

**MISSION TO THE PEOPLE AND CHURCH
MAINTENANCE:**

**THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRESBYTERIAN
AND REFORMED CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN THE
CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA (1528-1916)**

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PREFACE

In order to observe the progress of Reformational Christianity in the Caribbean and Latin America (CALA) I became interested in documenting a mission history of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches. Individual churches published their own histories but there is no comprehensive study for all of CALA. I was curious about the absence of such fundamental information being that missionaries and churches had worked in CALA for hundreds of years. When I approached a senior mission director about the need for such a study he assured me that it was virtually impossible to find reliable church statistics for Latin America. "Well," I thought, "that is about to change."

This study starts with information being collected that dates back to summer ministry experiences with Summer Training Session from 1977-1979 in Mexico. Then our family was assigned by World Missions of the Christian Reformed Church to language school in Costa Rica (January, 1981) and eventually full time missionary work in the Dominican Republic (August, 1981). The country-by-country research file

continued to grow. My first doctoral thesis, through the Doctor of Ministry program of Westminster Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), examined the history and ministry of the Christian Reformed Church in the Dominican Republic. Upon finishing the D.Min. in 1985 I embarked on writing the history of the Presbyterians and Reformed in CALA.

The original plan was to write a comprehensive thesis of the history of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA. In 1986 visits were made to Holland and throughout Latin America. With the missiological and historical research skills and help of Dr. Raymond Brinks, Dr. Johan Hegeman, Dr. Jan Jongeneel and Dr. Sidney Rooy, an extensive manuscript was prepared and edited.

Through the encouragement of Dr. Bill Iverson, this thesis was developed from the original extensive manuscript and presented for a Ph.D. in Christian Worldview through the American University of Biblical Studies in Atlanta. The reading committee of Dr. Dean Beal (Campus Crusade), Dr. Richard Ramsay (Faculty of Latin American Studies) and Dr. Daniel Levi (Latin American Missions) interviewed me in Miami on November 17, 2001. Out of this discussion Chapter five was developed. Finally, on March 8, 2002, Dr. Iverson, together with Dr. Mark Gutzke and Dr. Thomas A. McIntire, in the presence of four other doctoral students, examined and approved this thesis.

A special thank-you to all of the country-by-country readers who carefully scrutinized the grammatical and historical accuracy of the document. Helena Wybenga, the former librarian at the National Evangelical University (Santo Domingo, DR) was very helpful with documenting the bibliography.

Plans are being made to translate this work into Spanish.

May the colleagues, students and partner institutions working through the Miami International Seminary, who are seeking to bring Biblical and Christian theology throughout the Americas be encouraged with this historical study which shows that despite the church's sin of commission and omission, God's sovereign grace in missions will triumph.

For the loving support of Sandra, my wife, as well as my beloved children, Jonathan, Katrina, and Melinda, and for the prayers and encouragement our mothers, Gertrude Hegeman and Catherine Slotegraaf, I give thanks to God. May God receive all the glory.

And this gospel of the kingdom will be preached to the whole world as a testimony to all nations, and then the end will come" (Mt. 24:14).

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INTRODUCTION

0. 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

0.1.1. Origin and Purpose

Christians of Reformed theological persuasion have been involved in the Caribbean and Latin America (CALA) since 1528. Now, more than 430 years later, the Reformation continues throughout the southern Americas. Some countries, such as Brazil and Mexico, have a dynamic Presbyterian church and mission movements. In other countries, the Reformed witness has virtually disappeared.

This study seeks to document the *historical* origins and development of both the Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions in CALA from 1528 to 1916. The study will conduct a *missiological* analysis of the church and mission context, agency and motivation. Finally, recommendations will be proposed in order for the Presbyterians and Reformed churches and missions to reconcile with their past, be more faithful to the Great Commission in the present and train Christian leaders for the future.

This study will be unique in several ways. First, this will be the first overall extensive documentation of the Reformation movement in Latin America from 1528-1916. Regional histories exist but there have yet to be published a well documented comprehensive study that covers all of CALA (1). Second, this is the only known study to missiologically analyze the history of the Presbyterians and the Reformed in CALA (2). And finally, the relationship between the transplanted churches which sought to maintain European culture and the planted churches, which were more national in character, will be examined. Special attention will be given to the effects of the association of the Reformed churches with not only the Dutch colonial culture but specifically with slave trading

The relatively unknown history of Presbyterian and Reformed in CALA is partially due to the low number of theological schools and training programs in CALA. Hence, one reason for this study is to facilitate the availability of historical and missiological research materials in hope of stimulating further reflection, research and cooperation. A second reason why the subject matter under study is not well known is due to the small size of the Reformed movement within many of the CALA countries. Finally, Church and mission histories, church statistics, missionary and mission project lists, as well as important religious, historical and cultural events will be documented for further academic research. The footnotes, appendices and bibliography, along with the thesis, will hopefully stimulate further investigation, especially by CALA Christians.

0.1.2. Methodology and Scope

The historical survey and missiological analysis utilizes three missiological categories

for the observation of church and mission events. These three categories are subsequently divided into particular sub-categories. The categories respond to the basic questions, such as who, what, when, why, and how. Such an interrogative approach was used by the Dutch missiological pioneer, professor Gisbertus Voetius (1580-1676), one of the founders of the historical Utrecht University in the Netherlands and a known promoter of international Reformed missions (3).

The first category, church and mission context, deals with origin, historical development and culture. It asks and answers the “when and where?” questions. The origin or the introduction of Reformed Christianity in a certain area is often related to historical events which not only allow for a movement’s entrance but also lead to a movement’s exit. Once the church has been established in a context, its internal growth and influence in society will be observed. Geographic, demographic, sociological, psychological, religious and a wide variety of cultural considerations are part of the church and mission context.

The second category is church and mission agency. This category answers the questions “who sends, who goes, to whom is one sent, with whom does the one sent work, how is mission work accomplished and which mission method is used?”

The question “who sends?” refers specifically to the sending churches and agencies to whom the “sent one” is responsible and accountable. The human instruments who send persons or groups of people into mission situations could be church councils, local congregations, institutional mission agencies, or a group of Christians working in society for the sake of missions.

“Who goes” refers to the person or group of persons who carry out the mission activity. Traditionally, this refers to an expatriate missionary. It can also, however, refer to nationals in CALA sent by mission agencies, be they expatriate or not.

“To whom?” refers to the people who are recipients of mission activities. Terms such as: pagan, heathen, savages, uncivilized have been replaced by designations such as target group, unreached peoples, native population or nationals.

“With whom?” designates the partners in missions. Many of the mission agencies work in conjunction with the local churches, national churches, or partner mission agencies. Social institutions such as the military, government, businesses, educational institutions, social institutions, the family as well as persons, are directly or indirectly partners in missions.

The means for carrying out missions is part of the “how?” question. Means vary from church to church, mission agency to mission agency and era to era. Mission means also include the cultural instruments used for missions, such as military conquest, political control, mercantile influence, educational formation and other important cultural activities.

The historical and missiological sections will rely on church and mission statistics such as baptized members (including persons baptized as infants), members in full communion (referring to people who have made profession of their faith and become full members), regular visitors (alluding to persons who visit on a weekly basis but have not become members of the church), national pastors, missionaries, congregations, and preaching points (usually describing a small group of believers who have not been fully organized as a church congregation).

The third major missiological category has to do with mission motivation. This refers to the principles and message of the church and mission. Mission principles asks and answers the “why?” question. Why do Christians, churches, and mission agencies become involved in mission work? Their reasons are usually formulated in personal statements, or recorded in the minutes of church assemblies, constitutions and church confessions.

The “what?” question explores the content and impact of the message and action communicated to or participated with by the mission recipient. What are the theologies, ideologies and word views at work here? What message and impact does Christian praxis have?

In the conclusion segment of each chapter, the above mentioned categories will be utilized in order to make appropriate observations.

0.1.3. Structure

A review of the table of contents shows that the study is organized into four parts: 1) the introduction and conceptual framework; 2) the historical survey of the protest movements within Roman Catholicism, as well as Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions (chapters 1-3); 3) the missiological analysis of the historical survey; and 4) the final observations and conclusions.

The appendix and the bibliography will be structured according to the numeration in the main body of the manuscript. The appendix will include abbreviations used, statistical information about the churches, the list of missionaries and pastors and a brief Spanish summary.

0.1.4. Archives and Libraries

Both primary and secondary sources were used in the historical survey and missiological analysis of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions in CALA.

Primary written sources included church council minutes, church and mission histories written by members or leaders of the church, mission strategy documents, church

periodicals, missionary letters, and church and mission statistics gathered by official assemblies of the church.

Most of the materials are found in libraries associated with the Presbyterian and Reformed churches, pastor and missionary library, and local church libraries and archives. With the exception of the Reformed Churches in Argentina (IRA), all of the denominational Reformed churches in CALA depend on international mission and missionary archives and libraries. The Presbyterian churches in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico and generally, wherever Presbyterianism has taken hold have their own archives and library materials.

David T. Barrett's, *World Christian Encyclopedia* (1982) has been used as a generalized standard for information about national churches. Caribbean and Latin American church and mission historian, Justo Gonzalez, whose works are published both in English and Spanish, is the authority on CALA church history. Neither the Presbyterians or the Reformed have a missiological or historian spokesperson for CALA. There are writers who reflect on their own national situation.

0.1.5. Country by Country Survey

The countries in the Caribbean and South America with Presbyterian and Reformed presence prior to 1916 are: Anguila, Antigua, Argentina, Aruba, Bahamas, Belize, Bermuda, Bonaire, Brazil, British Guyana, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Curacao, Dominican Republic, French Guyana, Grand Cayman, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. John, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Martin, St. Thomas, Tobago, Surinam, Trinidad, Uruguay and Venezuela.

This study will use the acronym CALA (Caribbean and Latin America) to designate all of the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America and South America. This acronym has limitations, since there are several South American countries that are not Caribbean or Latin. However, a better acronym was not found.

The bibliography of this study indicates an extensive gathering of materials. Besides the reading materials the author was able to visit and do research in Argentina, Aruba, Bonaire, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Curacao, Dominican Republic, Grand Cayman, Haiti, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.

0.1.6. Bibliography

Considerable progress was made when Mrs. Helena Wybinga, a library technician, volunteered her services to publish the *Bibliografia de Estudios Reformados en America Latina y el Caribe*.

Reformed missiological research in CALA would be greatly enhanced by the establishment of a research center in which documents, research and other published

materials could be housed. Currently, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in the publishing of *The Reformed Family Worldwide*, has an extensive section on the churches in CALA.

0.2. CONCLUSION

The author's traveling access to many of the countries under consideration has been carried out since 1980. Limited resources understandably curtailed the research opportunities. Yet, advances were made in securing capable mentors and readers and by having access to denominational, pastor and missionary libraries. The historical and missiological survey is premier in its field and will require continuing updating.

FOOTNOTES

1. The major studies have been published which deal with early Protestantism: M. Aires, *Protestantismo en Latino América*, (1981); G. Baez-Camargo, "Evangelical Faith and Latin American Culture," *The Ecumenical Era in Church and Society* (1959), pp. 126-147; Pierre Bastian, *Historia del protestantismo en América Latina* (1989); P. Damboriena, *El protestantismo en América latina (1962-1963)*; Pablo Deiros A., *Historia del Cristianismo en América Latina* (1992); H. H. Prien, *Die Geschichte des Christentums in Latein-Amerika* (1978); J.H. Sinclair, *Protestantismo in Latin America: a Bibliographical Guide* (1967).
2. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century several historical and comparative studies were made. John MacKay, *The Validity of Protestant Missions in Latin America* (n.d.); *That Other America* (1935); Robert Speer, *Missions in South America; South American Problems* (1912); Coble, A.O. *The Justification of Protestant Missionary Work in South America* (1940).
3. Jan A.B. Jongeneel, *Missiologie: Zendingwetenschap* (1986), p. 120; "De Protestantse Missionaire Beweging tot 1789"; *Oecumenische Inleiding in the Missiologie; Voetius' Zendingstheologie. De Eerste Comprehensieve Protestantse Zendingstheologie* (1989), p. 6. "The Missiology of Gisbertus Voetius," "The First Comprehensive Protestant Theology of Missions," *Calvin Theological Journal*, 26.1., (April, 1991), pp. 47-79; Van Oort, *et al.*, *De Onbekende Voetius* (1989). Voetius' six fold questions are: 1) Who does the sending? 2) To whom are they sent? 3) Where are they sent? 4) Who and what sort of people are sent? 5) By what means and in what manner are they sent? And 6), What do missionaries have to pay attention to? See Jongeneel, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

CHAPTER 1

REFORM MOVEMENTS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The sixteenth century Protestant reformation in Europe is characterized by its theological and ecclesiastical reforms. In contrast, the reform movements within the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) in the Caribbean and Latin America (CALA) are expressed in the area of social concerns. Latin American Protestants, commonly known as *los Evangélicos*, still remain ecclesiastically separate from the traditional RCC but they continue to have much in common with the popular RCC church, namely, meeting the challenge of the social and spiritual needs in CALA and mutually reacting to traditional Roman Catholicism. This study will demonstrate that the sixteenth century RCC reform efforts were inspirational yet fell short of Protestants theological and ecclesiastical ideals and, also, that Protestants themselves did not live up to their own expectations. The five hundred years dominance of the Iberian-American RCC Christendom is not only due to its own strengths but also a result of the Protestant's weaknesses.

Chapter 1 is divided according to three major eras in RCC church and mission history in CALA: 1) the Iberian Christendom era (1492-1791); 2) the colonial Christendom era (1791-1962); and 3), the post Vatican II religious pluralistic and ecumenical era (1962-...) (1). Emphasis will be placed on the reform efforts made at the end of the fifteenth century and during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation had not yet been established in CALA during that time period. By 1520, however, the Reformation was becoming more institutionalized in Europe. Meanwhile, in CALA, the first "Lutherans" settled in Venezuela in 1528 and the French Huguenots roamed the Caribbean seas and North American's eastern shores during the same years.

1.2. IBERIAN-AMERICAN CHRISTENDOM AND REFORM MOVEMENTS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CALA (1492-1791)

1.2.1. Introduction

Roman Catholic Christianity came to the Caribbean in 1492, to South America in 1500, and to Mexico in 1519. The RCC came with the Spanish and Portuguese imperial powers and dominated the Southern Hemisphere of the Americas, i.e. Central America and South America, for more than three hundred years. Papal bulls, dating back to 1493, granted religious and political power to Spain and Portugal, so that Brazil became the jurisdiction of Portugal and the rest of the Americas the responsibility of Spain. Protestant immigrants were not able to penetrate the heart of the Iberian-American empire and therefore settled on the Caribbean islands under the protection of the Dutch, English, Danish, and even French colonial governments (2).

Questions, denunciations, and defenses about the Christian nature of the "first evangelization" in the Americas require a profound research, which this chapter is unable, for time and thematic considerations, to give. Yet, general themes relating to the social, theological, and ecclesiastical reform in relationship to the monolithic RCC in CALA need to be mentioned in order to put the reforms of the Protestant and growing Evangelicals in CALA in historical perspective. In this section, a brief introduction will be given to the reform efforts within the RCC in CALA.

Historians have written more than 500 books about the discovery of the Americas led by Cristóbal Colón (1451-1506). Several of the biographies about Colón bring to the foreground and defend the religious motives for the conquest of the Americas (3). A significant amount of literature has appeared seriously questioning the religious motives of the great explorer and the early conquerors (4).

The Dominican Protestant historian, Alfonso Lockward, in *Algunas Cruces Altas* (1992), defends the thesis that Colón was directed by the Word of God, especially by the Old Testament prophecies of Isaiah. Defending the Jewish family origin of Colón, he gives evidence showing that Colón' ultimate vision was to make the explorations financially feasible in order to support a crusade to recapture Jerusalem. Included in the exploration plans of Colón was the first attempt to evangelize the Indians. This involved taking Indians back to Spain, teaching the Indians Spanish, catechizing them in Catholic doctrine, and enculturating them in the Iberian customs. Colón was not at all pleased about the treatments the Indians received at the hands of the Spanish colonists, but then, he was known to be brutal, not only with Indians who rebelled but also with his own crew members (5).

During the second Colombian voyage (1493), Bernardo Boil and 12 religious workers accompanied Colón to Hispaniola. Román Pané began to work with the Indians in 1496. He was the first person to learn the Taino language and the first European to seek their conversion to Christianity (6).

RCC chapels were erected, in what is today Santo Domingo, prior to the turn of the sixteenth century and mass was celebrated. By 1502, a group of Franciscans, founded the first primary school for colonists children in la Vega of Hispaniola.

Without question, the RCC Christendom from Europe was transplanted to CALA. The colonists were able to continue in their religious traditions. Would Christendom benefit the non-colonists?

Lockward points to the conversion efforts among the Indians in Hispaniola carried out by early RCC missionaries and religious workers. Catholic written histories point to Indian confessions such as recorded by Román Pané:

"The first who was killed after being baptized, was an Indian named Gauticavá, who later received the name Juan. He was the first Christian to suffer a cruel death, and I am

certain that he had to be martyred. For I have known through some of those who were present when he died that he said: "*Dios naboria daca, Dios naboria daca*" which says, "I am a servant of God" (7).

Were these forced conversions or conversions which led to Indians actually worshiping, proclaiming, and serving the Christian God? Protestant church historian González writes about the captured Cuban Indian chief Hatuey, who was offered a reduction in his death penalty from burning to immediate death, if he were to accept the Catholic baptism. Hatuey is reported to have said that if baptism signified that he would go to heaven where the Spanish were, then he did not want to go there, nor would he receive the baptism. Las Casas and others protested the forced baptisms as well as the violent means used to do evangelism (8).

The history recorded by RCC apologists and reformers is overshadowed, if not totally silenced, by the total extermination and death of the Indian population, converted or not, in Hispaniola by 1545 or shortly thereafter. Similar or partial genocides occurred throughout CALA. Dominican Catholic church historian Frank Moya Pons, under the title of "The Shock of the Discovery" says:

"I ask myself if the more than 400,000 Indians murdered "were not human beings?" Did they not have souls? Were they not also sons of God? Why is it celebrated and justified today those killings and exploitations as if it were an abstract work of an epoch and not done by bad Christians?" (9)

One of the principal literary productions, alongside of Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (1547) was Pedro de Córdoba (1482-1521) *Doctrina Cristiana para instrucción e información de los indios por manera de historia* (1544). Both Las Casas (1474-1566) and Córdoba, along with Antón de Montesinos (?-died 1528) vigorously protested the treatment of the Indians by the colonists.

One main object of the Catholic reformers' protests was the *encomienda*, a "semi-feudal system of tribute in which the natives were parceled out to the Spaniards as virtual serfs." Las Casas in *Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies and remedies for the Existing Evils*, approached and argued with Spanish authorities for the abolition of the *encomiendas*. His request was granted by Charles V in 1542, but revoked to appease the protest of the Spanish colonists in 1545. Las Casas and others continued to seek social reform (10).

In South America, the Jesuit *reducciones* were established to bring the Indians into the RCC fold while offering communal protection against the abuses of the *encomiendas* which lasted until 1768. The *reducciones* represent a very significant experiment in Catholic Christianity in CALA. It was perhaps the closest Christian community comparison to separatist Protestantism (11).

Among the RCC religious figures one encounters free spirited men such as San

Francisco Solano who dedicated the last 20 years of his life (1590-1610) to evangelize the Indians in the region of Tucumán (Argentina). In moments prior to his death he is reported to have said:

“I am going to the kingdom, yes; but not by my merits, for I am the chief of sinners, but by the merits of Jesus Christ” (12).

