satellite dishes and digital receivers

churches could downlink a variety of denominationally produced programs, both inspirational and evangelistic in character. The object of the new agency was to coordinate satellite communication, including existing programs such as *Está Escrito*, the title of both the Portuguese and the Spanish versions of the North American television program *It Is Written*.

Plans to produce *It Is Written* in Portuguese began much earlier in 1991 after George Vandeman convinced a group of Brazilian businessmen to support the program. They formed a new organization, the Federação dos Empresários, and work began immediately to produce the television program for Brazilian viewers. By the end of the year, *Está Escrito* in Portuguese was beaming across Brazil. The Spanish version of *Está Escrito* made its debut on South American satellite television in 1998. Also part of the new television fare were programs such as *Net '98*, a revival patterned after Finley's pilot program in 1995.¹²

By the year 2000 satellite evangelism reached new levels in South America. Alejandro Bullón, speaker for both the Brazilian and Spanish editions of *It Is Written*, presented an evangelistic series in the Florida church in Buenos Aires during December 1998, which satellite transmission carried to both North America and Europe. Later in April 2000, a Holy Week satellite series in both Spanish and Portuguese reached 3,500 sites and an estimated 350,000 viewers. Speaking the next month from the 70,000-seat San Marcos Stadium in Lima, Peru, Bullón launched *IMPACTO 2000*, a week-long revival with an estimated audience of 350,000. Joel Sarli, a Brazilian member of the General Conference Ministerial Association, and Henry Feyerabend, speaker for the Canadian version of *It Is Written* and a former worker in Brazil, combined to present *Esperança 2000*. This six-week series originated in São Paulo and reached 325,000 viewers nightly through 2,200 churches equipped with satellite technology.

With its 3,500 downlink sites, South America reported a greater concentration of satellite dishes than any other division in the Adventist world. Encouraged by this widespread technology, ASDAT produced fresh programming for the four time zones in the division. Williams Costa, director of the South American media center in Novo Friburgo, anticipated that downlink sites in the division would soon number 10,000.¹³

The explosion of satellite evangelism prompted a greater awareness among South Americans of the need for new strategies and more professionalization in the field. With that purpose in mind, they conducted their first division-wide communication

congress in 2003. Organized on the Engenheiro Coelho campus of Brazil Adventist University, it brought approximately 1,000 participants together to study how to communicate Adventism better in the age of the internet. The gathering featured presenters from the General Conference Department of Communication in addition to leaders from South America. Many of the attendees were college students. With ASDAT broadcasting around the clock on three channels and with a growing network of radio stations, new opportunities and professions that had been unknown only a few years earlier were opening up for a rising generation of denominational workers.¹⁴

In October 2004 the communication department of Brazil Adventist University teamed up with the Ellen G. White Research Center to organize a week-long symposium, "The History of Adventist Communication in Brazil." The topics included both evangelistic and informational communication. Presenters were mainly Brazilians but also included Ray Dabrowski, head of the General Conference Department of Communication, who placed the discussions in a global perspective. The symposium focused on the need for academe to join forces with practitioners in communication in order to prepare career professionals in this expanding field. By lumping press relations and electronic evangelism together and linking the entire process to the evangelistic mission of the church, the participants recognized communication as more than disseminating information. They climaxed their symposium by recommending strategic planning for future expansion of evangelistic communication, and also investing in academic preparation of professionals in this new field.¹⁵

By the time the symposium occurred, the Inter-American and South American divisions had each generated its own momentum in communication. To avoid duplication of effort, Adventist World Radio closed its center in Costa Rica and shifted all operations to the South American media center in Novo Friburgo. The plan called for the South American facility to function as a branch of Adventist World Radio from which it would draw some financial support. The South American center produced some original programming, gathered the best in existing programs, and uplinked them for availability to stations in both the Inter-American and South American divisions.¹⁶

Communication in South America took a major step forward in 2006 when church officials signed an agreement with the Brazilian government that authorized SISTEMA, the Adventist broadcasting company, to rebroadcast television programs over both high and low power stations. According to the Adventist News Network, the agreement allowed "the church to open stations anywhere frequency allocations

and local conditions permit.” Coinciding with this major advancement was the ribbon-cutting for a new South American media center at Jacareí, near São Paulo. Financed in part by Milton Afonso, this new institution employed 140 persons who coordinated the division’s entire radio and television program, and new ventures in internet communication, all under the names of Novo Tempo and Nuevo Tiempo. Besides producing new programs in both Spanish and Portuguese, the center marketed existing broadcasts such as *It Is Written* and *Voice of Prophecy*. It also housed the offices for a correspondence school.¹⁷

Seen from its origins in the 1940s, electronic evangelism had been long in the making, but the final phases were rapid. With the establishment of the new center near São Paulo that consolidated all communication operations under a single roof, the division established a major institution in South America and one of the most technologically advanced communication centers in the Adventist world.

THE PRINT MEDIA

The more traditional method of propagating Adventism through printed materials did not suffer from the growth of electronic evangelism. The division’s two publishing houses began the post-World War II era with similar sales volume, but the Brazilian firm soon began to edge ahead. By 1980 its sales surpassed its Argentine counterpart by more than five times. This statistic did not mean that ACES, the acronym for Casa Editora, was failing. Compared with the thirty-eight Adventist publishing houses outside North America, the Argentine plant ranked fifth in sales. Measured by denominational standards, each South American publishing house was productive, and the combined numbers added up to an extraordinarily high volume of publications.¹⁸

ACES achieved its success while facing serious problems not of its own making. To satisfy the demand for reading material involved more than simply printing literature in Spanish, even though that was the official language in the seven countries that the press served. Sometimes economic regulation in neighboring countries became protective, which could hinder shipment of printed materials across national boundaries. Also, price levels in national economies differed, which could impact the cost of books and periodicals negatively when transferring them internationally. Confronted with difficulties of this nature, Casa Editora sometimes found it more advantageous to establish a branch to handle publishing needs in another country than to expand the home plant.

In 1965 printing resumed in Chile after a hiatus of a half century. The new operations began as a branch of Casa Editora in a building connected with the Adventist school in Santiago. “Little by little this small institution developed,” wrote Jorge A. Luorno, manager of the Chile branch. In 1984 this small enterprise printed 30,000 copies of *El conflicto cósmico* in connection with Chile’s role in the Thousand Days of Reaping. In 1993 a new building went up, and in 2001 this office took charge of all production and sales in Chile. By 2004 the two centers in Chile and Argentina employed 110 workers.¹⁹

Notorious inflation in Argentina during the 1970s forced Casa Editora to accept commercial jobs in order to remain financially afloat, but management refused to print anything that violated Adventist principles. During the 1980s and 1990s, ACES contracted with the Bible Society of Argentina to print New Testaments and shorter portions of Scripture in several Indian languages. Later, arrangements with the Emanuel Bible Society allowed Casa Editora to publish a new version of the Spanish Bible. The Argentine house also filled orders from the Inter-American Division for books in both English and French.²⁰

Despite financial uncertainties, Casa Editora kept up with modernizing trends. Computerized production began in 1987, “forever leaving the typewriter behind,” Aldo Casella and Carlos Steger remarked in their centennial book about the publishing house. Computerized procedures quickly spread through the entire plant, affecting all administrative functions as well as production procedures.²¹

Since its founding, Casa Editora not only played a critical role in reaching the public with literature, but it also provided reading material to strengthen church members both spiritually and doctrinally and to inform them about the progress of Adventism. Missionary magazines were staple items on the publishing agenda. Through the years ACES scrupulously pursued its original purposes, adding periodicals to promote good health and Bible study as well as a line of children’s materials. One of the most effective ways to reach the public was the annual Open House, which attracted both Adventists and non-Adventists to the plant. In September 1990 when ACES celebrated its eleventh Open House, more than 5,000 visitors passed through the plant. Visitors included “distinguished personalities from the editorial, religious and political world.” Messages from the president and vice president of Argentina also congratulated the publishing house for its contributions to Argentine life.²² In addition to the Open House tradition and selling products to the public through local book retailers, Casa Editora facilitated literature distribution

by equipping vans in both Argentina and Uruguay as mobile book stores to benefit church members.

In 1996 editors prepared Ellen G. White's classic, *Steps to Christ*, in magazine form, titled *Paz en la Tormenta*, which resulted in seventeen printings with a distribution of 3,000,000. New versions of missionary magazines appeared in 2001 with the titles *Viene un Nuevo Tiempo* and *Momentos de Paz*, both of which explained Adventist beliefs in contemporary language. With the broadening of Adventist activities, writers also took on social and political issues such as freedom of conscience. For his article discussing abortion, periodical editor Hugo Cotto earned a *Pléyade* in 1991, an annual award by the Argentine Association of Magazine Editors that honored various categories of publications.²³

At its centennial celebration in March 2004, ACES invited the public to a weekend of activities that ended with a traditional Open House. Total sales for the year 2003 exceeded US\$3,000,000 to which the Chile branch added another million. At the time Casa Editora was publishing seven periodicals and carried 200 children's materials and nearly 300 book titles, one of which was *Cien años de bendiciones*, a 128-page account of the 100-year life of Casa Editora. Authored by Aldo S. Casella, head accountant at ACES, and editorial director Carlos A. Steger, the book was rich with history and a collector's item of photographs of the century of Adventist publishing in Argentina. It appeared in abbreviated form in the March issue of *Revista Adventista*.

The centennial was a euphoric moment, but with all of their celebrating, South Americans took time to count their blessings. Now one of the denomination's major publishing establishments, ACES could look back nostalgically to the days when the total workforce of three or four alternated in turning the presses by hand on cold days in order to keep warm. Arbin Lust, general manager of ACES who had worked nearly forty years at the publishing house, was quick to attribute the success of Casa Editora to divine leading, a conclusion with which Casella and Steger concurred.²⁴

While South Americans expressed their thankfulness for the prosperity that Casa Editora enjoyed, Casa Publicadora achieved even greater records. Although Brazilian inflation ran wild at times and threatened the financial integrity of the publishing house, sales soared during the 1970s, exceeding US\$15,000,000 in 1980, which made it the most productive denominational press outside North America.²⁵

With church growth steadily advancing in Brazil, administrative officers of the publishing house anticipated the probability of even higher production levels. With

the support of the South American Division, they had already purchased approximately fifty hectares of land in Tatuí, eighty miles inland from the city of São Paulo, to which they planned to move the enterprise.

Ironically, this move would reverse the decision made decades earlier to move the press into the business atmosphere of one of Brazil's leading cities. But times had changed. Wilson Sarli, general manager of the publishing house, explained that the proposed transfer to Tatuí conformed to the current trend in the corporate world to establish industrial parks away from large population centers. This practice helped manufacturers to avoid the high cost of commercial land in the event of expansion, and it also eased transportation difficulties that employees encountered when traveling to and from work in huge cities. Also at stake were the questions of air pollution and high costs of living. Tatuí remained within the commercial sphere of São Paulo, which enabled Casa Publicadora to retain the business advantages of the area. Also, the new location furnished enough land to erect houses for a large number of workers in an environmentally favorable location.²⁶

Ground breaking took place in November 1983 with the expectation that the builders would complete the job in less than three years. Casa Publicadora began a partial occupation of the new facility in February 1985, but only months later a financial snag halted construction. Providentially, editorial chief Rubens Lessa observed, the sale of the old property in Santo André enabled the engineers to resume their work. When the move finally occurred, a truck convoy that strung out four kilometers was necessary to transport the equipment. On January 4, 1987 about 2,000 persons gathered for the ribbon-cutting of the new facility. The 55,000-square-foot plant was debt-free and already operating round-the-clock schedules.

Through the years one of the keys to the success of the publishing industry in South America had been a large corps of salesmen, or literature evangelists as Adventists knew them. But the actual number of colporteurs was a slippery figure. Statistics in *Revista Adventista* were consistently higher than official reports in the General Conference *Statistical Report*. In 1992 *Revista Adventista* commemorated 100 years of literature distribution in South America by recounting the achievements of colporteurs, declaring that the division had 6,000 colporteurs; however, the *Statistical Report* listed only 844. Later, in 1995, *Revista Adventista* reported that Brazil alone had almost 3,000 colporteurs, while the official figure in *Statistical Report* was 565. Again, when reporting on a gathering of literature evangelists in the East Brazil Union in 2003, *Revista Adventista* declared the field had 550 colporteurs, but *Statistical Report* gave the figure of 81.

The differences between these counts probably lay in the number of student colporteurs and church members who sold literature part time. *Revista Adventista* declared that in 1995 about 2,000 students entered the field as literature evangelists.²⁷ While reviewing the 100 years of Casa Publicadora Brasileira to the Adventist public, Rubens Lessa characterized the corps of literature evangelists as an army, but admitted that it did not represent the power of the church.²⁸

Irrespective of how one arrived at the size of the canvassing force, from 1980 to 1997 the number of official colporteurs in the South American Division both rose and fell, its low point being just under 600 and the high point close to 900. In 1998 a downward trend began when the total slipped below 500. By 2007 only 281 canvassers in South America held credentials as literature evangelists. When compared to the 302 canvassers in 1930, the numbers become a clear indication that while colporteuering was not a dead profession, its heyday was in the past.²⁹ This decline at the end of the twentieth century probably reflected the fact that door-to-door sales in many consumer-oriented societies was an outmoded technique. But because colporteurs had been vital to earlier literature distribution by all Adventist publishing houses, the practical effect on the publishing houses was to force them to rely on other means to distribute literature.

