

## **Protestant Innovative Evangelizing to Oral Cultures in Guatemala\***

*“So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”* Romans 10: 17  
King James Version of the Bible

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Evangelizing in a highly illiterate society poses challenges to the traditional method of establishing churches, schools, seminaries, medical clinics, and emphasizing reading of the Bible. Protestant missions to Guatemala, in varying degrees and forms, incorporated innovative oral, visual, and audio evangelizing strategies in their proselytizing. When radio was introduced in the 1940s, Protestants immediately began purchasing airtime for religious programs in Spanish and slightly more than a decade later in indigenous languages. By shifting from the Protestant mainline emphasis on literacy and the printed Gospel to evangelizing through oral, visual, and aural means, the first several generations of U.S. Protestant missions to Guatemala adapted to the illiterate context using technologies and evangelizing strategies that eventually allowed Pentecostals, and later neo-Pentecostals, to become the fastest growing segment of Guatemala’s religion market.<sup>1</sup>

The introduction and use of communication technologies served the purpose of mass evangelization to indigenous cultures that orally perpetuate their cultural values, behavioral norms, spiritual beliefs, ancestral myths and legends, and collective identity.<sup>2</sup> The use of oral, visual, and auditory technologies reached large numbers of peoples in ways that limited editions

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of printed Bibles and religious literature could not. Furthermore, the introduction of electronic mass communication technology overtook the printed word as the means of disseminating the Gospel.

My thesis is that Guatemalans were converting to Protestantism primarily not through reading the written Bible, but through audio and visual technologies—lantern projectors (used in 1880s), portable pump organs (1800s), wind-up phonographs (invented in 1913), reel-to-reel tape recorders (1930s), videos (1951), finger-fonos (1957), cassette recorders (1963), light-weight portable bullhorns (operated on commercially viable alkaline battery invented in 1959), portable projectors (commercial use introduced in the late 1950s), and radio programs in Spanish (1940s) and indigenous languages (1959).<sup>3</sup> As new technologies were developed in the United States and Europe, missionaries brought them to Guatemala introducing them into their evangelizing work. The technologies permitted U.S. missionaries to evangelize outside the traditional church service, carrying these new technologies by mule, enabling them to reach large numbers of people and thereby increase conversions.

The analysis presented here examines Protestant evangelizing strategies introduced in the late 1800s up to the 1960s. Oral, audible, and visual strategies made the Protestant message culturally accessible to indigenous cultures. Protestant conversions in indigenous regions of the country did not primarily take place, as some scholars contend, through the translation of Scripture portions, books of the New Testament and eventually the entire Bible into indigenous languages.<sup>4</sup> These scholars argue that translations of the Bible into indigenous languages increased conversions to Protestantism through the reading of the written word.<sup>5</sup> This argument is flawed for two fundamental reasons.

First, given the historical persistence of low literacy rates *in Spanish* among the twenty-six indigenous linguistic groups up to the twenty-first century (see graph 1) as well as the lack of access to formal education, printing Bibles, Scripture portions, and religious tracts in Spanish meant that they were not often read. Second, small numbers of printed copies were disseminated in relation to the population size. This meant that the printed word was not a mass communication tool.

Books of the New Testament, scriptural portions, and religious tracts translated for Protestant evangelization into indigenous languages were available starting in 1898.<sup>6</sup> The first New Testament translated into an indigenous language in 1932, the Kaqchikel New Testament, by Cameron Townsend with Trinidad Bac and José María Chocol had a print run of 3,000 copies. Protestant missionaries, such as Townsend, sold the New Testament whereas they distributed free of charge religious tracts and Scripture portions.

Who could afford to buy the New Testament? Indigenous buyers paid with “eggs, starch, cocoa beans, logwood and oddments.” Itinerating missionaries would exchange a New Testament for a night’s room and board. And, who would be motivated to buy a Protestant publication? The more difficult part was overcoming the anti-Protestant bias in Guatemala that persisted well into the 1960s (the time period covered in this chapter). The destruction of Protestant religious materials when they fell into Catholic hands, threats by priests should one buy such a heretical publication, all contributed to many of the printed New Testaments, Scripture portions, and religious tracts being lost. By the time a revised 1931 Kaqchikel New Testament was printed in 1954, five different cassette tape recordings in Kaqchikel of Scripture portions were in circulation.<sup>7</sup> This second printing of the Kaqchikel New Testament had a run of 5,000 copies.<sup>8</sup> To put it in perspective, according to the 1950 national census, 59.8 percent of the

Guatemalan population was literate *in Spanish*. In those departments with large populations of Kaqchikel speakers, Chimaltenango and Sololá, literacy rates in Spanish in 1950 were, respectively, 21 and 11 percent.<sup>9</sup>

The large numbers of conversions to Protestantism over the decades cannot primarily be attributed to the *reading* of the Bible. A print-based conversion, in other words, becoming a convert *by* reading requires a reliance on mnemonic devices, rhymes, cadences, local idioms and story-telling imagery. This is not the same as learning *to* read, that is, literacy, and having the skill to read anything you choose in your native language. This bias favoring the “triumph of literacy” over oral/audible forms of learning sidetracked those missionaries and their organizations away from direct evangelization and toward investing significant financial and human resources into vernacular translations of the Bible and other religious materials.<sup>10</sup> This bias underestimated the persistence of high illiteracy rates and the need for mass literacy programs.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the literacy bias ignored cultural persistence in valuing oral/aural methods of communication and learning, thereby making the introduction of literacy arduous.<sup>12</sup>

Pentecostal churches more readily adopted oral and aural communication technologies, which is evident today. Pentecostalism has a nucleus of characteristics, primary among them is the *orality* of the religious experience.<sup>13</sup> Glossolalia, speaking in tongues, is fundamental to the missiology of the Christian church.<sup>14</sup> The New Testament book of Acts, Chapter 2 describes Christ’s interactions after his death with his disciples. Central to those interactions is the spiritual experience of Holy Spirit baptism accompanied by speaking in tongues, known as the Pentecost. Christ’s message to his apostles, to evangelize the world, is interpreted through the supernatural phenomenon of Holy Spirit baptism as a sign of the second coming of Christ (Matthew 24: 14).

Glossolalia's theological significance is essentially oral and aural. As a physical religious experience, it is the unmediated baptism by the Holy Spirit in the "control of the speech organs by the Holy Spirit who is praying through the believer in "a heavenly language."<sup>15</sup> The speaking in tongues, known and unknown, is public oral and aural evidence of a personal religious experience occurring in the moment.

The oral/aural dynamic is essential to the personal testifying of one's faith to family, friends, acquaintances, and strangers. The delivery of sermons is an oral public performance relying on those congregated in a church or at home listening to a radio to hear and interact with. The oral performance of the sermon is "open to negotiation between preacher and congregation, that negotiation taking place during the performance itself."<sup>16</sup> A give-and-take is created by the cadence, the rhythm and pitch of the delivery so as to fully engage the congregation's involvement in the performance. The clapping of hands are a form of invocation, the "Amen's" and "Hallelujahs" punctuate the sermon, with the preacher persuading, cajoling, and encouraging, bringing the congregation along with his sing-song cadence.<sup>17</sup> Shouting, crying, praying out loud are frequently spoken and heard playing a liturgical role in the religious service. Pentecostals value *shared communal and spontaneous* worship involving singing, music, clapping, praying out loud, spiritual exhortations, testimonials, miracle healing, prophesying, interactive sermons, divine healing, and glossolalia.<sup>18</sup>

Reading a Bible or a hymnal has marginal utility in a church service of this type. Although the Bible is central to the religious service, it is central *not* because it is written and read, but because it is the *inerrant word of God*. Biblical authority, not biblical interpretation, guides and justifies a believer's actions.<sup>19</sup> Pentecostal, as well as neo-Pentecostal, churches and denominations were not involved in vernacular translations of the Bible and literacy teaching

programs conducted by other Protestant missions to Guatemala, which will be discussed below. Pentecostals continued to emphasize the oral/aural dynamic of evangelizing. With self-proclaimed indigenous preachers, a decentralized structure and an emphasis on orality, Pentecostalism readily adopted and remained committed to oral, audible, and visual innovative evangelizing technologies.

### The Missions and Their Response to the Indigenous Context

*“They are Indians, and mostly very ignorant...but we trust the Holy Spirit to carry the word to their hearts, as He is doing already.”* Amos Bradley, Pentecostal Holiness Church missionary, *The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* (June 14, 1917): 1011.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Guatemala had at least 28 indigenous languages with no standardized transcription.<sup>20</sup> Only two, K’iche’ and Kaqchikel, had a Latin alphabet with colonial Spanish orthography. The majority of Protestant missionaries barely spoke “a smattering” of Spanish. Religious tracts, Scripture portions, hymns, articles from religious newspapers back home, and the Bible were translated and printed in Spanish. Religious services and itinerate evangelizing were conducted in Spanish for ladinos and indigenous communities.<sup>21</sup> English services were held for the expatriate community. Presbyterian missionary Edward Haymaker in 1897 noted of his work in Quetzaltenango that ninety percent of that town’s population spoke only K’iche’. Given these circumstances, learning K’iche’ was “forced upon us.”<sup>22</sup> Both the Presbyterian Church and the Central American Mission, the first two Protestant agencies in Guatemala, had a long-standing policy of banning evangelization in indigenous languages.<sup>23</sup> Mission policy set in the United States did not account for circumstances on the

ground. In 1897, Haymaker began a translation of the Gospel of Mark into K'iche' but could not continue due to his responsibilities in Guatemala City to the English and Spanish-speaking congregations. Another Presbyterian missionary, Eugene McBath, began learning K'iche' in 1902 and attempted to translate the Gospel of John. In 1919, frustrated with the Spanish-only language policy of the Presbyterian mission board, McBath resigned.

At the end of the 1940s, the Presbyterian mission board decided to formally assign its first missionary to indigenous work. The Presbyterian and Primitive Methodist missions, both working among K'iche' speakers, jointly founded the K'iche' Bible Institute.

Cameron Townsend and Edward Robinson joined the Central American Mission in 1918 and began work among the Kaqchikel. Townsend learned the indigenous language, and by 1929 had produced a Kaqchikel grammar book and translated the New Testament. In 1932, over disagreements involving indigenous-ladino evangelization, Townsend resigned from the Central American Mission.<sup>24</sup> The Central American Mission continued into the 1950s with its focus on Spanish evangelizing. Not a single Central American Mission missionary since Townsend had learned Kaqchikel.<sup>25</sup>

But the same could be said of the Church of the Nazarene which had entered Guatemala in 1915. Up to the 1940s, not a single Nazarene missionary could speak K'ekchi, Pocom, or Rabinal-Achi, the languages of the population they served.<sup>26</sup> Guatemalan anthropologist Antonio Goubaud observed in his 1949 study of the town of San Juan Chamelco, within the Nazarene territory, that it was rare to find a K'ekchi' Indian who could read. The "esoteric" language of the Spanish-speaking preacher was translated or summarized into K'ekchi' by a bilingual convert.<sup>27</sup>

Indigenous-speaking communities did not speak or read Spanish even though missionaries interacted with them and conducted religious services in that language. Illiteracy rates among indigenous peoples (measured in Spanish) were at the beginning of the nineteenth century and are today the highest in those departments with a majority indigenous population and where several indigenous languages are spoken (see Graph 1).<sup>28</sup> In fact, a negative relationship exists between literacy rates and the ethnic share of the population.<sup>29</sup>

Spanish was, and remains, the official language in which financial and legal transactions occurred. Some indigenous communities resented pressure from the national government and ladinos to acculturate to Spanish culture. Protestant missions were viewed as part of this trend, increasing resistance to their evangelizing. Constant misunderstandings even with trusted indigenous lay leaders raised concerns within Protestant missions that effective communication through Spanish was not possible.<sup>30</sup> Other indigenous communities, sensitive to the negative stigma attached by the minority ladino urban culture to indigenous cultures, adopted Spanish and began to assimilate to ladino culture.