And so, sixteenth and early seventeenth century Catholicism offered ample mission motivation, be it a mixture of imperialism (Colón), evangelism (Córdoba), Indian rights advocacy (Las Casas) and or a combination of the above as seen in the *reducciones*. Christian conversion among the Indians and Africans which would lead to indigenous Christianity and indigenous leadership was rare. Historians give the distinct impression that indigenous conversion took place in spite of Christendom, not because of it. The courageous Christian witness presented by heroic missionaries, who risked their lives and vocation to evangelize, can not be used by the traditional RCC to justify their early Christendom enterprise. Many of the RCC effective missionaries were an exception within the RCC and very critical of the RCC practices. It was much more common during the sixteenth and seventeenth century for the traditional church and state powers to snuff out genuine evangelism efforts, such as with the *reducciones*, then to promote them.

The interrelationship between the RCC and the Spanish and Portuguese crown gave the RCC the political power to resist opposition. The forces of the Inquisition, instituted in Mexico and Peru by 1569, kept the internal influence of reformation movements under control (13). Under these conditions, in which the rulers of the land were unfavorable to religious reformation, it was difficult for the forces of reformation to become established in most CALA societies. The Inquisition, among other factors in CALA, was so effective that by the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of cases had diminished considerably.

The winds of reform had been blowing across the Iberian lands prior to the discovery of the New World in 1492. All the signs of a full-scale church reform were in the making until the church and state effectively snuffed out the reformational lights by the use of military force. There had been a revival of interest in the translation, study, and interpretation of the Bible. Theological renewal was seriously considered among priest and monastic movements alike. Prophetic figures such as Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) had followers in Spain and in the New World. In the monastic movements there was a renewed appreciation for imitating primitive Christianity (14). What happened to the fresh wind of reformation? The Mexican Protestant historian, Gonzalo Baez-Camargo states:

“The great Evangelical awakening - for it might properly be called so - of the Iberian soul, in the sixteenth century, was thus crushed by a fatal combination of adversaries from within - this coalition of ecclesiastic and imperialistic absolutism, of which the Inquisition was the fearful successful tool; the rise of the Jesuit order and the powerful

Counter Reformation they led; the expulsion of the Moors and Jews which sealed the fate of religious freedom in the Peninsula; and the stern finality of the Council of Trent on matters of faith and order” (15).

The fires of religious freedom and reformation Christianity were not fanned by the conquistadors in CALA. The Indians and Africans alike were coerced into joining the ranks of the RCC. The sword of the government, fires of the Inquisition, and mob violence were freely used until the nineteenth century. The powerful alliance between Church and State was not successfully challenged until the rise of nationalism and Latin American independence in the eighteenth century. Nationalism was conducive to Protestantism in CALA (16).

1.2.2. Social Reform

During the early years of the RCC in CALA there were examples of social reform. This work took place primarily among the social marginal of society, i.e. the Indians and the Africans.

Antón de Montesinos, a Dominican laboring on the Caribbean Island of Hispaniola, will be remembered for his prophetic denouncement of the oppression of the Indians by the Spanish colonists. The following quotation is engraved below his statue, located near the harbor of Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic:

“Tell me, by what right or justice do you keep these Indians in such cruel and horrible servitude?...Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, not giving them enough to eat, nor taking care of them in their illnesses? For with the excessive work you demand of them, they fall ill and die, or rather you kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold every day...Are these not men? Have they not rational souls? Are you not bound to love these, as you love yourselves? Be certain that in such a state as this, you can no more be saved than the Moors or Turks” (17).

Bartolomé de Las Casas also served in the Dominican Republic. For years he tolerated the ill treatment of the Indians. In the twelfth year of his ministry, however, he became, under the influence of Montesinos, personally convicted of the colonial crimes against the Indians. Las Casas represented the cause of the Indians before the Spanish and religious rulers (18). He argued that the evangelization of the Indians could be done non-violently (19). He worked for the eradication of the oppressive *encomiendas*, which were communities where Indians were forced to labor and learn Catholic doctrine (20). He taught that people were equal, not born as slaves by nature, as was deduced from the Aristotelian doctrine of man and slavery (21). Las Casas continued his polemic against the abuses of Spanish colonialism, through writing and personal communications, until his death. After his death, his literary works were prohibited in certain Latin American countries, such as Peru. By the middle of the next century, the Inquisition forbade his works in Spain (22).

For all the positive efforts on behalf of the Indians, Las Casas was not a great hero in the eyes of the Afro-Americans. Las Casas recommended that Africans be brought to the New World to replace the weaker Indian workers. After Las Casas saw the horrible abuse of the African slaves, he very much regretted his earlier position (23).

A third voice of protest from the sixteenth century against the abuses of the conquest came from Francisco de Vitoria (died 1575), head teacher at the University of Salamanca in Spain. He preoccupied himself with defining the rights of the colonists and the rights of the Indians in the New World. He wrote seven propositions in favor of the Indians and seven propositions in favor of the conquistadors. The following are some of the views expressed in these propositions.

The first thesis dealt with the Indians' right to possess land, possess their own houses, etc. and to run the affairs of their own society. Vitoria argued in favor of Indian rights to conduct their own affairs. The grounds given by the conquerors that mortal sin, idolatry, and mental insufficiencies were bases for taking over the Indian's affairs, were challenged by Vitoria (24).

The second thesis challenged the right of the Pope to exercise authority over non-Christians and secular affairs. The Pope should only exercise authority over Christians and spiritual matters. Holy war against the Indians, for the simple reason that they did not believe as the Catholics believed, was not justifiable, according to Vitoria (25).

The conquistadors claim to discovery rights did not take into consideration the rights of the Indians to that same land. As with the other rights of the Indians, this proposition is based on the first thesis, in which Indians are granted responsibility over their own affairs (26).

Should the Indians lose their social and property rights if they did not become Christians? Vitoria sympathized with the Indian's hesitancy to become Christians in light of the violent and corrupt way it was being presented to them. Again, Vitoria emphasized that Christianity should not be a requisite for the right to hold property (27).

Some of the conquerors justified the conquest by claiming it to be part of the punishment for the Indian's sins (28). Another justification was to see the New World as Canaan and the conquerors as the people of God inheriting the new land (29). Vitoria refuted these claims on Biblical and theological grounds.

Had the Indians really asked the Spanish to be lords over them as some Spaniards had claimed? Vitoria questioned the dynamics of such suggested choices (30).

Vitoria also gave seven reasons supporting the conquest and the use of arms. The use of arms was justified in protecting the right to travel, to do commerce, to exist as a Christian Church, to prevent the Indians from killing each other, and to mediate in tribal conflict when so asked by one of the tribes. Spanish rule over the Indians was

acceptable if the Indians asked for this rule or if they showed themselves incapable of ruling themselves (31).

The recognition of some of the Indian rights would have reduced certain aspects of the violence and abuses against the Indians, yet Vitoria still justified the advancement of the conquest of Latin America and the Caribbean (32).

Historians have highlighted some of the heroic efforts of Catholic clergy in defending the Indians from the abuses of the conquistadors. John MacKay, Presbyterian historian, for instance, cites the Jesuit José de Anchieta (1534-1597) and Manuel da Nóbrega (died 1556?) as among the greatest advocates of the Indians. They interceded with the Portuguese soldiers for the Indians in the interior of Brazil. They offered their lives as a pledge to the soldiers on behalf of the Indians, forcing the soldiers to stop their abuses (33). Enrique Dussel, Roman Catholic historian, considered Antonio de Valdivieso (died 1550), bishop of Nicaragua, even greater than Las Casas for his defense and martyrdom on behalf of the Indians. Valdivieso sought to stop the injustices and informed the King and Church authorities about the abuses. The colonists worked against him until he was eventually killed by conquistadors (34). Others, such as the first Mexican Bishop, Juan de Zumárraga (1528-1547), as bishop of Mexico; Cristobal de Pedraza (1545-1583 in Honduras), bishop of Honduras; Juan del Valle (died 1661), bishop of Popayan; the successor of Valle, Agustin de la Coruna (1565-1590); Pablo de Torres (1547-1554 in Panama), bishop of Panama, could also be mentioned as advocates of social reform among the Indians (35).

The alliance of the RCC with the conquistadors was an unholy alliance. It was so, because sinful and unjust means were used to subject Indians, Africans, and Protestants to the religious-social-economic system of the Spanish colonists. The above mentioned reformers, as well as others, show that a social conscience existed among a minority of the leadership of the church, even though the church as hierarchical institution was slow to implement concrete changes (36).

Through the protests of Montesinos, Las Casas, Córdoba, Vitoria, and the clergy mentioned above, attention was focused on the rights of the Indians. What about the rights of the African slaves whom were transported to the New World and forced to develop and work for the growth of the colonial empires? Pedro Claver (1581-1654), a Jesuit from Cartagena, Columbia, worked among the African slaves who were arriving by the thousands on the slave ships. Many of the slaves were in poor physical and spiritual condition. An untold number had died in their chains on the slave ships or were close to death. Claver had built a small hospital to serve the slaves. He would go on board with a group of workers and seek to comfort the slaves in their plight. He also taught the slaves basic Christianity and baptized tens of thousands of Africans. Claver died of Parkinson's disease, which was common at that time among the slaves (37).

The reform attempts carried out in junction with the existing ecclesiastical and political structures went very slowly. *Reducciones*, the re-organized Indian communities, were

first established by the Franciscans, later by the Dominicans, and most extensively by the Jesuits, not only in Brazil, but also in Mexico, Columbia, Venezuela, and Paraguay. The *reducciones* offered an opportunity to practice a primitive form of Christianity, partially separated from the regular parishes. In many cases, the Indian language was learned, dictionaries and grammar books were begun, and portions of Scriptures were translated. The *reducciones* eventually died out due to both the lack of support from the church, the state, and the colonists. The Jesuits were expelled from Portuguese held territories in 1755 and Spanish controlled areas by 1767 (38).

The semi-structural separation of the monastic orders from the RCC ecclesiastical system provided the Jesuit inspired *reducciones* time to develop. Yet, like the Protestant communities in South America, they were eventually destroyed by the absolutist religious and political systems.

The conquest of the Sword and the Catholic Cross left the Indians and Africans in a position where they had to accommodate. The rise of Christo-paganism, i.e. the mixture of Indian and African religions with Roman Catholic belief, can be traced back to the forced evangelization of the non-colonists (39).

The lack of priests and religious workers led to an institutional church that was static and continually dominated by political and social forces. The slow development of native leadership in CALA gave the RCC a foreign domination (40).

The nineteenth century surge of nationalism and early twentieth century revolutions had an anti-RCC dimension, which in turn gave the Protestants opportunity to enter deeper into CALA.

The question remains whether social and religious reform and progress would have been enhanced by the separation of the protesting reformers from the RCC ecclesiastical structures in order to form their own alternative life style. Certainly, as the Protestants of the sixteenth century found out, it would have to be done in areas outside of the clutches of Inquisition fires and the Iberian-American sword.

1.2.3. Theological Reform

The European discovery of the New World coincides with the theological and political reforms of Northern Europe. Although the Iberian conquest precedes the European reformation, the New World conquest, both North and South, cannot be divorced from the influential Protestant doctrines concerning the authority of Scripture, the sovereign grace of God, salvation by faith in Jesus Christ alone, and the necessity of continual reform towards Biblical and apostolic standards.

The operation of the Inquisition discouraged efforts toward theological reform. In the meantime, the writings of Las Casas, Vitoria, Zumárraga, and others were eventually banned in regions of CALA. The Inquisition encouraged conformity to the traditional patterns. Nevertheless, despite the violent and oppressive conditions in the RCC, there

were notable attempts at theological reform.

Pedro de Córdoba (1482-1521) wrote a simple catholic treatise, *Doctrina Cristiana*. This was to explain the basis of the Roman Catholic faith to the Indians. Many of the essentials of Christian doctrine were clearly presented. It was not clear if the Indians were actually instructed with the book, whether they could read or understand Spanish, or if the religious workers spoke the Indian languages fluently enough to effectively communicate the contents of the booklet (41). The complete genocide of the Hispaniola Indian population with whom Córdoba worked makes such questions rather secondary.

The first bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, was interested in Bible translations, religious instruction, and the production of literature for the Indians. He believed in training Indian leaders. The first printing press in the New World is attributed to him. He also set up several schools as well as the first university in Mexico. After Zumárraga's death, his famous book Christian Doctrine was considered heresy by the Inquisition (42).

The attempts of reformers to bring into the RCC the winds of theological change as experienced in Northern Europe, were quickly smothered by the Inquisition (see footnote 9). Gonzalo Baez-Camargo reported that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Office of the Inquisition handled 310 judgments and 58 cases of suspicion (43). There were 27 executions. Not all these executions were for theological reasons, of course, but adherence to Lutheranism or Calvinism was among the grounds for execution.

The *Casiodoro de Reina* Bible, completed in Europe in 1569, was introduced to CALA shortly afterwards. Bishop Augustine Davila y Padilla (1599, came to Santo Domingo from Mexico) is reported to have seized in 1599, 300 copies of the Protestant Bible and had them publicly burned (44). The laity were forbidden to read the Bible by the Council of Trent (1545-1563).

Throughout CALA, the cult of the Virgin Mary began to develop as appearances of the Virgin were cited. There were attempts to halt the rising tide of syncretism between Indian spiritism and Roman Catholic traditions. For example, some religious leaders spoke out against the popular tradition surrounding the appearance of the Virgin of Guadeloupe in Mexico. Bustamante of Mexico (1556) argued that the acceptance of the validity of the vision of the Indian boy, Juan Diego, was a step backwards into the paganism from which the Indians just had been delivered (45). Debate continued about the authenticity of the Virgin of Guadeloupe and eventually it was accepted as part of Catholic tradition (46).

Since the basic doctrines of the Protestant Reformation were not welcomed in the RCC, those holding to them either went underground, were expelled, or, when possible, joined the Protestant churches.

Unlike the sacrificial efforts by some Catholics to defend and evangelize the indigenous

population, history does not record Catholic martyrdom for defense of theological truths. Even though Lutherans and especially French Huguenots, faced the fires of the Inquisition, from within the ranks of the RCC few leaders were disciplined for theological reasons. Was it because the frontiers in the Americas and the Caribbean were wide enough for religious protestors to take their vision elsewhere? In a sense, this explains the Puritan hope upon reaching the northern Americas. What would CALA Christendom and Christianity in general have been like, if theological and Christian truth had defended unto death, within the RCC and within Iberian-American Christendom?

1.2.4. Ecclesiastical Reform

Religious orders came to the New World immediately after the original conquest. Bernard Boil, the first representative of the Church, was given the title as the First Apostolic Delegate to the Indians. He came to the Dominican Republic (1493-1494), along with 12 religious workers in 1493. He was followed by the Franciscans at the turn of the century and the Dominicans in 1510. The Jesuits came to CALA in 1549.

On the French speaking islands, the Roman See had direct control over the RCC. In the Spanish colonies, the Patronage system was established whereby the Spanish government was in charge of the RCC and its missions.

The RCC in CALA entrenched itself in a traditionalist mold in which the church as institution sought to preserve its medieval identity, papal tradition and Council of Trent theology.

Alternative churches alongside of the RCC were not willingly tolerated. The French Huguenots in Coligny, Brazil (1555-1567), and Protestants in all Spanish and Portuguese colonies, were removed, and in most cases, by military force. Not until long after the new national republics were formed during the nineteenth and twentieth century, were Protestants protected by constitutions recognizing religious pluralism.

1.2.5. Conclusion

Reformation within the RCC was more social than theological and ecclesiastical. Social reform by religious orders, missionaries and lay persons has a profound affect in CALA.

1.3. IBERIAN-AMERICAN CHRISTENDOM AND REFORM MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES AND REPUBLICS IN CALA (1791-1916)

The Haitian national revolution against the French colonists in 1791, and the rupture of Haitian and Papal relations at the same time, was indicative of CALA history during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Republicanism secured national sovereignty and religious pluralism in many countries.

The decline of Roman Catholicism in CALA in the eighteenth and nineteenth century

opened the religious and political doors for the establishment of Protestantism and Evangelicalism in South and Central America. At that time, the lower Antilles in the Caribbean had a significant Protestant presence.

Since the RCC was not able to respond to the vast religious and cultural needs of Latin America, religious pluralism became a crucial question for the new republics during the wars of independence and the adoption of their new constitutions. In some nations, the RCC retained the honor of being the state religion, but its political influence was greatly curbed. The desire for the return of the uniform Iberian cultural ethos is still a strong theme amongst traditional Roman Catholics in CALA today. The wars of independence and the intrusion of Protestantism are seen as part of the Western European and North American colonial and neo-colonial ethos (47).

The Bible colporteurs were the first Protestants to make inroads into Roman Catholic Christendom. Although Roman Catholic antagonism was strong, in a number of countries favorable reception was either given by Roman Catholic clergy or by former Roman Catholic clergy who became Protestant (48).

In terms of evangelization, since the original conquest, the majority of Latin Americans was nominally Roman Catholic but did not always follow RCC theology, ethics, and liturgy. This led to the formation of what some called "mixed religion" and what others name "Christopaganism" (49).

Enrique Dussel gives a summary of how the decline of the cultural power of the RCC in colonial Christendom took place starting in 1808. He optimistically observes a renovating trend.

The beginning of this period in the history of the Church witnessed the transition from the *Patronato* system, in which the Spanish State and government officials actually had charge of the church and its mission, to a secular system in which the Church recovered its freedom of action and is now able to address itself to the modification on the unjust structures and thereby recuperate the support and confidence of the masses. At the same time one can observe the transition from a Christendom in which the Church enjoyed the support of the political system-and where all other religious expressions were excluded from the body-to a pluralistic system in which the Church is required to depend on its own resources and means in an environment of religious freedom. In this second stage the Church can no longer pull legal strings by its relationship to the State but must work by means of Christian institutions. And the birth of these institutions allows us to see the beginning of the renovation that we are contemplating in our day.

This also means that the Latin American Church began a direct relationship with Rome, contact that was interrupted by the *Patronato* system, which in turn allowed for an opening not only to Europe but the whole world as the vestiges of Spanish Empire were abandoned (50).

Denominational Reformed and Protestant Christianity in CALA during the first 350 years of the conquest had an antagonistic relationship with Roman Catholicism. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, however, several reform-minded Roman Catholic clergy joined the new Protestant movement. This fact, combined with the coming of North American and Western European mission societies and denominational missions, gave people an ecclesiastical alternative to Roman Catholic Christendom.

The Protestant Panama Congress of 1916 revealed a strong anti-catholicism. Whereas at the Edinburgh Conference (1910) the European Protestants had considered CALA as Christianized, this attitude was refuted by North American mission agencies and CALA church leaders. The physical persecution of Protestants, the legal and social restrictions placed on Protestants in many CALA countries, and the continuing Biblical and theological deviations within the RCC in CALA, motivated such anti-catholicism.

1.4. CONCLUSION

Mission context. Traditional and Iberian Catholicism is historically closely related to colonization and immigration from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Protestantism grew among the Northern European immigrants in CALA. Portuguese and Spanish colonies as well as those of the northern Europeans became established by the end of the 16th century. Theological reformed, such as experienced in northern Europe, was not allowed to exist within the Hispanic colonies until the coming of 19th century nationalism.

The Iberian-American aristocracy and landowners form a small but very powerful elite throughout CALA. The majority of the poor masses are Indian, Negro, mulatto, and *mestizo*. Since the conquest, Roman Catholicism formed a hegemony with colonial governors and military in order to maintain colonial unity and a common front against their enemies. The RCC's role in the Hispanic colonies' hegemony was challenged by the nationalism movements, who sought independence during the 19th century from Spain and Portugal. The crack in the American Hispanic armor allowed for the full entrance of Protestantism.

The growth of USA imperialism at the end of the 19th century brought changes, especially in the Caribbean. The Roman Catholic dominance in the Spanish islands such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico was broken.

Mission agency. The overwhelming number of RCC religious clergy for CALA came from Spain. Historically, four major groups were ministered to. These groups include: 1) the Spanish colonists; 2) the colonial and later the national elite; 3) the working class; 4) the slave population. These social groupings can be stratified in a pyramid shape, with the small group of colonists on top and the working and slave classes on the bottom. The RCC clergy came as Spanish colonists. The parish priests worked with the colonist and population in general and the mission workers labored among the poor. Since the church depended on foreign clergy more than national ones, there was a continual shortage of priests and missionaries.