Working in favor of the Brazilian publishing house were several circumstances that the Argentine publishing house did not enjoy. Unlike Casa Editora, the market for Casa Publicadora was overwhelmingly within a single country, which meant that the Brazilian house did not face international problems when serving the public. Also of importance was the size of the Adventist community in Brazil. In 2001 Brazil reported a larger Adventist population than any other country in the world, which gave Casa Publicadora the widest internal market of any publishing house in Adventism. This new market condition had developed rapidly, especially during the 1980s and the years following, creating an opportunity for Adventist Book Centers to establish what General Conference Publishing Director L. A. Ramirez called “mini-ABCs” in local churches to expedite retail sales. Ramirez counted 483 of these satellite outlets in Brazil in 1985.³⁰

Part of this internal market was an enlarging Adventist school system, which began to agitate for textbooks more relevant to church beliefs and Brazilian culture. From the early days of Adventist education in Brazil, denominational textbooks were typically translations of North American authors. In 1976 and 1977, the South American Division voted to initiate the production of original Brazilian textbooks

for Adventist schools. The action specified that the purpose was to replace popular texts that contained teachings contrary to Adventist beliefs. In 1982 the first copies that came off the press, authored by Eny and Esther Sarli, were elementary readers titled *Este mundo maravilhoso*, which taught creationism as opposed to evolution.³¹

These readers opened a new market. Casa Publicadora organized a textbook department in 1983 and through the 1990s widened its production to include an entire slate of books for early childhood and elementary education, and eventually for all secondary classes as well. According to Ivacy Furtado de Oliveira, textbook editor at Casa, these books represented 39 percent of the sales of the publishing house in the year 2000. Adventist schools were not the sole customers. A Baptist school in Fortaleza adopted the first set of readers in 1983. The expanding Protestant evangelical community in Brazil also established its own schools and shared a kindred conviction with Adventists about the biblical story of creation. Teachers in these schools found the Adventist books a ready-made answer to their problem of maintaining belief in the Genesis story. In some cases public schools used Adventist books, despite opposition from some quarters, including the secular press. By the end of 2003, Casa Publicadora had published 12,000,000 textbooks. More than a million of these were of the original reading book with its accompanying workbooks.³²

Since its inauguration in 1979, the annual Open House, occurring in September, drew tens of thousands of potential customers to the publishing house. Rubens Lessa estimated the average to be about 15,000 for each event. Twice the crowd exceeded 25,000. Conscious of the power of the marketplace, Wilson Sarli, who began a second stint as general manager beginning in 1995, took the position that reading material for public consumption should present Adventism in the best possible professional manner, which meant being familiar with the land and people they serve. Accordingly, in 1996 Casa Publicadora contracted a consulting service to study productivity and quality of production. As a result a new marketing department went into action. The rise in sales bore out Sarli's belief. After 1980 the trend in sales was up but the annual record fluctuated. In 1999, after the new department began, Casa Publicadora surpassed North America's Pacific Press in sales, and in 2006 the Brazilian house reported the highest sales in the Adventist world.³³ One of the new sales techniques was to establish an online sales service. It had become clear that even without the typically large supporting group of colporteurs, Casa Publicadora was able to distribute literature in unprecedented amounts.

The Brazilian publishing house celebrated its centennial year in 2000. Not overlooked among prominent speakers and guests of honor was 103-year-old Emilio Doehnert, one of Brazil's early colporteurs who had also served as general manager of Casa Publicadora during the troubled years, 1938-1949. Under his watchful eye the house grew from less than US\$100,000 in sales to more than a half million, but even that achievement was hardly a suggestion of the Casa Publicadora of Tatuí, which manufactured nearly 18,000,000 books during the decade of the 1990s. To commemorate the progress of the publishing house, Rubens Lessa presented his centennial book, *Casa Publicadora Brasileira: 100 anos*, which traced the story of Adventist publishing in Brazil from the July day in 1900 when the first copy of *O Arauto* came from the press in Rio de Janeiro.

To add to the centennial, Casa Publicadora erected a monument portraying the three angels' messages of the apocalypse and introduced a CD-ROM containing approximately 20,000 pages of Ellen White's writings. Lessa called the twentieth century a time of storms, but he was not hesitant to express his conviction that the flower-fringed roads circling through the manicured grounds of the new Casa Publicadora at Tatuí were tangible evidence of divine leading.³⁴

Reflecting on the growth of the Adventist printing industry, Rubem M. Scheffel, book editor at Casa Publicadora, noted that it was not until the 1970s that the Brazilian *Revista Adventista* genuinely became a periodical of journalistic quality. Yet, with professionalism becoming more characteristic, it was important for Adventists to know that the *Revista* still had a message to proclaim. Scheffel could have said the same about the Spanish *Revista Adventista*, and for that matter, all of the publications that came off South American presses. It was clear that South American writers believed that their productions could compete professionally and at the same time not sacrifice their spiritual quality.³⁵

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

If South American Adventists regarded the achievements of their publishing houses as symbolic of the division's success, they could say the same about education, although denominational schools exhibited an uneven prosperity. Since 1976 South American churches operated one of the largest networks of Adventist elementary schools outside North America, in no small part because South Americans took religious education seriously. From the early days of Adventist presence, training prospective teachers had been high on the priority list of denominational educational centers.

But the proportional size of the educational establishment changed over time. As the One Thousand Days of reaping neared its end, Nevil Gorski, division director of education, praised the evangelistic success that South American Adventists were experiencing, but cautioned that the triumphs of soul-winning also brought challenges to education. Pointing out that denominational education is an established means to retain young members in the church, he furnished supporting evidence from the years 1976 to 1983 to demonstrate that Adventist congregations were not establishing schools commensurate with the rate of membership increases. "If this tendency continues," he stated, "we will be helping to increase the apostasy rate among the youngest members."³⁶

A quarter of a century later, one of Brazil's noted evangelists implied somewhat sorrowfully that the heavy emphasis on soul-winning campaigns outstripped the division's need for elementary education. Alcides Campolongo recalled his experience in the mid-1950s when he helped a growing church at Araçatuba, São Paulo, erect a new sanctuary *and* a school. "In those days," he said, "no one thought of a church without also thinking of a school. It was an inseparable pair."³⁷

Gorski's statistics showed that two decades after Campolongo's experience the pair was no longer inseparable. His data were a prelude to more studies by Roberto Azevedo, director of education for the South American Division. As one of the most prominent designers of evangelistic strategy in South America, Azevedo was sensitive to campaigns such as Harvest 90 and Global Mission, but as an educator he was also conscious of the links between education and evangelism. In 1985 he tied the two together by showing that successful church growth occurred in countries where an effective elementary school establishment existed, implying that without a prosperous system of education at the lower levels, the future of the South American Division was in question.³⁸ Later, in 1992 he provided further statistical support of Gorski's theme that Adventist education was not keeping up with membership gains in most regions of South America. "In every city of 100,000 or more, an Adventist school is obligatory," he said, adding that "the classroom is as important as the church."³⁹

In September 2000 at a symposium about Adventist education in Brazil, Azevedo presented updated numbers which demonstrated that despite growth in the educational establishment, the same danger signals that Gorski had detected still continued. Statistics showed that beginning in 1970 the number of schools had not risen with the rate of membership growth. According to Azevedo, two crises contributed to this trend.

The first moment of truth occurred in 1971 and was a legal sequel to reform legislation in 1943, which had defined education at three levels: four years of primary,

four years of *ginásio*, and three years of secondary or pre-university. A new law in 1971 redefined the primary curriculum to include both the primary and *ginásio* and required primary schools to offer all eight years, which would be known as *primeiro grau*. Further, primary schools were to function in their own buildings with adequate space. Because most Adventist schools offered only the first four years of primary and were housed in church buildings, decisive action was necessary to avoid a death knell to Adventist elementary education.⁴⁰

A decline in elementary education set in, but church leaders at all administrative levels put their shoulder to the task of saving denominational schools. The necessary restructuring occurred, and by 1980 Brazilian Adventists conducted more primary schools than ever before and added more than 35,000 students above the previous peak years of 1969 and 1970. Azevedo's figures showed that in sheer numbers the enrollment growth in Brazilian schools looked positive until the mid-1990s, but even though they were advancing in numbers, in reality the schools had been steadily losing ground when compared to membership growth.

The second test for Adventist education in Brazil was a severe economic reversal in the mid-1990s that prompted church leaders to impose economizing measures, including cutbacks in church subsidies to schools. Again, school closures occurred and enrollments dropped.

Trends in Brazilian education after Azevedo's study show that enrollment bottomed out after dropping from the high water mark of 111,000 in 1995. In 2006 enrollment again exceeded 100,000 for the first time in a decade, but the number of schools still lagged more than a hundred behind the previous record year.

Although challenges in Brazil made it more difficult for Adventist education, Azevedo did not believe that they caused the growing gap between membership and the number of denominational schools. He isolated Brazilian schools for his study in 2000, but statistics show that the trends appeared in the entire South American Division and confirmed what Gorski had said in 1984. The visibility of the Brazilian schools in contrast with the Hispanic schools turned on the fact that the Brazilian Adventist elementary education system was larger than the rest of the South American Division combined, which meant that problems in any single Hispanic country did not have nearly as noticeable an impact on the division as problems in Brazil.

The slippage that Azevedo described in the ratio of schools to the number of churches as well as to total membership was the dominant trend in the entire South American Division from the 1970s onward. In 1980 the South American Division

reported 581 elementary schools and 1,550 churches, or slightly more than one school for every three churches. By 2006 the number of churches rose to 8,836 while the number of primary schools decreased to 563, or one school for every fifteen or sixteen churches. While enrollment nearly doubled, rising from about 79,000 to approximately 154,000, membership during this same period grew from just under 500,000 to more than 2,600,000, or more than five times.

In 1980 the number of students in Spanish-speaking countries attending Adventist schools amounted to about 13 percent of the total Hispanic membership; by 2006 the figure slipped to 4 percent. At the same time, in Brazil the percentage dropped from 18 to 7 percent. These statistics suggest that Spanish-speaking Adventist parents in South America were less prone to send their children to Adventist schools than were Brazilian parents, but in both cases, the trend was down.

Another statistic for the years 1996 to 2007 disclosed that within the total enrollment of elementary students the percentage of Adventist students was progressively diminishing while the total percentage of non-Adventist students was increasing. This trend was only slight, however. In 1996 the ratio was three Adventist students to six non-Adventist; in 2007 it changed to three Adventist children to seven non-Adventist children.⁴¹

Azevedo pinned the decline in Brazil on the loss of pioneer spirit, which upheld the ideal of a school for every church. He appealed for a revival of educational support. No one offered a rebuttal to his conclusions, but other influences were likely at work beyond loss of pioneer spirit. Maintaining schools in the digital age was a much more costly undertaking than in the early days when regulatory legislation was weaker and professional expectations were lower. By the twenty-first century, equipment was more complex and expensive and educating teachers with appropriate credentials required more time and money. In addition, the school buildings themselves faced more restrictive codes. But Azevedo's call for more support of education raised the question of the balance between appropriations for education as opposed to money spent on direct soul-winning. He was an unquestioned supporter of evangelism, but with Gorski, he could also argue persuasively that schools have always been one of the best sources of membership which the church has.

Despite the decline in elementary schools, the facts about secondary education demonstrate that church leaders were not overlooking education. Secondary education as defined by twentieth-century standards was a comparative latecomer

to South America. During the early years of Adventist presence, church workers usually saw schools as training institutions irrespective of the level of instruction. But as campuses matured, classes became more defined and labels such as primary instruction and secondary instruction became more meaningful.

Since 1912 clearly defined secondary classwork existed at Adventist schools in South America. However, Paulo Cezar de Azevedo, director of the Hortolândia Campus of Brazil Adventist University, states that the first genuine secondary education curriculum in Brazil as defined by law did not appear until 1943. As late as 1988, Adventist secondary schools in Brazil numbered only thirteen, but during the decade beginning in 1991, Brazilian unions added eighty-six secondary-level institutions. It was not just by chance that in his 1992 report Roberto Azevedo identified the need for secondary schools as one of the greatest needs in Adventist education in South America.⁴²

Similar conditions existed in the Spanish-speaking fields. In 1943, the same year that Brazil redefined secondary education, the secondary program at River Plate in Argentina received government recognition. Beginning immediately after World War II, some study programs were defined as post-secondary, which was a major step in transforming them later into post-secondary degree programs. This trend gathered momentum after 1980, which left the secondary curricula to function as university-preparation programs or to provide additional education for students who did not plan to enroll in higher education. During the twenty-seven years following 1980, the number of schools in the division offering a complete secondary program mushroomed from twenty-four to 261, and enrollment shot up from about 6,700 to more than 39,500.⁴³

Only twenty-three of South America's 261 secondary schools in 2007 were boarding campuses, which accounted for only 15 percent of the secondary enrollment in the South American Division. This statistic implies that most Adventist secondary schools were designed for day students and by necessity operated in well populated areas. According to Paulo Azevedo, this pattern was a deliberate plan to meet the needs of as many parents as possible whose personal financial condition would not permit them to send children to boarding schools.⁴⁴

Forty-three percent of all secondary students identified themselves as Adventist, which was much higher than found in the primary schools where less than a third were Adventist students. With the number of secondary students consistently rising after 1980, Adventist educators could find some satisfaction that apparently church members were increasingly convinced about denominational secondary education

and were willing to pay for it. But the same statistics also raised the question of why Adventist membership in general was apparently less ready to support elementary education as well.

In 2002 Roberto Azevedo launched South American Adventist educators, both Brazilian and Hispanic, on a ten-year plan to establish denominational schools in all cities with a population of at least 100,000. Even before this initiative began, investigators were already combing through several Brazilian states to gather data. Azevedo also organized groups to study equipment needs of Adventist schools and how best to provide instructional materials. However, during the next five years, from 2002 to 2007, the number of primary schools in the division shrank from 582 to 549. Long-standing trends were not easy to reverse.⁴⁵

HIGHER EDUCATION AND SALT

The increased development of secondary schools after 1980 related to another phenomenon in South American education—the appearance of Adventist universities. Beginning with the era of Battle Creek College, Adventists typically viewed higher education ambivalently. Church leaders wanted prospective church employees to be well educated, but they also feared that higher education was inherently vulnerable to secularization. Until after World War II many believed that Adventist teachers who attended state universities to earn graduate degrees were suspect by definition. It was unavoidable, the argument ran, that they were tainted with anti-Christian ideas and would unavoidably infect Adventist campuses after their return to teach in denominational schools.