Early missionary work in Guatemala in varying degrees embodied the “indigenous church” approach to missions by focusing on training native preachers and creating autonomous Guatemalan churches.<sup>31</sup> What is termed the indigenous approach to missions was developed and promulgated by Rufus Anderson of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Henry Venn of the Christian Mission Society.<sup>32</sup> Both men, one in the United States and the other in Great Britain, argued that foreign missions should be “self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.”<sup>33</sup> This approach has continued well into the twentieth century although not without logistical and cultural conflicts arising as to when missionaries should turn over church property, funds, and leadership to Guatemalan Christians.<sup>34</sup> Guatemalan churches such as



*Príncipe de Paz* (a split from Assemblies of God) and *Ministerios Elim* (the founding pastor was from Central American Mission) have in turn parented multiple third-generation independent churches.

The Pentecostal churches, as part of a broad U.S. religious movement, engaged in evangelizing from their beginnings. They founded their churches on Jesus' command to his apostles to evangelize, known as the Great Commission (Matthew 28: 16-20). Pentecostal churches had barely formed and they were sending out missionaries "on faith." These individuals immediately immersed themselves in indigenous communities, taking on indigenous cultural living habits and conditions.<sup>35</sup> The Pentecostal missionaries were individuals without organizational structure and financial support in contrast to the Presbyterians and, to a lesser extent, Central American Mission missionaries.

The lack of funding for all the Protestant missions early on only hastened the process of indigenizing the church. From the beginning, all missions were not sufficiently funded by their home churches or mission agencies in the United States. The Central American Mission, following the model of the China Inland Mission, did not financially support its missionaries. Initially, the financial policy was, "To go to God in prayer for all wants, to solicit no gifts, take no collections, and to receive such sums as are voluntarily contributed by the children of God."<sup>36</sup> This policy evolved to allowing missionaries to actively raise their own funds and board members of the Central American Mission actively engaged in fundraising.

Pentecostal missionaries were equally dependent upon the generosity of believers through offerings raised by prayer groups known by the Wesleyan term "band."<sup>37</sup> Missionaries visited churches periodically to secure commitments from individuals and congregations to send money on a regular basis to the mission office or directly to Guatemala. Offerings collected at

evangelical rallies and through appeals in official newsletters such as the Pentecostal Mission's *Living Water*, the Assemblies of God's *The Weekly Evangel*, and the *Central American Bulletin* were sent to the missionaries.<sup>38</sup> Often, funds were easier to raise for specific projects (purchasing Bibles and religious materials) than for general missionary support. Even the Presbyterian Church, which had a mission board raising funds on behalf of their missionaries, maintained their Guatemalan missionaries on a fixed "safe minimum" salary with neither living expenses nor funds for special projects.<sup>39</sup> In 1903, discussions took place on the possibility of the Central American Mission taking over the Presbyterian work but nothing came of it.<sup>40</sup> The Presbyterians, unlike their Central American Mission counterpart, found it difficult to carry out mission work on a shoe-string budget. Their focus on institution-building which included medical facilities, schools, and a Bible institute, placed the Presbyterians at a competitive disadvantage with those missions that singularly focused on evangelization.

#### The Orality of Translations of the Bible

*"The harvesting of Indian souls is a work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of the illiterate people, who are hearing the gospel in their own language"* Margaret N. Hays, Primitive Methodist Church missionary (1972: 34)

In January of 1921, an ecumenical meeting of Protestant missionaries took place in the indigenous highland town of Chichicastenango, El Quiché.<sup>41</sup> The result of the meeting was the creation of an independent faith agency—The Latin American Indian Mission—focused on translating the Gospel into the indigenous languages of Guatemala. This agency was made up of representatives from various Protestant missions, not including the Pentecostals. The reason for

the creation of the agency was intransigence on the part of their mission boards in the U.S. that insisted on a Spanish-only policy. The two major linguistic groups—Kaqchikel and K'iche'—had survived the Spanish conquest with written languages in a Latin alphabet and Spanish Colonial orthography.<sup>42</sup> An immediate action on the part of the new agency was to fund indigenous colporteurs and to cooperate in the translation of the Bible with those two indigenous languages taking priority.

Out of this conference evolved the "Camp Wycliffe," founded in 1934 for missionaries to be trained in linguistics and translation methods. Missionaries of different denominations and faith agencies attended the Camp Wycliffe workshops. By 1942, Camp Wycliffe was known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL International) engaged in linguistic translation education.<sup>43</sup> Wycliffe Bible Translators (WBT) became a separate mission agency, sending self-supporting missionaries to work among the linguistic group they were translating the Bible for and to whom they were evangelizing. Although translation of Bible portions and the entire Bible into indigenous languages has been integral to indigenous evangelization, contrary to some claims, translations of the Bible into indigenous languages were and have not been sufficient to provide indigenous communities with the autonomy to establish their own churches without missionary support or knowledge.<sup>44</sup>

Translating the Bible into indigenous languages is time-consuming. Hugh Milton Coke estimated that a translation of the New Testament (based on translations from 1882-1977) required 12 to 35 years of work, an average of 22 years.<sup>45</sup> The Pocomchi New Testament, completed after Coke's dissertation, took 17 years to be translated.<sup>46</sup> Although new technologies speed up the process of a translation, the upfront investment of translation remains lengthy, averaging over ten years even with books of the Bible previously translated.<sup>47</sup> From the reader's

perspective, vernacular Bibles require indigenous speakers to have literacy in their own language. This is a new concept for indigenous communities which are characterized by oral transmission of information with no written language and high illiteracy rates in Spanish.

In general, the successful adaptation of the vernacular Bible by indigenous communities depended upon their use in worship. Simply to have in the vernacular Scriptures, hymns, religious tracts, and Sunday school materials did not create the demand for these products. A persistent pattern encountered by missionaries among indigenous communities was that they were oral communicators. Some responded that they believed in God but had no use for the Bible.<sup>48</sup> Their language had no written orthography which meant that there was no culture of reading. The central issue was to create a demand for the vernacular Bible. Acclimating indigenous speakers to hearing the Scriptures in their own language before the written vernacular Bible (and portions thereof) was completed, was part of the strategy of the missions involved in translation work (Presbyterian, CAM, Primitive Methodist, Nazarene, and Wycliffe Bible Translators). Missionaries would begin with a convert, teaching him or her the Bible in their own language through recordings. Cassette recordings were popular, particularly among adults.<sup>49</sup>

Pastoral commitment by lay evangelists and colporteurs of all the denominations, churches, and Bible societies increased the potential for adoption of translations by indigenous communities. Cameron Townsend experienced first-hand the necessity for missionaries and lay leaders to not only promote vernacular Bible translations but to be capable of doing so if such translations were going to be used by native speakers.<sup>50</sup>

The dynamic of the translation process was for missionaries to first acquire moderate language skills so as to be able to translate a book of the New Testament. Having accomplished

this, the missionaries continued their linguistic work while engaging in evangelistic campaigns which “brought to our table indigenous leaders” who worked alongside the missionaries.<sup>51</sup> Indigenous evangelists orally preached newly translated Scripture portions on itinerate visits to villages. The evangelists provided feed-back after their visits and translation changes were incorporated into the work. In villages where churches existed, translators worked closely with local pastors so that they might orally transmit the Gospel to a largely illiterate linguistic group. Often indigenous translators were the evangelists who visited villages on week-ends. Their preaching of the translated scriptural portions led to churches forming. In numerically smaller linguistic populations, church growth correlated with the time period in which the translation of the Bible was occurring.<sup>52</sup> The process of oral interaction with linguistic communities *before* written translations were completed raised awareness of the Bible’s evangelistic message increasing conversion rates within the linguistic group.

Guatemalan colporteurs and lay leaders were able to more readily engage people one-on-one, distribute religious literature, and evangelize to their own linguistic groups.<sup>53</sup> Once translations were completed and published, pastors were taught to read the Bible and, in turn, read Scripture out loud to others and preach to communities in their native language.<sup>54</sup> Reading was not a traditional cultural activity. Literacy workshops were set up with the goal of teaching a small group of people how to read simple materials “so that they would gain the ability and confidence to read the Bible.”<sup>55</sup> The translation process had a specific end goal, to have the New Testament and the entire Bible available in all the indigenous languages. This goal could only be accomplished through the oral transmission of the New Testament message to large groups of people.

## The Coming Deluge: The Rise of Pentecostalism

*“Jesus is coming soon and we want to meet Him with many sheaves, to lay them at His feet.”*

Willie Etta Barnett, Pentecostal Holiness Church missionary, *Bridegroom’s Messenger* 9, 184 (July 1, 1916): 3.

The first wave of Pentecostalism in Guatemala, 1901 – 1932, was small and unable to compete with the original Protestant missions.<sup>56</sup> Of the original thirteen Pentecostal missionaries sent to Guatemala between 1901 and 1915, four had died of yellow fever, four had left the mission field, and three joined other Protestant missions.<sup>57</sup> This changed with the arrival of two young men, Charles Truman Furman and Thomas Pullin, affiliated with the United Free Gospel and Missionary Society.<sup>58</sup> They arrived in 1916, the year the Protestant missions drew up a second comity agreement.<sup>59</sup> That same year, the Church of the Nazarene assumed the missionary work of the Pentecostal Holiness Mission, which had merged with the Nazarenes. The Church of the Nazarene, an evangelical church, holds the position that glossolalia or ecstatic speech or “prayer utterance” is contrary to the biblical and historic position of the church. The Primitive Methodist Church, like the Nazarenes, prohibits the practice of glossolalia. When glossolalia began to occur in their congregations, the Primitive Methodist Church removed the Pentecostal missionaries, who then joined the Pentecostal denomination the Church of God. The Pentecostal missionaries who left holiness evangelical denominations continued to evangelize directly in indigenous communities. By contrast, the Nazarenes and Primitive Methodists joined the Presbyterians and Central American Mission in translation work thereby altering their approach to indigenous evangelizing through print-based means centered on translation and

literacy education. The more emphasis and resources a mission placed on translation work, the less it engaged in evangelizing, church-planting, and sustaining those churches.

By contrast, Pentecostal missionaries did not engage in translation work. From the beginning Pentecostals evangelized directly in indigenous communities, training indigenous lay pastors who, on their own initiative (“on faith”) and time as they received little if any financial assistance, evangelized in their native language and were responsible for the churches they established. The operational strategy of Pentecostals was to develop indigenous churches independently of missionary and ladino oversight.