With the coming of Protestantism and the emphasis on the involvement of lay leadership in the local congregation, a significant number of baptized Roman Catholics would join the Protestant movement and become active promoters of Christianity in their society.

Mission motivation. Sixteenth and seventeenth century RCC mission motivation is summarized by the phrase used by Justo Gonzalez, “the cross and the sword.” Submission to Roman Catholic dogma and leadership was considered so important, the Inquisition was established by 1569 in order to guarantee such submission. However, conscientious religious leaders such as Las Casas and Montesinos protested the use of the sword for evangelism.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century could be labeled as “the cross and the constitution.” Despite the small number of priests and the decreasing influence of the RCC in CALA, the RCC was able to maintain its status as the constitutionally recognized official religion of the state in most of the formed Hispanic colonies in CALA. Such recognition was challenged as the colonies weakened but maintained in the formulation of the national constitutions. Despite the ongoing RCC political influences in the Hispanic countries, freedom of religion was granted in most of the countries.

Military, political and social motivations were predominant during the first 400 years of RCC presence in CALA but the witness of Las Casas, Montesino, Zumárraga, Pané, Claver, Solano and others here unnamed, show an evangelistic concern which the Protestants could envy. In fact, had Protestantism in the 16th century been led by leaders of such caliber, its future in CALA may have been more prominent.

The RCC religious and socio-political dominance during the first 400 years in CALA did not encourage reformation from within the RCC. By the end of the sixteenth century the Inquisition and colonial powers had significantly limited theological and ecclesiastical reform. The rise of Protestantism was inevitable. Protestant pirates, merchants, colonies, and civil authorities encouraged the transplant of Protestant churches to the New World. Among the first to come were Reformed churches. This we will study in the following chapters.

FOOTNOTES

1. General outline taken from Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America* (1981). Dussel begins the second era in the year 1808, while this study places the beginning of CALA national revolutions in the revolution of Haiti in 1791.
2. The British entered the Caribbean early in the 17th century: Bermuda (1609), Barbados (1626), Belize (1638), Jamaica (1655), Trinidad (1797), Grenada (1783). See Justo González, *Historia...*, pp. 142, 189, 209-211; David Barrett (ed.), *World Christian Encyclopedia* (1982), pp. 162, 174, 335, 417, 678; Jean Bastian, op. cit., pp. 23-24. The Dutch entered Curacao in 1634 and Surinam in 1668. Jan M. van der

- Linde, *Surinaamse Suikerheren en hun Kerk* (1966), pp. 13f and A.H. Algra, *Dispereert Niet* Vol. 5. (Franeker, n.d.), pp. 278 - 281. The Danish entered St. Kitts, St. Thomas, and St. John. See K.S. Latourette, *The Great Century: The Americas, Australia and Africa* Vol. 5 (1978), p. 49. The French took Martinique, Guadeloupe. The French Huguenots settled in St. Thomas, St. Kitts, Surinam, British, and French Guiana. González, *op. cit.*, pp. 142f concerning Papal bulls.
3. Carlos Esteban Deive, *Heterodoxia e Inquisición en Santo Domingo-1492-1822* (1983); Francisco Alvarez Seisdedos (trans), *Libro de las Profecías de Cristobal Colón* (1984); Salvador de Madariaga, *Vida del Muy Magnífico Señor Don Cristóbal Colón* (1984).
 4. *500 Años de Presencia Cristiana en América Latina y el Caribe* (1991).
 5. Alfonso Lockward, *Algunas Cruces Altas* (1992).
 6. See Ramón Pané, *Relación Acerca las Antiquedes de los Indios* (1988).
 7. Pedro de Córdoba, *Doctrina Cristiana y Cartas* (1988). Lockward cites Fernando Colón, *Vida del Almirante Don Cristóbal Colón* (1984), p. 211.
 8. Justo L. González, *La Era de Los Conquistadores* (1980), p. 28. Rodolfo blank, *Teología y Misión...* (1996), present the non-violent approach of Las Casas as well as the "Spiritual Franciscans" as a positive non-violent influence for the indigenous peoples. It is noteworthy that the contextualized Franciscan approach was absent among Protestants until the 18th century Moravians and the 19th century Protestant mission societies.
 9. "Moya pregunta porqué celebran matanza indios," *Ultima Hora* (March 30, 1992), p. 4.
 10. Luis Lugo, "Christianity and the Spanish Conquest of the Americas," (1991), p. 8. Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (1985), Vol. 11, pp. 548 f.
 11. Titus G. Funk, "Jesuitas y menonitas: dos modelos asincrónicos de obra misionera integral en el Paraguay," *Boletín Teológico* (41), pp. 31f.
 12. Daniel Monti, *Presencia del protestantismo en el Río de la Plata durante el siglo XIX* (1969), p. 28.
 13. Gonzalo Baez-Camargo, "Evangelical Faith and Latin American Culture," *The Ecumenical Era in Church and Society* (Edward Jurij, ed.), (1959), p. 34. Baez-Camargo, "The Earliest Protestant Missionary Venture in Latin America," *Church History XXI* (1952) p. 135. The writings of Las Casas, Vitoria, and Zumárraga, were banned in certain regions by the Inquisition. González, *La Era de los Conquistadores* (1980), pp. 63,67. See José Toribio Medina, *Historia del tribunal del santo oficio de la inquisición en México* (1905), and Bastian, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 - 16; González, *Historia...*, pp. 144 - 163. In 1569, the Holy Office of the Inquisition was set up in Mexico, and Peru, John MacKay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (1932), pp. 49 - 51. Baez-Camargo, *Protestantes Enjuiciados por la Inquisición en Ibero América* (1960); Camargo reports that during the 16th and 17th century, 310 judgments and 58 cases of suspicion were handled by the Inquisition. There were 27 executions. Richard Greenleaf, "The Mexican Inquisition and the Enlightenment," *New Mexico Historical Review XLI*, 3, (1966), p. 190.
 14. Baez-Camargo, "Evangelical...", pp. 129 - 135. See MacKay, *The Other...* Bastian, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 - 21. Latourette notes that most of those who dissented were not what

- we would call evangelicals. They were followers of the humanism of Erasmus. Some, like Servetus, were anti-Trinitarian and others Unitarian. "The Early Evangelical Missionary Movement in Latin America," (1961), p. 4.
15. Baez-Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
 16. González, *La Era...*, pp. 53 - 155. José Miquez Bonino, *Doing Theology in a Revolutionary Situation* (1980), pp. 4 - 9. Of missiological interest is that until the powerful alliance between Church and State was broken it was difficult to be a non-Catholic Christian. The Bible colporteurs, lay missionaries, and missions societies were the forerunners in Protestant mission work in the Latin American Christendom. The Moravians were the first Protestants to combine church community and missions together in a context which was not controlled by their own government. See Orlando Costas, *Christ Outside the Gate* (1982), pp. 60 -61.
 17. See Dussel, *A History...*, p. 47.
 18. González, *La Historia...*, pp. 61 - 63; MacKay, *The Other...*, pp. 45 - 49; Dussel, *A History...*, pp. 48 - 49.
 19. González, *La Historia...*, p. 62.
 20. Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (1975), p. 172; Dussel, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
 21. F. Du Base, ed., *Classics of Christian Mission* (1979), p. 213.
 22. González, *La Era...*, p. 63.
 23. Carlos Deive, *La Esclavitud del Negro en Santo Domingo* (1980), p. 61.
 24. González, *La Era...*, p. 64.
 25. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
 33. MacKay, *The Other...*, p. 38.
 34. Dussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 - 53.
 35. *Ibid.*, pp. 53 - 54.
 36. *Ibid.*, 47 - 60.
 37. González, *La Era...*, pp. 122 - 126.
 38. Gerald. M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America* (1979), p. 20; Dussel, *op. cit.*, p 59.
 39. Alfred Metraux, *Voodoo in Haiti* (1959); George Eaton Simpson, *Black Religions in the New World* (1978); William Madsen, *Christo-Paganism: A Study of Mexican Religious Syncretism* (1957); Dussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 - 86.
 40. Gerald Costello, *op. cit* (1979), pp. 23 - 25.
 41. J. Miquez Bonino, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Córdoba, *op. cit.*
 42. González, *La Era...*, p. 93; *La Historia...*, pp. 146,149.
 43. Baez-Camargo, *Protestantes Enjuiciados...*; Richard Greenleaf, "The Mexican Inquisition and the Enlightenment," *New Mexico Historical Review* XLI,3, (1966), p. 190...

44. Antonio Camilo González, *El Marco Historico de la Pastoral Dominicana* (1983).
45. Baez-Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 138. Spiritism is a better description of the supernatural activity of Indian and African native religions than paganism. Animism suffers from an evolutionary bias. Primitivism does not do justice to the contemporary practice of similar activities.
46. Madsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 -180. Louis Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures* (1981), p. 7.
47. Dussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.
48. See Arnoldo Canclini, *Diego Thomson* (1986).
49. Dussel, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

CHAPTER 2

CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN REFORMED CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN THE PRE-PANAMA CONGRESS ERA (1555-1916)

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Protestant inroads into CALA were sporadic before the mid-sixteenth century. The first Protestant influence in South America is attributed to the Welsers, bankers from Augsburg, Germany. They were given permission by Charles V to settle in Venezuela even though they were Lutherans. The expedition of "Los Welsers" lasted from 1528-1546, when it was brought down by Spanish antagonism, the slave trade, tropical diseases, and the imprisonment of its leaders by the Spanish. Missions among the Indians was not attempted. As early as 1538 it is reported that the corsair French Huguenot, Jacques de Sores, celebrated a worship service on his boat and distributed Bibles in La Havana, Cuba. The French Huguenots were the second Protestant presence in CALA. They arrived in Coligny, Brazil, in 1555. The Coligny colony lasted until 1559, with the last Huguenot being martyred in 1567 (1).

The first Protestants in CALA faced stiff opposition from Roman Catholics. Historian Jiménez Rueda noted that both Lutherans and Calvinists were judged by the Roman Inquisition. By 1564 an unofficial tribunal was established in Nicaragua. Phillip II officially established tribunals in 1569. Tribunals were set up in Peru (1570), Mexico (1571), and Cartagena (1609) (2).

In the sixteenth century, the French Huguenots were on the forefront of Protestant expansion in the Americas. Thereafter came the Dutch, English, and Germans. In the study of the beginning of Reformed involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, it is paramount to recognize the European heritage and their mission plans for the Americas. Therefore, this chapter will start with a brief description of Calvin's Geneva and the Villegaignon expedition to Coligny, Brazil.

2.2. THE GENEVAN REFORMATION AND THE VILLEGAIGNON EXPEDITION TO COLIGNY, BRAZIL (1555 -1567)

2.2.1. Introduction

Geneva became a center for the Protestant Reformation in Europe during the sixteenth century. Geneva also became a center for an international mission movement throughout Europe and even to the Americas. The theology and leadership of John Calvin (1509-1564) contributed not only to the Protestant Reformation, but also to the sixteenth century mission efforts. The French expedition to Brazil (1555-1567) included French Huguenots, who were directly related to the Genevan church and Calvin's academy.

It is missiologically significant to note the rapid extension of the Reformed churches throughout Europe as well as its early arrival in the southern part of the Western Hemisphere. It is equally important to analyze the subsequent failure of the expedition to Brazil and consequent demise of mission activities.

2.2.2. The Villegaignon Expedition to Coligny

The French expedition to Brazil was led by Vice-Admiral Nicholas Durand de Villegaignon (1510-1571). This expedition was sponsored by the French Admiral, Gaspard de Chatillon, Admiral de Coligny (1519-1572), who was sympathetic to the Huguenot cause. Villegaignon had been a fellow student of John Calvin while they were both in Paris. While Villegaignon became a man of war, Calvin turned to the study of law. After his religious conversion Calvin dedicated his efforts to advancing the Protestant Reformation. The two countrymen had very limited contacts through writing (3).

Villegaignon was interested in involving the French Huguenots in the expedition to Brazil. As French historian Marc Lescarbot writes:

“Inasmuch as such an enterprise could not well be carried out without the recognition, cooperation, consent, and authority of the Lord Admiral, who at that time was Gaspard de Coligny, a man imbued with the ideas of the so-called Reformed religion, he gave the said Lord Admiral, and also several noblemen and others of the so-called Reform, to understand, whether hypocritically or not, that he had long had not only the extreme desire to betake himself to some far-off land where he could freely and sincerely serve God in accordance with the purity of the Gospel; but also that he desired to establish there for all who wished to retire a refuge from persecution, which was, in fact, at that time so violent against the Protestants that several of both sexes and diverse ranks throughout the whole kingdom of France had been burned alive, and their goods confiscated, by edicts of the King and by decision of the High Court of Parliament” (4).

The first trip to Brazil (1555) was authorized by the French King Henry II. He gave three ships, money, and the permission to recruit among the prisoners, for volunteers were hard to find. Several Huguenots, an ex-monk, prisoners, and soldiers made the long and difficult journey across the Atlantic Ocean and arrived on November 10, 1555, in the area now known as Rio de Janeiro. They chose to inhabit a small island by the coast and a fort was built. It bore the name of the Admiral, hence, Fort Coligny.

Soon Villegaignon had mutiny on his hands. The complaints were various. Some resented the hard work of building the colony, others wanted female companionship, and others desired more contact with the Indians. The mutiny was suppressed by force. Villegaignon made an appeal by letter to Admiral Coligny and John Calvin, asking both for more Huguenot settlers, and for pastors to instruct the colonists in the Christian religion and to "bring the savages to the knowledge of their salvation" (5).

Calvin and the church in Geneva received the letter with thanksgiving. Plans were made to send eleven artisans, two pastors, and an expedition leader. The two pastors were Pierre Richier and Guillaume Chartier. The minutes of the Genevan church of August 25, 1556, read:

“On Tuesday, 25 August, in consequence of the receipt of a letter requesting this church to send ministers to the new islands, which the French had conquered, M. Pierre Richier and M. Guillaume Chartier were elected. These two were subsequently commended to the care of the Lord and sent off with a letter from this church” (6).

The letters of correspondence, involving Calvin, and the leaders of the Genevan church, show that Calvin's advice and counsel were sought and valued (7).

The three ships left to make the second trip with over 300 passengers. Among the passengers were single women who would eventually marry some of the colonists as well as several boys who would live among the Indians and serve as interpreters. The expedition leader was M. Philippe du Pont de Corguilleray, a close friend of both Calvin and Coligny. Also on board was a young theological student, Jean de Léry, who later wrote a history of this expedition and its tragic ending. The ship arrived in March of 1557 (8).

Léry observed that Villegaignon welcomed the French Huguenots with open arms. When M. du Pont asserted that they had come to "establish here our Reformed Church, according to the Word of God," Villegaignon replied:

“It is my intention to create in this place a refuge for the faithful who are being persecuted in France, Spain, and elsewhere beyond the sea, so that they may, without fear of King, Emperor, or any other potentate, serve God in purity, according to His will” (9).

For several months the congenial relationship between the church and colony administrator, Villegaignon, blossomed. The first Protestant worship services in South America were conducted. The first two marriages were solemnized by Richier on April 3, 1557. The Lord's Supper was celebrated on March 21, 1557. Villegaignon and the ministers respected each other's authority and positions. But the "honeymoon" lasted only a little while. Villegaignon reconverted to Catholicism and became a great enemy of the Reformed Church (10).

Villegaignon had received letters from the Cardinal of Lorraine, urging him to renounce his support of Calvin's heresies. One of the colonists, Jean Cointac, who had previously renounced his Catholicity, reverted to Catholicism. He convinced Villegaignon to adopt the doctrine of transubstantiation for the Lord's Supper and to accept the Catholic practice of mixing oil, salt, and saliva with the baptism water. Villegaignon began to contradict the Reformed pastors before the congregation, and he intervened in the order and discipline of the church. It was decided by the congregation to send pastor Chartier back to Geneva to consult with John Calvin (11).

The trip of Chartier was in vain. No sooner had he departed, than Villegaignon declared Calvin a heretic and took over the control of the church. The Huguenots could not tolerate this apostasy. Du Pont and Richier confronted the colony leader, stating that, due to his behavior, they no longer considered him their temporal leader and that they therefore would be leaving on the first ship.

Villegaignon retaliated by trying to starve the Huguenots, but the Huguenots had a hidden storage of food due to trading relations with the Indians. By October 1557, Villegaignon ordered the Huguenots out of the fort. They went to the mainland to a small settlement of French settlers who had left Coligny previously. They had established friendly relations with the Tupinambas Indians, who preferred the French over the Portuguese. And so the French Huguenots were forced to establish their first social and evangelistic contacts with the 'heathen savages' (12).

The first impression the Huguenots had of the Indians was one of shock. The Huguenot leaders were abhorred by the practice of cannibalism, the belief in evil spirits, and the 'immoral' lifestyle of the Indians. Richier writes: "We entertain no hope of completely winning them for Christ, although this really be the most important of all" (13).

As the initial shock wore off, Richier sounded more positive:

"Since it is the Most High who has placed upon us this task to do, we must hope that this land will become the future possession of Christ" (14).

The evangelistic efforts were conducted through personal contacts with the Indians. Lery describes two such encounters.

On one occasion, the Huguenots were with the Indians and they prayed for their food. The Indians inquired as to why they did that. Léry and his companions explained that the prayer was to God the Creator, who made all things and who made man in his image. Since man was made in the image of God, it would be displeasing to God to eat man's flesh. After a lengthy talk some of the Indians expressed their desire to pray and suggested that they would give up cannibalism (15).

On another occasion, Léry was hiking through the jungle with several Indians in search of food. In seeing the beauty of nature, he spontaneously sang Psalm 104. After he had finished singing, the Indians asked him about the song. This gave Léry an opportunity to speak about God. The response of the Indians was to recall a legend of a similar God which they had long ago heard about from a white stranger. This information was puzzling for Léry and he entertained the thought that perhaps one of the apostles had visited the New World at the beginning of our era (16).

The Huguenots' six month stay with the Indians left no historical record of any Indian conversions. Léry wrote that if Villegaignon had not opposed the Huguenots, Christianity may have taken hold among the Indians (17).

When the ship `Le Jacques' came during the month of January in 1558, it was prepared to take fifteen Huguenots back to France. Hardly had the journey begun when it was necessary to send five men back to shore with the lifeboat. The ship could hardly stay afloat. The remaining Huguenots made the difficult journey to France, many of them just barely surviving the trip (18).

The five returning men were received by Villegaignon upon the condition that they would not speak about their religion to the other colonists. This amnesty was short-lived as Villegaignon became suspicious of the Huguenots and ordered that they be imprisoned. In order to try them, the Huguenots were required to make a written statement about their beliefs. In this fashion the first Reformed declaration of faith was drawn up on Latin American soil. The amateur theologians who drew up the 17 article statement, which was similar to the Genevan Catechism, were Jean du Bourdel, Matthieu Verneuil, Pierre Bourdon, and Andr'e La Fon. Bourdel, Verneuil, and Bourdon were found guilty, strangled and thrown into the sea. They were the first Protestant martyrs in Latin America. La Fon was spared, because his service as a tailor was desired by Villegaignon, the "Cain of the Americas" (19).

Other colonists had escaped Coligny and were to be found among the Portuguese colonists. Jean Boles lived among the Portuguese and was jailed for preaching the gospel to them. He was hung in Rio de Janeiro in 1567 (20).

Villegaignon returned to France in 1559, and the Portuguese took over the Coligny colony by military force in 1567. Villegaignon tried to establish contact with Calvin, in order to justify himself, but Calvin did not answer (21).

2.2.3. Conclusion

The Protestant discovery of the New World, accomplished in the shadow of the Roman Catholic and Iberian conquest in 1492, faced the insurmountable obstacle of anti-Protestant forces, not only from without, but more seriously, in the betrayal of Villegaignon, from within the French colony.

The missions originated in the context of the Catholic-Huguenot conflict in France and ended with the persecution, betrayal, defeat, and return of the Huguenots to France. The mission attempt was typical of what happened to the French Huguenots in the Caribbean (which included Florida at that time) (22).