South Americans were no exception to these biases. But some South Americans believed they needed higher education, despite the risks. As early as the 1940s, Brazil College sent selected students to the University of São Paulo for additional study to prepare for careers in education. Among them were Nevil Gorski and Orlando Ritter who discussed between themselves the possibilities of an Adventist university as an antidote to the secularization they faced in public education. Another case was Walter Schubert, who, Daniel Plenc observes, “was concerned about learning more in order to serve better.” This revolutionary evangelist attended the University of Buenos Aires, taking classes in language, sociology, psychology, and history, which not only gave him much needed raw information but also introduced him to social issues and acquainted him with methods of handling human problems, all of which he deemed necessary for the success of his new socially oriented evangelism.

More recently, Enrique Chaij showed an early interest in speaking and drama and eventually enrolled in a non-Adventist school in the United States to earn both a master's degree and a doctorate in the field in order to professionalize his radio and television productions. Also, during the 1980s Casa Editora provided financial support for several employees to enroll in advanced studies, which would enable them to handle theological, historical, and intellectual issues that a modern publishing house would encounter. By the time Casa Publicadora celebrated its centennial, the majority of its editors were prepared journalists and more than half were trained theologians.⁴⁶

By 1980 six institutions served Adventist post-secondary students in the South American Division. Located in Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, each was originally a training school.⁴⁷ Beginning in the 1940s, these institutions started to receive government approval for specific programs. The denomination's accrediting body also authorized a limited variety of post-secondary courses, mainly in theology. But the status of these schools was uneven. Of the six campuses, Colegio Adventista del Plata in Argentina and Instituto Adventista de Ensino in São Paulo had the broadest curricula, with the Brazilian institution venturing into graduate-level instruction. Colegio Adventista de Chile, Centro de Educación Superior Unión in Peru, and Educandário Nordestino Adventista in the state of Pernambuco, Brazil, offered a narrower range of curricula. The post-secondary curriculum at Colegio Adventista de Bolivia was still in the development stage—it was active but incomplete.⁴⁸

By 2006 all of these schools except Northeast Brazil College had achieved university status. Brazil College became a university college, that is, a post-secondary educational institution but not a complete university as defined by Brazilian law. The institution spread over three campuses—the original site near São Paulo, a new campus at Engenheiro Coelho about 120 miles from São Paulo, and the upgraded secondary school at Hortolândia. Similarly, Inca Union College in Peru took the name of Peruvian Union University and embraced three campuses—the main campus at Ñaña near Lima, the second at Juliaca, and a new site at Tarapoto, a northern community on the eastern slope of the Andes.

The climb up the academic ladder was long and laborious for all the schools, and each one had its own song of triumph. The first to receive university status was Inca Union College in 1983 after decades of struggle during which the school endured closures, severe restrictions on operations, and transfers of the campus from one location to another. With increasing frequency, Adventist youth in Peru faced frustration in their attempts to enter the professional world after studying in the

denominational school. In 1978 the school administration appointed a commission to study the feasibility of becoming a university and three years later submitted its proposal to the government.

Meanwhile, the Inca Union designated April 14, 1981, as a day of fasting and prayer for the Adventist community. More than two years passed, seasoned with much debate and expectation, before the Peruvian Senate gave its final approval in December 1983, and Inca Union College became Inca Union University, and later Peruvian Union University. Initially, the Peruvian Ministry of Education authorized the institution to grant degrees in six fields.⁴⁹ In 2001 it established an affiliation at Juliaca with the upgraded Titicaca Adventist Academy which had been authorized to offer university-level coursework. Three years later the university added its third campus at Tarapoto.

A commemorative volume that traced the history of the institution and summarized the progress of each rector was one of the highlights of the twenty-fifth anniversary of university status for the Peruvian school in 2008. The writers observed that their experience had ignited activity by the “church in other sister nations to promote the birth of Adventist universities,” specifically in Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Brazil.⁵⁰

Actually, the first Seventh-day Adventist school in Latin America to become a university was Colegio Vocacional y Profesional in Montemorelos, Mexico, a decade earlier, but that change in status came as an unsolicited gesture from the local state government which took the institution by surprise. Preparation by school officials and faculty for their new university role occurred after the fact.⁵¹ Whether fortuitous or providential, events in Mexico told Latin Americans that it was possible for their Adventist institutions to become universities, but the Peruvian case was the first to show how to plan to achieve that goal.

In acquiring university status, Chile Adventist University in 1990 and Bolivia Adventist University in 1991, shared common problems. Both had a history of functioning as the lesser school in their unions. Until the formation of the Chile Union in 1966, the school at Chillán had stood in the shadow of River Plate College, which was the original and more prominent educational center in the Austral Union. Similarly, Inca Union College had always superseded the Bolivian campus as the leading campus in the Inca Union. But the success of schools in both Bolivia and Chile indicated that as the Adventist population grew, students were best served by institutions in their own countries.

Ironically, neither Brazil College nor River Plate College, the largest and probably the most well-known institutions in South America, received the coveted recognition of university easily. In Argentina after a decade of preparation and application, the dream came true in 1990. Four years later the new River Plate Adventist University made headlines by adding a school of medicine to its offerings. It was only the third physicians' training course in the Adventist world, and later in 2002 it received national accreditation. Full autonomy for the university also arrived in 2002. Luis Schulz, university president, took the opportunity of the institution's centennial celebration to remind the Adventist world that the school had surpassed anything that its founders had imagined. Carlos Menem, president of Argentina and honored guest on the campus, congratulated the academic and medical community for its contributions to the cultural and spiritual diversity of the nation.

For Brazil the crowning event occurred in September 1999 by decree of Brazil's president. Although the basic need for an Adventist university rested on the conviction that the church should have an institution to avoid the secularism that characterized public education, the need to prepare nurses to work in denominational hospitals triggered the final push to establish a university. Before Brazilian Adventists achieved their goal, Brazil College spent nearly three decades of starting and stopping with plans to inaugurate an academic program that would qualify the institution as a university. Some of the delay resulted from dividing the campus. With the city of São Paulo edging ever closer to the campus and businesses looking covetously at institutional land, Brazil College had little choice but to move at least part of the school. After purchasing land in the municipality of Artur Nogueira in 1983, Brazilian church leaders laid the cornerstone of the new campus in June 1984 while dignitaries from state and local governments watched. At this new site of Engenheiro Coelho, the institution established its school of theology and other departments broadly defined as humanities and social studies, which left the sciences, including nursing, on the original campus. At the time of its assumption of university college status, Instituto Adventista Ensino offered more than twenty fields of study and maintained about thirty academic partnerships, some of them with government agencies.⁵²

Part of the driving force to university status for South American campuses was the rising level of literacy throughout the continent and a corresponding heightening of professional expectations in society at large. Before granting university status, government recognition of specific programs at Adventist schools allowed students

to enter the marketplace with satisfactory credentials, but only in a limited number of fields. Endorsements by neighboring universities also legitimized some courses, and occasionally affiliations and extension schools connecting South American schools to accredited institutions in North America provided recognized education to South American students. All of these arrangements helped South American Adventist schools to grow, but in the end it became clear that diplomas from unrecognized institutions were no longer acceptable to South American students. Adventist higher education in South America could function without serious limitations only after governments recognized the legitimacy of entire institutions, which authorized them to grant their own degrees.

Measured in raw numbers, the impact of university status on Adventist higher education was dramatic. Enrollment on denominational campuses in 1980 approximated 2,300. This figure rose to about 8,500 in 2000, but by 2006 the number of students was about 18,400. This increase was steep and encouraging, but less impressive when compared with the increase in church membership. In 1980 less than a half percent of the Adventist population in South America enrolled in higher education; in 2006 the figure was still less than 1 percent.⁵³

Before South American governments recognized Adventist post-secondary institutions, the lack of curricular breadth on denominational campuses contributed to growing tension among Adventists of university age. The problem had been long in the making, especially in the field of theology. As early as the 1930s, the inauguration of a seminary in the United States that offered graduate study in ministerial education raised the bar for denominational education, which generated pressure among schools in the world fields to follow, but through the 1950s advancement only dragged. Because they were at the center of educational activity for the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking communities of South America, River Plate College and Brazil College saw themselves as potential sites for advanced study and became involved in discussions about graduate coursework in theology.

In 1956 the South American Division committee approved a model four-year theology course for all post-secondary schools in the field, consisting of twenty-two classes each week, with each academic year lasting thirty weeks. This plan was an advance step, but it did not produce the results that forward-looking church leaders wanted. Talk about graduate-level theology broke out openly during a four-day curriculum council in 1964 when thirty delegates from all Adventist post-secondary schools in South America met on the Argentine campus to unify theological training

in the division.⁵⁴ Among the more vocal was Enoch Oliveira, then the division ministerial secretary, who spoke convincingly for a more intellectually and spiritually qualified ministry. Obviously, he was referring to the necessity of Adventist ministers becoming knowledgeable of scholarship in their field. Extension schools in 1949 and 1961, the first directed by the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary and the second by Andrews University, had whetted the appetite of South American clergy for advanced education.

Only months after the theology council in 1964, the division committee requested permission from the General Conference for an affiliation with Andrews University. Two years later River Plate College began serious inquiries through the division committee about offering a master's degree in theology, and in 1968 Brazil College also began probing the same issue. Meanwhile, the division planned a third extension under the auspices of Andrews University, which took place during 1969, an opportunity that partially compensated for workers' inability to take classwork on the North American campus.⁵⁵

General Conference approval for a master's degree in church ministry came in 1978. Three years later in 1981 a defined program of graduate study in theology finally arrived in the South American Division. "The Latin-American Adventist Theological Seminary, a long held dream, is underway," *Revista Adventista* announced in February 1981. The "long held dream," born from a decade and a half of conversations and planning, opened on January 5 at two locations, Brazil and River Plate colleges. A month later an extension program began at Inca Union College.

Administrators made it clear that the new institution, popularly known as SALT, was a seminary rather than a school of theology. Students enrolling in the program had to be active workers planning to continue their pastoral careers. Professors also were required to participate in pastoral or evangelistic activities. The program required four quarters and a minimum of forty-eight hours of credit and was offered only during summers, thus requiring only minimal absence by ministers from their fields. Heading the project was Mario Veloso, division field secretary with special duties.

This new venture was a spectacular advancement for South America. As a seminary, the new institution offered degrees in two tracks of church ministry. Among those who watched with more than passing interest was Werner Vyhmeister, professor of world missions at Andrews University and a native South American. "Student research for thesis preparation will be oriented largely, but not exclusively, toward the study of issues facing the church, the development of new strategies, and the

evaluation of aspects of the work currently being done,” he wrote. “The mission of the church is to be kept central.” Veloso called it a “seminary in mission,” and explained that students were to complete specified assignments in actual evangelism.⁵⁶

The historic first graduation occurred in 1984 on the campus of Colegio Adventista del Plata, four summers after the seminary began operations. Eighteen from the Austral Union and eight from the Chile Union received diplomas, of whom twenty-two graduated with master’s degrees in theology. The remaining four earned master’s degrees in religion. Four years later seventy-one students graduated at sites in Brazil, Argentina, and Peru.⁵⁷

The new seminary was an institution without a central campus or residential library.⁵⁸ The rector kept an office at the division headquarters in Brasilia and oversaw ministerial education for the entire South American Division, which by 2010 had spread to eight institutions of higher education in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, and Peru. In effect, the seminary unified all ministerial education in the various schools into a single program, but institutions still offered their own undergraduate degrees. To meet the needs of the graduate degree schedule, faculty who taught at the graduate level could move from campus to campus during the summer. A council in 1987, which provided an opportunity for both professional development and institutional betterment, helped to cement the seminary faculty together. Divided into committees, they studied theological issues and dealt with administrative questions pertaining to the seminary and evangelism.⁵⁹

To facilitate anticipated research by seminary students and to encourage more penetrating scholarship at both the undergraduate and the graduate levels, the Ellen G. White Estate at the General Conference established branch research centers at River Plate College and Brazil College. In 1987 the Centro de Pesquisa Ellen G. White opened in Brazil with a collection of 700 denominational books, numerous periodicals, including a complete set of the *Review and Herald*, historic documents, and about 40,000 copied pages of Ellen G. White correspondence. Accompanying this material were microfilm and microfiche readers besides other electronic equipment that enabled students to probe the denomination’s past.⁶⁰ Eight years earlier in 1979 comparable facilities known as Centro de Investigación White opened in Argentina. Both centers added materials as they became available, which included local documents such as early books and periodicals produced in Brazil and Spanish-speaking countries. In 2009 a third Ellen G. White center opened at Peruvian Union University.⁶¹

Although retaining its goal to prepare better informed and more skilled pastors rather than to train biblical researchers and scholars, the seminary expanded its modest beginnings to two master's degrees and three doctorates. These new degrees allowed students to concentrate on theology as well as pastoral ministry. While eight campuses became operational sites for SALT, Brazil Adventist University and River Plate Adventist University functioned as hubs for academic activity because of their research centers.

Theological scholarship achieved a new level. A series of scholarly gatherings known as the South American Biblical-Theological Symposiums began at Peruvian Union University in 1998, each focusing on an exegetical or theological theme, such as the Pentateuch or ecclesiology. The major presentations later appeared in book form. From Peru the symposium moved to other campuses throughout the division. Schools of theology also began to publish theological journals. Among them were *Theologika* (Peruvian Union University), *Hermenêutica* (Northeast Brazil Adventist College), *Parousia* (Brazil Adventist College, São Paulo campus), and *Dava Logos* (River Plate Adventist University). *Kerygma*, an electronic magazine based at Brazil Adventist University, and *Enfoques*, a journal at River Plate Adventist University, also became vehicles for the dissemination of research and scholarly activity. As a multi-disciplinary publication, *Enfoques* included research from other academic fields, especially medicine.⁶²

SALT also benefitted the laity. In 1988 three SALT faculty combined their theological expertise to offer nearly a hundred hours of classes to physicians, businessmen, teachers, and even some denominational employees at CADE, the Adventist school in Ecuador. The classes tackled such issues as prophetic interpretation, exegetical studies, and church affairs. Teachers intended that the experience would furnish a more informed understanding of Adventism to individuals who daily brushed shoulders with the public.⁶³

The entry of SALT into the academic world of Adventism was part of a global trend to establish terminal theological education in each of the world fields instead of depending on the seminary at Andrews University as the sole provider of graduate-level ministerial training. During the years when institutions grew from training schools to institutions of higher learning, the General Conference controlled ministerial-preparation courses by requiring all schools outside North America to undergo inspection and approval before offering any coursework above the secondary level, which included theology.