The growth of indigenous churches for missions involved in translation work came later in the 1950s, whereas the growth of Pentecostal indigenous churches was earlier, 1930s and 1940s, and always based on indigenous authority. Furman and Pullin began their missionary work being mentored by independent Pentecostal missionaries C. Albert and Inéz Ruth Hines (funded by an Assemblies of God church in Ohio). They began evangelizing in indigenous areas of the northwestern highlands in the departments of El Quiché and Totonicapán. Urban, ladino evangelizing work for the Pentecostals began in Guatemala City in 1940. The Presbyterian Church and the Central American Mission initiated their work in the late 1800s in Guatemala City among Spanish-speaking ladinos. This meant that their first colporteurs and national evangelists were ladinos.<sup>60</sup> The Society of Friends (Quakers) evangelized for the first several decades in Spanish in the eastern, primarily ladino, region. Their first indigenous (Chorti) convert was around 1933.<sup>1</sup> The Presbyterians, Central American Mission and the Friends had a ladino Spanish-orientation for several decades.

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<sup>1</sup> Wisdom 1940: 371, footnote 7.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, generally speaking Pentecostal religious experience was and remains oral/aural, transmitted through participation in communal religious worship marked by singing, praying, glossolalia, clapping, exhortations, crying and personal testimonials. Public conversion practiced by Pentecostal, neo-Pentecostal, and some evangelical churches is a group experience. Once a person converts, conversions occur along family networks and it is common for male relatives to become evangelists.<sup>61</sup>

Revivals were the hallmark of Pentecostals. Pentecostals were beginning to succeed among K'iche' communities due to their indigenous evangelizers who were responsible for revivals in 1932, 1936-1937, 1938, 1939, and 1942.<sup>62</sup> At most of the revivals, typified by glossolalia and miracle healings, only indigenous evangelists were present when they began. The revivals were characterized by loud worshipping and speaking in tongues, often scaring observers and causing some indigenous evangelists to be arrested.<sup>63</sup>

In 1934, the Church of God (Full Gospel) recruited the Furmans as missionaries. As part of their denominational switch, the Furmans took with them two-thirds, or 14 Primitive Methodist churches they had been serving.<sup>64</sup> The Primitive Methodists reached an accommodation signing over church property in the towns of San Cristóbal, Chuicacá, and Paquí, all in the department of Totonicapán to the Church of God.<sup>65</sup> Continuing to work closely with the Pullins who, in 1944, also became Church of God missionaries, the two couples actively evangelized among the K'iche' in the departments of Totonicapán, El Quiché, and Quetzaltenango.<sup>66</sup> The Furmans and Pullins encountered competition from the Assemblies of God who primarily evangelized to ladinos in the eastern part of the country. The Assemblies of God, like the Presbyterians, Central American Mission, and Friends evangelized in Spanish to



ladino populations. As a result, their indigenous church growth was initially small, attracting only those indigenous populations that were ladino-oriented and bilingual.<sup>67</sup>

Pentecostal revivals beginning in the 1930s and culminating in the 1950s created a paradigm shift in evangelizing strategy on the part of Protestant churches.<sup>68</sup> Building on the success of the Pentecostal revivals among indigenous populations, the Church of God in the 1940s began an aggressive evangelizing campaign among urban ladinos. A revival led by Guatemalan pastor Ramón Ruano occurred in Guatemala City on August 14, 1943 began the legitimization of Pentecostalism for Guatemala City's urban ladino population. Up until this revival, the other Protestant churches, particularly the Presbyterians and Central American Mission, had not been confronted with direct competition from Pentecostals.

The intense schedule of revivals during the 1940s and 1950s resulted in thousands of conversions during evangelism campaigns led by Guatemalan lay pastors and Church of God missionary James C. Beaty and evangelist T.L. Osborn.<sup>69</sup> Beginning in 1951, Beaty held revivals in several cities. In 1953, at the invitation of the Church of God in Guatemala, T.L. Osborn held five weeks of a "mass miracle crusade" in Guatemala City with dramatic miracle healings, marriages, thousands of conversions requiring the construction of a 60 foot-long cement baptismal tank.<sup>70</sup> After Osborn's visit, Beaty and Church of God pastors engaged in a series of Osborn-style revivals with miracle healings and glossolalia.<sup>71</sup> During the early 1950s, the Church of God experienced a fifty percent growth in membership.<sup>72</sup>

In 1958, the Evangelical Alliance of Guatemala (to which historically the Pentecostal denominations did not belong) held regional evangelistic campaigns (revivals and door-to-door evangelizing) throughout the country culminating in Billy Graham's two-day evangelical crusade in Mateo Flores Olympic stadium, Guatemala City, with an estimated crowd of 50,000 in

attendance.<sup>73</sup> By the mid-1960s, the Church of God grew dramatically throughout out the country.<sup>74</sup> The success of the growth has been partially attributed to the financial support of the T. L. Osborn Evangelistic Association (Tulsa, OK) as well as Gordon Lindsay's Christ for the Nations, Inc.<sup>75</sup> Pentecostalism, accepting no geographic boundaries, introduced to the Guatemalan religion market two new trends: Protestants competing against Protestants for adherents as well and church schisms with congregations splitting, and a faction affiliating from another Protestant church, or becoming an independent national church.

In the 1950s, a gradual withdrawal of mission funds and an increase in local fund-raising began to put the churches on a self-supporting basis. By the 1960s, the plan was to make each church "self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating."<sup>76</sup> The Protestant churches began turning over leadership to Guatemalan Protestants in the late 1950s with the Assemblies of God (Asambleas de Dios in 1957), Church of God (Iglesia de Dios Evangelio Completo in 1959), the Guatemalan Presbyterian Church (1962), the Nazarene Church (1968) and the Primitive Methodists (early 1980s). What is interesting to note is that the two Pentecostal denominations nationalized before the other Protestant missions.

Pentecostal churches since their beginning, have given priority to evangelizing stressing the power of prayer, divine healing, glossolalia, and other forms of baptism of the Holy Spirit. Imitating the successful revival of the Pentecostals, Protestant denominations and churches by the 1960s and into the 70s, was holding their own evangelistic campaigns. Through the 1970s, churches held their evangelizing campaigns with open-air meetings and door-to-door evangelizing.<sup>77</sup> Films such as the "Life of Christ" were shown, music played and choirs sang. Contrary to the view of evangelist John Raleigh Mott (1865-1955) that mass evangelization

would prove an obstacle to conversion, Pentecostals, and soon other Protestant churches and denominations understood quite well the effectiveness of evangelizing to large crowds.

### Innovative Indigenous Evangelizing

*“The Lord used these cassettes to prepare the hearts of the people for the coming of the printed Word.”* David and Carol Fox, Wycliffe Bible Translators in Guatemala, translators of the West Central K’iche’ New Testament entitled, “The Holy and Precious Counsel of God.”

The missionaries were well aware that oral, audible and visual evangelization had a significant impact. Through hearing and seeing the missionaries were able to reach large numbers of individuals. Cognizant that the written word was not the most effective or efficient medium for evangelizing, Protestant missionaries turned to musical instruments, particularly the portable organ, and music recordings (phonographs, cassettes, finger-fonos, digital players) of hymns, Bible readings, and sermons as well as videos and films dubbed in indigenous languages and later filmed in local contexts with indigenous actors.<sup>78</sup>

*Music.* In contrast to Catholic Tridentine emphasis on chants and polyphony led by a choir master (*maestro cantor*), Protestants welcomed “loud” wind instruments, flutes (*chirimía*), drums (*tun*), trumpets, organs, accordions, guitars, violins as well as singing loudly at the top of one’s voice. As Sunday masses ended, missionaries would stand in front of the Catholic Church playing a portable pump organ, singing loudly, reading the Scriptures (sometimes with a megaphone), and handing out religious tracts.<sup>79</sup> The playing of music on a portable pump organ,

accordion, or guitar accompanied by singing would draw a crowd to the missionaries to whom they could testify and preach.<sup>80</sup> Hymns were composed to traditional indigenous music.<sup>81</sup> The missionaries encouraged the use of indigenous instruments, the woodwind (*chirimía*), a small drum (*tun*), a three-string violin (*shirin*), and others. One year, the missionaries brought a fifteen piece Rabinal Achí orchestra which included three missionary children.<sup>82</sup>

*Recordings.* Wind-up phonographs played recordings in Spanish and indigenous languages. During the 1960s, the lightweight “Cardtalk” cardboard phonograph was introduced on which records were played.<sup>83</sup> The taping of Scriptural readings, entire church services, and religious music served many venues for audible and oral evangelizing. Tapes were played over loudspeakers on market days, at annual town fairs, religious holidays, and during itinerate evangelizing trips.<sup>84</sup> Tapes could be turned into records to be played on portable phonographs. The recorded religious message on tape allowed a missionary who was evangelizing without an indigenous preacher to visit indigenous villages.<sup>85</sup>

Missionaries used tape recorders to audibly convey the Scriptures and sermons in native languages.<sup>86</sup> The tape recorder would be left playing in an open window so that indigenous people passing by would hear the Bible in their own language. The finger-fono, a hand-operated, plastic phonograph on which recordings were played of Scripture readings in indigenous languages, was lent out.<sup>87</sup> Finger-fonos as well as cassette recorders were given, loaned or sold to indigenous converts who would play them in remote villages and *fincas* where strong resistance existed to missionaries and Protestantism.<sup>88</sup> The significance of the recordings was that they provided religious instruction or evangelism to illiterate persons in their own language.

Today, evangelizing includes many digital technologies of which The Proclaimer is an innovative and popular one. The Proclaimer is a battery-operated, hand-held device with a

microchip on which Scriptures are recorded. The chip will not erase or wear out from frequent playing. The Proclaimer has a built-in generator and solar panel to charge the battery. The solar panel, in addition to charging the battery, will operate the Proclaimer even without battery power as long as there is sunlight. The Proclaimer was introduced in 2006 and since then over 11,000 Proclaimers are in use in Guatemala.<sup>89</sup> The sound is digital quality and loud enough to be heard clearly by groups as large as 300.

Although The Proclaimer is primarily aimed at groups of illiterate adults within a church context, entire congregations hear the recording. The Bible Society of Guatemala distributes a Proclaimer where several churches in a community benefit from having use of a Proclaimer. The Proclaimer is heard by an entire congregation, which includes people of all ages. Given that women attend religious activities more regularly than men and indigenous rural women have the lowest literacy rate in the country, the Proclaimer is reaching a highly underserved female population. Noteworthy, the Pentecostal denominations are the ones using the Proclaimer (Church of God, Assemblies of God, and *Príncipe de Paz*).<sup>90</sup>

*Technology and Innovative Evangelizing.* Early on in their work, Protestant missionaries evangelized on street corners and visited house-to-house handing out tracts and proselytizing.<sup>91</sup> Street preaching included singing, handing out tracts, selling Scriptures and Testaments in Spanish was quite common.<sup>92</sup> Another form of evangelizing was to hold open-air services in town squares (plaza) where traditionally communal public events occur.<sup>93</sup> Tents were sometimes used, music played and films were shown. Portable bullhorns were commonly used to evangelize as missionaries visited town after town. The invention of the alkaline battery in 1957 transformed not only existing portable equipment but expanded the range of items one could use without the need for electricity. For example, a loudspeaker that operated on alkaline batteries

weighed only eight pounds and could be carried easily over rugged mountainous trails to isolated villages. The T.L. Osborn Evangelistic Association contributed sixteen millimeter projectors, films, sermon tapes, and portable public-address systems with built-in tape recorders for the mass evangelizing efforts of the Church of God. With this type of equipment, a lay preacher could immediately evangelize on a street corner, in a town square, a stadium, or large building. The Church of God, with the use of the electronic equipment, established approximately forty preaching stations.<sup>94</sup> Even today all over Guatemala Protestant evangelists can be heard preaching over loudspeakers, megaphones, and occasionally two preachers will be dueling it out over their louder speakers in the town's plaza.