The Villegaignon expedition proved to be an unworthy means by which to plant the church. Villegaignon assumed unilateral control of the colony and the new church, and brought about the demise of both. Ironically, the expulsion of the Huguenots to the mainland brought about their first genuine contact with the Indian peoples. The Huguenots were unprepared to do mission work among the Indians, although concern was expressed about the eternal destiny of the Indians.

Admiral Gaspard de Chatillon, the Reformer John Calvin, and the Huguenots on the expedition had expressed hope of finding a place of refuge for the Huguenots so that they might leave the conflicts of their homeland behind and established the Reformed church. What they found was that the same conflicts had been transplanted to the New World, had taken root, and continued in an intensified form. In section 10.2, the Calvinist mission principles as related to the Coligny expedition will be outlined.

2.3. REFORMED CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN CALA (1555-1916)

2.3.1. Introduction

During the seventeenth to the nineteenth century several Protestant groups having a similar Protestant theological background were involved in the Caribbean and Surinam (23). The national boundaries and different mercantile companies accentuated the differences, and led the denominations to transplant colony churches to the New World.

This section will begin with the French Reformed churches and missions. It will continue by describing the Netherlands Reformed churches and missions and finalize by mentioning smaller national efforts.

The most significant French Huguenot mission effort was the Coligny expedition (1555-1567). The French Huguenots also tried to establish colonies in Florida, French Guyana, Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Surinam, Anguilla, St. Eustatius, and St. Martin.

In this section the Netherlands Reformed churches and missions in Argentina, Guyana, Brazil, Surinam, and in the Upper and Lower Antilles will be dealt with.

The Waldensians from Italy immigrated to Uruguay and Argentina during the second half of the nineteenth century. South Africans, as well as Dutch immigrants, came to Argentina and Brazil at the turn of the century.

The Americans had minor involvement in St. Thomas and on the Virgin islands.

2.3.2. French Reformed Churches and Missions (1555-1916)

2.3.2.1. Introduction

The French were very active in the New World during the sixteenth century. Historian Philippe Guéritault records the post-Coligny Huguenot movements. Robert de Larrey took La Réale to Peru in 1573 and 1574. Jean Scot came to the Americas in 1580. Between 1595 and 1597, Alonse Le Buroys made three trips, the last of which ended in disaster off the coast of Bahia. The French also conducted commerce off the northern coast of Brazil. Expeditions were made by Riffauet in 1594, and by Des Vaux and La Ravardière, sent by Henry the IV, in 1604 and 1610. René Marie de Montbarrot made an attempt to settle in the Brazilian Amazon and Trinidad in 1604 and 1610 (24).

The French immigrants had a unique relationship with the French government. The French Huguenots were granted permission to establish colonies in the New World by a Catholic French government. Little effort was made by the imperial forces to protect the French Protestants. They became easy prey for the Portuguese and Spanish military forces. After the Edict of Nantes (1685) was revoked in France, causing mass persecutions of French Huguenots, many came to CALA via the Netherlands. The French Huguenots finally found refuge on the islands of the English, the Danish, and the Dutch.

Temporary colonial efforts were made in Florida and Haiti. A more permanent presence was maintained in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guyana.

2.3.2.2. Florida (1562-1565)

Considering that Florida was part of the Spanish Empire during the sixteenth century, the Huguenot colonies in Florida will also be mentioned. Under the direction of Jean Ribaut in 1562, a colony of French Huguenots was established in Florida. Two years later, another French colony was established there by René de Laudoniere.

Both colonies were destroyed by the Spanish in 1565, leaving only a handful of survivors. Sources indicate that some evangelistic contacts were made among the non-French population (25).

2.3.2.3. French Guyana (1624-1916)

The first French expeditions to Guyana included the French Protestants. Most of the activities were commercial rather than ecclesiastical. The French tenure was from 1624-1654.

French Guyana became a French colony in 1667. In the same year, the Roman Catholic Church began work in the colony. The island of Cayenne became famous during the nineteenth and twentieth century for its prison for French criminals. The French population is small, accounting for less than 50% of the general population. An indigenous church was not started until the twentieth century (26). Some mission contacts were made among the Indian and African "maroons" populations early in the eighteenth century, but did not result in the planting of a church. Protestants were known to assist criminals, as well as political opponents (27).

2.3.2.4. Haiti (1626-1652)

Calvinist influences on the northern coast of Hispaniola (present day Haiti and Dominican Republic) were denounced by the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, Nicolás de Ramos, in 1594. The focus of attention was the small island of Tortuga, north of present day Haiti. It is reported that in 1626, a certain Le Vasseur, known to be a French Huguenot, was stationed on Tortuga Island while the French were there. He was not

able to establish a church.

English buccaneers, under the leadership of Anthony Hilton, established a "puritan" colony during the years 1631-1635. The Spanish from Santo Domingo overtook the island in 1635, killing or enslaving over 600 persons. The Dominicans routed the followers of Le Vasseur (1640-1652), who had built his own independent empire on the island of Tortuga. After having rebelled against the French, Le Vasseur's enemies reported that he had set up his own personal empire and had been murdered by one of his mistresses (28).

Tortuga Island, off the northern tip of Haiti, had served the English and the Dutch pirates as a launching point for attacks against the Spanish in the eastern part of the island, and as a center for trading contraband.

When at the end of the eighteenth century the French colonists were overthrown in Haiti, the French minority continued to dwindle. The possibilities of establishing a French Protestant church became slim. The reason for this was that most of the French Huguenot churches, like other Protestant churches, were transplanted churches serving primarily European colonists. No serious cross-cultural mission activities are reported.

2.3.2.5. Martinique (1635-1916)

The French settled Martinique in 1635. By 1674 it was annexed to France. Although some Huguenots may have settled in Martinique after 1635, this was more likely after 1674. No immigrant church for the French Protestants came into existence until the twentieth century. The transient, immigrant nature of the French Reformers as well as their precarious relationship with the French government during the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, was not conducive to establishing a large Protestant community and doing mission work among the inhabitants (29).

2.3.2.6. Guadeloupe (1635-1916)

Guadeloupe was settled by the French in the same year as Martinique. The island is mostly populated by people of African descent, Asians, Jews, and mulattos. As in Martinique and French Guyana, the French Calvinists joined other Protestants to form the *Eglise Evangélique de la Guadeloupe* (EEG).

The French Huguenots were not many in number by the end of the eighteenth century. Gérard Lafleur mentions Tronchin, brother of a famous doctor in Geneva, along with a certain Conway, as adhering to Calvinism in Guadeloupe. In order to openly conduct Reformed church life it was necessary to go to St. Kitts, St. Thomas, or St. Eustatius. The historical records under review do not mention work being undertaken among the inhabitants of Guadeloupe (30).

2.3.2.7. Surinam (1686-1783)

The Dutch Reformed came to Surinam in 1667. Afterwards, for nearly one hundred years (1686-1783), a French Huguenot congregation operated in Paramaribo, Surinam. At least fourteen ministers served in this congregation (31). Although the church mostly served the French colonists, it also did some work with Indo-Americans. Rev. P d' Albas (Sur:1683-1684) and Rev. J. Fauvarque (Sur:1708-1710) are reported to have done work among Indo-americans. Rev. Pierre Terson (Sur:1693-1697) was sent from Holland to be a missionary to the Arawak Indians. An indigenous congregation, however, was not established (32).

The French Reformed church was on friendly terms with the Dutch colonial administration and the Netherlands Reformed church. The Netherlands Reformed church building was also used by the French for their church services (33).

With the wane of French influence in Surinam, the French colonists stopped immigrating. The church was officially closed in 1783, and the building returned to the Dutch. Mission work was continued by the Moravians in conjunction with the slaves and Maroons.

2.3.2.8. Anguilla, St. Eustatius and St. Martin (1762-1916)

Caribbean historian Gérard LaFluer mentions the presence of French Huguenot families living in Anguilla, St. Eustatius, and St. Martin during the eighteenth century.

In Anquilla, several French Huguenots, in 1789, were married by Anglican Rev. Jonathan Fleming. Family names such as Derrick, Hassel, Gumbs, Richardson, Howell, and Lack are mentioned. As early as 1762, the baptisms of French Huguenot children are registered.

In St. Eustatius, French Huguenots from London were married in 1778.

The predominant Protestant influences in St. Martin were the Netherlands Reformed, English Anglicans, and later, the Methodists.

Several French Huguenot families are mentioned as living in St. Martin.

Historical records examined do not mentioned any mission activity by French Huguenots in the above mentioned islands (34).

2.3.2.9. Conclusion

The origin and development of French Huguenot presence in CALA is directly related to the socio-political instability of the French Huguenots in Europe. They were a church in dispersion. Only under the umbrella of the friendly WIC during the seventeenth and

eighteenth century were they able to develop in Surinam. It was not until the twentieth century that formal agreements were reached with the French government permitting Protestant churches and chaplains in the French Caribbean.

Roman Catholic mission efforts were strong in the French Caribbean colonies from 1700 to 1815. Whereas the Spanish islands had the patronage system, in which they had an indirect relation to the Sacred Congregation For the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, the French were directly related to the RCC. After 1700, the Jesuits, Dominicans, Capuchins, Carmelites, and Brothers of St. John came to the French islands. The French Revolution almost paralyzed RCC mission efforts on the islands.

The French Reformed established not only some relations with the Netherlands Reformed in Surinam, but also with the English Anglicans in St. Kitts, the Danish Lutherans on the Virgin Islands, and the Methodists in St. Martin. The Huguenot church members occasionally joined these above-mentioned churches. Where a French Reformed church could be established, it was done.

The major mission method for early French Huguenots was the spontaneous migrant dispersion throughout the Caribbean, Surinam, and the Guyanas. The struggle for self-preservation and the inability to establish themselves limited their ability to organize mission activities.

The motivating principles for French Huguenot mission activities are observable in the case of the Coligny expedition, where the journals of travelers and colonists are preserved. Due to the short-lived nature of French Huguenot presence in Brazil, Florida and other Caribbean islands, these motives did not have time to develop into concrete actions and organizations, except in Surinam (1686-1783), and after 1916, in the French Caribbean.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Rev. Pierre Terzon laboured among the Arawak Indians in Surinam. During the pre-Panama era an indigenous church was not established by the French Protestants.

2.3.3. Netherlands Reformed Churches and Missions (1616-1916)

2.3.3.1. Introduction

The NHK in CALA was closely related to the formation and activities of the WIC (1621). The decision of the WIC to become involved in the African slave trade left a definite mark on the mission activities of the NHK. The French Huguenot and early NHK in Brazil had lived in peaceful and friendly co-existence with the Indians and Africans. However, slave trading and slave ownership soon created a socio-racial barrier between the colonists of the Netherlands and the Indian-African populations. These barriers will be elaborated upon in the course of this study.

The Netherlands Reformed churches and missions spread through colonization to Guyana, Brazil, Curacao, Surinam, and the Upper and Lower Antilles. Immigration, disassociated from the Dutch colonies, began to occur in Argentina and Brazil around the turn of the twentieth century.

The involvement of the Reformed churches was conducted with a variety of motivations. Already in the sixteenth century, Gisbertus Voetius, spoke of the role of the state in the advancement and protection of the gospel. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the role of the mercantile companies, such as the East Indies Company and the WIC, were scrutinized by such Dutch theologians as Jean Taffin Jr. and Johannes Polyander. Even though the Dutch classis and synods showed a resistance to the strong influence of the WIC leadership over the missions of the church, mission history clearly shows that the WIC intentions and executed plans were primary and the church's mission secondary.

2.3.3.2. Guyana (1616-1860)

The NHK presence came to Guyana with the first Dutch immigrants, who came as early as 1616. The first church building was erected in 1720 at the mouth of the Wieronie River.

The Reformed Church became a State Church, supported by the colonial taxes. So by 1736, the first minister, Johannes Fronderdorff (Guy: 1736-?), was appointed to serve in Berbice. Other churches were built on Fort Island on the Essequibo River and in Demerara. When the British took over in 1803, the presence of the NHK rapidly declined. When the government of British Guyana withdrew the tax for the NHK in 1860, the church ceased to exist.

Guyana Presbyterian church historian, Rev. D. A. Bisnauth, noted that although some legal measures against drinking and gambling were taken, the members of the NHK community were not noted for high moral standards.

The Dutch Reformed resistance to racial integration in the churches was related to the colonial government. In 1794, the petition of the Methodist Society in London to work with the Africans in Demerara was denied by the States General in Holland "because of the strong objections raised by the colonial government" (35).

The church membership was steadily absorbed into the Presbyterian or Anglican churches, so that by 1860 there were no Reformed churches left in Guyana.

Whereas the NHK did not permit Africans to become full members of the church, the Presbyterian church took a different approach and welcomed the Negroes as well as the East Indians. The segregating ethos of the NHK did not enable them to create an indigenous African, or East-Indian church in Guyana.

2.3.3.3. Brazil (1630 - 1654)

William Usselinx (1567 - 1647) was one of the founding fathers of the WIC, the Dutch merchant fleet. He expressed concern for the need to Christianize the heathen. Usselinx was a staunch Reformer. He served overseas in Brazil and the Caribbean. The regions of the Guyanas and the coastal regions of northern Brazil were attractive to the Dutch companies, because they were desolate and populated by neither the Spanish nor the Portuguese. Usselinx intended to utilize Africans as paid laborers, rather than as slaves. He considered slavery immoral and economically detrimental. He expressed hope of using colonization as a means to evangelization. However, the humanitarian and Christian ideals of Usselinx were ignored in the actual practices of the WIC (36).

The relationship between the consistories, classis, synods, and Reformed church deputies with the leaders of the WIC, as described by Leendert Jan Joosse, reveals an interest on the part of the WIC to employ preachers and comforters of the sick. Part of the Dutch churches, in turn, looked to bring the gospel to the Brazilian people. Even though the Reformed Church sent the preachers and missionaries, the WIC had the final word on mission activity (37).

The WIC was formed in 1621 in order to represent the economic, political, military, and religious interests of the Netherlands in the Atlantic. It chose northern Brazil as its entry point into Brazil. The first invasion was on Bahia, the capital city of the colony. It was taken in 1624, but lost again in 1625 when the fleet departed. During those two years, 7 preachers served the Dutch military and merchants, the first being Rev. Enoch Sterthemius (1624-1625). Recife was captured in 1630 and it became the first permanent Dutch settlement until 1654 (38).

The positive response of the peoples in the surrounding areas would be important for the interest of the Dutch colonists and the continuation of their colony. The Jews, who had come with the Portuguese and the Dutch, among them Jewish Christians, partially rallied to the cause of the Dutch. The Jewish population had stronger ties to the Dutch than to the Indian and African peoples. The Indians were divided as to loyalty. If the WIC had given freedom to the Africans, the Dutch would have had a large support group. However, they did not (39).

Subsequent conquests by the WIC added Pernambuco, Tamarica, Paraiba, and Rio Grande. So by 1637, the Company could send governor Johan Maurits van Nassau (40). He stayed until 1644. During his governorship he advanced the Netherland's military strength and brought cohesion among the colonists. Dutch culture began to blossom in Mauricia. Artisans, ecclesiastical, and political leaders developed a hospital, schools, canals, bridges, houses, and superior military protection. The citizens were encouraged to become legally married. Freedom of religion was given, first of all to the Reformed Church but also to the Roman Catholic Church and to the Jews. The first religiously pluralistic society in South America was in the making. However, when

Maurits departed in 1644, the colony and city declined rapidly and were eventually overcome by the Portuguese in 1654. The WIC retreated to the safer confines of the Caribbean islands and the Netherlands' colonial settlements in Guyana and Surinam (41).

The WIC paid and sent NHK preachers and religious workers to the colony. Therefore, preachers, candidates for ministry, comforters of the sick, school teachers, and others were present, although not in great quantity. The religious workers attended to the needs of the colonists. Yet the churches that were formed, including their leadership, had vision for mission work among the non-Dutch Europeans, the Indians, and the Africans (42).

Local churches were organized among the colonists. Close ties were maintained with the Reformed Church in the Netherlands. The colonists formed the regional classis Paraiba in 1636 and classis Pernambuco in 1642. Eventually a Brazilian synod was formed in 1643. From the regional classes in Brazil came the main force for missions outreach (43).

The most extensive mission efforts of the Brazilian classis were made among the Indians. Contacts were made with the Indians who were in alliance with the WIC and with those who were related through intermarriage (44). Of the forty seven preachers who served in Classis Pernambuco from 1630-1654, six were missionaries and another served as a mission administrator (45).

Rev. Vincentius Joachimus Soler (Brazil: 1636-1644) was the first full-time missionary pastor. He started on a part-time basis, dividing his attention between the French colonists and the Recife Indians. The first full time missionary was Rev. David van Dooreslaer (Brazil: 1638 -1643), who went to the Paraiba-Goiana area. He was followed by Rev. Johannes Eduardus (Brazil: 1639-1643). Both Rev. Thomas Kempius (Brazil: 1638-1636; 1641-1654) and Rev. Dionísio Biscareto (Brazil: 1640-1648) came as teachers to the Paraiba region where they began to preach in the church as well. Rev. Gilbertus de Vau (Brazil: 1640-1648) ministered to the French colonists in Recife and to the Indians in Goiana. Hence the missionaries possessed three nationalities: Dutch, Spanish, and French. The overall mission work was conducted in Dutch, English, French, Portuguese, as well as Indian and African languages (46).

F. Schalkwijk, a Dutch church historian in Brazil who wrote about this time period, divided the mission work and the methodology of the Netherlands Reformed into five distinct periods: 1) test grounds (1636 -1638); 2) from the ground up (1638 - 1640); 3) expansion (1640 - 1642); 4) withering (1642 - 1644); and 5) patience (1644 - 1654). He explained that during these years the evolution of the local congregation was from military church to civilian church. Later the church began to develop into a missionary church (47).

The Indians lived in the *aldeias* (villages) and many were nomadic. Therefore, it was very difficult to establish continuity. The Indians had previously been in touch with

Jesuits and many lived in Jesuit-formed communities. It was not easy to maintain peaceful relationships with them in such a potentially explosive situation. The missionaries had to experiment a great deal before they were able to establish a working strategy.

During the initial period (1636-1638), the missionaries used the so-called "green house" strategy. Indian children and later adults were taken into Christian's care in order to teach them Christianity as they did domestic and manual work. There was moderate success in that several Indians were taught and some were taken to Holland by the WIC. Among them was Pieter Poty, who exhibited leadership qualities with a real Christian commitment, and who was trained to be an elder in the church. Nevertheless, the "green house" strategy was eventually dropped in favor of working directly with people in Indian communities (48).

Classis Pernambuco began to recognize the need for preaching and teaching among the Indians. The nomadic nature of the tribes made this difficult and very few missionaries were able to accomplish this (49). The greatest amount of contact was through colonists who either had married Indians or had established special friendships.

The request for baptism among the Indians during the early years was minimal. In previous years many had been baptized by the RCC. So the question was whether the baptized Catholics could partake of the Lord's Supper. Rebaptism was not required, but profession of faith was. The Lord's Supper was first celebrated in Paraiba in 1640 and included Indians (50).

The second mission period, according to Schalkwijk, was from 1638-1640. Classis Pernambuca took an aggressive role in the mission work among the Indians. The classis recommended that the preaching of God's Word, the administration of the sacraments, and Church discipline be made available to the Indians. Portuguese and Spanish speaking teachers and preachers were to be sent to teach the people how to read, write and understand the Scriptures (51). Rev. van Dooreslaer was sent, with the approval of the government, to work in Paraiba (52). Van Dooreslaer and Rev. Soler worked in preparing a Tupi catechism for doctrinal instruction.

Classis Pernambuco had to deal with the matter of divorce and remarriage. Working in close cooperation with the government, the classis decided that the colonial government should publish an edict requiring the return of the spouse who left. The other spouse would be free to divorce if the edict was not obeyed (53).