With newly acquired government recognition, however, institutions had the authority to grant degrees autonomously, which necessitated other regulatory measures by the church to ensure denominational integrity of instruction in religion. In 1994 the Annual Council approved a measure that declared ministerial education to be the province of the General Conference, which delegated responsibility to the world divisions to maintain global continuity in the preparation of ministers.⁶⁴ At the Annual Councils of 1998 and 2000, the General Conference completed this action by forming the International Board of Ministerial and Theological Education with its subsidiary boards in each division to oversee religion instruction on all Adventist campuses.⁶⁵

SALT originated before these actions, but it represented the denomination's most organized compliance with General Conference regulatory measures of instruction in religion and ministerial education. By associating all theology programs in the division under a single umbrella organization, and rotating faculty from numerous campuses around the division, SALT assured South American Adventists that no single institution would monopolize higher education. This process also produced a blend of religious instruction throughout the continent, which discouraged tangential movements on any single campus. Although SALT controlled ministerial education and instruction in theology, the member institutions continued to grant degrees in their name.⁶⁶

SALT showed that expanding the horizons of Adventist education in South America did not mean that educating ministers was of diminishing importance. Theology professors became more determined that soul-winning was not lost in a sea of sophistication. With an eye on Global Mission they found new ways to bring practical applications to pastoral education. At North Brazil College, for example, the theology faculty integrated pastoral and evangelistic internships into the ministerial course. By cooperating with local conference and mission leadership, theology teachers organized evangelism in locales without an Adventist presence. In 2008 this practice resulted in 2,200 baptisms and many new churches. At Universidade Adventista de São Paulo, theology professors took advantage of the growing trend among Adventists to participate in short-term mission experiences of two weeks or a month to give theology students an opportunity to assist Portuguese-speaking communities in other parts of the world, some of them in the 10/40 Window.⁶⁷

University status transformed Adventist education in South America. The benefits extended to two markets—the traditional denominational employee, particularly the minister, who now could own a recognized degree, and the student who wished

to earn a valid credential for a private career. At the end of the first decade in the twenty-first century, Adventists of university age had a choice of fifteen campuses in South America on which to enroll, three of which were secondary boarding schools in Ecuador, Brazil, and Argentina who had received approval to offer limited post-secondary courses. Institutional specialties were emerging, exemplified by Brazil Adventist University which designated specific disciplines to specific campuses.

Of the 18,400 students enrolled in South American Adventist higher education during 2006, approximately 11,000 were members of the church. This figure represented only a small fraction of the total Adventist population, but without the new, recognized status of denominational schools, it is likely that the number of church members enrolling in secular education instead of denominational schools could have been much higher.

In spite of the broadening of Adventist education, denominational curricula were still narrow as measured by secular educational standards. The large number of church members who attended non-Adventist universities around South America attested to this fact. To meet the needs of these students, denominational educators organized gatherings for them in large municipal centers. Illustrative of this practice was the third meeting of Adventist university students in Lima, Peru, in 1988, which drew more than 300 attendees. Discussions of secularism on university campuses as well as questions of witnessing to peers were on the agenda. With Adventist students on non-Adventist campuses in mind, in 1989 the General Conference Department of Education inaugurated *Dialogue*, an “international journal of “faith, thought, and action,” which featured thought-provoking articles for intellectually motivated readers. Besides English, the journal appeared in French, Spanish, and Portuguese.⁶⁸

Institutions had been a benchmark of Adventism in South America since its beginnings. By 1980 church institutions had extended far beyond the vision of those who had founded them. But in the years that followed even more powerful changes marked the institutions of the church. Of them all, achievements in higher education were among the most noteworthy. With no sign of a slackening growth in membership, the South American Division could anticipate yet more growth ahead.

¹ The radio commission concept originated in 1935. General Conference Minutes, April 26, 1935.

² See “Communication, Department of,” *SDA Encyclopedia*, v. 2, second rev. ed., 399, 400.

³ For a brief but insightful summary of this development, see Ana Paula Ramos, *Desafio nas águas*, 56–64.

⁴ See earlier discussions about the development of broadcasting in South America in the chapters, “Growth During a Troubled Decade,” and “Membership Explosion.”

⁵ Milton Peverini García, *Vida de Braulio Pérez Marcio*, 252.

⁶ Peverini García, *Braulio Pérez Marcio*, 258.

⁷ "TV Ministry Strong in Buenos Aires," no name, *AR*, April 16, 1987. For a personal description of radio and television programming in Argentina during this period, see Chaij, *Chico travieso*, 94, ff., especially 105-120, 157, 158. Also see Enrique Chaij, "Una Luz en el Camino Celebra su 20º aniversario," *RA* (A), August 1984; Pablo C. Rodríguez, "Televisión en Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, June 1986.

⁸ Ranzolin, *Uma voz*, 152; news note, "Brazil Broadcast—A First," *ibid.*, November 19, 1987. Ranzolin's book describes Roberto Rabello as one of the speakers of the network of *Voice of Prophecy* programs, but shortly after the Portuguese version of the program went on the air, he began producing his own programs independently rather than translating them from the North American English versions. See "La Voz de la Profecía: cuarenta años de evangelización radiotelefónica," *RA* (A), February 1984; "A Voz da Profecía: 40 Anos de Evangelismo Radiofônico," *RA* (B), September 1983.

⁹ Darcy dos Reis, "50 anos nos contemplam," *ibid.*, September 1993.

¹⁰ "A Voz de Profecía no ar, na tevê e no coração," *ibid.*, January 1998.

¹¹ News note, no name "New Satellite Spanish Network Will Serve the Americas," *AR* (North American Division edition), February 1998; Geoff Patterson, "Live, From Argentina to Mexico, This Is AWR," *ibid.*, November 8, 2001; "Adventist World Radio Expands Latin American Broadcasts," *ANN*, April 21, 1998; "New Spanish Radio Network for Latin America," *ibid.*, October 27, 1998.

¹² "Criado o Sistema Adventista de Comunicação," *RA* (B), March 1996; Williams Costa, Jr., "Está Escrito: 10 anos no Brasil," *ibid.*, November 2001; "Está Escrito Makes a Breakthrough in Central and South America," no name, *AR*, June 11, 1998; "Argentina: Church Enters New Digital Broadcast Age," *ANN*, August 4, 1998; "Está Escrito por un canal satelital," *RA* (A), September 1998, *EM*.

¹³ "Primera transmisión satelital desde Argentina al mundo," *ibid.*, May 1999, *EM*; Kandus Thorp, "Satellite Evangelism Explodes in South America and South Pacific," *AR*, June 22, 2000.

¹⁴ "Brazil: Laity and Leadership Lock Hands at Communication Congress," *ANN*, July 29, 2003.

¹⁵ "Brazil: Symposium Affirms Need for Increased Professionalism in Contemporary Church Communication," *ibid.*, November 2, 2004. For a list of the topics and the presenters at this symposium, see the Web site, the Ellen G. White Research Center in Brazil at www.centrowhite.org.br.

¹⁶ "South America: Adventist World Radio Redefines Priorities," *ANN*, August 31, 2004.

¹⁷ "Brazil: Adventist Television Dramatically Expands Under New License," *ibid.*, April 24, 2006; Michelson Borges, "Pregação turbinada," *RA* (B), June 2006. For the application of the Internet to evangelism, see Jobson Dornelles Santos, "Uso da Internet na Evangelização Adventista no Brasil," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Latin American Theological Seminary, Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo, Campus Engenheiro Coelho, 2009.

¹⁸ *Statistical Report*, 1945-1980.

¹⁹ Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 90, 91, 96; Jorge A. Iuorno, "La Sucursal de ACES en Chile," *RA* (A), April 1985.

²⁰ Werner Mayr, "ACES compra derechos para imprimir Biblias," *ibid.*, December 2001, *ES*; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 79, 90, 91.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 85-88.

²² Arbin Lust, "ACES, una casa abierta para el mundo," *RA* (A), January 1991.

²³ Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 92-94, 108. Pages 105-108 and 117-119 present a summary of periodical publications at Casa Editora. See "South American Church Launches Evangelism Magazine," *ANN*, November 5, 2001.

²⁴ "Argentina: Centennial of Adventist Publishing Efforts Celebrated in Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, April 5, 2004; *Statistical Report*, 2003. See Carlos Steger, "Cien años de bendiciones," *RA* (A), March 2003. This special centennial issue honoring ACES also included articles by Aldo D. Orrego and Marcos Blanco describing the history of books and periodicals.

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²⁵ *Statistical Report*, 1980.

²⁶ Rubens Lessa has provided one of the best accounts of the construction of the new Casa Publicadora in his centennial book, *Casa Publicadora*, 111-124. See also Charles Rentfro, "Ground broken for publishing house in Brazil," *AR*, May 31, 1984; news note, no name, *ibid.*, March 19, 1987.

²⁷ *Statistical Report*, 1992, 1995, 2003; "Colportagem comemora 100 anos na América do Sul," *RA* (B), April 1992; "Brasil lidera a colportagem mundial," *ibid.*, May 1996; Jael Eneas, "A semente germinou," *ibid.*, May 2003.

²⁸ Rubens Lessa, "Bênçãos e lições dos 100 anos de Casa Publicadora Brasileira," *ibid.*, June 2000.

²⁹ *Statistical Report*, 1920 and onward.

³⁰ L. A. Ramirez, "Publishing Department," *AR*, July 7, 1985.

³¹ Ivacy Furtado de Oliveira, "História dos Livros Didáticos Adventistas no Brasil," *A educação adventista no Brasil*, 113, 114. This essay is an updated revision that was originally presented as a paper at the III Simpósio da Memória Adventista no Brasil, at Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo, September 2000. See a short account of textbook production in Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 126.

³² *Ibid.*; Furtado de Oliveira, "Livros Didáticos," 115-118; Rubens Lessa, "Bênçãos e lições dos 100 anos de Casa Publicadora Brasileira," *RA* (B), June 2000. See also a news note, *AR*, October 10, 1985, and Carlos Medley, "Adventist Publishing Moving in New Directions," *ibid.*, April 23, 1987.

³³ Lessa, *Casa Publicadora*, 149, 160-169, 185; *Statistical Report*, 1980-2007.

³⁴ "Brazil Publishing House Celebrates One Hundred Years of Publishing the Gospel," *ANN*, March 21, 2000; Vanderlei Dorneles, "Brazil Publishing House Celebrates Its 100th Anniversary," *AR*, April 27, 2000; Vanderlei Dorneles, Michelson Borges e Guilherme Silva, "Os 100 anos da Casa Publicadora Brasileira," *RA* (B), April 2000. Rubens Lessa's centennial volume is a major source of information about Casa Publicadora.

³⁵ Rubem M. Scheffel, A importância da imprensa," *RA* (B), January 2006.

³⁶ Nevil Gorski, "Triunfos y desafíos de la educación en la División Sudamericana," *RA* (A), December 1984.

³⁷ Alcides Campolong, *Evangelismo, minha paixão*, 45.

³⁸ See Roberto Azevedo, "Difusão: Após 10 Anos," *RA* (B), May 1985.

³⁹ Roberto César de Azevedo, "Panorama educacional da Divisão Sul-Americana," *ibid.*, February 1992.

⁴⁰ See his revised presentation, "O Ensino Educação de Nível Fundamental no Brasil," *A educação adventista no Brasil*, 31-50. For a description of the 1943 law, see Paulo Cezar de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Médio no Brasil," *ibid.*, 55. Douglas J. Menslin discusses Roberto Azevedo's contributions to Adventist education during the legal crisis. See his biographical sketch, "Roberto Cesar de Azevedo," *ibid.*, 260, 261. Werner Vyhmeister drew the attention of the Adventist world to Roberto Azevedo's leadership at this point in South American history in "A problem we dare not ignore," *AR*, November 5, 1981.

⁴¹ The statistics in this section have been adapted from *Statistical Report*, 1980-2007. See also Marcos De Benedicto, "Ensino com qualidade," *RA* (B), January 2001.

⁴² See entries for specific schools in Brown, *Chronology*. Paulo Cezar de Azevedo, "O Ensino Adventista de Nível Médio no Brasil," *A educação adventista no Brasil*, 55. See Roberto César de Azevedo, "Panorama educacional da Divisão Sul-Americana," *RA* (B), February 1992.

⁴³ *Statistical Report*, 1980, 2007; see entries for South American schools in Brown, *Chronology*.

⁴⁴ Azevedo, "Ensino de Nível Médio," 57.

⁴⁵ "South American Educators Consider Future of Adventist Schools," *ANN*, March 26, 2002; *Statistical Report*, 2007.

⁴⁶ Renato Stencil, "A Educação Adventista de Nível Superior no Brasil," *A educação adventista no Brasil*, 67; Plenc, *Misioneros*, 114; Casella and Steger, *Cien años*, 81-82; Chaij, *Ese chico*, 121-125; Rubens Lessa, "Bênçãos e lições dos 100 anos de Casa Publicadora Brasileira," *RA* (B), June 2000.

⁴⁷ For a listing of these schools and how the General Conference classified them, see *SDA Yearbook*, 1981.

⁴⁸ Stencil, "Educação Adventista de Nível Superior," 93, 94; *World Report*, 2006.

⁴⁹ Luis A. del Pozo M., "Centro de Educación Superior Unión," *RA* (A), June 1984.