Many missionaries took advantage of the weekly market day and annual patron saint's day fairs to sell Bibles, New Testaments, and tracts.<sup>95</sup> On market days and at public gatherings, particularly the saints' feast days, missionaries would place themselves in the middle of the activities preaching and handing out tracts. The Presbyterians traveled in their geographically designated area to towns holding *fiestas*.<sup>96</sup> For many years, the Nazarenes in the city of Cobán, Alta Verapaz attended the annual saint's day. For the seven days of the festivities, with a stall in the middle of the fairgrounds and equipped with "the largest loudspeakers" they played religious music and K'ekchi Bible portions at full volume. They sold Bibles and handed out free literature.<sup>97</sup>

Another strategy of the Protestants was to evangelize at the annual patron saint's feast day. A patron saint's feast (*fiesta*) transpires over several days with dances, religious rituals, drinking, eating and a fair where goods are sold.<sup>98</sup> Evangelizing during a saint's feast day is an optimal opportunity for missionaries to reach a wide regional audience, not just local townspeople. Bands of musicians and fireworks technicians are hired from other towns, dance

costumes are rented from a *morería* (a business that makes and rents dance costumes) in another department, and candles are purchased from a major city.<sup>99</sup> Merchants from a wide geographic area come to sell their goods. Families from surrounding communities bring livestock and goods to exchange or sell. Missionaries and lay evangelists set up a booth or pitched a tent and played music (live or recorded), showed a film, handed out literature and preached over a portable bullhorn.<sup>100</sup>

Missionaries, since 1897, attended the feast of the Esquipulas Black Christ to sell Bibles and religious tracts. Putting up a sign, “*Santa Biblia de venta*” the missionaries sold all their Bibles in a day and a half as well as distributed two thousand tracts in one afternoon. The missionaries described the feast day as consisting of “drunkenness, gambling and robbery around on every hand.”<sup>101</sup> One Nazarene missionary described a fiesta crowd as, “Outwardly they looked like the dregs of humanity. Many had been drinking; practically all had been wandering through the streets during the day... Some were cut and bleeding from brawling fight.”<sup>102</sup> A Pentecostal missionary described the *fiesta* as “all restraint is lifted and the Indians who barely exist in normal circumstances get dead drunk ...One can see victims lying in the streets and in gutters, some never to rise again.”<sup>103</sup> Another missionary described the image of the Virgin Mary during one festival as “laughable” but then realized that it was an idol of worship.<sup>104</sup> The missionaries referred to the “poor deluded people” who gave the statue “so much money” so as to be miraculously healed of some ailment. The missionaries declared the Black Christ “by far the biggest robber of them all.”<sup>105</sup> Yet, the missionaries took full advantage of the fiestas to proselytize and gain converts.

*Visual.* The “magic” lantern projector, invented around 1870, was the first visual technology to be used in evangelizing.<sup>106</sup> Haymaker could draw up to 400 people showing slides

of comics, famous sites from around the world, and *The Life of Christ*.<sup>107</sup> Films such as the *Life of Christ* were shown to children's classes conducted under a tent.<sup>108</sup> In an inhospitable, sometimes violent, social environment the missionaries appealed to children so as to indirectly reach reluctant parents and adult relatives. "We believe this is one of the best ways of reaching this people."<sup>109</sup> Other missionaries saw an orphanage as the most efficient means of training indigenous children to become colporteurs, Bible girls and women, and catechists. Missionary women were put in charge of establishing small homes to care for these "outcast" children."<sup>110</sup> The overall goal was to bring missionaries "into more intimate relations with the people."<sup>111</sup>

Traveling from town to town with a portable projector and generator, missionaries and lay workers showed films on a sheet hanging between two trees. This evangelizing technique is still used today but with newer equipment—a backpack containing a solar-powered portable video system, a collapsible screen, and mini-speakers—carried by lay evangelists.<sup>112</sup> The *Jesus Film* continues being shown in villages around Guatemala.<sup>113</sup> Films, in particular, are useful in evangelizing as the visual medium attracts large crowds of people regardless of their literacy levels.<sup>114</sup>

*Radio.* Radio became an important part of expanding evangelizing for all the Protestant missions and their national churches. The term "saturation" is often used to refer to the strategy of reaching large numbers of persons through broadcasting. Spanish-ladino, rather than indigenous, churches and individuals dominate religious radio programming.<sup>115</sup> In the early 1940s, the Presbyterians in Quetzaltenango were broadcasting music and short sermons. At the end of the 1940s, the Church of God began radio programming.<sup>116</sup> In 1950, the Central American Mission set up *Radio Cultural* TGNA (shortwave) and TGN (AM medium wave) in Guatemala City which continues to be a major religious radio station in the country.<sup>117</sup> In 1954, the



Defenders of the Faith, an evangelical church, began a Spanish radio program that increased their church growth.<sup>118</sup>

In 1959, programming in indigenous languages began with the K'iche' Bible Institute (Presbyterian and Primitive Methodist) broadcasting on a local radio station in Spanish and K'iche'. People who heard the radio programs began attending church services.<sup>119</sup> A second Central American Mission radio station was started in Barillas, Huehuetenango, *Radio Maya TGBA Barillas*, in 1962. The radio station transmitted programs in at least five indigenous languages as well as a few in Spanish.<sup>120</sup> A strategy for preparing indigenous language speakers for forthcoming written translations of the Bible was to broadcast Scripture readings in their native language. By 1967, hundreds of individuals were converting to Christianity having heard the broadcast of evangelical programs.<sup>121</sup> In 1967, *Radio Buenas Nuevas* went on the air broadcasting Mam evangelical programs from the city of Huehuetenango. One missionary noted that Mam language radio programs, not direct missionary efforts, were leading to conversions along family networks in Mam-speaking villages.<sup>122</sup>

By the early 1960s, six Protestant denominations and churches had radio programs on commercial stations.<sup>123</sup> In 1962 by Pentecostals Carlos Eason and Gustavo Rosales Román founded *Voz Evangélica de América*.<sup>124</sup> By 1969, the Church of God had twelve daily radio programs.<sup>125</sup> In 1979 at least four “religiously oriented” radio stations were operating in Guatemala including the Seventh Day Adventist *Unión Radio* station.<sup>126</sup> Local churches also purchased times on commercial radio stations to broadcast religious programs in Spanish and indigenous languages.<sup>127</sup> Individual churches were broadcasting weekly and daily programs on commercial stations.<sup>128</sup> By 1988, nineteen Protestant radio stations (as compared to ten Roman Catholic) were broadcasting.<sup>129</sup> By 1994, two more evangelical radios went on air, *Radio Kekchi*

and *Radio Cultural Coatán*.<sup>130</sup> During the late 1990s, the first radio broadcasts in Tektitek began from a radio station in Tectitán, Huehuetenango.<sup>131</sup>

The 1996 peace accords stated that Mayan (indigenous) communities were to have access to radio. Some interpreted the peace accords to be stating that communities have a legal right to radio frequencies. Radio frequencies are controlled by law and by the *Superintendencia de Telecomunicaciones* (SIT). The law is clear in that only frequencies authorized by the SIT and backed by a document known as a TUF (*Título de Usufructo* is a 15-year lease) can legally be used. The SIT auctioned off a great number of frequencies from 1997 to about 2001 and the Mayan communities had the opportunity to participate. Almost none did. Individuals, associations and churches were able to purchase frequencies which are being used to broadcast in many Mayan languages.

The vagueness of the law contributed to between 800 and 1200 illegal stations currently broadcasting with no permit and causing great havoc and interference in the spectrum. However, very few, if any, of these are operated by Mayan communities. About 80 percent of the pirate stations are evangelical, many are commercial, and although many do use Mayan languages, their interest is chiefly commercial.<sup>132</sup> Since these stations are illegal, the government does not subsidize equipment (although the government is not trying very hard to close down the pirates, despite a few successful cases). Some of these pirates operate out of a mayor's office, and various congressional representatives have been known to hand out frequencies as favors, and illegally.

Currently, an estimated sixty legal radio stations are religious (Protestant and Roman Catholic).<sup>133</sup> Some of these are commercial stations that sell airtime to churches and other religious entities. The number of these stations broadcasting primarily in indigenous languages

is between fifteen and twenty stations.<sup>134</sup> The style of programming the Protestants air—witnessing, live programs including talk shows and musical performances, Scripture readings in Spanish and indigenous languages—and the number of hours on air have a significant impact.<sup>135</sup> The AM wave length in Guatemala is dominated by Protestant programming (Evangelical, Pentecostal, neo-Pentecostal).<sup>136</sup> Radio remains instrumental in introducing Biblical portions and sermons to a wider audience, particularly in indigenous languages. Radio expanded the linguistic and geographical reach of Protestant churches, increased their memberships, and has become a popular medium for remaining in contact with congregants.

*Television.* Unlike radio, today's religious television programming in Guatemala has been strongly influenced by Pentecostal evangelist Jimmy Swaggart's programs shown in the 1980s.<sup>137</sup> Currently there are two full-time Protestant channels in Guatemala. Canal 21, which is part of Enlace Worldwide, and is owned by a consortium of five neo-Pentecostal mega-churches in Guatemala City. These are the stars of Guatemalan neo-Pentecostalism: Leonel Sobranís, Ministerios Verbo; Dr. Jorge H. López, Fraternidad Cristiana de Guatemala; Apostle Job Eliú Castillo, Iglesia El Calvario; Apostle Josué Muñoz, Ministerios Apostólicos YESHUA; and Apostle Harold Caballeros, Ministerios El Shaddai.<sup>138</sup> Also affiliated with this station is Carlos "Cash" Luna, Ministerios Casa de Dios, a fervent Pentecostal evangelist who holds special miracle crusades in Guatemala, Mexico, and the United States. His mega-church has the largest following in Guatemala City.

Canal 21 can be viewed nationwide (both television and cable). Neo-Pentecostal church services are shown live and as well as recorded on this channel. Canal 21 does fundraising on a continual basis (every two months). The other Protestant channel is Canal 27 and owned by Luis Fernando Solares, founder of mega-church *La Familia de Dios*, also located in Guatemala City.

The station has coverage throughout the country. Channel 27 primarily caters to the more traditional Pentecostal denominations and churches and their programming.