The third period of mission work was one of expansion (1640-1642). Rev. T. Kempius went to Paraiba. Rev. J. Eduardus was sent to Tamarica. In the West, Biscarreto, a school teacher of Spanish descent, was placed to teach. Distinct city congregations were connected with regional mission work. The expansion was halted after two years, due to war, the continuing migration of Indians, and the ongoing struggles of the colonial government (54).

The fourth mission period (1642-1644), was a time of retreat, according to Schalkwijk's analysis. In 1643, Van Dooreslaer went to Holland and in 1644, Eduardus and Soler did likewise. Their terms had expired. In 1642, however, two new teachers of Brazilian descent were placed in the schools. They were Belchior Francisco and Joao Goncalves (55).

During the fifth and also last mission period (1644-1654), the mission work came to a close. The Portuguese revolted and by 1654 took over the colony. This process was accelerated when the Netherland's government ceded the colony to Portugal and decided not to defend the colony.

The Reformed converts and sympathizers were left to the mercy of the anti-Protestant Portuguese. Unlike the condition of religious pluralism offered by the former governor Maurits, the Portuguese pursued religious uniformity, namely, Roman Catholicism. They persecuted, forced recantations, and killed Protestant believers. Pieter Poty was captured; he probably died on a Portuguese ship while being transported to Portugal (56).

The decision of the Netherlands to pull out of Brazil was not just a matter of losing the war. By 1640, the political relationship between the Netherlands and Portugal was changing. Portugal was moving away from Spanish hegemony. Favorable agreement with the powerful fleets of the Netherlands was beneficial to Portugal. However, the spirit of the Netherlands-Portugal diplomatic agreement was not extended to the Reformed Brazilian converts who stayed behind.

The Acts of Classis Pernambuco show a distinct cross-cultural strategy and motivation. Mission work among the Indian peoples was carried out in conjunction with the government. It was directly related to the regional classes and local churches. A variety of ministers and religious workers were sent out. The appropriate languages were learned and utilized, and cultural differences were dealt with. Near the end of the mission efforts, Brazilian leadership was used in some of the churches as well as in schools. The churches influenced the government in dealing with legal matters such as marriage laws and social improvements.

Yet there was a major setback for the continuation of the church. When the Netherlands left, the converts' future welfare was not properly secured. The Dutch Christians left the Brazilian converts to the mercy of the Portuguese sword and Roman Catholic Inquisition. Cross-cultural missions had been carried out in laudable ways, but its continuation was not valued.

Although William Usselinx had been opposed to the use of forced labor, he could not stop the slave trade. The WIC, which worked in Brazil, had not only brought the Netherland's colonists, clergy, teachers, and comforters of the sick to Brazil, but also African slaves. Of the estimated 600,000 Africans brought to Brazil during the seventeenth century, about 23,000 came during Dutch colonialism in the years 1630-

1654 (57).

Classis Pernambuco deliberated on matters relating to the presence of African slaves and the conduct of the colonists in relationship to slavery (58).

Freedom for slaves depended on the will of the owner. Some slaves were freed after years of faithful service. Mention is also made of slaves who converted to Christianity and therefore were freed. This, however, was the exception rather than the rule (59).

In 1638, Classis Pernambuco dealt with the problem of marriage and family break-ups among the slaves. It prescribed: "that in selling and buying care should be taken that legally married persons not be separated" (60). Classis Pernambuco sought to oppose inter-racial marriages, but it was not a case of church discipline. If inter-racial marriages were conducted, they had to be legally sanctioned (61).

The slaves were urged to observe the Christian Sunday. However, church attendance was sporadic. Restrictions regarding Sunday observance were violated by owners and slaves alike (62).

The Yoruba-Xangó religion, brought from West-Africa, was readily practiced by the slaves. Although this traditional religion was discouraged by the Dutch colonial government, it continued to exist in secret.

The slave owners were exhorted to encourage the slaves to attend catechism lessons. They were urged to treat the baptized slaves as brethren in the Lord. The Acts of Classis Pernambuco show that not very many slaves were baptized (63).

Formal education among the slaves did not commence until 1645. The first school for Africans in CALA was started by the Dutch in Recife. It was conducted in an African language. The WIC supplied the teachers.

Ministers and their assistants were mandated by Classis Pernambuco to work with the Angolan population. Rev. Nicolas Ketel was sent for one year (1642-1643) to work in the Luanda region with the Angolan Negroes.

In comparison to the Portuguese, the Dutch were said to have shown more consideration to the slaves under their ownership. The correctness of such a statement is difficult to confirm. When the Portuguese attacked the Dutch, a sizeable portion of the Africans sided with the Dutch. Yet the slaves also sided with the Portuguese, when the Portuguese promised the slaves freedom (64).

The attempts of Classis Pernambuco to carry on mission work among the African slaves shows the tension of being caught between the ideals of the Christian message and the interests of socio-economic and political institutions. Even though the mission motivation, method, and means were noble and effective, they did not have long-term results. Missions developments were undermined by socio-political decisions and

actions. It is a matter of speculation to ask what would have happened if the church had been anti-slavery and an indigenous church had been planted.

When the Dutch colonists were in control of the Recife colony, religious pluralism was granted. Sometimes fears were expressed about granting too much religious freedom to the Roman Catholics. Rev. Soler and others preached in Portuguese.

Missions among the Jews did not get under way. The Jews lived in the colony on a friendly basis with the administration. There were, however, several Christian Jews who worshipped in the Reformed church (65).

When the Dutch left Brazil in 1654, mission work among the non-Dutch Europeans also came to an end.

In conclusion it can be said that Classis Pernambuco engaged in effective missionary activities among the Indians and Africans in Brazil. Ample means were used in carrying out missions and evangelism work. A handful of churches were beginning to grow and indigenous leadership for both church and school was developing. Seven missionaries were ordained to labor diligently in six different languages. The abrupt departure of the Dutch authorities and the lack of military protection for the churches and schools, however, brought Reformed mission efforts to an end. The churches' close association with the WIC, its slave-trading, and the Dutch government strongly impeded the continuation of cross-cultural missions in the seventeenth century.

Was the role of the WIC determinative in the continuation of Reformed cross-cultural missions. If so, in what way?

Joose's guarded, yet positive treatment, of the role of WIC, lays emphasis on the fact that 55 preachers were sent by the Dutch churches, that churches were established, and that some missionary work took place. When one looks at Reformed Brazil from 1630-1654 alone, many positive mission signs can be noticed. When one looks past 1654 and considers the ethical questions about the forced abandonment of the mission work, then serious questions have to be asked as to the value of self-propagation, self-support, and self government in missions. Seventeenth century Reformed Brazil did not meet those basic missiological standards because of its life and death relationship with mercantile colonialism.

With Schalkwijk the question must be asked why the WIC and why the Dutch sought to establish their colony in northwestern Brazil, rather than strengthening the Guyana colony? Would the mission motivation and activities have brought continuity had it been out of the reach of Spain and Portugal?

Both the military motive of the Dutch imperialism, as well as the economic motive of the WIC, allowed the NHK to do some mission work. But the mission context was determined by political, military, and economic interest, rather than religious one. This is evident, not only in the WIC constitution, but also in light of the rapid retreat of the WIC

to the Caribbean. The religious and humanitarian motives of Usselinx could not and would not fit into the WIC world view (66).

2.3.3.4. Curacao (1635-1916)

After the Netherlands took over Curacao from the Spanish in 1634, the NHK was brought to Curacao on the initiative of the WIC. The NHK was started in 1635 and continued until 1825, when a union with the Lutherans was mandated by King William I, forming the United Protestant Church (VPGC), which remains until this day (67).

Rev. Fredericus Vitteus (Cur:1635-1639) was brought by the WIC to Curacao in 1635 as the first preacher for the colonists. He served from 1635 - 1639. Following him a continuous stream of preachers were sent.

As with Brazil, this section will deal with NHK mission efforts among the Indians, Africans, and other non-Dutch peoples, who co-habited with the Dutch on the islands.

It was the expressed intention of the WIC to Christianize the several hundred Indians on the island. The Company administrators from the Netherlands wrote to the director of the Company in Curacao that he should do everything possible to free the "blind Indians" from their "barbarian customs" and make them "civilized subjects." This was to be done by seeking to convert the Indians to the Reformed faith, i.e., to the knowledge of the triune and true God (68).

The motivation expressed by the Company administrators to convert the Indians did not become a reality. The Indian population had been under the influence of Roman Catholicism since 1526. Even before that time, Indians had been transported to other islands and had come into contact with Roman Catholicism (69). Spanish priests readily worked with the Indians both in the field of languages and in the context of the Indian culture. When the Netherlanders took over, the Indians did not give up Catholicism, which had become part of their culture, nor were they able to relate to the Protestant colonist's church. Eventually, the Dutch transported the Indians to South America, not for known religious, but for economic reasons.

Historian Jan Hartog records several attempts to evangelize the Indians. Rev. Johannes C. Backer (Cur:1642-1649) took two Indian boys into his home, to teach them Dutch culture and Reformed doctrines. His departure in 1649 brought that project to an end (70).

In 1649, the Rev. Charles de Rochefort, visiting minister from Tortuga, baptized several whites, fifteen Indians, and several African adults (71). However, there is no record of non-white membership in the Reformed Church since records of membership were not available before 1659 (72). Hartog also notes that Rev. Wilhelmus Volckringth (Cur: 1664-1668) who came in 1664, worked with the Indians in the Spanish language (73). Efforts were made, beginning in 1649, to legalize the marriages of the Indians. This

was in relationship to the baptism of children. However, nothing is recorded about Indian adult membership in the Reformed Church.

The baptism of children of non-church members, and more specifically of the "heathen", was a delicate issue. It had been addressed at the Synod of Dordrecht (1618 -1619). The conclusion of that Synod was that the children of the heathen could not be baptized until they had received religious instructions and were at the age of discernment. This would discourage the practice of baptizing children for baptism's sake only. An adult commitment was required of the "heathen". Apparently, for lack of evidence from the church records, in Curacao very few of the Indian children came to this stage of religious development in the context of the Reformed Church (74).

According to Hartog's analysis of the early Reformed Church, there is no record of African evangelism. Hartog explained that the Reformed Church was associated with a small white ruling class, which did not include Indians and Africans in their church fellowship (75). The first Africans came to Curacao in 1638. They were only a handful. By 1641, the slave trade had begun to grow. Thousands came to Curacao, not only to stay, but also to be sold to other islands.

As was mentioned before, Rev. de Rochefort baptized several African adults during his visit to Curacao in the 1650's. During the time of Rev. Adrianus van Beaumont (Cur: 1659-1663), an African by the name of Johannes, conducted religious classes for Indian children (76).

Dutch historian A.H. Algra notes that African slaves could not belong to the same church as the colonists:

"The fear existed that as Christians, if they belonged to the same church, they would lose respect...they would view their masters as heretics" (77).

Algra laments the slave conditions. Often the slaves were forbidden to marry and families were separated. The bodies of the slaves were abused, and their African heritage and community was suppressed. The Dutch were one of the last colonial powers in the Caribbean to emancipate slaves. That was accomplished in 1863.

The prophetic voice against the policies and practices of slave handlers was seldom heard from the NHK colony pulpits. Since the inception of the NHK in Curacao, the preachers were forbidden by Company contract to speak against the Company. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the Company director had been chairman of the church council. The Reformed Church was a company church; more of a company chaplaincy than a regular parish (78). The close association of the Reformed Church with the WIC virtually closed the church doors to African slaves and later to the free slaves. It is understandable that the Africans were more attracted to the RCC (79).

The indigenization of church membership and leadership in the Reformed Church

before 1825 was very minimal. One notable exception was Rev. Johannes Ellis (Cur:1751-1758), who was born in St. Eustatius in 1729.

The Ellis family was well established in St. Eustatius. Johannes' father was born in Curacao and served as company secretary in St. Eustatius. Johannes was trained in Leiden, the Netherlands, and called to serve in Curacao in 1751, where he served until 1758 (80).

Rev. Ellis moved back to St. Eustatius in 1758 and accepted a second call in 1769. After he was installed by the local church, a letter was sent from classis Amsterdam stating that neither they, nor the directors of the WIC, were asked to give consent. This was amended, so that in 1770 Rev. Ellis was officially contracted by the company and the overseeing classis. He served the congregation at the Fort church until his death in 1784 (81).

The birth of the *Curacaosche Petroleum Industrie Maatschappij*, later known as Shell, in 1915, signalled a new era for Curacao. There would be a new influx of immigrants. Antillians and others could receive employment and social benefits from the large presence of Shell.

In conclusion, by the year 1916, the Reformed Church members were part of the VPGC. Rev. Neville Smith has researched the history of Protestantism in Curacao and divides the history into four stages, of which two belong to the era under study in this section:

1) Establishment of Protestantism (1635 - 1795); 2) Developments between Church and State (1796 - 1914) (82).

The ongoing immigration of the Dutch, however, continued to occupy the church leader's time. The Reformed membership fluctuated between 3742 in 1896 and 1409 in 1915. Usually there were two Reformed preachers serving the congregation (83).

2.3.3.5. Surinam (1668-1916)

Justinianus Weltz (1621-1668) came in 1666 to Surinam (84). He was of Lutheran background and valiantly tried to awaken the Lutheran church to its mission responsibilities. Although people were willing to hear him in the Netherlands, he was not able to convince the Lutheran church to do missions in Surinam. Eventually he himself went to Surinam and died within two years (85).

The Dutch Labadists and the French Huguenots were contemporaries of the NHK in Surinam, which was established in 1667.

The Labadists were a small group of Dutch, German, and French Huguenot colonists with Reformed ties. They came to Surinam as farmers and settled there from 1668 - 1732. J.M. van der Linde notes that many of the colonists were religious, and that missions to non-Christians were taken into consideration. The colony eventually failed

due to sickness, attacks by the Marron, and human error. However, when the Labadist left, the Moravians were able to take over (86). Both groups were independent from the WIC, as far as church control was concerned.

The Moravians came to Surinam in 1735. They were from Czechoslovakian, German, Swiss, and Dutch descent. They had an apostolic vision for preaching the gospel world-wide (87).

Like the Netherlands, Surinam became a refuge for religious groups seeking relief from Roman Catholic persecution.

The NHK which came to Surinam saw mission work as an extension of mercantilism as well as the church. The church officers were supposed to serve both the whites and the small group of mulattos. Work among the Africans was not considered part of their official job. The company church was not established as a mission church (88).

The WIC and the Dutch colonists justified the use of slavery in Surinam. It was reasoned that:

“...the colony cannot continue without the means of black slaves or negroes. So only the Company in these countries is equipped to obtain slaves from Africa...So the Company shall be obligated to the colony to deliver the number of slaves required there” (89).

Slavery was as devastating to the African in Surinam as it was in other colonies. According to the Dutch church historian L. Knappert:

“In Surinam most of them went to the plantations, to work the whole day, without a day of rest, without any rights, punished severely for the unbelievably petty crimes, the young women were not protected from the cruelty of their master or the torture of the jealous mistress. No marriage, no home life, no education” (90).

The WIC's leaders, as well as the Reformed preacher's justification of both slavery and evangelization among slaves brought to light the contradictory nature of the slave trade. Willem Usselinx considered that slaves were bodily not free but could be free spiritually. What was the extent of such a freedom? Rev. Udemans (1638) suggested that Christian slaves be freed seven years after their conversion. Rev. De Raad (1665) recognized that despite the lofty ideals of the WIC and the colonists to Christianize (kerstening) the slaves, little was done on board and on the plantations. He suggested that slaves must be taught to pray, to read the Bible, and to learn the catechism. Rev. Hondius (1679) lamented that the Company's use of the name of Christ in conjunction with the slave trade was provoking the heathens to curse the name of God (91).

The Reformed "company" church formulated a mission vision for the non-Dutch people in the colony as bringing Christian salvation to the heathens and taking pagans out of

their darkness. The soteriological mission motive, however, required an anthropological basis. Some asked the theological question if the Indians and Africans were full human beings who could be or needed to be saved? Others asked the socio-economic question: if slaves were freed, would they remain on the plantation? In "Ham theology" it was maintained that the perceived black Ham was cursed. On the basis of God' s curse on Ham, the descendants of Ham were to serve the descendents of Japheth, who were supposedly white. This theology, however, was challenged in light of man's mutual bond in Adam, at which time all men fell into sin and were cursed, no on the basis of color but on the basis of sin. Moreover, Ham theology was not able to explain how one of Noah' s sons could be white and the other black having the same biological mother (92).

Church historians have generally agreed that although the Company church spoke of missions, it did not favor missions. The church was for the colonists. The compromise of the church with the business of the colony, the lack of preachers, and the spiritual degeneracy of the colonists sheds light as to why such a lack of missions existed (93). The church was structurally caught up in the oppressive structures of the dominant class. This can be seen in the ministry of the first Reformed minister, the Rev. Johannes Basseliers (Sur:1667-1673). Van der Linde gives a thorough and insightful description of Basselier' s life and ministry. The letters and records of Basseliers show his entanglements with the socio-economic developments of Surinam society. These letters make clear that the minister had to support himself, since there were few church attendees and fellow office bearers. No support was given by the Dutch Classis. Basseliers ended up as an owner of sugar plantations, as well as an owner of slaves (94).

In his book on the Surinamian sugarbarons and their church, Van der Linde gives a detailed and insightful account of the religion of Basseliers, the colonial leaders, and the planters of the early Surinam colony. He writes:

“For Weber and Troeltsch, Basseliers would have been a classic example of the Calvinist in the golden age: a man from an urban culture, originating from the merchant middle class, with an eye for capitalist organization and market analysis, appreciating economic values and involved in it, without depreciating his value as a Servant of God's Word “ (95).

There was an ongoing tension between the church leaders and the colony administrators. The preachers were concerned about the purity of the Reformed Church, while the administrators sought peace and harmony among all the religious groups present in the colony. The preachers would refer back to the mandate when the Society of Surinam was formed in 1683. This states that the colony was to maintain the true Reformed Church and religion. In practice, the socio-economic interest of the colony superceded the principles of the agreements (96).

The government had more influence on the church than vice-versa. The government

involved itself in the choosing of elders and deacons and in the calling of ministers from the Netherlands. The ministers were bound by oath to the colonial government. The government could influence higher and lower assemblies of the church. The building of churches and the distribution of deaconal funds were organized through the police. Church buildings could be sold upon the wish of the ruling governor (97).

On the other hand, the government enforced several norms favorable to the Christian community in the colony. The Ten Commandments were enforced. The death penalty was in order for murder, revolution, stealing from the church and other forms of theft, the hitting of parents, the misuse of God's name, and adultery. Sunday observance breakers, including masters, servants or slaves, were fined (98).

Unlike the theocracy of Israel, where severe punishment for breaking any of the Ten Commandments applied, the Surinam "theocracy" had reduced the observance of the law to church members and their slaves in an inconsistent fashion.

The journal and letters of preacher Basseliers reveal how difficult the pastoral work was in the new colony. The number of faithful were very few and the spirituality of the colonist very poor. Basseliers laments over the drunkenness and cursing among the colonists. The colonists only nominally wanted to accept the Word of the Lord and financial obligations toward the preacher were not faithfully met. The government also intervened in the internal affairs of the church. The church in Thozasica was sold while the church was still in operation, albeit with few members. Basseliers went to live on his plantation, distancing himself from the administration of the colony. He eventually became the fifth largest plantation owner and gave up his ministerial credentials, although not his faith and service to God (99).

The government registered the NHK and Walonian Huguenot Church together until 1695. Van der Linde reports that from 1696 - 1718, 360 children were baptized in the Dutch church and 127 in the Walonian Church. By 1692, there were 48 members in the NHK. From 1693 - 1700 there was an increase of 26 men and 40 women, mostly immigrants from Holland (100).

The NHK in Boven and Beneden Commewijne registered 40 marriages between 1693 - 1700. The Boven Commewijne church had 18 children baptized, all of whom were of European descent (101).

There were, all together six churches. The Thorarica church was the first and the smallest. A small church was also formed in Cottica - Perica by Dutch preachers in 1691 (102). Then there were the churches of Paramaribo, and the Walonian church of the Boven and Beneden Commewijne (103).