⁵⁰ *Universidad Peruana Unión, 1983-2008* (Ñaña, Peru 2008), 27, 150-163. See pages 1-27 for the history of the school and the step-by-step process of becoming a university. Also see *Directory of Seventh-day Adventist Colleges and Universities*, 2005-2006 edition. Online version at education.gc.adventist.org/documents.

⁵¹ A discussion of the upgrading of Adventist education in the Inter-American and South American divisions appears in Greenleaf, *Passion for the World*, 417-425.

⁵² Ibid. A report of the creation of the university in Bolivia appears in Luis Alberto del Pozo, "Creación oficial de la UAB," RA (A), June 1991. For a short version of the story of Brazil College see Stencel, "Educação Adventista," 67-93. For more detail consult chapter II of Alberto Timm, ed., *Instituto Adventista de Ensino campus 2: 15 anos da história*, Engenheiro Coelho, 1999, André M Pasini, "IAE-C2: Origem e Desenvolvimento Físico," 8-17; "IAE Já Tem Novo Terreno," RA (B), October 1983; "A Primeira Pedra do Nove IAE," no name, ibid., July 1984; Michelson Borges, "Unasp: 90 anos de história," ibid., May 2005. The most detailed account of the university in Brazil is found in Renato Stencel, "História da educação superior Adventista: Brasil, 1969-1999." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade Metodista de Piracicaba, 2006, 211-238. For the elevation of the Argentine school to university status see "La Universidad Adventista del Plata logró el reconocimiento definitivo," RA (A), October 2002, 10, EM; Juan Omar Finuchi, "Creación de la UAP," ibid., March 1991; "El Presidente Menem en el centenario de la Universidad Adventista del Plata," ibid., June 1998, EM. See "La CONEAU acreditó la Carrera de Medicina en la UAP," ibid., April 2002, EM.

⁵³ *Statistical Report*, 1980; *World Report*, 2000 and 2006.

⁵⁴ SAD Minutes, March 20, 1956/GCA.

⁵⁵ T. S. Geraty, "South American Council on Ministerial Training," RH, April 9, 1964; SAD Minutes, June 24, 1964/GCA; ibid., February 9, 1966; ibid., December 3, 1968; M. S. Nigri to W. R. Beach, August 4, 1965, GCA/21, GF/1965, officers' folder; R. A. Wilcox to W. R. Beach, March 3, 1969, ibid./1969; *Statistical Report*, 1980.

⁵⁶ "Inauguración del Seminario Adventista Latinoamericano," RA (A), February 1981; Werner Vyhmeister, "South American Division opens new seminary," AR, May 7, 1981; Mario Veloso, "El Seminario Adventista Latinoamericano de Teología," RA (A), July 1984.

⁵⁷ Rolando A. Itin, "SALT Primera colación de grados," ibid., April 1984; "Segunda promoción del SALT," ibid., June 1988.

⁵⁸ See the discussion of SALT in Greenleaf, *Passion*, 425-427. Specific data are from *World Report*, 2006, and *Directory of Seventh-day Adventist Colleges and Universities*, online 2005-2006 edition.

⁵⁹ "Primer concilio de profesores de teología," RA (A), December 1987.

⁶⁰ "Inaugurado O Centro de Pesquisa Ellen G. White no Brasil," RA (B), January 1988.

⁶¹ Interview, Alberto Timm with Floyd Greenleaf, November 16, 2009; "Ellen G. White Research Center in Peru," e-mail statement from Mario Riveros to Floyd Greenleaf, November 23, 2009.

⁶² E-mail, Alberto Timm to Floyd Greenleaf, April 15, 2010. Consult online editions, www.unasp.edu.br/kerygma for *Kerygma*, and for *Enfoques* see www.uapar.edu/es/numeros_publicados.

⁶³ Hector Palacios, "Curso teológico en el CADE," RA (A), December 1988.

⁶⁴ General Conference Minutes, October 6, 7, 1994.

⁶⁵ "Introduction," *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Ministerial and Theological Education* (Silver Spring, MD, 2001), i, ii.

⁶⁶ Greenleaf, *Passion*, 425-427.

⁶⁷ Emilio Abdala, "Ministerial Training for Seminarians at Northeast Brazil College," *Journal of Adventist Mission Studies*, v. 5 (no. 1, 2009), 68-77; Natanael B. P. Moraes and Berndt Dietrich Wolter, "The Impact of Short-Term Mission on Brazilian Theology Students," ibid., 78-88.

⁶⁸ Eusebio Barreda N., "Visita del Dr. H. Rasi," RA (A), April 1989. See <http://dialogue.adventist.org>.



A MOMENT OF REFLECTION

AS THEY ENTERED the twenty-first century, South American Seventh-day Adventists could look back on more than a century of history and recall that their journey had required patience, perseverance, and faith. Decades earlier at the 1962 General Conference session, Arthur H. Roth reflected on the meaning of the Adventist experience in Latin America, specifically the Inter-American Division of which he was president.

“We have been the recipients of God’s guidance and loving care in perilous journeys,” he said. “We have felt God’s arm about us in the midst of revolution, political unrest, and turmoil. We have been aware of heaven’s protection when threatened and harassed by persecution. We have known the companionship of angels in dungeons and in prisons. We have understood God’s love and watchfulness in the midst of storm and earthquake. Of utmost joy to us is the fact that we are one with our brethren the world around in the ‘blessed hope’ of soon seeing our Lord Jesus.”¹

Roth spoke from experience. A son of missionary parents, he spent much of his boyhood in Argentina and fulfilled most of his ministry in Inter-America. In 1962 the rush of membership increases

in Latin America was in its opening phase. Roth's statement reaffirmed the traditional Adventist conviction that the mission of the church was to prepare the world for the Second Advent. But he reached beyond the visible church to remind the Adventist world that the church was more than what people saw in statistics, geography, and institutions. More than what it was when he spoke, and even what it would become in the future, the story of Seventh-day Adventists consisted of numberless experiences that added up to more than the whole. Etched in Roth's memory as well as in the minds of thousands of other workers was the consciousness that the sweetness of achievement was in part the product of trial and hardship.

Roth's words resonated with South American Adventists. To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the South American Division, a special edition of *Revista Adventista* described the multi-faceted program that Adventists pursued in reaching the corners of the continent. Division leaders had not yet coined the term "integrated evangelism," but *Revista's* fifty-six pages of text and photographs expressed the concept of a unified effort in all phases of church effort. Overwhelmed by an annual baptismal rate exceeding 12,000, Division President J. J. Aitken wrote that South America was no longer the neglected continent, but the land of today.²

After their first half century, South American Adventists anticipated that they were on the cusp of transforming experiences. Nearly fifty years later, as a century of Adventist presence in South America approached, a plethora of articles and books appeared that described the ramifications of denominational activity and accomplishments of the church since the days when it all began. Some authors expressed the joy of the "blessed hope" that marked the spiritual journey of generations of Advent believers; others memorialized the development of institutions and events; and still others reflected on the meaning of the Adventist experience.

In an article that was both instructive and inspiring, Marcos De Benedicto and Michelson Borges recalled the journalistic evolution of *Revista Adventista*, showing that the ever increasing professionalism in the church's major paper dignified the appeal of its constant purpose—to preach salvation. But challenges of meeting the needs of the twenty-first century required even more innovative talent, they observed, suggesting that while the ultimate goals of Adventism remained the same, techniques and tools should change.³

One of the more thought-provoking volumes was Alberto Timm's *Igreja Adventista de Campo dos Quevedos*, an account of his home church in Campo dos Quevedos, a rural congregation in Rio Grande do Sul. Like other early generations of Adventists,

the first members of this Brazilian congregation traveled to church in ox carts or on horseback and endured threats and possible ostracism. But hardship did not deter them because the church was central in their lives. *Igreja Adventista de Campo dos Quevedos* presented more than the rhythm of church activity in a previous era, it was a commentary on change and a reminder to modern Adventists that their beginnings were humble, even primitive at times, but strong because of it. Probably few would want to go back to the days of beginnings, but Timm implies that later generations forget their origins at their own peril.

The gospel as Adventists understood it when pioneers brought it to the hinterlands of South America still exists but in a different milieu. The young, fired with a zeal to meet the challenges of a life that their forebears could not imagine, no longer experience the simple past. For those who have joined the new, fast-moving urban society that characterizes much of South America in the twenty-first century, the past can become only nostalgia, if it is remembered at all. “In this way,” Timm says, “during the recent decades, the church of Campo dos Quevedos is losing many of its youth and, consequently, much of its traditional social vitality.”⁴

What does this mean to the South American Division in the first decade of the twenty-first century? With a membership that had climbed beyond the 2,000,000 mark and a network of institutions and urban congregations basking in the respect from a modernizing continent, the church enjoys a prosperity unimagined a century ago. The burden of Campo dos Quevedos symbolizes the burden that South American church leaders also bear: the challenge of adapting the spirit of modernity to preserve the original spirit of dedication and to keep alive the belief that Providence still leads the church to accomplish its single purpose.

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISM AND PROTESTANTISM

To understand the journey of Adventism in South America, it is necessary to recall the ambience in which it was born and grew to maturity. It began as part of a larger movement to implant Protestantism in a traditionally Catholic region. This tide of new faith arrived in South America in waves. The first was an influx of immigrants during the nineteenth century who fled a tumultuous Europe with no intention to proselytize but only to find new homes in more promising surroundings. South American countries welcomed them, but the presence of strangers created a pluralistic society and forced host governments to come to terms with the issue of religious liberty, an ideal to which many had paid only lip service or ignored altogether.

Historians have credited progress toward freedom of conscience in South America to the principles of liberty which protagonists of the North American and French revolutions espoused, but one cannot overlook the impact of a new, religious pluralism that was developing in many South American countries during the nineteenth century. A sequence of liberalizing revolutions that swept across major portions of South America about 1890 reflected in part this demographic change.

Evidence points to isolated cases of Seventh-day Adventists participating in this first wave of Protestantism, but it was during the second wave that the real beginnings of Adventism in South America occurred. This part of the movement also began in the nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth. It was a part of the Protestant missionary movement to evangelize the world. This phase of Protestantism made significant inroads into South America, but it did not alter the essential Catholic character of South American society.

A third Protestant wave occurred after World War II when evangelical Christianity spread aggressively from the United States into Latin America, especially in Central America, Brazil, and Chile. It is possible to divide this last wave into two—one characterized by evangelicals and a second dominated by pentecostals. By the 1980s this combined third wave was so successful that sociologists and churchmen in both Latin America and the United States believed they were witnessing a major demographical shift.

Numerous studies of the Protestant phenomenon appeared. Besides census reports that indicated significant increases in Protestantism, investigation by Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro probed the question of evangelical growth in northern Brazil where much of the evangelical activity was occurring.⁵ In North America, researcher David Stoll from Stanford University asked the question that haunted the minds of many inquirers when he published his book, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* Based on the growth rates of evangelicals from 1960 to 1985, Stoll's figures contemplated the possibility that in some South American countries as much as a third to a half of the population could become evangelicals by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. According to Stoll, Brazil was the most amenable to Protestantism.⁶

Stoll points out that by the 1970s, Seventh-day Adventists had become the largest non-Catholic denomination in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. However startling his declarations were, it was probably an exaggeration to compare the Protestant movement in South America to the religious changes that Martin Luther and John

Calvin inspired in sixteenth-century Europe. While the impact of Protestantism was undeniable, the overall trend in South America was a continuation of a predominantly Catholic society.⁷

From their beginnings in South America, Adventist leaders were disinclined to identify with the Protestant movement. Though not hostile to Protestantism, Adventists kept their distance because they believed their message was unique. They regarded their efforts to fulfill the gospel commission as more than simply presenting an alternative strain of Christianity. They were convinced that while they preached a more demanding lifestyle and a different day of worship, their message was an inspiring promise of better things to come, a world made new which included a redeemed humanity restored to Edenic perfection. All of this was possible only by the forgiveness of a loving God. Stoll's statement is a tacit admission that despite the unique role Adventists defined for themselves, they were a force to be reckoned with.

Observers of religious change often viewed Adventism negatively. To them it was a message of gloom because they could detect no hope for the present world. Instead, Adventism warned of an apocalyptic end of all things. Adventists usually kept an arm's length from fire and brimstone preaching, but they could not ignore the fiery conclusion of world history that Scripture foretold, to which they coupled a unique teaching about a pre-advent judgment. A key element was the Saturday Sabbath which Adventism placed at the heart of the Decalogue. Thus, the Sabbath became central to the concept of judgment.

Perhaps with some justification critics judged Adventism negatively. For nineteenth and early twentieth century Adventists, doctrinal issues combined with the apocalypse were the salient feature of religion. They typically associated conversion with new doctrinal beliefs more than experiencing a new life in Jesus after claiming His forgiveness and grace. Natural disasters that early church workers experienced in South America often provided reasons for more zealous portrayals of earthly troubles as forerunners of the imminent and violent end of the world. It was impossible to divorce an escape from the world's destruction from a belief in the saving grace of Jesus, but for many listeners, the Adventist emphasis was on what the doctrines taught rather than on an understanding of grace and forgiveness.

However, as critics watched the Adventist community burgeon after World War II, they often shook their heads in disbelief because they neglected to grasp the meaning of Walter Schubert's evangelistic revolution. His practice of introducing evangelistic

campaigns with an emphasis on the social relevance of Scripture and human values instead of the visions of the prophet Daniel opened the door for later generations of preachers to develop even more productive evangelism. Adventism yielded no ground on the apocalyptic significance of the books of Daniel and Revelation and continued to teach the centrality of the seventh-day Sabbath, but following Schubert's lead, evangelists successfully conveyed the idea that conversion was more than preparing for the final judgment by holding correct doctrinal positions and obeying God's law. Conversion was an acceptance of one's membership in the family of God, which also brought dignity and meaning to this present life.