### Conclusion

With one exception, the Presbyterian Church-USA, a mainline Protestant denomination, all of the early missionaries to Guatemala were holiness and Pentecostal sharing premillennial beliefs of the urgency of converting the world to Christianity so as to reach the “near-inevitability of its attainment,” the second coming of Christ on earth.<sup>139</sup> Differences on how conversion was to be achieved—through reading and literacy on the one hand, or oral/aural on the other—led to divergence between those Protestant missions invested in Bible translations and literacy, on the one hand, and the Pentecostals who remained committed to the immediacy of oral/aural evangelization. The means by which a person attains salvation, that is, with knowledge of doctrine and the realities of the Bible as text, are not as important. The experience of personal salvation, baptism of the Holy Spirit, rather than doctrinal and theological issues are, for holiness and Pentecostals, the focus of one’s religiosity and religion. Investment in human capital in the form of literacy and formal education is secondary to the religious experience.

Pentecostals emphasize receiving a calling from God (“*el llamado*”). Today, this remains the one requirement for becoming a Pentecostal pastor. Pentecostalism from its beginnings recognized indigenous pastors and lay evangelists who were responsible for their churches. Pentecostalism with its oral/aural forms of worship (singing, clapping, testimonials, miracle healing, prophesying, loud group praying) and a decentralized structure was easily adaptable to indigenous cultures. By not relying on vernacular translations of the Bible, that is, by sidestepping vernacular translation work completely, Pentecostals continued to employ innovative

evangelizing strategies by introducing electronic audible and visual technologies that did not require literacy.

By contrast, those missions that engaged in Biblical translation work could only be successful if they had literate pastors and congregants. Protestant denominations requiring literacy and some type of higher education (which might include ordination) invested significant resources and time in the training of their pastors. As missionaries sought to cultivate and educate particularly talented indigenous converts, they deviated from their original mission of evangelization.

All the Protestant missions in varying degrees employed innovative evangelizing methods incorporating oral, audible and visual technologies. The Pentecostals, when it came to church growth, had the winning strategy by persisting in the use of oral, aural and visual technologies in their evangelizing, particularly mass revivals, thereby transmitting religious beliefs and values without becoming secularized through literacy education.

## Interviews and correspondence

(in alphabetical order)

Beltran, Leticia. Director, Americas Area, The Seed Company, telephone interview with the author, April 21, 2014.

Carey, Tim, Summer Institute of Linguistics missionary, writing in an email to Rick MacArthur, October 24, 2011.

Elliott, Steve. Former Wycliffe Bible missionary to Guatemala, Antigua, Guatemala. August 7, 2011.

García Guidel, Heberto. National Superintendent, Church of God Full Gospel, interview with the author, January 9, 2012.

Hellmann, Kristin Miller. Manager of Library Services American Bible Society, email correspondence with the author, March 21, 2011.

McArthur, Rick. Summer Institute of Linguistics, email correspondence with the author, October 24, 2011.

Martinez, Marco Vinicio. Director of Programs and Projects, Guatemala Bible Society, interview with the author August 1, 2011.

Montejo, Cristobal. General Superintendent, Assemblies of God, interview with the author, January 12, 2012.

Moreno, Gil. Americas Coordinator at Hosanna, email correspondence with the author, March 29, 2011.

Sywulka, Steve. CAMInternational missionary, email correspondence with the author, March 30, 2011.

Vasey, William. Primitive Methodist Missionary, Guatemala, email correspondence with the author, August 31; September 5, 6 and 8, 2011.

## Endnotes

1. William R. Hutchison refers to seven mainline or liberal Protestant groups as the Seven Sisters of American Protestantism in his book, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 113-122. The seven are: United Methodist Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Presbyterian Church, Episcopal Church, USA, United Church of Christ, American Baptist Churches, USA, and Disciples of Christ. In his earlier work, Hutchison identified Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal/Anglican, Baptist, Disciples of Christ within the liberal movement. The Pew Research Center Religion and Public Life, "America's Changing Religious Landscape: Christians Decline Sharply as Share of Population; Unaffiliated and Other Faiths Continue to Grow," (May 12, 2015) identifies Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, Episcopalian/Anglican, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Restorationist, Anabaptist, Friends (Quakers), Reformed and other smaller churches as mainline.

An evangelical is defined as believing in: (a) the supreme authority of inspired Scripture for faith and practice; (b) the divinity of Jesus Christ as incarnate God; (c) Jesus Christ as savior and the only means of saving sinful humanity; (d) the importance of personal conversion as the central criterion for salvation; (e) a commitment to sharing the transforming "good news" of new life in Jesus Christ which comes by God's Grace alone through faith in the crucified and risen savior. Evangelicalism experienced diverse growth and expanded into a much broader category made up of numerous subgroups (Marsden, George 1991). Pentecostals derived their theology from common sources in the nineteenth century including the Christian higher life or Keswick movement and the teachings of J.N. Darby (dispensational premillennialism). These were



movements heavily influenced by the holiness tradition coming out of Wesleyan perfectionism. In this chapter, I use the term “evangelical” to encompass holiness churches and denominations that formed during the first decades of the twentieth century, including Keswickian faith missions such as the Central American Mission (CAM), known today as Camino Global, Wycliffe Bible Translators and its sister organization, Summer Institute of Linguistics, and Christian and Missionary Alliance/Christian Missionary Alliance.

Pentecostals are defined as sharing the characteristics of evangelicals plus the belief in the experience of glossolalia—speaking in tongues—accompanying Holy Spirit baptism. The evidence of glossolalia was interpreted as a return to the apostolic experience of the Book of Acts and one of the signs of the second coming of Christ. Pentecostals also believe in miracles, particularly miracle healings, and other manifestations of the Holy Spirit. The two largest Pentecostal denominations in Guatemala are the Church of God Full Gospel and the Assemblies of God.

Neo-Pentecostals, in Guatemala, share a slightly different understanding of who they are from the U.S. definition of neo-Pentecostal. Neo-Pentecostals in Guatemala define themselves as: (1) emphasizing the anointing with the Holy Spirit and the use of the charismas; (2) a strong emphasis on miracles, wonders, and prophecy; (3) an emphasis on evangelization; (4) salvation as a gift of God’s grace which cannot be lost; (5) the gospel of health and wealth; (6) spiritual warfare between good and evil, and (7) an increasing trend emphasizing post-millennial eschatology. Two important distinctions need to be made. First, unlike historical Pentecostals, neo-Pentecostals do not stress Holy Spirit baptism accompanied by glossolalia. Second, neo-Pentecostals should not be confused with neo-Charismatics. Neo-Pentecostals are Protestants. By

contrast, neo-Charismatics, within the Guatemala context, are Roman Catholics who believe in charisma. “Whenever some groups made up of people from the Catholic Church practice “these gifts” and are called “Charismatics,” the Protestants who use the same “gifts” or “charismas” (at least in Guatemala), prefer not to be called “Charismatic” in order to be differentiated from the Catholic groups. These groups are relatively new, and their emphasis is similar to the traditional Pentecostals, and they call themselves “Neo-Pentecostals” (Zapata, Virgilio 1982:151-152).

<sup>2</sup> Kahn, Hana Muzika, “Modern Guatemalan Mayan Literature in Cultural Context: Bilingualizing in the Literary Work of Bilingual Mayan Authors” (PhD diss., Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Radio was introduced to Guatemala in the 1940s and the transistor radio was invented in 1952 with its introduction quickly made into Guatemala.

<sup>4</sup> Adams, Abigail E., “Making One our Word: Protestant Q’eqchi’ Mayas in Highland Guatemala,” in *Holy Saints and Fiery Preachers: The Anthropology of Protestantism in Mexico and Central America*, ed. James W. Dow and Alan R. Sandstrom (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001), 205-234; Garrard-Burnet, Virginia, *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem*. (Austin: University of Texas, 1998).

5. Adams, “Making One our Word: Protestant Q’eqchi’ Mayas in Highland Guatemala,” 217, suggests that the first Gospel to be translated into indigenous languages in Guatemala was the Gospel of John. In fact, the first book of the New Testament to be translated into an indigenous language tended to be the Gospel of Mark, the first translation occurring in 1898 by Felipe Silva in K’iche’. In 1980, as the Kaqchikel Multiple Translation Project was beginning the political situation was such that it was uncertain how long the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) staff

would be able to work in Guatemala. Kaqchikel Multiple Translation Project indigenous leaders made the decision to translate at least one Gospel in each of the dialects of Kaqchikel. “Mark, being the shortest of the four seemed the ideal choice. Next, a practical epistle, James was chosen if we should get the chance to continue with translation. Then Acts, as it would complete the NT history section, then John, as the gospel differed from the other three, then 1st Thessalonians- Philemon, as easier epistles to translate, and no particular order after that.” Tim Carey, Summer Institute of Linguistics missionary, writing in an email to Rick MacArthur, Summer Institute of Linguistics missionary to Guatemala, October 24, 2011.

Also, Adams, in her article, “The Transformation of Tzuultaqa\Jorge Ubico, Protestants and Other Verapaz Maya at the Crossroads of Community, State and the Transnational Interest,” *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6, 2 (2001): 222, cites James Hudson, former missionary Director of the Nazarene Church in Guatemala, “In 1953, the mission established a Q’eqchi’ Educational Center in San Juan Chamelco, where both men and women could learn to read and write in Q’eqchi’, and then in Spanish (Hudson 1976).” More precisely, the Nazarenes established a K’ekchi-Pocom Bible training school in San Juan Chamelco primarily for evangelizing purposes see, Hudson, James. *Guatemala: 60 Years* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1976), 55 and Schultz, Lorraine O. *Bringing God’s Word to Guatemala. The Life and Work of William and Betty Sedat* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1995), 51-2. The distinction between an “educational center” and a “Bible training institute” is significant. Nazarenes were teaching the K’ekchi and Pocom speakers to be Christians and to acquire skills (music, teaching methods, child evangelism, doctrinal topics) so that they could be “sent into neighboring villages and plantations to teach such lessons as the Ten Commandments

and the Bible way of salvation” (Schultz, *Bringing God’s Word to Guatemala*, 51-2). The K’ekchi-Pocom Bible training institute in San Juan Chamelco was eventually moved to Cobán, Alta Verapaz.

<sup>6</sup> The 1898 K’iche’ Gospel of Mark was commissioned by the British and Foreign Bible Society under the supervision of F. de P. Castells, sub-agent for the Society. The translation was done by Felipe Silva, a government official. The government printing press in Guatemala City published 1000 copies of the K’iche’ Gospel of Mark. Castells distributed all of the copies within four months of the printing. A second printing was done in Costa Rica and a third in Belize. By 1909, 7000 copies of the K’iche’ Gospel of Mark were printed and distributed. Canton, William, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* Vol. 5 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1910), 351-55.

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the numbers of actual cassette tapes distributed are no longer available from Global Recordings Network, formerly Gospel Recordings. The point I am making is that broadcasting a recording reaches more people than a written book in an illiterate society. One does not need to find a literate person who can read the material to others.

<sup>8</sup> I compiled a 26 page “Chronology of Protestant Written Bible Translations in Indigneous Languages of Guatemala with Introduction Dates of Oral and Visual Technologies.” This is a detailed chronology which includes the names to translators, the religious affiliation of the translators, the start and end date of the actual translation process, the publishing date, the publisher, the number of copies per printing, and geographic dissemination area.