During the first thirty years of the colony's existence twenty preachers were sent. At the beginning, Classis Middelburg, Zeeland, was responsible for sending ministers but by 1683, Classis Amsterdam and the Society of Surinam took over this task (104).

What about the mission strategy of the Company churches? Here a distinction must be

made between 1) the colonies mission mandate, 2) the actual practice of the company churches, and 3) the individual efforts of ministers and members like Basseliers. It must be noted that the Reformed ideals of the church usually were not put into practice in Surinam.

Basseliers had some acquaintance with professor Gijsbertus Voetius of the University of Utrecht. He emphasized with Voetius the conversion of the heathen, the establishment of the church, and the glorification and manifestation of God's name (105). The conceptions and practices of the Netherlands Reformed colonists however, were quite different. Mere lip service was paid to the conversion of the heathen. The real priority was the use of the heathen for slavery. In Surinam, for example, there was more concern to have the Africans as slaves than to have them as equals in Christ. According to Van der Linde, the church in carrying out its apostolic mandate had to choose between sugar and the salvation of the slaves. The European owners chose sugar (106).

Basseliers was a preacher and a planter, but not a cross-cultural missionary. He could not comprehend the religion of the Indians, nor did he learn their language. Instead, he and others sought to teach Indian children the Dutch language and show Christianity by their personal example. Due to the adverse political, social, and economic conditions, such as guerrilla warfare, slavery, and materialism, these "greenhouse" efforts were frustrated. Before the 1700's there was no evidence of the baptism of Indian children (107).

The first Indian church member was received in 1730. Pieter de Vrije (Peter the Free One) was accepted as a full member, 63 years after the first preacher had come to Surinam (108).

It was the Walonian synod of Arnhem in the Netherlands, which called for a missionary to be sent to the Indians in Surinam. Pierre Saurin responded and was specially mandated to study the language and work among the Indians. He ended up working with the French speaking congregation instead (109).

Work among the Africans was sparse. Maintaining slavery was more important than evangelism. Was there a prophetic voice against slavery within the Reformed community in Surinam? Van der Linde points to the controversial minister, the Rev. Jan Willem Kals (Sur:1731-1733).

Much to the dislike of the governors of the colony, Kals saw the need for religious and social reform in Surinam. For nearly two years, he worked within the context of the colony, addressed the spiritual condition of the colonists, and spoke about the spiritual needs of the non-Dutch. His condemnation of the abuses of slavery was not accepted. Efforts were made to silence him. Kals underwent disciplinary measures and was harassed. After less than two years of service, he concluded that many of the colonists were dumber in the worship of God and less becoming than many of the slaves (110).

Kals returned to Holland and cleared his name of the accusations brought against him in Surinam. However, the administration of the colony made sure that he did not get the opportunity to return. In the Netherlands, Kals, like his Roman Catholic predecessor De Las Casas in Spain, played an important role in speaking out against the abuses of slavery (111).

Kals did not totally condemn slavery or the slave owners. Like the Moravians, he strove against the abuses of slavery. He was, however, in favor of the English movement toward emancipation.

The prophetic voice of Kals did not lead to immediate reform within the Surinam Reformed community. Church services were not only poorly attended by the members of the congregation but neither by the baptized slaves. The ministers of the church had many reasons to be discouraged. Rev. Hermanus Rosinus (Sur:1688-1695) wrote a letter of complaint to the Classis in Amsterdam, saying that the church was being used as a horse stable in which slaves and beasts were being sold (112).

By 1721, the first African member, Isabella, was registered at the Cottica-Perica church. Some children born out of wedlock and of mulatto descent were baptized in 1696. By the middle of the nineteenth century, slaves and mulattos were becoming members of some Reformed churches (113). In Nickerie (1849), 158 free people and 1671 slaves were reported as members. By 1855, 55 free and 686 slaves were registered. The numbers vary but a significant amount is reported (114).

It would be up to the Moravians, who came in 1735, to start mission work in a way which the company churches had not been able. The Moravians, although involved in economic and political compromises as well, sought to maintain the discipling of the nations as their priority. As in other countries, so in Surinam, a humble lifestyle of following Jesus was the mission norm (115).

The archives of the Reformed Church show that in 1747 - 1749 some Africans became church members and mulatto children were baptized. The fathers of the mulatto children were either Reformed or Lutheran. However, this was not so much the fruit of the churches evangelism efforts but the effect of intermarriage. The conversion of Benjamin was an exception. Although very little is known about his background, birth place and life, A.W. Marcus, a historian of the Surinam Reformed Church, writes:

“About the conversion work under the heathen slaves and bush people there isn't much said. This is understandable. The sent Dutch preachers were not prepared for the task. The social milieu, the language, created distance. The slave owners would work against rather than help the fact that master and slave could belong to the same church fellowship.”

Religious training was sporadic. Most students could not read. With the help of a little Dutch (catechism) book, in which there were questions and answers, the candidates

were presented and read lessons until they could memorize the answers.

That is how the July 1, 1747, confirmation to Reformed Church membership of the domestic negro, Benjamin, took place. The governor and visitors honored the occasion with their presence. In the audible presence of a large multitude, Rev. Ijver and Rev. De Ronde received the confession of faith of this the first one. He answered the questions correctly and clearly to the great satisfaction of those present.

Church membership in the Reformed congregation was not for the slave, only, under extraordinary circumstances. Thus we read about the teacher Picarna asking and receiving the freedom of her slave Elisabeth and her three children (116).

According to Marcus, governor Van de Meer (1755) challenged the Reformed Church to work among the slaves as the Moravians were doing. There was no response. In 1846-47, the Paramaribo church proposed to the governor in charge to have Mr. Boekhoudt as preacher helper, in order to preach in "Negro English". The administrator, however, denied the request (117).

Although, by 1820 African members were regular participants at the Lord's Supper in Paramaribo and Nickerie, this was the exception rather than the rule. The Moravian Church was known as the slave and African church and the Reformed Church as the colonist church (118). The Moravians spoke and preached the English Creole spoken by the Negroes, while the Netherlands Reformed Church continued to use the Dutch language until the twentieth century (119).

The *Afscheiding* (separation) took place in the Netherlands Reformed Church in 1834. From 1863 - 1865 mission work in Surinam was attempted by this separated church. Rev. Cornelis De Best and Rev. Berend Veenstra came in 1863. They were not well received by the NHK in Paramaribo. Work among the Indians did not seem possible. A small school for evangelizing the city people was started, but the NHK opposed that. By 1865 the missionaries returned to the Netherlands.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Reformed Church remained a small colonial church with minimal mission activities. That work was "conceded" to the Moravians. As in Curacao, where work among the Africans was left to the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformed Church strove to maintain its own status as a colonial church.

In summary, the Surinam NHK has the dubious distinction of being the only CALA Reformed church to have continued as a Reformed denomination from its inception until 1916. The main reason for the continuation of its influence was the ongoing immigration from the Netherlands.

The emphasis of the company church was to serve the Netherlands Reformed colonists. According to Marcus, as many as 50 preachers were sent, of which over 20 percent died within ten years of being in Surinam. The causes of death are not known

but certainly tropical illnesses took their toll.

The existence and mission of the NHK in Surinam did not give birth to a Negro or Indian church. There is no evidence of Negro or Indian leadership in the Reformed churches prior to 1916.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, slaves and mulattos were becoming members of some Reformed churches. During the eighteenth century, the colonial barrier in the church began to crumble. In Nickerie (1849), 158 free people and 1671 slaves were reported as members. By 1855, 55 free and 686 slaves were registered. The numbers vary but a significant amount is reported (120).

In conclusion, at least four mission patterns are observable: 1) the colonial government's enforcement of certain values of the NHK; 2) the NHK receiving non-colonists into church membership through intermarriage or extended family relationships; 3) the efforts of individuals and small groups to witness on a personal basis; and 4) the communal effort of the Moravians to work specifically among the Africans and Indians. It is the obvious conclusion of this section that the fourth approach had the most Christian integrity and spiritual fruit. It also shows that unless the concern for the salvation and well-being of other human beings is both part of the Christian vision and the priority of the Christian agenda, the Christian community will degrade into contradictory Christian behaviors, such as slave-trading, slave-abusing, and being ashamed to live and share the Christian life with others.

2.3.3.6. The Upper and Lower Antilles (1630-1916)

2.3.3.6.1. Introduction

Upon retreating from Brazil and conquering several Upper and Lower Antillean islands at the beginning of the 1630's, the Netherlands imperial forces established themselves in the Caribbean. St. Eustatius, Tobago, St. Martin, St. Thomas, St. Kitts, Saba, St. John, Aruba, and Bonaire will be described in chronological order. The order is according to the chronological establishment of the NHK. Although Curacao is also part of the Lower Antilles, it has been dealt with separately, due to its unique past and continuing history.

2.3.3.6.2. St Eustatius (1630 -1850' s)

An early indication of the formation of a NHK community in St. Eustatius was the sending of candidate van Meija by Classis Walcheren, Zeeland, in 1630. The first church was built in 1672. It was destroyed by a hurricane in 1742 and rebuilt in 1755. Another hurricane destroyed this building in 1772; which was rebuilt again in 1774 (121).

The first minister to serve in St. Eustatius, Johannes Osdorius (St.E:1699), came in

1699, but he only stayed for five months. The following ministers stayed longer: Anthony Kowan (1701 - 1740); George van Essen (1742 - 1764); Rev. Johannes Ellis (1758-1768); Rudolf Wildrik (1765 - 1778); Conrad Schwiers (1778 - 1780); Johan Hendrik Reneman (1785 - 1787), Roelof Brill (1789 - 1792), and Rev. E.W.H. Laret (1856-1860). For nearly 100 years the ministers were appointed by the NHK in the Netherlands to serve in this small outpost (122).

The WIC paid part of the salary, but the congregation had to pay the larger share. The ministers would live at the fort of the company and receive occasional provisions from the company store (123).

St. Eustatius also received teachers. Lukas Soet came from Amsterdam in 1757. He remained in St. Eustatius until the 1780's when, in 1784, Martinus Hartman took over (124).

The school teacher was paid for many functions. As school teacher and song leader for the church, the remuneration was 150 *gulden*. As janitor of the church, he received 50 *gulden*. Housing was free. He was also paid for the following: 150 *gulden* for reading sermons; 5 *gulden* for ringing the church bell for funerals and 60 *gulden* to pay for an African to help with domestic chores. School salary was paid by the tuition of the students. The deaconate of the church paid for the students who could not pay. Some teachers also supplemented their income by being grave diggers (125).

Church membership fluctuated due to the wars, sickness, and changing company conditions. Membership in church went as low as 90 in 1713. By 1775, there were 70 members and 50 baptized children (126).

St. Eustatius was also a stepping stone for the slave trade to the English islands. By 1699, there were 399 whites and 385 slaves registered on the island. By 1740, there were 706 whites and 1277 slaves (127).

Church members and ministers were slave owners and some sought to evangelize the slaves. Rev. Anthony Kowan had seven slaves in 1720. Church records show that he had baptized three freed slaves in his church (128). Rev. George van Essen baptized eight freed slaves and mulattos. Some were children of white fathers. Van Essen also baptized several slave families (129).

The practice of baptizing children of colonists and slave women as well as baptizing adult slaves from the colonists' household regularly shows up in the Church records. Although there is no evidence of the African's own testimony of their newly acquired Christian faith, it can be assumed that some measure of personal evangelism took place in some of the colonists' homes with respect to the slaves associated with that household (130).

The Methodists on St. Eustatius did not restrict themselves, like the Reformed, to

developing colonist churches. Revivals were conducted among the slaves and freed Negroes. Starting in 1787, the governor, Johannes Runnels, prohibited the Methodists from conducting revivals. The revivals were conducted by a slave named Harry, who had become Methodist during his stay in North America. The governor forbade prayer meetings of whites with blacks and finally sought to stop the preaching of missionary Thomas Coke. By 1792 the governor's hatred for Methodism had built to such a point that two female slaves were whipped publicly for attending a Methodist meeting (131). Still the Methodists had hundreds of followers among the slaves.

St. Eustatius was the birth place of the first Antillean Reformed preacher. His name was Johannes Ellis (1758-1768). He was born in 1729. He served in Curacao from 1751 - 1758 and again in 1769 - 1784. His father was a WIC director in St. Eustatius. Ellis was known to defend the practice of slave trading (132).

NHK members registered with the NHK amounted to 266 in 1896, 143 in 1900, 81 in 1905, 87 in 1910 and 48 in 1915 (133).

2.3.3.6.3. Tobago (1630-1677)

Not much is known about the Reformed work in Tobago, except that the Netherlands Reformed Classis of Walcheren sent Johannes Petrus Mijlyser (Tob:1630) to attend to the Dutch colonists on that island. Historical records do not indicate that mission activities were conducted among the inhabitants of the island (134).

2.3.3.6.4. St. Martin (1631-1792)

The Dutch came to St. Martin as early as 1631. Ministers and visiting ministers attended to the religious needs of the colonist. Sources do not mention work among the non-Dutch. The NHK in St. Martin had six ministers from 1739 - 1789. Several had served in St. Eustatius before.

The island was divided in 1648 between the French and the Dutch. The Reformed Church worked with the WIC until 1791, when the Dutch State took over the company. By 1792, the NHK had closed down. Remaining immigrants attended services in other churches. Van Alphen, in the year book of the NHK in Holland, identified 2739 persons with NHK affiliation in St. Martin in 1896 and 2344 in 1915 (135).

Due to the Dutch, French, and English language barriers during the 1770's, a certain Rev. Barak Houwink invited a Presbyterian minister, Rev. John Runnels, from St. Eustatius to preach two times a month in St. Martin. To Houwink's dismay, theological differences arose from the sermons by Runnels concerning predestination, original sin, free will, and salvation. The local consistory forbade Runnels to preach in the local Reformed Church. Runnels pursued the matter as far as Classis Amsterdam in the Netherlands in order to reconcile his views (136).

The Reformed Church disappeared with the disappearance of the Dutch colonial culture

(137).

2.3.3.6.5. St. Thomas (1657-1916)

The NHK was instituted in 1657 for Dutch employees of the WIC. St. Thomas also served as a refuge for French Huguenots who came from St. Kitts in 1672. St. Thomas was renowned for being the mission outpost of the Moravians who came in 1732 (138).

From 1730 to 1785, St. Thomas had nine Reformed ministers. The most notable were Rev. Johannes Borm (StT:1737-1744), who was anti-Moravian, and Rev. Johan Brand, who strove against the pro-slave minister, Rev. Henricus Muller of St. Kitts (139).

When the Moravians began their ministry among the slaves of St. Thomas, Johannes Borm became an outspoken enemy of the Moravians. This was taken to the extent of imprisoning Christian slaves for their religious associations with the Moravians. The Moravians appealed to the Danish government, which supported the appeal and quieted Borm.

The Moravian mission work, under the inspiration of Count Nicolas L. Zinzendorf (1700-1760), met with considerable response. By 1787, the number of converted slaves included: Antigua, 5,465; St. Kitts, 80; Barbados and Jamaica, 100; the Danish Antilles, 10,000; and Surinam, 400 (140). In St. Thomas and in Surinam, the Moravians met with serious resistance from the Netherlands Reformed colonists, who tried to stop the Moravians from working among the Negroes. At first, the Moravians were reluctantly tolerated by the host colonies, yet by the middle of the twentieth century the Moravians had won the support of fellow churches and government administrations.

The resistance to Christian ministry among the slaves in St. Thomas and neighboring islands took on serious proportions. In fact, the Reformed efforts of working in cross-cultural ministry among the slaves were halted due to the resistance. When Rev. Muller of St. Kitts followed the example of the Moravians in ministering among the slaves, he met with opposition from Johan Brand, successor of Borm. Brand's racism was quite obvious in that he considered the slaves an inferior and brutish race, not worthy of receiving schools for their children and dangerous for having a negative influence on white children in mixed schools (141).

The NHK in St. Thomas was handed over to the Reformed Church of America (1827) They continued its services in the English language. The Reformed Church in St. Thomas still exists today.

The Reformed Church in St. Thomas was able to make mission contacts in Puerto Rico. Church historian Justo González agrees with the observation that Protestantism in Puerto Rico began with the contacts made in 1870 by the minister of the St. Thomas Reformed Church, Johannes Waldemar Zechune. That work was eventually taken over by the Episcopalians. The beginning of the Presbyterian work in Puerto Rico is

also related to contacts made by Antonio Badillo Hernandez, who obtained a Bible and started congregations of "believers of the Word" in Aguadilla. This church played an important role in the development of the Presbyterian missions at the turn of the twentieth century (142).

2.3.3.6.6. St. Kitts (1722-1792)

Dutch immigrants came to St. Kitts in 1722 in relation to the WIC. Rev. Henricus Muller (St.K:1774-1792) serves as a highlight of Reformed mission efforts in the Caribbean islands. Muller took the example of the Moravians of St. Thomas and included Africans in his ministry. His church of 200 members had a large membership of Africans, as high as one-third of the total membership (143).

Church historian Knappert reports that Muller had to face many difficult questions in relationship to African membership in the church. Should he baptize a slave with or without the consent of the master? Was the Roman Catholic baptism acceptable? If a slave is condemned to die, may he receive baptism and the Lord's Supper? He submitted these questions to his classis (144).

Mullers' positive disposition toward the slaves was strongly attacked by Johan Brand of St. Thomas. Many of his questions about slavery were left unresolved.

The slave issue was challenged in St. Kitts. It is noteworthy to observe the following. The Dutch government, the WIC, and the Dutch clergy were not prepared to radically challenge slavery as the English Methodists and other emancipationists were. There was too much vested interest in the slave institution; the whole colonial economy was dependent on the slave institution. The Netherlands was the last European power to emancipate their slaves in the Caribbean. The Reformed ministers were virtually silent as to calling for emancipation of the Negro slaves.

In the words of Knappert, the Netherlands Reformed Christians in the Antilles were Christianity's worst enemy. Very little was done to Christianize the slaves. As Governor John Maurice of Nassau of the seventeenth century Recife colony said:

"The bad example which most masters gave to their slaves showed that the conversion of the colonist had to happen before there would be hope for the conversion of the slaves" (145).

The NHK tried to answer some of the questions which arose out of the context of slavery. For example, the question of baptizing slave children came to the Amsterdam classis of 1666. The classis responded, in accordance with the teachings of the Synod of Dordt (1619), stating:

"The children of the heathen should not be baptized, unless they were taught in Christian religion and had made confession of faith. By no means should they be

baptized before the age of accountability” (146).

Whereas the Christian covenant was defined by the Reformed Church confessions to include the children of believers, the slave children under the care of believers were not part of the covenant and were not to be baptized.

The NHK became a Reformed Church in America (RCA) congregation in 1774. Rev. R. van Vlierden became its minister. In 1792, the congregation was closed.

2.3.3.6.7. Saba (1736-1816)

Knappert reports that in 1699 there were 322 whites on the island and 131 slaves. By 1715 there were 336 whites and 176 slaves. Among the whites there was a small number of Reformed and Presbyterian people.

One minister, Rev. Josias Jacques, ministered in the NHK from 1736 - 1739 before moving on to St. Martin. In 1755, Rev. Hugh Knox, a Presbyterian minister from New York, came to Saba. He stayed until 1771, when he is presumed to have died (147). Both ministers were lent from other denominations, since Dutch ministers who spoke English were not available.

The NHK building was closed by 1816. Other denominations, such as the Methodists, continued with the Christian ministry. Van Alphen identifies 69 persons associated with the NHK in 1891 and 1414 in 1915. Methodists and Anglican pastors attended the remaining members (148).

2.3.3.6.8. St. John (1750-1828)

St. John had three ministers from the Netherlands, from the years 1750 to the late 1780's (149). As with the other islands, they ministered to the religious needs of the plantation owners of Dutch descent. There were 109 plantation owners with 1087 slaves, according to Knappert. Due to severe laws, St. John became the site of slave rebellions. With the help of the French, the uprisings were halted by the colonial administrators (150).