This pattern stuck. Despite refinements in his preaching techniques, Alcides Camplongo, who, from the 1960s through the 1990s was one of Brazil's most successful evangelists, emphasized that throughout his long career he consistently began his meetings with questions dealing with health and personal well-being, and followed with topics of social significance pertaining to home, family, and related issues, and finally introduced doctrinal subjects. His favorite introductory meetings were anti-tobacco campaigns, usually a version of the five-day plan to stop smoking. Starting in 1965, he helped to perpetuate these evangelistic skills by teaching public evangelism at Brazil College for ten years.⁸

The evangelistic emphasis on family values constituted a natural setting for a new look at the role of women, a trend that spread globally during the latter half of the twentieth century. In Adventist circles the movement concentrated on two essential issues. The first was the trend toward new professional careers in church employment previously unavailable to women, such as pastoring churches. This question furnished most of the excitement during floor debates at both the 1990 and 1995 General Conference sessions. On both occasions negative majorities voted against proposals to ordain women to the ministry. The second issue was less incendiary and yielded considerably better results. With consistent prodding by the women themselves, the church at large extended more recognition to women as providers of a stabilizing and nurturing influence in Adventist churches and homes.

In keeping with the times, South American women involved themselves more visibly in church activities. Neide Campolongo enrolled in formal education that enabled her to conduct cooking classes for women who were newly converted in her husband's evangelistic campaigns. She also became a prominent figure in children's and youth ministries, promoting vacation Bible schools and improved methods in children's Sabbath schools. Her husband observed that these accomplishments

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would have been impossible without assistance from the women in the churches, among whom an interest in these matters was developing.⁹

In 1995 the South American Division created the Department of Women's Ministries. Occasionally women engaged in evangelistic duties that men had customarily fulfilled, but they more commonly saw themselves as exerting a unique influence on both their families and the church and in supportive roles to accomplish the mission of the church. Vasti S. Viana, director of women's ministries for the South American Division, wrote that the first goal for Adventist women was to cultivate a deeper spirituality and discover their spiritual gifts. "Thus prepared," she said, "the Adventist woman will have great inspiration and heavenly power to teach in her home, her church and her community."¹⁰

Inevitably, however, women could not overlook concerns that families faced everywhere. The 2004 division council noted that the Women's Ministries Department was preparing a thirty-two-page publication dealing with abuse in the family that would be circulated later that year. It was a tacit acknowledgment that in spite of powerful evangelism around the division and the high ideals of Adventism, South American Adventist homes, like their counterparts in general society, were not immune to problems.¹¹

The fundamental change in evangelism that Schubert triggered focused on technique and theological emphasis rather than on doctrines, but a new slant on Adventist beliefs and practices emerged. Although Adventists did not change their beliefs, they saw themselves differently, which gave new meaning to their mission and fueled even more change in evangelism. At the end of the twentieth century, statistics revealed that Seventh-day Adventist growth in Brazil was only marginally less than increases among evangelicals, who were predominantly pentecostal.

Not surprisingly, questions arose, and Adventist theologians realized that the time had come for self-analysis. The Brazilian *Revista Adventista* dared to ask if Adventists could still be considered a people of the Bible, and called for more biblical substance in both preaching and practice as a protection against existentialist tendencies that some perceived to be growing in Adventism, especially since 1980. The essential problem was finding the evangelistic balance between the near-total experiential character of Pentecostalism and the doctrinaire position that Adventism had held in a prior era. Some believed that the evangelistic emphasis on experience and emotion overshadowed the uniqueness of Seventh-day Adventism, and they advocated more attention to church identity by evangelists as a means to solidify membership

gains. Others, however, were persuaded that Adventism had achieved the desired equilibrium between the two extremes of doctrinal beliefs and experience.¹²

This was a judgmental question, but church leaders in Brazil had already taken steps to strengthen the sense of Adventist identity within the general membership. In the year 2000 the Ellen G. White Research Center at Brazil Adventist University launched a network of branch minicenters scattered throughout local churches. Each congregation was responsible for funding its own center and agreed to use materials in compliance with copyright laws. The concerns of Alberto Timm, at the time director of the Ellen White Research Center at Brazil Adventist University, for a stronger Adventist identity motivated him to engineer this project. He explained that because questioning and inquiry characterized contemporary life, the response to challenges was to encourage the study of traditional sources of belief that guided the church since its founding. "Each minicenter should be a nucleus of Adventist culture," he said.¹³

Timm's conviction that Ellen White's writings constituted a fundamental aspect of Adventist identity continued in 2009 when he and James Nix, director of the White Estate, established South America's third Ellen G. White Research Center on the campus of Peruvian Union University, which had grown from a smaller White Center with a collection of denominational books and publications. Simultaneously, two smaller Ellen White study centers went into operation in Bolivia and Ecuador.¹⁴

Adventists around the world could learn lessons from the South American debate about maintaining an Adventist identity while experiencing phenomenal evangelistic success. While it was likely that protagonists on both sides of the issue could cite anecdotal evidence to support their opinions, it was apparent that Seventh-day Adventism had become more pastoral in its approach to both members and non-members. Also, the fact that South Americans could discuss their own problems according to the needs of their own society without jeopardizing the unity of the entire denomination pointed to the strength of Adventism's global character. Although the identity of Adventism lay at the heart of their discussion, it was Adventism with South American characteristics that was at stake.

HUMAN VALUES AND ADVENTIST EDUCATION

Some would argue that a theology that expressed a high regard for human values and taught that the family of God was all-inclusive was not a new thing. Cases in point were Stahl's groundbreaking work on the Peruvian uplands and Halliwell's

river launch ministry along the Amazon.¹⁵ It was probably not coincidental that Adventist growth in South America from 1980 onward occurred in the general regions where these humanitarian outreaches had occurred.

The philosophy that combined human values with theology affected more than evangelism. It was the basis for massive efforts by ADRA to improve the human condition. Humanitarianism had been a part of Adventism for decades prior to both ADRA and its predecessor, Seventh-day Adventist World Service. Schubert's evangelistic philosophy had not produced ADRA but it encouraged a theological mindset that was compatible with large-scale humanitarianism, which ADRA represented.

Some believed that ADRA's heavy involvement contradicted traditional Adventist teaching that the world is doomed and that the only hope for humans is in the world to come. If, critics argued, Adventists truly believed that a troubled planet was a sign of the apocalyptic end of the world that would make way for the kingdom of God, believers should spend their money preaching redemption and emancipation from this world rather than improving it. The fact that ADRA was legally prevented from engaging in proselytizing activities because the overwhelming proportion of its funding originated with a government source, the United States Agency of International Development, only made matters worse in the eyes of the doubters.

But the prevailing opinion held that the aims of ADRA were consistent with Adventism. Although ADRA was an important component of denominational work, evangelism remained the first-line activity of the church. Despite negative arguments, it was difficult to explain convincingly how helping to repair the infrastructure of broken communities thwarted the belief in the apocalyptic end of the world, or that such activity was an attempt to reform the world into a millennium of bliss.

Although ADRA was a politically and religiously neutral institution, it carried the name of "Adventist," which proclaimed that Adventism advocated responsible citizenship. ADRA's programs proclaimed the Adventist teaching that as children of God all people deserved respect and dignified treatment. Church leaders believed that public officials along with victims of trouble were more likely to listen to biblical expositions after they received help rather than before. Such pragmatism brought much favorable publicity to the church and helped Adventists to achieve other goals.

Evidence to this effect appeared in 1981 when members of the Peruvian Congress formulated their motion to authorize the Inca Union to continue its plans to upgrade Inca Union College to a university. Their statement recognized that OFASA, the Hispanic forerunner of ADRA, had given material aid to the poorest of Peruvians and

established developmental projects in practically the entire country.¹⁶ That Peruvian politicians would cite this activity to support Adventist higher education was a recognition that human values permeated Adventism, and therefore the Adventist classroom deserved a legitimate place in the country.

Convictions about human values and ethics spilled over into Adventist education at lower levels and attracted favorable public attention. Referring to test results that rated students in Adventist schools high in academic performance, *Veja*, a leading news weekly based in São Paulo, told its million readers in 2007 that Adventist schools were among the best in Brazil. Adventist schools followed the curriculum established by the Ministry of Education and Culture, but added more, *Veja* said—Christian values and a sense of moral ethics. It was these characteristics, the magazine observed, that attracted an enrollment that was 70 percent non-Adventist. *Veja* noted that school activities were Bible-centered, including a strong emphasis on creation, although teachers wanted students to know the evolutionists' explanations about human origins as well, and thus taught both sides of the question.¹⁷

Veja was not the first to point out that Adventist schools were making a mark on Brazilian life. In 2004 *Época*, another widely read news weekly from Rio de Janeiro, discussed the creation-evolution debate in education, attributing the importance of the issue to the fact that Adventist schools teach it and that Brazil Adventist University had established an institute called the Nucleus of Origin Studies. The institution also required a class in human origins in the graduate program. At the insistence of the governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, creationism had even become a component of religion classes offered by public schools.¹⁸ Although *Época* did not emphasize it, readers could not avoid the inference that human values were part of divine creation rather than a result of evolutionary chance.

In no small part, the national discussion about evolution and creation was a result of the efforts by Ruy Carlos de Camargo Vieira to promote creationism. A Seventh-day Adventist professor in the University of São Paulo, he also served on numerous bodies relating to science and research, among them the Federal Council of Engineering, Architecture, and Agronomy, of which he was vice president at one time. As a researcher and scientist, he helped to raise the creation-evolution debate to scientific levels by founding the Brazilian Creationist Society in 1972.

One of the major objectives of this organization was to furnish South Americans with scientific material in their own language that enabled them to stay abreast of the global debate between creationists and evolutionists. The Society published

Revista Criacionista, a scholarly journal appearing twice annually. Its reports about research and other discussions of creationism introduced Brazilians to the international scope of the controversy. The Society also conducted conferences and seminars on creationism and made scholarly materials available to the public. Many of the titles in the Society's collections were translations of research carried out by international scientists that Casa Publicadora published. Although most of the materials were in Portuguese, some Spanish versions were also available.¹⁹ Sociedade Criacionista Brasileira did not expect to produce unanimity about creationism, but events in the state of Rio de Janeiro indicated that many Brazilians were listening to what Adventists were saying.

Regarding Adventist higher education, it is safe to speculate that of all institutional changes in the South American Division after 1980 achievements in post-secondary schools ranked among the highest. For the church, spiritually committed leadership in all of its undertakings was a priority item, but the church could not ignore the fact that other factors also contributed to success. Ideologically neutral influences, such as economic and technological skills as well as scientific knowledge itself, were necessary in order to compete in modern society. To function with the approval of public authority, most church institutions needed only to fulfill legal requirements and demonstrate a capability to perform. However, for schools to function as recognized universities, a recognition was necessary from governments that by definition sectarian education stunted intellectual achievement.

Besides Ruy Vieira, scores of other Adventists helped governments to see the virtues of Adventist intellectual activity and professionalism. Among them was Eunice Michiles, a descendant of pioneer Adventist stock and a product of Adventist schools who became the first woman senator in Brazilian history in 1979. For years she championed issues that upheld human dignity, such as education, women's rights, and family planning. Developing an international reputation, she traveled globally to advance social causes. She never lost her conviction that she was fulfilling a divinely led purpose.²⁰ Another was Clayton Rossi, attorney general for Brazil and a law professor in the national university as well as an elder in his local church. In 1981 he also became the newly elected president of the Bible Society in Brazil.²¹

Adventists who remained in denominational employ were also rising in prominence, such as academician Guido Medina Padilla, a Bolivian teacher whom the president of the republic decorated in 1994 for his contributions to the national well-being.²² Another was Leonor Segunda Bustinza Cabala, rector of Peruvian Union

University. Born into the post-World War II generation and educated in biochemistry and applied technologies, she held a doctorate from Moscow State Technological University in Moscow, Russia. She represented not only the widening role of women in the professional world but also the significance of academic excellence and the ascending importance of global consciousness in South American society.²³

In 1986 a sign that the public noticed academic accomplishments in Adventist higher education in South America appeared when the School of Public Health at the University of Chile opened the floor to Adventist professionals whose presentations demonstrated the positive effect of denominational lifestyle on disease prevention.²⁴ In 2007 the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research in Argentina included *Enfoques*, the scholarly journal of River Plate Adventist University, as one of eighty elite Argentine publications that were reputable sources of information and scientific discussion. When the Emanuel Bible Society launched the revision of the traditional Reina-Valera version of the Spanish Bible, it included eleven Adventists to serve as translators on a staff that represented twelve denominations.²⁵

For South American Adventists these people and events were evidence that the professional world recognized that they had something to contribute to society at large. Perhaps no better statistic reveals this increasing awareness than the number of non-Adventist students enrolling in denominational higher education. In the year 2000 about 2,500 of the nearly 8,500 students in Adventist post-secondary schools in South America, or about 30 percent, were non-Adventist. Six years later the figure rose to approximately 7,500 non-Adventist students out of a total enrollment of nearly 18,400, or approximately 40 percent.²⁶ It could hardly be argued that these numbers indicated that the public scorned Adventist education. The opposite was true.

From another vantage point, however, some Adventists viewed these numbers as a danger. Many saw their schools traditionally as havens of security for their young, places where they could withdraw from the world to be schooled in church teachings and train to become church workers. For them, large non-Adventist enrollments diluted the atmosphere of safety that schools were supposed to maintain. Enoch Oliveira expressed this belief in 1977 when he declared that “[t]o our satisfaction, a definite reduction of non-Adventist students in our schools can be confirmed.” The division president was referring to all Adventist schools, not just post-secondary institutions. In the viewpoint of the time, an enrollment in denominational schools that was 85 percent Adventist appeared to fulfill the purpose of the church better than a lower proportion.²⁷

Few would have challenged the division president because this view of Adventist education had a long history. But it was also true that where literacy was low and education was seen as a humanitarian activity, Adventists often used schools as platforms from which to teach denominational beliefs. Although historically, South American Adventists probably tended to see their schools more as training grounds and agents to shelter the young than as instruments of outreach, the idea that education was also a missionary endeavor was not inconsistent with Adventist tradition, even in South America. Roberto Azevedo, speaking both as an educator and a key partner in evangelistic planning, advocated that Adventists should “take advantage of the school as a leader in the expansion of the church, acquiring land and building a new school and church in strategic places in the large cities.”²⁸

Nepomuceno Silveira de Abreu, a former director of education in the South Brazil Union, doubted that anyone could calculate the evangelistic effect of Adventist education. When commenting on the centennial of Adventist education in Brazil, he observed that students who spent their first eight years in denominational schools had sat through about 1,200 classes in religion. Their parents received biblical truth because their children took it home with them. “Have you ever considered what God can do through the Holy Spirit in the life of a student who has that much contact with divine truth in an Adventist school?,” he asked.²⁹ It is doubtful that he was referring to Adventist children only.