<sup>9</sup> Literacy rates in indigenous languages were not measured as the government’s goal was the castellanization and assimilation of the indigenous populations (Heinze Balcazar, Ivonne,

“Education Policy and Language Shift in Guatemala,” in John E. Petrovic (ed.), *International Perspectives on Bilingual Education: Policy, Practice, and Controversy* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc, 2010), 43-68; especially 49.)

10. For a discussion of the bias of the supremacy of literate/print based societies over oral/aural ones, see McLuhan, Marshall, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), Ong, Walter, *Orality and Literacy: Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982), and Schmidt, Leight Eric, *Hearing Things, Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), and Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communication and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*. Volumes I and II in one volume. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, especially Chapter Four, “The Scriptural Tradition Recast: Resetting the Stage for the Reformation,” 303-452.

<sup>11</sup> The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) officially entered Guatemala in 1948. “The SIL required formal government invitation but was actually invited in by the Protestant missions such as the Central American Mission, Presbyterian Church-USA, and Primitive Methodist Church.” Interview with Steve Elliott, August 7, 2011. The first National Linguistic Conference (Congreso Lingüístico Nacional) was held in 1949 to address the indigenous problem of integration into Spanish-speaking society and the high illiteracy rates. It was decided that a standard orthography would be developed for the four main languages: K’iche’, Mam, Kachiquel, and Ke’kchi. The other languages would follow the same model once it was decided upon. The SIL was set up as the legal entity within Guatemala to work on the standard orthography for the four major indigenous languages (*Alfabeto para los Cuatro Idiomas*

*Indigenas Mayoritarios de Guatemala: Quiche, Cakchiquel, Mam y Kekchi*. Publicaciones especiales del Instituto Indigenista Nacional No. 10. Edicion extraordinaria, Guatemala City: Ministerio de Educacion Publica, 1950). In 1970, SIL signed a contract with the United States Agency for International Development and the Government of Guatemala to set up pilot primary schools in rural areas for indigenous and ladino children. The purpose was to introduce didactic materials developed by SIL in Spanish and the principal indigenous language into the classroom. The ultimate goal of the program with regard to indigenous children was their assimilation into Spanish and the Spanish-speaking ladino culture (Interview with Steve Elliott, August 7, 2011; Svelmoe, William L., "We Do Not Want to Masquerade as Linguists': A Short History of SIL and the Academy," *Language* 85, 3 (September 2009): 619-629.)

<sup>12</sup> The case of Tzutujil speakers in and around San Pedro La Laguna, Sololá, is an example of oral/aural culture that has resisted literacy. One might argue that the introduction of cassette tapes in the late 1960s and early 1970s, before public schools were prevalent, might have buttressed the linguistic group's resistance to literacy. However, this is not a viable argument as the Tzutujil use Spanish in economic activities and other activities. ("The Tzutujil and the Butlers: A lesson in orality," <http://www.vinystudios.org/en/home/gtcontext/oralliteracy.php>)

13. David Douglas Daniels uses five categories to analyze the history of Pentecostal sounds: Sonic, soundscape, sound, soundways, and syntax. In this chapter, my focus is on the oral and aural nature of Pentecostalism when compared with those Protestant missions that focused on translation of the Bible, backing into literacy as a result, see Daniels III, David Douglas, "'Gotta Moan Sometime': A Sonic Exploration of Earwitnesses to Early Pentecostal Sound in North America." *Pneuma* 30 (2008): 5-32.

<sup>14</sup> Westmeier, Karl-Wilhelm, *Protestant Pentecostalism in Latin America: An Study in the Dynamics of Missions* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), 21.

<sup>15</sup> Hine, Virginia H., "Pentecostal Glossolalia toward a Functional Interpretation." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8, 2 (Autumn 1969): 212.

<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg, Bruce A., "The Message of the American Folk Sermon." *Oral Tradition*, 1/3 (1986): 700.

<sup>17</sup> Schultze, Quentin J., "Catholic vs. Protestant: Mass-Mediated Legitimation of Popular Evangelicalism in Guatemala." *Public Relations Review* 18, 3 (1992): 259; Rosenberg, "The Message of the American Folk Sermon," 713.

<sup>18</sup> Spittler, Russell P., "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Missions." *Missiology: An International Review* 16, 4 (October 1988): 411-416.

<sup>19</sup> Spittler, "Implicit Values in Pentecostal Missions," 420.

20. The Summer Institute of Linguistics lists 27 individual indigenous languages for Guatemala. Of these, 26 are living and 1 is extinct. See, <http://www.ethnologue.com/country/GT>, accessed March 31, 2014. The Guatemalan government recognizes 21 indigenous languages not including Spanish which is the official language.

21. The term "ladino" as commonly used in Guatemala refers to a Spanish-speaking person (female or male) whose clothing, language, and customs are not expressions of an indigenous culture see, Burgess, Paul, *Justo Rufino Barrios. A Biography* (Quetzaltenango, Guatemala: El Noticiero Evangelico, 1946), 27, footnote 1. The anthropologist Ruth Bunzel and Presbyterian missionary Paul Burgess (1946) concurred that the terms "ladino" and "mestizo" were used interchangeably see, Bunzel, Ruth, *Chichicastenango: A Guatemalan Village* (Locust Valley,

NY: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1952). According to Sol Tax, the term ladino was first used in the sixteenth century to refer to indigenous people who were acculturated to Spanish culture see, Tax, Sol, "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala." *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 43, 1 (January-March 1941): 28. Amos Megged suggests that the term "mestizo" was frequently subsumed within the term "creole" for reasons of legitimating illegitimate children as well as the increasing mestizo population in colonial Guatemala. See Megged, Amos, "The Rise of the Creole Identity in Early Colonial Guatemala: Differential Patterns in Town and Countryside." *Social History* 17, 3 (Oct. 1992): 427, 429.

<sup>22</sup> Edward Haymaker cited in Coke, Hugh Milton, "An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya." (Ph.D. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA, 1978), 171.

<sup>23</sup> Protestant missions in geographic regions where Catholicism had a monopoly, for example Guatemala, succeeded in large part due to an indolent Catholic hierarchy, a paucity of national priests, official prohibitions on vernacular Bibles coupled with limited reading of the Latin Vulgate by ordained clergy or, in their absence, by a native *maestro cantor*. A culture of discouraging lay access to reading the Bible was actively enforced by the Catholic Church up until Vatican II.

<sup>24</sup> Svelmoe, William Lawrence, *A New Vision for Missions: William Cameron Townsend, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Culture of Early Evangelical Faith Missions, 1896-1945*. (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2008), 24-30.

<sup>25</sup> Svelmoe, *A New Vision for Missions*, 216.

<sup>26</sup> Hudson, *Guatemala: 60 Years*, 33-4.



<sup>27</sup> Goubaud Carrera, Antonio. "Notes on San Juan Chamelco, Alta Verapaz." University of Chicago Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts of Middle American Cultural Anthropology, No. 23, (1949), 76.

28. Literacy rates in indigenous languages are not systematically collected and reported by the Government of Guatemala.

<sup>29</sup> McCleary, Rachel M. and Jonatan Lemus Avila, "Evangelizing at the Expense of Educating," unpublished manuscript 2011.

<sup>30</sup> Coke, "An Ethnohistory of the Bible Translation Among the Maya," 173.

<sup>31</sup> Hudson, *Guatemala: 60 Years*, 26; Winn, Wilkins Bowdre, "A History of the Central American Mission as seen in the Work of Albert Edward Bishop, 1896 – 1922." (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1964), 127-131; Winn, Wilkins Bowdre, "Albert Edward Bishop and the Establishment of the Central American Mission in Guatemala, 1899-1922," in *Militarists, Merchants, and Missionaries*, ed. Eugene R. Huck and Alfred Barnaby Thomas (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 1970), 98.

32. Anderson, Rufus, *Foreign Missions, Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Scribner, 1869) and Shenk, Wilbert R. *Henry Venn, Missionary Statesman* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983).

33. Venn quotation in Hodges, Melvin, *The Indigenous Church* (Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1953).

34. The humanitarian response to the 1976 earthquake in for form of funds and equipment from the United States brought to the fore existing tension between indigenous leadership and missionaries. For example, the Primitive Methodist missionaries were confronted by the Guatemalan National Conference to decide the distribution of emergency funds from the

International Missionary Board and to oversee reconstruction projects, see Hays, Margaret N., *An Outline History of Fifty Years, 1922-1972* (Primitive Methodist International Mission Board, 1972), 61-63.

<sup>35</sup> Pullin, Alice, *In the Morning, Sow* (Cleveland, TN: Church of God Foreign Missions, no date), 13, 15.

<sup>36</sup> *Central American Bulletin* 1, 1 (1893): 2.

37. Smaller than the Wesleyan class meetings were the homogenous band-meetings consisting of 4-5 persons, see Simpson, Matthew, *Cyclopedia of Methodism* Revised Edition (Philadelphia, PA: Louis H. Everts, 1880), 84-5 and Baker, Frank, *John Wesley and the Church of England*. (London: Epworth Press, 2000), 77. The smaller band group was originally intended to be an opportunity to raise issues unique to those sharing similar circumstances or characteristics.

Wesley instituted the bands as a forum for moral teaching and enforcement of the moral code of Methodist (Simpson, *Cyclopedia*, 84-5). The mission bands of the Pentecostal and evangelical churches in the late 1800s and early 1900s were formed to support missions and missionaries through prayer and offerings.

<sup>38</sup> Benson, Jr., John T., *Holiness Organized or Unorganized? A History 1898-1915. Pentecostal Mission Incorporated, Nashville, Tennessee* (Nashville, TN: Trevecca Press, 1977), 63; Svelmoe, "A New Vision for Missions," 73-4; *Central American Bulletin* 222 (1939): 1-2).

<sup>39</sup> Haymaker, Edward M., "Footnotes to the Beginnings of the Evangelical Movement in Guatemala." (Guatemala, Unpublished manuscript, 1946), 17, 20; Dahlquist, Anna Marie, *Burgess of Guatemala* (Langley, B.C.: CEDAR Books, 1985), 135, 143

40. The 1902 earthquake, centered near Quetzaltenango destroyed the Presbyterian station for a couple of years with the missionaries leaving for the United States. The Presbyterian missionary in Guatemala City, Edward Haymaker, was having a difficult time. By contrast, the Central American Mission was expanding, working with the holiness-Pentecostal missionaries and Bible colporteurs (an agent who travels distributing Bibles and religious materials). Coke, “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 175, footnote 9; Bogenschield, Thomas Edward, “The Roots of Fundamentalism in Liberal Guatemala: Missionary Ideologies and Local Response, 1882-1944” (Ph.D diss., the University of California at Berkeley, 1992), 126-7.

41. Dahlquist, Anna Marie, *Trailblazers for Translators: The Chichicastenango Twelve* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1995), 26-43. Both the Presbyterian Board of Missions and the Central American Mission board had institutional policies of Spanish-only mission activities. Both boards were opposed to missionaries in the field introducing a new focus on indigenous groups as it went against the policy in Guatemala of integrating the indigenous population into the Ladino, Spanish-speaking culture. The Central American Mission had a theological objection as well. Cooperation with other Protestant denominations was “the anathema of God” (Dahlquist, *Trailblazers for Translators*, 50). However, unlike the Presbyterian board, the Central American Mission board, quickly accepted the indigenous approach to missions and the Latin American Indian Mission (Svelmoe, *A New Vision for Missions*, 98).