As with the other Antillian islands mentioned in this section, the NHK disappeared along with the closing of the WIC and the departure of the Dutch colonists. Sources do not mention whether non-Dutch members had joined the church.

2.3.3.6.9. Aruba (1754-1916)

A combination of Lutheran and Reformed families settled in Aruba in the year 1754. Organized church services were being held by the year 1822 (151). In 1816 a census was made in Aruba: 279 of the 1732 people said they were Reformed. It is not clear how the Indians were registered with the Reformed. There were only 211 white people, many of whom were either Lutheran or Catholic. Close to a hundred Indians claimed to

be Reformed. Did the Reformation amongst the Indians occur without an official organized Reformed Church? Were the Indians more associated with the colonist's culture than the colonists' religion and the church (152)? In 1860, the church officially began to work amongst the Indians.

In 1825, only three years after its official organization as a church, the NHK became part of the VPG. The same happened in neighboring Curacao. The majority of the church members were Reformed; a minority being from Lutheran background.

The Papiamento language was used as early as 1858, through the encouragement of Rev. Nicolaas Kuipéri (Aruba:1858 -1871). The church was able to function in Dutch, in German, and in the Papiamento language (153).

A church was build in Canashite in 1860, with the preaching being done in Papiamieto. This was the first church associated with the Reformed colonists which was built outside of the colonial cities and settlements. Rev. Nicolaas Kuipéri sought to attract the gold mine workers as well. Due to conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church, the church building was destroyed by arson in 1879. Another church was build in Canashito and Piedra Plata (154).

Aruba's first full time VPG minister was also their first missionary. However, due to conflicts with the church council, which wanted the minister to serve the established church full time, Rev. Kuipéri left in 1871 (155).

The Aruban colonists had a difficult time securing ministers for their small congregations. Rev. Wichard van den Brink (Aruba:1902-1907), came in 1902 and Rev. Gerrit J. Eybers (Aruba:1908-1917) arrived in 1908. Both spoke Papiamento. Rev. Eybers began translating the New Testament into Papiamento.

By 1916, the VPG was well established on this small island (19.6 miles by 6 miles). The church was forced out of its NHK mold through the union with the Lutherans. This was helpful in contextualizing the church to the language, culture, and people of the island.

2.3.3.6.10. Bonaire (1816-1916)

The Dutch captured Bonaire in 1636 and religious teachers would from time to time visit the island. Sparse historical data are available about the early religious history of Bonaire, according to Dr. Neville Smith (156).

In 1816 there were reported to be 64 Netherlands Reformed and 27 Lutherans on the island. The first worship service was held in 1843 (157). A church was built in 1847 and ministers from Aruba would make yearly visits (158).

Church records indicate that several slave children were baptized. During the time of the WIC, the NHK in Curacao did not baptize slaves and their children in order to maintain the distinction between slave and free. This discriminatory practice was

ignored in Bonaire, as on August 31, 1849, and May 16, 1851, slave children were baptized (159).

Bonaire received their first full time religion instructor in 1849 in the person of Willem Frederik Meinhart. He was Antillian by birth. However, the reading of sermons, which was the practice of the NHK in the absence of an official preacher, was not stimulating enough to draw people into church.

The first minister was Willem Frederik Hendrik Laret, who served from 1860 - 1868. Otherwise, in the absence of a permanent preacher, yearly visits were made by ministers from Aruba or Curacao.

In 1896, Meinhart passed away. He had been a church council member for more than 50 years. For two periods he had led the congregation as religion instructor. His proclamation ministry was limited to reading approved sermons.

2.3.3.6.11. Conclusion

The Netherlands Reformed colonists persistently built churches on the islands they inhabited, whether the islands were controlled by the Danish, Dutch, English, or French. The Reformed Church in the Antilles generally did not contextualize to the dominant culture. Most of the church services were organized for the Dutch minority. The Dutch religious traditions were closely observed. The churches belonged to a classis in the Netherlands and the final decisions were made there. Although some local support for the ministry was expected, the preachers were sent by Dutch classes and supported by the WIC. Most of the churches were not active in propagating the gospel and developing the church outside of the white church community. The WIC discouraged baptism of slaves and their children. The NHK churches were planted as colonial churches and either died as colonist churches or survived in the form of a united church. Only in Surinam did the NHK remain as it was planted.

There were, however, exceptions to this rule. In St. Thomas and St. Kitts, the Reformed Church continued through the RCA. Several mission contacts were made in Puerto Rico by clergy and church members from St. Thomas, which eventually led to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Puerto Rico.

Several contacts were made in St. Eustatius and St. Martin with the English Presbyterians, as was the case with Rev. John Runnels. However, no lasting relationships were developed.

In Saba, St. Johns, and Tobago, the NHK contacts disappeared with the evaporation of Dutch colonial influence.

The Reformed Church in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curacao was transformed into the VPG. Generally this did not foster missions among the Indians and Africans, but it did lead the

way for the Aruban church to use the Papiamentu language. This in turn led to the translation of the New Testament into Papiamentu and further contacts with non-Dutch and non-German peoples. Yet, that influence did not really flourish before 1916.

The WIC stance concerning the baptism of "heathen children" was more drastic than the decision of classis Amsterdam in 1666. The Company did not allow the baptism of slaves and their children, in order to maintain the distinction between slave and free. Church leaders, with very few exceptions, went along with the mercantile tradition, and the prophetic voice against slavery was seldom heard.

Ministers like Henricus Muller, George van Essen, and Jan W. Kals broke with such traditions. Under continuing colonists' pressures, they eventually left their cross-cultural ministries.

The indigenization or Antillianization of Reformed Church leadership was very limited and sporadic before 1916. The exceptions were Rev. Johannes Ellis of St. Eustatius and the religion instructor, Willem Frederik Meinhart, in Bonaire. Both were supporters of the colonist status quo and did not represent the non-Dutch population of their respective islands.

By 1916, all the NHK in the Caribbean had ceased to exist as separate denominational churches. The Reformed Church members continued in the Netherlands Antilles through the VPG. The disappearance of the colonists' churches coincides with the disappearance of the WIC and the reduction of Dutch imperialism in the Caribbean.

2.3.3.7. Conclusions

In this section concluding observations will be made about the NHK and missions in CALA from 1616-1916. The conclusions of 2.2.3; 2.3.2.9; and 2.3.3.6.11. will not be repeated. Attention will be directed to a more systematic presentation of the conclusion.

The origin of the NHK and missions in CALA was directly related to Dutch mercantile interests in Brazil as carried out through the WIC. The Brazilian colony that was established under the government of Johan Maurits van Nassau was conducive to NHK mission interests. The enthusiastic beginnings were abruptly halted when the Dutch decided to retreat to the Caribbean islands to protect their imperial and mercantile interest. The WIC interests in CALA eventually included slave trading. Consequently missions among the Indians and the Africans were discouraged by the slave trading WIC.

At the beginning of WIC involvement in the NHK missions, evangelism and service among the Indian and African populations were encouraged by the colony government and mercantile company. By the turn of the eighteenth century, the WIC colonies, along with the NHK, had turned into a society similar to what today is known as an "apartheid society." Besides the social, legal, and cultural discriminations exercised against the

Indians and Africans, Reformed Christians deprived them of full membership and participation in the churches. The apartheid which developed in South Africa did not exclude others from developing their own churches and missions. However, in CALA, not one African, Indian or non-European Reformed church was established prior to 1916. Prophetic figures such as Ch. de Rochefort, W. Volckringth, Jan Kals, Henricus Muller, and George van Essen, challenged the "apartheid" ethos, but were marginalized by the colonial system. The disappearance of the WIC, the emancipation of the slaves, and the rise of CALA republicanism, broke the stranglehold of mercantilism on the colonies and on the churches and missions.

The NHK in the Netherlands maintained contact with immigrant church members, ministers, and missionaries in CALA.

In Chart 2 members associated with the NHK, who attend other churches, are still recorded on the NHK membership list. By 1916, only Surinam had a Reformed church.

The NHK sent 205 ordained ministers from 1630-1916 (see Chart 2). The highest number of ministers were sent to Paramaribo, Surinam (53: 1667-1916, 56 counting ministers who served in other congregations in Surinam); Curacao (47: 1634-1916, including NHK ministers sent via VPG); and Brazil (55: 1624-1654, including seven missionary pastors). These countries represent where the NHK had early colonial commitments.

In sixteenth century Brazil, seven missionaries labored in mission work. In 1636, the first mission work was carried out among the Indians by Rev. V.J. Soler. Portuguese, rather than Dutch, was being spoken by the missionaries by 1640. The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper were practiced. After the Brazilian experiment, the NHK did not send out ordained missionaries. Teachers and comforters of the sick were sent periodically. The Netherlands Mission Society sent missionary F. A. Wix (Surinam: 1823-?) to Surinam for a short while. The NHK mission zeal in the CALA colony context was not evident from 1654-1916.

Indian and Africans were baptized in Curacao in 1649 by Rev. Ch. de Rochefort. In 1696, mulatto children were baptized in the NHK in Surinam. By 1721, the first African member, Isabella, was registered at the Cottica-Perica church in Surinam. Besides the Indian members in the sixteenth-century Brazilian Reformed church, the first Indian to be registered in the NHK church in Surinam was in 1730. Rev. George van Essen (1742-1764) of St. Eustatius baptized eight freed slaves, mulattos, and several slave families. However, there was no lasting indigenous church formed among the Africans nor the Indians, nor was indigenous leadership trained to take the place of the missionary.

Church membership was spread out between six islands and Surinam during the nineteenth century until 1916. Chart 2.3.3. reports on the number of persons associated with the NHK in Aruba, St. Martin, Saba, Curacao, and Surinam for the years 1896-

1915 (160).

The mission motivations of the NHC's churches and the WIC officially include mission work among the heathen. Whereas the Dutch churches sought to serve their church members in dispersion and seek to do mission work among the non-churched peoples, the WIC had social and cultural stability in mind.

The Dutch mission efforts contained well defined religious motives. Dutch theologians from the sixteenth century on, such as Gisbertus Voetius and Johannes Polyander, had stressed the mission motive of knowing the true God (as introduction to the Lord's prayer implies); bearing God's name in a holy way (hallowed by thy name), as well as praying and working for the coming of God's kingdom and doing God's will (Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done). The kingdom came through the conversion of the heathen, the establishment of the church and the manifestation of God's grace in all of life. The religious motives were ecclesiastically centred. The Reformed colony church was the focus, with the exception of the seventeenth century Brazilian missionary efforts.

Usselinx sought to use colonization as a means to establish the church and evangelize the non-Christians. His socio-religious ideals were not accepted by the WIC.

Netherlands Reformed missionaries made several important cross-cultural mission initiatives. In Brazil, seven missionaries labored in six different languages. Indian leaders were trained to take leadership. Schools were begun. Colonist practices which were detrimental to the Indians and Africans were challenged. These initiatives came to an end in 1654. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century are similar initiatives recorded.

In 1858, translation work in Papiamentu in Aruba was begun by Rev. Nicolaas Kuipéri. This translation work was completed and continues to be revised today. Services in Papiamentu were first held in Canashite, Aruba in 1860.

Of the above mentioned initiatives, the Papiamentu services, the Papiamentu translation of the Bible and the Netherlands Reformed Church in Surinam remain.

2.3.4. Waldensian Churches and Missions (1856-1916)

As early as 1856-61, Waldensians came to South America. In 1887, churches were established in Argentina and in Uruguay. It is important to mention this tradition which precedes by hundreds of years the Calvinist Reformation in Europe. Since 1532, at the Synod of Chanforán, they consider themselves Reformed (161). The Confession of Faith of the Waldensians (1655) was similar to the French Confession of Rochelle (1571).

According to Waldensian church historian, Marcelo Dalmas, the first large groups of

Waldensians arrived in Uruguay in 1856. There were about 40 families. Most of the settlers went to the Rosario Oriental community. Rev. Pendleton, a British Anglican, planned for the Waldensians to be under the Protectorate of Britain. The Protectorate included a pastor's salary for a future pastor.

The first pastor, Miguel Morel (Uru:1860-1865), was appointed by the Waldensian Committee (Tavola Valdese) and approved by the Waldensian synod in Italy. Dalmas noted that Morel was trained in the Theological Academy in Geneva, Switzerland. Morel sought to establish civic rules, similar to what Calvin had done at Geneva (162). This did not go over very well with Rev. Pendleton and soon Morel was deposed and the church was temporarily closed.

Along with the first pastor, teacher Juan Daniel Costabel came from Italy in 1861. The establishment and development of schools became a lasting tradition for the Waldensians. Later in the century a variety of youth organizations were established.

The second pastor, Juan Pedro Michelin Salmon (Urg:1870-1874), became the first in a line of continuing pastors. From 1860 to 1916 there were a total of 13 pastors.

The Waldensians lived in rural colonies and began to spread throughout Uruguay. During the 1850's, some went to Argentina.

By 1883, interdenominational work with the Methodists was begun, especially in the area of Christian and theological education. In 1891, the Waldensian Christian Union of South America was formed. In 1898, Waldensian pastor Benjamin A. Pons began to work with the *Sociedad Bíblica Británica y Extranjera*. He moved to Buenos Aires. The local Unions of Christian Youth (UCJV) began in 1906 and the Association of Christian Youth (FJV) in 1921. The Sunday School program began in 1912 and the Young Ladies' Society in 1914.

The Waldensian leaders attended a pre-Panama Congress seminary in Buenos Aires in 1916, and hope was expressed that Uruguay would be evangelized via the Waldensian presence there.

The *Iglesia Evangélica Valdense* finds its roots in 1859, with the arrival of the Waldensians from Italy. The first church formed in Colonia Belgrado (Santa Fe) in 1887 and organized in 1891. It is part of the Waldensian Church in Uruguay.

The Waldensian congregation started in Santa Fe. By 1893, the church in Colonia Alejandra, Santa Fe, passed over to the Brethern and later the Methodist. The church in Rosario del Tala, Entre Ríos, existed from 1876 to 1891, and it became Methodist. The church in Venado Tuerto, Santa Fe, was Waldensian from 1892-1907, until it became Methodist. By 1910, the church in La Pampa was established and became the first continuing congregation bringing the total number of congregations to two.

Church membership went from 40 families in 1860 to 1026 members in 1910. The

families utilized one Waldensian school in 1861, which increased to six by 1883.

Until 1930, all the ordained ministers were Italian, except for Enrique Beux. In the 1940's and 50's, the number of national ministers increased (163).

The Waldensian church before 1916 consisted mostly of Italian immigrants, until the younger generations started to marry non-Italians (164).

2.3.5. Other Reformed Churches and Missions (1827-1916)

In the early seventeenth-century, the Lutheran Danish captured what is today known as the Virgin Islands. Saint Thomas and Saint Kitts became a place of refuge for both the Huguenots (1672) and the Moravians (1732). Saint Thomas and Saint Kitts became a place of refuge for both the Huguenots (1672) and the Moravians (1732). The Moravians worked in close proximity to the NHK, even though ecclesiastical ties were not established until the twentieth century.

Calvinist influence was present in Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches. Reformed church members who did not have a Reformed church to attend would attend these churches. The NHK recognized the importance of other Protestant groups and were early (1825) to seek unionization and cooperation ventures (165).

With the exception of St. Thomas, the RCA had very little influence in the Caribbean. The largest Reformed influence in CALA during the seventeenth to the nineteenth century was European, and in particular, Dutch.

In 1827, the NHK in St. Thomas was handed over to the RCA. Already services had been conducted in the English language. Furthermore, the members from St. Thomas had made contacts in Puerto Rico, which eventually developed into the formation of the Episcopal Church in Puerto Rico (166).

Members of several German Evangelical churches in Germany came to Río de Janeiro, Brazil in 1827. They came from union churches of Lutherans and Calvinists. They came to Buenos Aires in 1843 and Sao Paulo in 1858. German Evangelical congregations were established in Uruguay (1857), Mexico (1861), Chile (1867), Caracas (1899), Lima (1899), Bolivia (1923) and Guatemala (1919). The German Evangelicals, like the Evangelical Church of Río de la Plata, consist of a minority of Reformed members (10%) (167). For this reason they are not dealt with under the Reformed denominations.

Immigrants from the Netherlands and South Africa started to come to Argentina and Brazil before the turn of the twentieth century. Contacts were maintained with Reformed churches of the homeland but also with the Christian Reformed Church in the United States. The Dutch and the Boer immigrants formed the nucleus of the Reformed Churches in Argentina.

2.3.6. Conclusion

The Reformed churches and missions came from a variety of European nations. Each introduction was uniquely an association of the cultural ethos of the sending nation with the cultural ethos of the receiving nation. Colonial, immigrant, and ethnic churches were established in cultures controlled by the sending cultures. Only after the birth of the modern republics, did the Reformed churches and missions move toward indigenization in the receiving culture.

2.4. CONCLUSION

For the conclusion of this chapter the threefold missiological analysis, namely, mission context, mission agency, and mission motivation is given (c.f. 1.2).

Mission context. The first Reformed congregation was established by the French Huguenots in Coligny in the sixteenth century. Since then, and until 1916, the total statistics add up to 54 or more congregations in 19 countries. 258 ministers served congregations and at least 11 missionaries served among the Indians and Africans. Two French congregations were established at one time or another in two different CALA countries: Brazil and Surinam. The RCA worked with two congregations (St. Thomas and St. Kitts.) The Dutch worked in 44 congregations and the Waldensian Italians in ten.

Many Reformed church members immigrating from Europe were dispersed on islands where a Reformed church did not exist. This pattern was first of all established by the French Huguenots. They were dispersed (mentioned chronologically) in Brazil, Florida, Haiti, French Guyana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Anguilla, St. Eustatius, St. Martin, and St. Thomas, without establishing a church before 1916. This occurred in a slightly different way with the Netherlands Reformed. On some of the islands, the Reformed church was established; but due to the small number of members, the presence of other Protestant churches, and the politics of the mercantile company and NHK, church members were encouraged to join other churches. This occurred in Aruba, Bonaire, British Guyana, Curacao, French Guyana, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. Johns, St. Kitts, St. Martin, and Tobago. However, the Dutch immigrants to Argentina and Brazil established their own churches. The Waldensians, coming as immigrants, also established their churches and, eventually, their schools.

Several types of churches were established. The French Huguenots established for brief periods of time refugee type churches. The refugee church did not receive the full support of the host country. Most of them, such as in Brazil, Florida, and Haiti were destroyed by Iberian powers.

The colonial churches were set up by the Dutch through cooperation with the mercantile WIC. The WIC exercised a high degree of control over the hiring and firing of the ministers as well as in the administration of the churches' finances.

Union churches, namely, the United Protestant churches, were established in the Netherlands Antilles after 1825.

The immigrant churches, free from European mercantile control, yet, set up according to ethnic boundaries, offered more ecclesiastical freedom for church ministers and members.

By 1916, CALA supported, CALA governed, and CALA propagating Reformed churches were in the making in Argentina, Curacao, Surinam, and Uruguay. A certain amount of ecclesiastical dependency existed between the European churches and the CALA churches. There were no non-European churches planted.

The style of missions varied as well. Spontaneous mission contacts made by church members and ministers are reported as early as the Coligny expedition. The NHK sent ten missionaries to Brazil in the seventeenth century. They worked under the jurisdiction of the Brazilian classis with a *plantatio ecclesiae* emphasis. The French churches sent one missionary to Surinam during the seventeenth century. The Netherlands Mission Society sent one missionary to Surinam during the eighteenth century in order to work among the Indians. Before 1916, the NHK in Surinam did not respond enthusiastically to working with mission societies, nor with the Moravians. The Waldensians showed more interest in working beyond the ecclesiastical walls of their colonies. Three missionaries were sent, one minister worked with the British and Foreign Bible Society and several Christian organizations for youth, students, and the elderly were organized.

The mission activities of the CALA Reformed community may have been limited by the continual struggle for stabilization. The difficulty of the colonists in becoming established was self-defined. Immigration patterns show that a large number of colonist returned to their homeland or moved on to North America. Around the turn of the century, the new wave of immigrants from Europe and South Africa, had different intentions. They intended to stay, and lived in areas where there was ample room for pioneer agricultural work and urban development.