After more than a century of experience, Adventist educators at all levels of instruction could perhaps argue that they had found a new niche for themselves. Functioning under governments that were legitimately concerned with issues of nation-building, Adventist institutions of higher education that had received official recognition as degree-granting entities also felt an obligation to serve the public in addition to the church. And education at lower levels also could benefit society by inculcating a Christian-based value system.

Examples of this attitude were not hard to find. When they gathered in 1984 to lay the cornerstone of the new campus of Brazil College at Engenheiro Coelho, institutional and church leaders included a plaque to commemorate the occasion which told spectators, including government representatives, that the purpose of the new institution was the education and salvation of youth and the “benefit of the Fatherland.”³⁰ To mark the centennial of Adventist education in Brazil in 1996, Euler P. Bahia, director of the School of Sciences at Brazil College, told readers of *Revista Adventista* that the institution had organized an extension school for the general public, offering short professional courses to about 5,000 students.³¹

Public officials appeared to recognize that spiritual values which Adventists espoused contributed to the betterment of society. While attending the dedication of new church administrative offices in Goiânia, the personal representative of the governor of the Brazilian state of Goiás declared that the church brought peace, love, justice, and liberty—gifts to the state that helped in governing the people.³²

Statistics show what this double mission of Adventist education meant in practical terms. In 2006 denominational post-secondary schools enrolled 7,426 non-Adventist students, thus relieving the public sector of the expense of educating enough students that would constitute a small university if they had all gathered on a single campus. Of this group, 476, or about 6.5 percent, were baptized into the Seventh-day Adventist Church during the academic year.³³ Denominational educators could justifiably ask if formal evangelism could have harvested as many converts from an audience of about 7,500, and also point out that the 476 new members were tuition-paying students and represented no outlay of evangelistic funds.

The new look in Adventist higher education in South America—university status and upwardly spiraling enrollment—was more than a confirmation of denominational education. It represented the notion that academic achievement and spirituality were not mutually exclusive. It also implied that South American Adventists were committed to a program of excellence for their young. Probably nothing spoke louder about this conviction than the election of Erton Köhler as president of the division in 2007. A 38-year-old product of Adventist education, he was only of Pathfinder age when the Thousand Days of Reaping began. Many said he symbolized the youth and energy of the South American Division, but he downplayed his age, saying that he didn't think about it in the sense of a hindrance. He remarked that his youthfulness was possibly a fulfillment of Ellen White's statement that young people would complete the mission of the church.³⁴

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE CHURCH

From the onset of Protestantism in South America, questions of religious liberty were close to the surface. The fundamental issue was how governments would handle religious pluralism, a question that became progressively important during the post-World War II era as the non-Catholic community grew rapidly. Because the seventh-day Sabbath was one of the defining doctrines of Adventism, human rights such as freedom of conscience and religious practice probably had a stronger impact on Adventists than Protestants in general.

A major advance in the cause of liberty occurred in 1988 when Brazil adopted a new constitution following a period of military rule. While the new document was in its formative stage, an Adventist delegation lobbied congressmen and senators to safeguard religious liberty and to recognize the legitimacy of pluralistic activity in a democratic society. The delegation was armed with documents that legal counsel had prepared in support of Adventist interests, among them the conscientious rights of men serving in the military, the right to operate a system of sectarian education, and tax laws that did not militate against churches.³⁵ Inasmuch as Brazil housed the largest single Adventist population in the world, constitutional guarantees of religious practice were crucial. In its final form, the Preamble of the newly adopted constitution recognized Brazil as a pluralist state and pledged that the new instrument of government would uphold harmonious existence of all sectors of society. Title II declared freedom of conscience to be inviolable and guaranteed the free practice of religion and the protection of places of worship.

In view of the growing importance of religious liberty, the General Conference Department of Public Affairs and Religious Liberty conducted a series of conferences in South America during the years 1997 to 2009. Meeting in Rio de Janeiro in June 1997, Lima in 2001, Santiago in 2003, São Paulo in 2006, and again at Lima in 2009, the events drew hundreds of delegates from many countries outside Latin America. Presidents of both Argentina and Brazil sent messages of support, and well-known legislators and lawyers addressed the delegates in defense of freedom of conscience.

Adventists prepared for the Brazilian congress in 1997 by engaging in interdenominational activities that promoted religious liberty. Among them was a campaign to write a half million letters to the Brazilian president, praising the blessings of religious liberty. The gathering itself attracted more than 350 persons from about 100 countries, including a Muslim speaker from Tunisia, a Jewish rabbi, and Catholic churchmen. Following a religious liberty seminar at Brazil Adventist University in 2003, the Religious Liberty Department established a chapter of the International Religious Liberty Association.³⁶

Direct results of these activities are difficult to measure, but in 2001 on the occasion of the graduation ceremonies at River Plate Adventist University, visiting representatives from Argentina's office of Religious Affairs, José Camilo Cardoso and Norberto Padilla, conducted a Sabbath afternoon seminar on religious liberty, assuring the Adventist community that the country was progressing closer to the ideals of religious freedom. In Peru, less than two years after the 2001 session in

Lima, the national Congress approved a constitutional amendment recognizing the equality of all faiths while acknowledging the historical role of the Catholic Church. Prior to this new measure, the constitution declared that the government respected other faiths and could establish legal understandings with them, statements that only implied the legal existence of religious pluralism. The reformed constitution declared the government autonomous from the Catholic Church and made accords obligatory between civil authority and religious groups and their institutions. Two years later a “working group” on religious freedom that included Seventh-day Adventists submitted proposals to the Peruvian Ministry of Justice that spelled out more definitively the meaning of religious freedom and how it applied in Peru.³⁷

Meanwhile, other religious liberty issues cropped up. National legislation in Brazil protected thousands of Adventist students who attended public universities from examinations and other academic functions on Saturday. Following this lead, state legislatures also took action to defend religious rights of students. In Peru, after an Adventist student encountered problems in a private university, attorneys spoke out about students’ rights of religious practice. In a historic statement, the Peruvian national ombudsman ruled that the university could accommodate the student without sacrificing academic integrity. In Argentina, Brazil, and Peru conflicts in the workplace and in civic functions that affected the Sabbath observance—such as public elections—prompted legislation that accommodated Adventists. In 1987 the Argentine Ministry of Education categorically excused students from national examinations on Saturday.³⁸

The significance of these developments rested on the fact that by the late twentieth century South American governments recognized freedom of religion and its corollary, the operation of sectarian institutions, as a human right rather than a question of mere toleration. Arriving at this point had been a stormy experience at times. Memories of the Fernando Stahl era and other incidents were never far away. During those early years, foreigners headed Adventist missions, a situation that sometimes gave South American politicians an excuse to see their struggles over religious liberty as defense against the external world. But as foreign presence in church leadership declined, the question of religious freedom remained for South Americans themselves, perhaps even in strengthened form, which linked it with the problem of the nationalization of the church.

This issue grabbed no headlines, but its echoes reverberated loud and long in Latin America. *Universidad Peruana Unión* recalls that as the Peruvian Congress

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began its discussion of the Inca Union's request to create a university, one of the deputies spoke up. "The yankees again, if only we had already gotten rid of them," he said, implying that as late as the 1980s the Peruvian Adventist school still had the reputation of being a foreign enterprise and did not merit consideration. Significantly, the Congress continued its discussion after an assurance that the list of faculty for the proposed university did not include a single North American.³⁹

From the onset of Adventism in South America the presence of the foreign missionary was always a factor. The original Adventist workers came in response to gestures toward the church in Argentina and Brazil, but those first stirrings occurred among immigrants, not in the Latin population that had fought for national independence and established themselves as members of the world community. With their gifts of leadership, money, skills, and information, the missionaries were necessary and welcome, but the locals usually played a subservient role.

Forward looking church leaders often reminded themselves that one of their tasks was to prepare nationals to take their place. Some saw the tireless promotion of self-support by Carlyle B. Haynes as the cornerstone of his division presidency. He had reasons to prod his men. In 1920, the year that José Amador dos Reis was ordained as the first Brazilian minister, sixteen ordained ministers labored in Brazil, fourteen of whom were either German-speaking men from Europe or the United States. The remaining two were English-speaking North Americans.⁴⁰ These data suggest that more than twenty-five years after the beginnings of Adventism in Brazil, church leaders still looked to the outside for leadership even though church leaders in Brazil were progressively placing more emphasis on the Portuguese-speaking population.

Similar circumstances existed among the Hispanic countries, but to a lesser degree because the German-speaking community was less numerous in Spanish-speaking areas. The first South American-born, Spanish-speaking Adventist minister appears to be Julián Ocampo whom G. H. Baber ordained in Chile in 1896, an action which he later regretted because he did it in haste without requiring the customary seasoning period for prospective pastors.⁴¹ The records point to Dámaso Soto, a native of Chile, as the next Hispanic to receive ordination when Chile was organized into a separate conference on April 7, 1907. By that time South American Germans in the Spanish-speaking fields had already been ordained. For decades after F. H. Westphal, workers speaking German and English were common, but from the outset Spanish was recognized as the language of the field.⁴²

Because South American-born German ministers spoke both German and either Portuguese or Spanish, it was likely that North American church leaders saw all church employees born in South America as national workers without making a distinction about their ethnic background. It was doubtful that when Haynes trumpeted the cause of self-support he identified only persons of Latin background as national workers, but the integration of descendants of German colonists into society, especially in Brazil, appears to have been still incomplete when he served as division president. Alberto Timm notes that Sabbath school secretaries in his home church in Campo dos Quevedos kept records in German until well after 1927, and Roberto Rabello recalls that during his pastorate in Curitiba, 1934 to 1936, the surrounding population was predominantly German and preferred to speak German. As late as 1978, Alcides Campolongo noted that German-speaking Bible workers were advantageous when conducting an evangelistic series in Criciúma, Santa Catarina.⁴³

It was apparent, again more so in Brazil than elsewhere, that only when the Latin sectors of the church contributed significantly to the leadership of the church, and until descendants of non-Iberian immigrants had acculturated into South American society, could the nationalization of the church be genuine. However, South American German Adventists never forgot their origins, and in time, the entire continent came to see the richness of their heritage. When hundreds of Brazilians gathered to celebrate the seventy-fifth anniversary of the beginnings of Adventism in Espírito Santo, they shook the granite hills around them with the notes and words of “Lift Up the Trumpet and Loud Let It Ring” in the “mother tongue of their antecedents.” The congregation saved its loudest applause for three young great-grandchildren of a pioneer family who sang in perfect German one of the old favorite hymns about heaven.⁴⁴ It was apparent that German culture still thrived, but it was no longer a threat.

Nationalizing Adventism in the Andean republics presupposed integrating the indigenous population into society as well as into church operations. The process began with Fernando Stahl but later included many others, notably Pedro and Guillermina Kalbermatter from Argentina. An example of what the Adventist educational-evangelistic movement could do among the indigenous peoples was Cristóbal Villasante Chambi, elected to the Peruvian Congress in 1995. A grandson of Luciano Chambi, one of Stahl’s assistants who was the first teacher at the famed Broken Stone Mission, Cristóbal Villasante’s resumé included mayor of Puno, dean of Puno College of Public Accountants, and vice rector of Juliaca University of the

Andes. For thirty years prior to his election to Congress, he was head elder of the Puno Central Seventh-day Adventist Church. Cristóbal's father, the oldest son of grandfather Luciano, was the first Seventh-day Adventist elected to the Peruvian Congress. Charles Teel, director of the Stahl Center at La Sierra University, states that several other Adventists served in the Congress that was elected in 1995.⁴⁵ Although not a denominational employee, Cristóbal Villasante and others like him left no doubt that the poncho-clad residents of the Andean uplands had found their place in contemporary society.

In 2005 at a celebration of significant personalities in Puno history, the regional government recognized Manuel Camacho as an Aymara precursor of Christian education in the Lake Titicaca area.⁴⁶ The advancement of human rights and religious liberty had figured prominently in the nationalization of Adventism in South America. Adventist institutions were contributors to nationhood in addition to upholding Christian ideals. Some, like Villasante, argued that upholding Christian ideals was nation-building in itself.

ADVENTISM AND THE MATURING PROCESS

As the end of the twentieth century approached, it was clear that Adventism in South America had turned a corner. It had become outwardly oriented and an accepted part of continental society, which leads to the question of the relationship of the South American Division to the Adventist world church.

Adventism arrived in South America already well-defined but with a North American cast. With the passage of time the world church could expect it to develop an identity compatible to its new environment. As the twenty-first century dawned, South American theologians had a reputation of holding faithfully to the doctrinal lines of the larger body of Adventism, but it is safe to say that they saw their faith in a somewhat different light from their North American counterparts. In South America, where principles of human rights had emerged after acute conflict, and poverty and illiteracy had been more pronounced and divisive, probably Adventists—and Protestants in general, for that matter—understood Scripture with a greater appreciation of the gospel of social justice.

In part, this derives from the Walter Schubert revolution in evangelism as well as the success of ADRA and its predecessors. Cristóbal Villasante Chambi was a prime example of this idea as it applied to personal political engagement. An open supporter of a specific national president and a participant in political demonstrations,

he explained his association with political programs by declaring that human rights transcended parties.⁴⁷ The same could be said about the career of Eunice Michiles in Brazil. Church leaders did not encourage Adventists to run for seats in South American legislative houses, but the experiences of Villasante, Michiles, and others indicated that Adventist theology was large enough to accommodate their points of view and their activities.