<sup>42</sup> The first Kaqchikel Pentateuch was translated by Franciscan priests fray Pedro de Betanzos and fray Francisco de la Parra and published in Mexico in 1553. Dominican and Franciscan priests beginning in the sixteenth century produced other materials such as grammars,

dictionaries, religious manuals, catechisms, doctrinal tracts, prayers, sermons in K'iche', Kaqchikel, and Tzutujil. See, Scholes, France V., "Franciscan Missionary Scholars in Colonial Central America," *The Americas*, 8, 4 (April 1952): 391-416.

43. "SIL International is a faith-based nonprofit organization committed to serving language communities worldwide as they build capacity for sustainable language development. SIL does this primarily through research, translation, training and materials development. Founded in 1934, SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc) has grown from a small summer linguistics training program with two students to a staff of over 5,500 coming from over 60 countries. SIL's linguistic investigation exceeds 2,590 languages spoken by over 1.7 billion people in nearly 100 countries. The organization makes its services available to all, without regard to religious belief, political ideology, gender, race or ethnolinguistic background."

<http://www.wycliffe.org/About/AssociatedOrganizations/SILInternational.aspx>, accessed March 31, 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Adams, "Making One our Word," 217.

<sup>45</sup> Coke, "An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya," 163 - 166, 164 Figure 9

<sup>46</sup> Schultz, "Bringing God's Word To Guatemala," 84.

47. Telephone interview with Leticia Beltran, Americas Area Director, the Seed Company, Wycliffe Bible Translators Affiliate, April 21, 2014. Translators today enter their work into a software called Paratext put out by the United Bible Societies (<http://paratext.ubs-translations.org/>). The software allows them to upload onto the website (it is a database) where it can be accessed by other translators.

<sup>48</sup> Winn, "A History of the Central American Mission," 31.

<sup>49</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 41; Lloret, Albert Julian, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala” (Ph.D. diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas, TX, 1976), 130, 132.

<sup>50</sup> Coke, “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 187-8; Schultz, *Bringing God’s Word to Guatemala*, 51-2.

<sup>51</sup> Haymaker, “Footnotes,” 84.

<sup>52</sup> Lloret, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala,” 138; Coke, “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 199.

<sup>53</sup> Coke “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 196-7.

<sup>54</sup> Spain, Mildred W., *‘And in Samaria’. A Story of More than Sixty Years’ Missionary Witness in Central America, 1890-1954*. Revised and Extended (Dallas, TX: The Central American Mission, 1954), 168.

<sup>55</sup> Pike, Eunice V., *Not Alone* (Chicago, IL: The Moody Bible Institute of Chicago, 1964), 148-9.

56. Reverend John Thomas and Lena Hertenstein Butler, accompanied by Emma Goodwin were the first Pentecostal Mission missionaries (Hudson, *Guatemala: 60 Years*, 21). They first went to El Rancho in the department of El Progreso, and then moved to the town of Zacapa, the capital of the department by the same name. The Butlers were financed by the proceeds from the sale of the Pentecostal Mission’s weekly paper, *Living Water* (Benson, *Holiness Organized or Unorganized?*, 63; Strickland, William J. with H. Ray Dunning, *J. O. McClurkan: His Life, His Theology, and Selections from His Writings* (Nashville, TN: Trevecca Press, 1998), 26).

Conway G. Anderson and Miss Willie Barnett, missionaries of the Tabernacle Church of Greenville, South Carolina, settled in Zacapa. In 1904, Conway’s nephew, Richard Anderson, and his wife, Annie Maude, became Tabernacle missionaries to Guatemala. In 1906, Effie Mae

Glover, a student of the Altamont Bible and Missionary Institute, Greenville, South Carolina (today the Holmes Bible College), began mission work in Guatemala with Reverend J.T. Butler and his second wife, Mary. In 1908, Amos Bradley arrived in Guatemala as an independent Pentecostal missionary supported by Mrs. Frank Nabors of Birmingham, Alabama (Canavesio, June, "International Pentecostal Holiness Church, Guatemalan History for Simultaneous Principle." International Pentecostal Holiness Church Archives and Research Center, Oklahoma City, OK. Unpublished manuscript, 2005), 2). In 1909, Effie and Amos Bradley were married in Zacapa. They continued working as independent Pentecostal missionaries in San Jerónimo, Baja Verapaz. In 1912, the Bradleys joined the Holiness Pentecostal Church and went to El Salvador. Amos and Effie Bradley were supported by the Georgia Pentecostal Holiness Convention and later the North Carolina Pentecostal Holiness Church (*The Pentecostal Holiness Advocate* 4, 49 [April 7, 1932]: 9). When Conway Anderson left the Guatemalan mission field in 1916, and because of the adverse effects of the tropical weather in Zacapa, they lived in Guatemala City and commuted by train to Zacapa, their appointed mission area. After the devastating 1918 earthquake, the Bradleys were recalled from Guatemala. In 1922, the Bradleys returned as Primitive Methodist missionaries in the department of Totonicapán, residing in San Cristóbal, and later Chichicastenango, El Quiché (Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 16; Canavesio, "International Pentecostal Holiness Church," 6). They ended their affiliation with the Primitive Methodist Church in 1930 and returned to the United States.

Noteworthy, the Primitive Methodist Foreign Missionary Board was contracting Pentecostals to serve in Guatemala. The Bradleys were Pentecostals in that they believed in Holy Spirit baptism and glossolalia. The second Pentecostal couple to be hired by the Primitive

Methodists were Carrie and Charles Truman Furman who were of Turtle Creek, Pennsylvania affiliation. Unlike the Bradleys who were holiness-Pentecostal, the Trumans were strictly Pentecostal. Doctrinal differences over glossolalia between the Primitive Methodist Church, which is holiness evangelical, and the Trumans created disputes leading to a schism in 1934. The Bradleys, unlike Charles Truman Furman, had good relations with the other missionaries (Dalhquist, *Trailblazers for Translators*, 118-120; Canavesio, "International Pentecostal Holiness Church," 6). Bradley, with Presbyterian missionary Paul Burgess, translated the Gospels of John and Matthew into K'ekchi'. This represents the beginning of the Primitive Methodist's mission board's commitment, both in terms of translators and funds, to the translation of the Bible in K'iche'. Bradley did not continue translation work when he became a Pentecostal missionary in 1932 for the Pentecostal Holiness Church. (Bradley had been a Pentecostal Holiness Church missionary in El Salvador and Guatemala between 1912-1918.) However, the Primitive Methodist translation work continues today with missionary William Vasey and indigenous translators (email correspondence with William Vasey, August 31; September 5, 6 and 8, 2011).

<sup>57</sup> Hudson, *Guatemala: 60 Years*, 23.

58. In 1916 by two brothers, Frank and William Casley founded The United Free Gospel and Missionary Society, an independent Pentecostal church, with an early emphasis on missions. Similar to the Assemblies of God in doctrine, the Society changed its name in 1957 to the Free Gospel Church (Burgess, Stanley M. and Gary R. McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, Regency Reference Library, 1988), 57).

59. The first comity agreement was in 1907 between the Presbyterian, Central American Mission, Friends, and Nazarenes (Bogenschild, Thomas Edward, "The Roots of Fundamentalism in Western Guatemala, 1900 - 1944." (Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Crystal City, Virginia, April 4, 1991), 6, footnote 13). The second comity agreement was in 1916 among the Presbyterian, Central American Mission, Friends, and the Nazarene missions. In 1916, the Church of Nazarene's first missionaries to Guatemala were Richard and Anna Maude Anderson. Their church, Tabernacle Church, merged with the Nazarene Church in 1916. The Church of the Nazarene is an evangelical denomination that does not believe in glossolalia. A comity agreement was a non-compete informal contract in which other missions agreed not to enter into for evangelizing purposes the designated geographic territory of other Protestant missions.

<sup>60</sup> Lloret, "The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala," 126-7.

<sup>61</sup> Teague, Denzell, "A History of the Church of God in Guatemala" (Master of Arts Thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Lee College, 1966), 45; 64; 68; Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 34; Lloret, "the Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala," 75, 81, 104, 136, 110, 137, 152, 181-2, 204-5; Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 58; Waldrop, Richard Eugene, "An Historical and Critical Review of the Full Gospel Church of Guatemala" (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA, 1993) 47; 60-1.

62. The revivals took place in indigenous municipalities and towns: 1932 – San Cristóbal, Totonicapán and spread to Nebaj; 1936-7 – Llano Grande, Nebaj, El Quiché; 1938- Chichicastenango, El Quiché; 1939-Santa Cruz del Quiché, El Quiché, 1942 –Guatemala City as



a result of guest preaching by José María Enriquez, José Cruz Figueroa, and Herminio Cabrera (Waldrop, “An Historical and Critical Review of the Full Gospel Church of Guatemala,” 31).

<sup>63</sup> Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 54-57.

64. Conn, Charles W., *Where the Saints Have Trod: A History of the Church of Gods Missions*. Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1959), 134-6; Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 19-20.

See footnote 16 for a detailed account.

<sup>65</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 1972: 20.

<sup>66</sup> Humphrey, Peggy, *J. H. Ingram: Missionary Dean*. Church of God World Missions. (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 1966), 72-3; Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 60-1.

<sup>67</sup> Lloret, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala,” 195-7.

<sup>68</sup> In the 1950s U.S.-based mass evangelistic crusades occurred in Guatemala. The first “United Evangelistic Campaign” held in Guatemala took place in 1950 coinciding with the Central American Sports Games and a National Fair in Guatemala City (Holland, Clifton L. *Expanded Status of Christianity: Country Profile: Guatemala, 1980*. Revised in 2006. San Pedro, Costa Rica: Latin America Socio-Religious Studies Program (PROLADES), 1982), 85). Rev. Harold Van Broekhoven, a Central American Mission missionary, coordinated the crusade with Virgilio Zapata, a Guatemalan who was an influential Christian evangelist. A large tent was put up in the Mateo Flores Olympic Stadium in Guatemala City. Over the course of four weeks, thousands of people attended the services. The evangelistic campaigns of the Church of God in the 1950s led to a definite shift in evangelizing strategy on the part of Protestant churches in the early 1960s bringing attention to the need for a focus on a national level to indigenous evangelization. For example, in 1960 a Nazarene Church held an evangelical crusade named “Evangelism First”

(“*Evangelismo Primero*”) (Hudson, *Guatemala: 60 Years*, 48-50). Unlike previous evangelical campaigns which focused primarily on Guatemala City, in 1962 Evangelism in Depth (at that time part of Latin American Mission) evangelistic campaign was nationally coordinated and conducted throughout the country. The campaign focused on educating congregations and their leaders in evangelism techniques such as door-to-door visitation, prayer cells, testimonials (personal evangelism), and stewardship (Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 34). One only need read accounts of the U.S. evangelist Dwight L. Moody’s (1837-1899) revival campaigns to see where the missionaries and the Latin American Mission borrowed their techniques. Moody’s evangelistic career occurred within a revival tradition that includes George Whitfield, John Wesley, Charles Finney, Billy Sunday, Bill Graham, and others. Moody’s revival campaigns included weekly prayer meetings and city-wide door-to-door canvassing with volunteers distributing thousands of religious tracts, Bibles and portions thereof as well as his religious newspaper. Moody’s revival services were based on Charles Finney’s principle that God spiritually revived people through their “excitability” which extended beyond the individual believer to the entire crowd. Revival meetings were characterized as “an epidemic of frights and frenzies,” “a restless energy” with “fiery appeals and tearful songs” (Evensen, Bruce J., “It is a Marvel to Many People’: Dwight L. Moody, Mass Media, and the New England Revival of 1877” *The New England Quarterly* 72, 2 (June 1999): 265).