This idea also affected Adventist higher education. South American Adventists did not believe that public approval for education was a sign of worldliness, but a recognition by the state that denominational schools were valid social enterprises that benefitted society by promoting intellectual pursuits. A review of the contents of the research journals from the various Adventist campuses indicates the penetrating character of intellectual inquiry in which South American Adventists engaged, albeit much of it in religious studies.

In 1998 theologians from South American Adventist universities and other localities formed a consortium to encourage research, conduct exchanges, and promote Adventism in academic circles. The “South American Theological-Biblical Symposiums” were the result. More than 400 attended the fourth gathering at River Plate Adventist University in 2001, including church leaders and a bevy of lay members. Their official statement recognized the church as the body of Christ whose primary mission was evangelistic, but it also upheld the legitimacy of theological investigation. Its purpose was to understand South American Adventism in the context of the mission of the world church, an acknowledgment that religious faith and practice could have a valid local quality without damaging the integrity of its global nature.⁴⁸

The global character of Adventism parallels the legacy of mission service. A calculated Adventist strategy that began in the nineteenth century was to spread Adventism first to countries where literacy and economic conditions could support the preparation of workers who would carry the gospel to remote regions of the world. The notion that Adventism was a global movement became a compelling force in fulfilling the gospel commission. Although the first stirrings of Adventism in South America originated from literate immigrant families, the first generation of church workers encountered widespread poverty and illiteracy. From their reports it was easy for Adventists of that time to see South America as a primitive mission field, a recipient of the gospel instead of a place to prepare other workers. Later experiences of Adventism in the Andean uplands and Amazonia enhanced that image.

But the early days of Adventism in South America tell a different story, the birth of an opposite tradition, that of joining the United States and such other places as Australia, England, and Germany in educating missionaries for service elsewhere. The joint influence of a training school and a sanitarium in Argentina created an atmosphere that breathed this missionary spirit. Beginning in 1912 nurses who were also trained as gospel workers found opportunities to employ their combined skills in mission service. In 1920 R. H. Habenicht reported that fifty-four nurses had already graduated from the sanitarium, many of whom were working in seven different countries. By the mid-1930s scores had gone all over the continent.⁴⁹

It was a tradition that spread across South America as institutions grew and service opportunities multiplied. Hundreds went from River Plate to other fields in South America, but the school exerted a global influence as its graduates also labored on other continents. Chile also sent similar numbers to institutional and pastoral positions around the world. Also by the hundreds, Brazilian workers traveled to all world divisions, many to Africa. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile were the most productive sources of missionaries because their human resources were more numerous, but from all fields international workers went. The positions they held ranged from General Conference vice president to church pastor and office worker. The total number is unknown; however, they left a legacy of mission service that enriched the traditions of Adventism.⁵⁰

Perhaps nothing better expressed the way that South American Adventists interpreted their mission than the 2009 publication, *Esperança Viva*, which opened with the announcement from Division President Erton Köhler that “the Seventh-day Adventist Church is involved in a world setting with a mission of service.” In full color, *Esperança Viva* proclaimed that service translated into far-reaching humanitarian projects, ranging from simple community wellness programs to teaching improved agricultural methods to farmers, educating the illiterate, and applying healing balm to the sick and those suffering from natural disasters. All of this, *Esperança Viva* said, was a modern application of the ministry of Jesus. The readers of *Esperança Viva* followed Adventism’s response to social needs, step by step, which finally led them to the twenty-eight fundamental beliefs of Seventh-day Adventists. It was an appeal to broken-hearted people to look beyond the world’s hopeless condition and grasp a living hope in the redeeming power that Jesus shares with His listeners.

The Adventist pioneers who first set foot in South America came devoid of material goods but compelled with a spiritual message of hope for deliverance from the

present world of hardship. They taught that the Second Advent was near and encouraged believers to have faith in the better world to come. By defining the mission of Adventism as one of service, *Esperança Viva* did not reject the evangelistic purpose of the pioneers, but augmented that message with the belief that Christianity also brings dignity and well-being to the individual and the community. South Americans had put their stamp on the Adventism they practiced.⁵¹

With its institutions and high rate of growth, the South American Division could justly claim to be a denominational leader. For church officials such a ranking supported their conviction that God had led them onward from their simple beginnings. They did not knowingly neglect opportunities to attribute their successes to heaven. When reporting on the centenary celebration in Bolivia in 2007, Carlos Steger began and ended his account with confessions that God had guided the church through difficult times until the present. “There is no room for doubt that the Lord was at the helm during these hundred years,” he concluded. Similarly, when the 2008 Annual Council of the General Conference approved the formation of a new union in a region of Brazil that a half century earlier was still on the periphery of civilization, Köhler saw only opportunities for expanding the Adventist presence in the continent and fulfill the mission of the church that the pioneers had begun so long ago.⁵²

As they neared the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, South American Adventists were still one people of one faith who found joy in the enlightenment that a previous generation had brought to their land. Now perhaps more broadly understood and appreciated, it was for them a new experience in what the first generation of nineteenth-century Adventists called the “blessed hope.” Even yet, how sweet are the tidings.

¹ Arthur H. Roth, “Inter-American Division,” *RH*, August 2, 1962.

² J. J. Aitken, “América do Sul – Terra de Hoje,” *RA* (B), May 1966.

³ Marcos De Benedicto e Michelson Borges, “Um século de história,” *ibid.*, January 2006.

⁴ Alberto Timm, *Campo dos Quevedos*, 56.

⁵ See Vanderlei José Vianna e Gideon Alves dos Reis, “O Norte para Cristo,” *RA* (B), March, 2004, for a brief summary of the findings and conclusions of this study.

⁶ David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant?* (Berkeley, CA, 1990). See his extrapolations, 337. Another example of a study of Protestantism in Latin America is Virginia Garrard-Burnett and David Stoll, eds., *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1993). A much earlier study is W. R. Reed, *et al.*, *Latin American Church Growth* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1969).

⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁸ Campolongo, *Evangelismo*, 212-214.

⁹ Campolongo, *Evangelismo*, 83, 204-207.

¹⁰ Vasti S. Viana, “Centenário do Ministério da Mulher,” *RA* (B), February 1998.

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¹¹ Rubens Lessa, "Mesa Plenária histórica," *ibid.*, June 2004.

¹² Alberto Timm, "Podemos ainda ser considerados o 'Povo da Bíblia?'" *ibid.*, June 2001; Guilherme Silva, "Cenário religioso," *ibid.*, June 2002.

¹³ Alberto Timm, "Rede de Minicentros Ellen G. White no Brasil," *ibid.*, June 2005.

¹⁴ Interview, Alberto Timm with Floyd Greenleaf, November 16, 2009; "Ellen G. White Research Center in Peru," e-mail statement from Mario Riveros to Floyd Greenleaf, November 23, 2009.

¹⁵ Vianna e dos Reis, "O Norte para Cristo," *RA* (B), March 2004.

¹⁶ *Universidad Peruana Unión, 1983-2008*, 18.

¹⁷ Marcos Todeschini, "Graças a Deus – e Não a Darwin," *Veja*, September 12, 2007.

¹⁸ "Brazil: Newsweekly Highlights Seventh-day Adventist Educational Network and Creationism," *ANN*, June 8, 2004.

¹⁹ For a brief introduction to the Brazilian Creationist Society, consult its Web site, www.scb.org.br.

²⁰ For a captivating story of Eunice Michiles, see Henrienne Barbosa, *Eunice Michiles: a primeira senadora do Brasil* (Artur Nogueira, SP, 2006). See also Henrienne Barbosa, "Eunice Michiles," *Dialogue*, v. 20, no. 1 (2008), 20-22.

²¹ Charles A. Rentfro, "Un adventista es director de la Sociedad Bíblica de Brasil," *RA* (A), May 1981.

²² "Condecoración," *ibid.*, January 1995.

²³ See the biographical sketch of Dr. Leonor Bustinza in *Universidad Peruana Unión, 1983-2008*, 175.

²⁴ "Chileans Present Research on SDA Health Impact," no name, *AR*, November 27, 1986.

²⁵ Werner Mayr, "ACES compra derechos para imprimir Biblias," *RA* (A), January 2001, ES; "Reconocimiento del Concet a Enfoques, la revista de la UAP," *La Agenda Digital*, 27/06/2007. Online at www.uapar.edu/agenda.

²⁶ *World Report*, 2000 and 2006.

²⁷ "1977: Ano de Bênçãos na Divisão Sul-Americana," *RA* (B), January 1978.

²⁸ Roberto César de Azevedo, "Panorama educacional da Divisão Sul-Americana," *ibid.*, February 1992.

²⁹ Nepomuceno Silveira de Abreu, "Cem anos educando com amor," *ibid.*, June 1996.

³⁰ "A Primeira Pedra do Novo IAE," *ibid.*, July 1984.

³¹ Euler P. Bahia, "IAE: sua contribuição para a educação adventista," *ibid.*, November 1996. Euler's article provides an excellent summary of the growth of Brazil College.

³² "ABC Tem Nova Sede," *ibid.*, August 1984.

³³ *World Report*, 2006.

³⁴ "South America: Church Elects Youngest Regional President," *ANN*, October 31, 2006. Carlos Steger, "Nuevo presidente de la División Sudamericana," *RA* (A), January 2007, ES; "DSA tem nove presidente," *RA* (B), December 2006; "Gifted and Ready," *AW-NAD*, June 2007, 16-19.

³⁵ Floriano Xavier dos Santos and Assad Bechara, "Brazilian Adventists Contribute to Constitutional Convention," *AR*, November 19, 1987.

³⁶ Jonathan Gallagher, "World Events Demonstrate Importance of Religious Liberty Congress," *ibid.*, August 14, 1997; "Em favor da liberdade religiosa," *RA* (B), May 1997; Rubem M. Scheffel, "Busca de liberdade," *ibid.*, August 1997; "Politicians in Peru Support Religious Freedom as 'Tool for Peace,'" *ANN*, December 4, 2001; "Chile: Worship Law An Example For Latin America, Attorney Says at IRLA Congress," *ibid.*, September 2, 2003; "Brazil: Religious Liberty Event Draws 32,000 Live; Hundreds of Thousands Online," *ibid.*, June 22, 2006; "Brazil: IRLA Chapter Forms After Religious Liberty Conference," *ibid.*, August 5, 2003.

³⁷ "Funcionarios del Culto de la Nación disertaron en la UAP," *RA* (A), November 2001, EM; "Peru: Constitution Amended to Recognize All Faiths," *ANN*, March 25, 2003; Jonathan Gallagher, "Se propone al Gobierno ley sobre libertad e igualdad religiosa," *RA* (A), January 2006; "Peru: Proposed Law on Religious Freedom and Equality Submitted to Government," *ANN*, October 13, 2005.

³⁸ "Brasília Legislature Approves Religious Liberty Measures," no name, *AR*, January 22, 1998; "New Law in Brazil Prohibits Examinations on Saturday," no name, *ibid.*, September 19, 2002; "South America: Brazil, Peru Advance Student's Religious Freedom," *ANN*, February 13, 2006; "Brazil Government Protects

SDA Vote,” news note, no name, *AR*, June 12, 1986; “Sabbath Resolution Introduced in Argentina,” news note, no name, *ibid.*, June 11, 1987; “Importante resolución,” *RA* (A), January 1988.

³⁹ *Universidad Peruana Unión*, 1983-2008, 22.

⁴⁰ *SDA Yearbook*, 1920, 181-189.

⁴¹ G. H. Baber, “Chile,” *RH*, February 9, 1897; and “Chile,” *ibid.*, January 9, 1900.

⁴² *SDA Yearbook*, 1905-1907; J. W. Westphal, “The Organization of the Chile Conference,” *RH*, July 4, 1907. Westphal did not say that Soto was the first native Hispanic in South America to be ordained, but he pointed out that Soto was a native Chilean and the *SDA Yearbook* furnishes no other names of Hispanic ordained ministers prior to 1907 except Enrique Balada who had immigrated from Spain to South America.

⁴³ Alberto Timm, *Campo dos Quevedos*, 28; Léo Ranzolin, *Uma voz*, 19; Campolongo, *Evangelismo*, 158.

⁴⁴ Arnaldo Rutz, “75 Anos do Surgimento da Mensagem Adventista na União Este-Brasileira da IASD,” *RA* (B), January and February, 1973.

⁴⁵ Charles Teel, Jr., “Lake Titicaca to the National Congress,” *Spectrum*, v. 25 (September 1995), 3-7.

⁴⁶ Carla Razzeto, “Misión del Lago Titicaca: Reconocimiento público a precursor Adventista,” *RA* (A), June 2005.

⁴⁷ Teel, “Lake Titicaca to Congress.”

⁴⁸ “Informe sobre el IV Simposio Bíblico Teológico Sudamericano,” *RA* (A), January 2002, *EM*.

⁴⁹ News note, *RH*, June 10, 1920; W. W. Murray, “The River Plate Sanitarium,” *Bulletin* (June 1935), 2.

⁵⁰ This passage is dependent upon Wilson Roberto de Borba, “A Base Missionária Adventista do Sétimo Dia Brasileira: Sua Formação, Consolidação e Expansão,” unpublished doctoral thesis, Seminário Adventista Latino-Americano de Teologia, Centro Universitário Adventista de São Paulo, campus Engenheiro Coelho, 2009; Roberto Pereyra, unpublished paper, “Misioneros de River Plate Adventist College/River Plate Adventist University que sirvieron en Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador y Norte de Brasil: Yearbook 1916-2010,” 2010; Sergio Olivares and Olivia Wegner, unpublished paper, “Misioneros Chilenos que trabajan o trabajaron en Instituciones Adventistas del mundo,” 2010.

⁵¹ Michelson Borges, ed., *Esperança Viva* (Tatuí, São Paulo, 2009).

⁵² Ansel Oliver, “High Growth in North Brazil Adds Second Union,” *AR*, November 20, 2008; Carlos Steger, “Cien años de presencia adventista en la República de Bolivia,” *RA* (A), November 2007.