69. In a three-month period—February to March of 1953—James Beaty informed his mission board that 8,000 individuals had been converted and hundreds faith-healed (Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” 73).

<sup>70</sup> Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” 63; Osborn, T.L. *Personal Diary Notes. Centennial Crusade, February 1953* (Tulsa, OK: Osborn Publishers, 2001).

<sup>71</sup> Waldrop, “An Historical and Critical Review,” 85-6.

<sup>72</sup> Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” 74.

<sup>73</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 34.

<sup>74</sup> Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” Plate VI.

<sup>75</sup> Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” 81.

<sup>76</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 28.

<sup>77</sup> Hays *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 53.

<sup>78</sup> Weaver, Andy and Karen, *The CAB Family, 1952-2001* (Guatemala: Instituto Linguistico de Verano de Centroamerica, 2001), 31.

<sup>79</sup> Winn, “A History of the Central American Mission,” 29.

<sup>80</sup> Birchard, Russell and Margaret Anderson, *Richard Simpson Anderson: Pioneer Missionary to Central America* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1990), 21-2; Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 13, 30, 26.

<sup>81</sup> Coke, “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 241.

<sup>82</sup> Tracy, Olive G. *We Have Seen the Sun: The Work of the Nazarene Among the Indian Tribes of Guatemala* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1961), 80.

<sup>83</sup>. “The simple CardTalk cardboard player was developed to play phonograph records without electricity. It's ingenious design allowed the sound to be played through a needle on the cardboard sleeve, which doubled as an amplifier”. <http://globalrecordings.net/en/cardtalk>, accessed March 31, 2014.

<sup>84</sup> Tracy, *We Have Seen the Sun*, 26.

85. “Some friends, the Sywulkas, translated the whole Bible for the Mam language. But before the missionaries were able to get the language written down, Gospel Recordings had been there. People were hearing the Word from the recordings!” retired missionaries to Guatemala, Bob and Dorothy Rice, <http://globalrecordings.net/en/testimony-guatemala>, accessed March 31, 2014.

<sup>86</sup> Schultz, *Bringing God’s Word to Guatemala*, 62.

<sup>87</sup> “In the late 1950s, the American Bible Society devised the finger-fono, powered by the turn of one finger. The finger-fono produced sound through a diaphragm (an acoustic device) and a needle located in the arm, and required no electric power, spring or mechanical device. It was made of plastic, inexpensive to produce, easy to ship and practical for use in all climates. The purpose of the finger-fono was to make the Scriptures available to people who could not read.” American Bible Society *News* accessed <http://news.americanbible.org/article/Scripture-via-phonograph>, November 9, 2015. The numbers of finger-fono records distributed in Guatemala between 1958 and 1964 was: K’ekchi 995 records; K’iche’ 305; Conob 511; and Mam 152. The author’s email correspondence with Kristin Miller Hellmann, Manager of Library Services American Bible Society, March 21, 2011.

<sup>88</sup> Tracy, *We Have Seen the Sun*, 28-9; Lloret, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala,” 130; Coke, “An Ethnohistory of Bible Translation Among the Maya,” 300.

<sup>89</sup> Gil Moreno, International Coordinator for the Americas, Hosanna, email correspondence, March 29, 2011.

90. *Príncipe de Paz* is a national Pentecostal denomination that split off from the Assemblies of God in 1955. Interview with Marco Vinicio Martínez, Director of Programs and Projects, Guatemala Bible Society August 1, 2011; Interview with Cristobal Montejo, General

Superintendent, Assemblies of God, January 12, 2012; Interview with Heberto García, General Superintendent, Church of God Full Gospel, January 9, 2012.

<sup>91</sup> Haymaker, “Footnotes,” 29; Winn, “A History of the Central American Mission,” 30; Winn, “Albert Edward Bishop,” 93; Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 26.

<sup>92</sup> Winn, “A History of the Central American Mission,” 36; Teague, “A History of the Church of God in Guatemala,” 100.

<sup>93</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 53.

<sup>94</sup> Waldrop, “An Historical and Critical Review,” 37.

<sup>95</sup> Winn, “A History of the Central American Mission,” 29-30.

<sup>96</sup> Dahlquist, *Trailblazers for Translators*, 131.

<sup>97</sup> Schultz, *Bringing God’s Word to Guatemala*, 91.

98. The saints’ cults were introduced by the Spaniards in 1540 as a means of converting the indigenous population to Roman Catholicism. “Each indigenous community over time was assigned [the process was, of course, not always top down, with town sometimes generating their own saints or miraculous events] a saint and feast day” (Remesal, Antonio de, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala*, tomo I, Libros I a VI. Edición y estudio preliminar de Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid, España: Ediciones Atlas), 246). Today, cities, towns, and indigenous communities (cantones and caseríos) have a saint feast day that is celebrated over a short period of days with dancing, religious ritual, and social interaction at a fair (Reina, Ruben E., *Chinautla, a Guatemalan Indian Community: A Study in the Relationship of Community Culture and National Change*. Publication no. 24 (New Orleans: Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, 1960), 133; 142-162). A saint’s feast day is a fiesta del pueblo or public communal event at

which performances of dances take place and a fair occurs. Musicians and fireworks technicians may be hired from outside the community, dance costumes are rented from a *morería* in another town, and candles purchased from a major city. Merchants from the region come and sell their goods at the fair as part of the celebration.

99. A *morería* is owned by a family where costumes for the various dances are made. *Morerías* were concentrated in the towns in the highlands as only indigenous communities dance. The more well-known ones are located in Totonicapán and El Quiché.

<sup>100</sup> Tracy, *We Have Seen the Sun*, 80-1; Teague, "A History of the Church of God in Guatemala," 100-101; *Central American Bulletin* 403 (1967): 10-11; Vaughters, William C., *Fruits of Progress: The Church of the Nazarene in Mexico and Central America* (Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House, 1968), 102; Lloret, "The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala," 150; Schultz, *Bringing God's Word to Guatemala*, 90-91.

<sup>101</sup> Winn, "A History of the Central American Mission," 35.

<sup>102</sup> Tracy, *We Have Seen the Sun*, 66.

<sup>103</sup> Pullin, *In the Morning, Sow*, 35-6.

<sup>104</sup> *The Weekly Evangel* 1969: 11.

<sup>105</sup> Winn, *We Have Seen the Sun*, 35.

<sup>106</sup> Haymaker, Footnotes," 30.

<sup>107</sup> Bogenschild, "The Roots of Fundamentalism in Western Guatemala, 1900-1944," 9.

<sup>108</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 55.

<sup>109</sup> Carrie Mae Casey, "Central America," *Bridegroom's Messenger* 6, 131 (April 15, 1913): 4;

Willie E. Barnett, "Coban, Guat. C.A." *Bridegroom's Messenger* 6, 133 (May 15, 1913): 4.

<sup>110</sup> “Remember the little brown faces among the hills in Central America, roaming here and there with not enough clothes to cover them; they perhaps have never had a good, warm bath. They are going through the streets looking and longing for something, they perhaps do not know what, but you mothers know they are longing for someone to love them.” Carrie May Casey, “From Central America,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger* 2, 43 (August 1, 1909): 3. “I see more and more the need, as I hear the pleas of mothers to me to take their fatherless children, mothers being too poor to take care of them.” Eula Fay Watson, “Coban, Guatemala, C.A.” *Bridegroom’s Messenger* 5, 104 (February 15, 1912): 3.

<sup>111</sup> Amos Bradley, “From Central America,” *Bridegroom’s Messenger* 3, 49 (November 1, 1909): 2.

<sup>112</sup> <http://jesusfilm.org/>.

113. *The Jesus Film* map shows where the film has been shown and in which languages. <http://worldmap.org/country.php?ROG3=GT>, accessed May 1, 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Weaver, *The CAB Family*, 193.

<sup>115</sup> Schultze, Catholic vs. Protestant,” 258.

<sup>116</sup> *The Weekly Evangel* April 9 (1949): 11.

117. TGNA (shortwave) and TGN (AM medium wave) are both known as *Radio Cultural*.

<sup>118</sup> Lloret, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala,” 211.

<sup>119</sup> Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years*, 33.

<sup>120</sup> Lloret, “The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala,” 142-3.

<sup>121</sup> *Central American Bulletin* February 1967: 11.

<sup>122</sup> *Central American Bulletin* February 1967: 11.

<sup>123</sup> Schultz, *Bringing God's Word to Guatemala*, 258.

<sup>124</sup> Holland, *Expanded Status of Christianity*, 83.

<sup>125</sup> *The Weekly Evangel* October 19, 1969: 26.

<sup>126</sup> Smallwood, James, "Radio Station TGNA in Guatemala." *Journal of the North American Shortwave Association* (May 1979): 2-4.

127. The groups broadcasting were Central American Missions, Church of God Foreign Mission Board, Primitive Methodist Foreign Mission Board, Seventh Day Adventists, Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board and the United Presbyterian Church/USA (Taylor, Clyde W. and Wade T. Coggins, *Protestant Missions in Latin America: A Statistical Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Evangelical Foreign Missions Association, 1961), 152.

<sup>128</sup> Lloret, "The Maya Evangelical Church in Guatemala," 288.

129. Thirteen of the evangelical radio stations were nonprofit (Schultze, "Catholic vs. Protestant," 259). Roman Catholic radio stations were primarily established during the 1980s, many of them community radio stations with low frequencies.

130. A list of radio stations is being compiled with frequency strength and times programming in broadcast. The strongest frequency religious radio is TGNA. The Roman Catholic network has several radio stations in Guatemala.

<sup>131</sup> Weaver, *The CAB Family*, 46.

132. Steve Sywulka, CAMInternational missionary, email correspondence March 30, 2011.

133. Out of an estimated 620 radio stations in Guatemala.

134. Steve Sywulka, CAMInternational missionary, email correspondence March 30, 2011.

135. Schultze, "Catholic vs. Protestant," 259.



<sup>136</sup> Mazariegos, Morales, Néstor Raciél. “Análisis de Contenido de Spots Radiofónicos de Emisoras Cristiano-Evangélicas de Amplitud Modulada en la Ciudad de Guatemala.” (thesis, Universidad de San Carlos, Escuela de Ciencias de Comunicación. April 2008).

<sup>137</sup> Schultze, “Catholic vs. Protestant,” 260-1.

138. The title “Apostle” is self-conferred in that each person claims that God declared this for him.

139. Hutchison, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 95.

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Graph 1

Literacy Rates in Departments with over 50% ethnic population where Holiness-Pentecostal Missionaries first began Evangelizing