Yet, Reformed Christianity maintained its inward focus. By 1916, not one indigenous Indian, African, and non-white church had been established by the American, Dutch, French, and Italian Reformed churches and missions.

Mission agency. The main mission agency was the local congregation. More than 54 congregations were established and served by more than 258 ordained ministers. Over the same period of time, 11 missionaries were sent. The obvious emphasis was on the colonists' religious needs rather than the needs of others.

Working relationships were established by NHK with Lutherans in Curacao and Surinam; and the RCA, with the Presbyterians, prior to 1916. Church contacts were maintained by the NHK with the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians, in the Upper Antilles, due to NHK church members visiting their churches in the absence of a

Reformed church.

None of the Reformed churches were represented at the Panama Congress. The Waldensians in Uruguay and Argentina attended a pre-Panama Congress regional meeting in Argentina. Only the NHK in Surinam and the Waldensians in Uruguay and Argentina continued until, and beyond, the Panama Congress in 1916.

The Reformed Churches served the colonist and immigrant population well. There was a tenacious drive to keep the church services going in most of the countries where European Reformed church members existed. The pre-Panama Congress Reformed churches will generally not be known as agents of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the Indians, Africans and people outside of their own ecclesiastical walls.

Mission Motivation. All the Reformed churches adhered to the Reformed Confessions and Church Order. On several occasions, there were clashes with Arminian interpretations, such as witnessed with the Presbyterian, Rev. John Runnels.

Although theological motives for missions played an important part in WIC' s justifying to the NHK its involvement in missions, it is difficult to trace such theological motivation into the Reformed churches of CALA. Mercantile interests, and especially slave trading, were antithetical to evangelism and the building of the indigenous church.

As mentioned before, Jan Willem Kals in Surinam; Rev. George van Essen in St. Eustatius; Rev. Henricus Muller in St. Kitts; and Rev. Nicolaas Kuipéri in Aruba were notable radicals who denounced the colonists contradictions. The new wave of immigration which came after emancipation and after the decline of colonialism, created a healthier environment, which was more conducive to missions. It is interesting to see that the religious prophetic motive was closely related to the evangelism motive. The same ministers and missionaries who expressed deep concern over the degenerate and depraved condition of colonial life also were deeply concerned over the spiritual degeneration of the peoples and the need for mission work.

The evangelism motive to reach the peoples of the Caribbean and Latin American was set forth by Usselinx and put into practice by the seventeenth century Dutch Reformed missionaries in Brazil. This lasted for 24 years. Other evangelism efforts arose for shorter periods of time, such as with the work of van Essen, Muller and Kuipéri.

Whereas the Reformed churches transplanted from Europe maintained an European ethos, the Presbyterians were far more influenced by the North American mission movement which planted new churches. The next chapter will review the historical and missiological roots of the early Presbyterian churches and missions. They are similar to the Reformed and a frequent partner in missions.

FOOTNOTES

1. Samuel Vila explains that Charles V had debts with families such as the Chigis, The Fuggers, and the Welsers. In payment to banker Welser, he gave part of Venezuela. The governor of the Darien and Bálzares colony had Lutheran sentiments. The Lutheran historian, Lars Qualben, writes that by the year 1532 the whole colony had accepted the Lutheran faith. *Enciclopedia ilustrada de historia de la Iglesia* (1979), p. 179. See Pablo Deiros, *Historia del Cristianismo* (1986), pp. 166-167. He places the dates of the colony from 1529-1550. See also Irene Wright, *Early History of Cuba* (1970). Sidney Rooy, in "¿La llegada de los "luteranos" a Venezuela?" *Iglesia y Misión* #37 (July-Sept., 1991), pp. 28-29, contests the Qualben's claim.
2. Batlle, *op.cit.*, pp. 212-213. Rooy notes that the official Inquisition was established in Peru (1570), Mexico (1571), and Cartagena (1609). Pablo Deiros, *op.cit.*, p. 165, locates the establishment of the first tribunal in 1568.
3. Primary sources are: Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil* (1975); *Journal de bord de Jean de Léry en la terre de Bresil 1557, presente et commente por M.R. Mayeux* (1975); and Baum Guilielmus *et. al.* (eds) *Corpus Reformatorum* (1877), pp. 278 f, 434 - 443. Secondary resources include: Oliver Reverdin, *Quatorze Calvinistes chez les Topinambous, histoire d'une mission genevoise au Brazil (1556 - 1558)* (1957); J. Vanden Berg, "Tragedie op de Kust van Brazilie," *De Heerbaan* (Sept./Oct., 1958), pp. 179 - 184; Justo González, *Historia de las Misiones* (1970), pp. 376 - 377; William Muller, "Brazil," *Lengthened Cords* (ed. Roger Greenway) (1975), pp. 101-104.
4. Marc Lescarbot, *History of New France* (tr. W.L. Grant), (1907), I, p. 148.
5. For a historical description by a Latin American historian see G. Baez - Camargo, "The Earliest Protestant Missionary Venture in Latin America," *Church History* XXI (1952), pp. 135 - 145. See Pablo Deiros, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-168. Deiros identifies October 11, rather than November 10 as the date of arrival. He speaks of 14 students being sent. Lescarbot, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Léry, *Journal...*, p. 51; *Corpus Reformatorum* XLIV, 442, letter 2613. The letter response of the Genevan church as well as Villegaignon's reception of the Huguenots upon their arrival in 1557 is enough evidence to disprove the theory of A. Perbal that the letter to Calvin from Villegaignon was forged. A. Perbal, "Non-Roman Catholics in Latin America," *International Review of Missions* 41 (1960), pp. 455 - 459.
6. Phillip Huges, *The Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in the Time of Calvin* (1966), p. 317.
7. *Corpus...*, letters 2612, 2613.
8. Baez-Camargo, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 - 136. Sidney Rooy, "La llegada de la fe reformada a Brasil," (1991), p. 24, mentions 10 artisans: Pierre Bourdon, Matthieu Verneuil, Jean du Bourdel, André La-Fon, Nicolás Denis, Jean Gardien, Martín David, Nicolás Raviquet, Nicolás Carneau, and Jacques Rousseau. When we add de Léry, we come to the same number as mentioned by Baez-Carmargo. Pablo Deiros, *op. cit.*, mentions 14 theological students. It appears that the 11 artisans

were theological trained as seen in writing their confession of faith. This confession is called *Confessio Fluminense* by Pablo Deiros, *op. cit.*, p. 168. The differences in spelling are mostly a variation between the original French and the English and Spanish translations.

9. Léry, *Histoire...*, pp. 64 - 65.
10. Léry, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 - 67.
11. Léry, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
12. Baez-Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
13. *Corpus...*, letters 2609, 2612.
14. *Corpus...*, letter 2612.
15. Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1609), p. 323.
16. Baez-Camargo, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
18. Jean Crespin, *Acts des martyrs* (1564), pp. 881-898, as reported by Léry.
19. The confession is reportedly found in Jean Crespin, *Historie des martyrs persecutes et mis a mort pour verite del Evangile*, II, pp. 510 - 513. Rooy, *op. cit.*, mentions that 4 persons were strangled. However, if La Fon became a tailor and Le Balleur escaped to the mainland, then Bourdon, du Bourdel, and Verneuil were martyred. Le Balleur, the fourth martyr, was executed in 1567.
20. Henry Beets, *Triumfen van Het Kruis* (n.d.), p.79. Beets identifies the escaped Huguenot as Jean Boles. This probably refers to Le Balleur. Rooy, *op. cit.*, notes that Le Balleur kept preaching in Brazil. He was jailed and was to be executed in July, 1562. His sentence was appealed. Finally, José de Anchieta, a Jesuit missionary, called for his execution which was realized on January 20, 1567.
21. Reverdin, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
22. Jean Bastian, "Protestantismo y Colonia en America Latina y el Caribe: 1492 - 1838," *Taller de Teología* (1981), p. 24.
23. Bastian, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 - 17. Other Protestant churches and missions have had influence in the region as well. The Episcopalians and Presbyterians landed in Bermuda in 1609. Francis Osborne and Geoffrey Johnson, *Coastlands and Islands* (1972), p. 57. Jan van der Linde, *Het Visioen Van Hernhut En Het Apostolaat Der Moravische Broeders In Suriname* ((1956), pp. 14 - 16; González, *La Historia...*, pp. 188, 200.
24. Vincent Huyghues-Belrose, "Mission et missionnaires en Guyane: XVII-XX siècles," *Histoire de la Guyane, Grande Encyclopédiè de la Caraibe Vol. 7*, (1989), pp. 1-3; J. Metzler (ed.) *Sacrae congregationis de propaganda fide memoria rerum 1622-1972* (n.d.) Vol. 2, pp. 1131-1161.
25. Bastian, *op. cit.*, p. 20; González, *La Era...*, p. 163; Vincent Huyghues-Belrose, "Mission et Missionnaires...", pp. 1-3. Sidney Rooy, "La legada de los hugonotes a Florida (parte I)" and "...Parte II...", *Iglesia y Misión* #40-41 (July-Sept, Oct.-Dec, 1992), pp. 26-27,31-33.
26. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304; Philippe Gueritaul, "Les Huguenots de la fin du XVIe à la moitié du XVIIe siècle," *Histoire de la Guyane, Grande Encyclopédiè de la Caraibe Vol. 7*. (1989), p. 12-17; González, *Misión...*, p. 180.
27. A.W. Marcus, *De Geschiedenis van the Ned. Hervormde Gemeente in Suriname*

- (1935), p. 24.
28. Manual A. Peña Batlle, *La isla de la Tortuga* (1988), pp. 55f, documents the Calvinist influence in la Tortuga. Such influences were reported as early as 1594. Jacques Pannier and Gustave Mondain (ed.) *L'expansion française outre-mer et les protestants français* (1931); González, *Misión...*, p. 415. J. Metzler (ed) *Sacrae Congregationis ...*, pp. 1131-1161. Arthur Newton, *The European nations in the West Indies* (1933), pp. 171-175.
 29. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-482.
 30. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-337; Gerard LaFleur, "The Methodist Church in the Frenchpart of St. Martin," ((1987), p. 6.
 31. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24; Van der Linde, *Suikerheren...*, pp. 47-48.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
 34. Lafleur, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-9.
 35. D. A. Bisnauth, *A Short History of the Guyana Presbyterian Church* (1970), pp. 10-11; Wiston Mc Gowan, "Christianity and Slavery: Reactions to the work of the London Missionary Society in Demerara, 1808-1813," *A Selection of Papers* presented at The Twelfth Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians (1980). On page 23 he cites the National Archives of Guyana and the Minutes of the Court of Policy of the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerary and their independent districts, April 27, 1808.
 36. Catherine Ligtenburg, *Willem Usselinx* (1913), p. 62. The main resource used in this study about the Dutch in Brazil comes from the thesis of F. L. Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis van de Classis Pernambuco der Gereformeerde Christelijke Kerk in Hollands Brazilië," as well as the English version, "Colonial Reformed Brazil," (1977). In 1986, Schalkwijk completed, *Igreja e Estado no Brasil Holandes, 1630-1654* (1986). In 1992, the ' *Scoone dingen zijn swaere dingen*' (1992), a doctoral dissertation, Joesse conducted a magistral investigation and documentation of the mission motives and activities of Netherlands Reformed during the first half of the seventeenth century. The strongest contribution lies in the review of the sending consistories, classis and synodical minutes; the Dutch Reformed theologians; as well of that of the WIC administrators. Joesse notes the importance of Usselinx (pps. 216-223). The WIC rejected Usselinx's religious and humanitarian (anti-slavery) motives.
 37. L.J. Joesse, ' *Scoone Dingen zijn Swaere Dingen*'(1992), pp. 213-223.
 38. Schalkwijk, *Igreja...*, pp. 59-61; Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis..." pp. 9 - 10. William Muller, "Brazil," *Lengthened Cords* (1975), pp. 103f.
 39. Schalkwijk, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
 40. Part of Maurits' s oath was to "promote the Reformed religion and to propagate it as much as possible among the blind heathen." P.J. Bouman, *Johan Maurits de Braziliaan* (1949), p.80.
 41. Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis..." p. 19. C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil* (1957), pp. 242 - 243.
 42. Schalkwijk, "Colonial..." pp. 238 - 240. The first ministers came as chaplains and

- later were called by a local congregation. Out of the 30-40 pastors, Schalkwijk notes that about 20% were at one time or another working with the Indians. Yet, the majority worked among the colonists. González, *La Historia...*, p. 190.
43. Schalkwijk, "Colonial...", pp. 240 - 242; Joosse, *Ibid.*, p. 457.
 44. Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis...", pp. 64 - 65.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis...", p. 69.
 48. *Ibid.*, pp. 69 - 70.
 49. Acts III.I.14. (1637) as in F. Schalkwijk, "Ge-schiedenis...", p. 69.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 70 - 71; Acts VII, 3.2. (1640); In 1635, Jodocus a Stetten, NHK preacher, wrote to the Company officials in Zeeland that he baptized the first "heathen" in Brazil and that others were acquiring true knowledge of God. He also showed interest in working with the Portuguese and asked for a Portuguese Bible. Joosse, *Ibid.*, p. 545.
 51. *Ibid.*, p. 71; Acts III. I.15 (1638).
 52. *Ibid.*, pp. 71 - 72; Acts III. 5. 10. (1638).
 53. *Ibid.*, p. 72; Acts IV. 5.1.3. (1638).
 54. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
 55. *Ibid.*, pp. 77 - 79.
 56. The conquest of Pernambuco, Olinda and later Paraiba was a small part of the over-all Portuguese conquest. Historian Enrique Dussel's map charting the dates of conquest show how the coastlands were conquered starting in 1549. *A History of the Church in Latin America* (1981), p. 348.
 57. Watjen, Hermann Julius Eduard, *Das Holland-ische Kolonial Reich in Brasilien* (1921), p. 311 as cited in Van der Linden, *Suikerheeren...*, pp. 83 – 86.
 58. Schalkwijk, "Colonial...", p. 156.
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
 61. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
 62. *Ibid.*, p. 160; Acts III. 4.5.; XI.18. (1638).
 63. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
 64. *Ibid.*, p. 242, 167; Boxer, *Brazil...*, pp. 168f.
 65. Schalkwijk, "Geschiedenis...", pp. 64 - 65.
 66. Joosse, *Ibid.*, pp. 450f; Schalkwijk, *Igreja...*, pp. 459f.
 67. Jan Hartog, *Mogen de eilanden zich verhuegen. Geschiedenis van het Protestantisme op de Nederlandse Antillen* (1969), p. 1-2. Curacao is part of the Netherlands Antilles and could have been included in the Upper and Lower Antilles. Due to its importance it has received particular attention.
 68. *Ibid.*, pp. 51 - 52.
 69. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
 70. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
 71. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 53.
 72. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
 73. *Ibid.*, pp. 11.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 53,54.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
77. A.H. Algra, *Dispereert Niet* (Vol. 5) (1972), p. 297.
78. Hartog, *op.cit.*, pp 13 - 15.
79. N. Smith, *Living Stones* (1985), pg. 54.
80. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
82. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 3. The Immigrant Church Era (1915-1969) and the Church at the Crossroads Era (1970-1985) are part of the two eras mentioned.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 59; Van Alphens, *Nieuw Kerkelijk Handboek* (1985).
84. J. M. van der Linde, *Het Visioen...*, is the main source for this section of study. Van der Linde, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16; González, *La Historia...*, p. 188.
86. Van der Linde, *Het Visioen...*, pp. 16 - 19. A.W. Marcus, *De Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Hervormde Gemeente in Suriname* (1935), p. 17.
87. Bastian, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
88. L. Knappert, *Schets van eene Geschiedenis onzer Handelskerk* (1928), p. 128.
89. J. Wolbers, *Geschiedenis van Suriname* (1861), p. 834. As quoted in Van der Linde (pg. 30) and translated by Hegeman.
90. Knappert, *op. cit.*, p. 8l.
91. Van der Linde, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 -24; A. Paasman, *Reinhart: Nederlandse Literature en Slaverij ten Tijde van de Verlichting* (1984), pp. 157-158. The author gives an overview of Dutch literature about the Christianization of the slaves in Surinam. Another interesting source is the writings of the English Puritan dissenter, John Oxenbridge (1666), who wrote, "A Seasonable Proposition of Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guaia," (London: British Museum).
92. *Ibid.*, pp. 34 - 42.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
94. J.M. van der Linde, *Surinaamse Suikerheren...*, pp. 74 - 77. Basseliers had at least 74 slaves and 1170 acres of land.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 98 - 99.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 - 103. Also, special days of prayer could be and were established by the government and the church. In times of war, pestilence, persecution of the church, and other difficult times, the church had the right to ask the government to establish special days of prayer and thanksgiving. Masters and slaves alike were forbidden to work on these special days.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 113 - 117.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 118 - 119.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
105. J.H. Bavinck, *An Introduction to the Science of Missions* (1960), p. 155.
106. Van der Linde, *op. cit.*, p. 156; Marcus, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.
107. Van der Linde, *Surinaamse...*, pp. 164 - 165.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
110. Van der Linde, *Het Visioen...*, pp. 34 - 35.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
113. Van der Linde, *Surinaamse...*, p. 168.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 167; Van Dissel, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
115. González, *La Historia...*, p. 191.
116. A.W. Marcus, *De Geschiedenis...*, p. 33.
117. Van der Linde, *Het Visioen...*, pp. 54 - 55; S. van Dissel, *Eenige Bijzonderheden betreffende de Christelijke Gemeente te Paramaribo* (1877), p. 9.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
120. Van Dissel, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
121. L. Knappert, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Bovenwindsche eilanden in de 18 de eeuw* (1932), p. 205.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 161 - 164.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 179 - 180.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 180 - 181.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
127. *Ibid.*, pp. 92 - 93.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 101 - 103.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 112 - 116.
132. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-126; Van Alphens, *Nieuw Kerkelijk Handboek* (1985), pp. 335f.
134. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
135. Van der Linde, *Suikerheeren...*, p. 13; The NHK yearbook identifies 2739 Dutch national members in 1896 and 2344 in 1915 in St. Martin who are related to the NHK.
136. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 39; 121; Smit, *op.cit.*, p. 58.
137. Knappert, *op. cit.*, p. 115. Van Alphens mentions that NHK members were ministered to by Wesleyan Methodists missionaries (1895), p. 400.
138. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
139. Knappert, *op. cit.*, pp. 166 - 167.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 106 - 107.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 - 110.
142. González, *La Historia...*, p. 427, and *The Development of Christianity in the*

- Latin Caribbean* (1967), pp. 103 - 104.
143. Knappert, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Barrett wrongly states that the Moravians were the first Protestants who came in 1777.
 144. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
 145. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 221.
 146. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
 147. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
 148. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Van Alphens year-book identifies 69 souls in 1891; 1309 in 1896; 1435 in 1900; 1104 in 1905; 1244 in 1910 and 1414 in 1915.
 149. Knappert, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
 150. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
 151. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
 152. *Ibid.*, pp. 85 - 87.
 153. *Ibid.*, p. 92; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
 154. Hartog, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
 155. *Ibid.*, p. 95. The NHK yearbook mentions that there were 443 souls related to NHK in 1891; 520 in 1896; 661 in 1900; 407 in 1905; 358 in 1910; 348 in 1915. Since 1887, one preacher served the 2 congregations (2nd started in 1896).
 156. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
 157. Hartog, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.
 158. *Ibid.*, p. 105; The NHK yearbook mentions that there were 141 souls related to the NHK in 1891; 146 in 1896; 143 in 1900; 81 in 1905; 87 in 1910 and 48 in 1915.
 159. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
 160. Van Alphens, *op. cit.* Parabam refers to Paramaribo; Cura refers to Curacao; Nickerie and Paramaribo are in Surinam. When ministers serve in more than one congregation in the same country, they are listed in the congregation where they first served, with an (*) besides their name. The chart statistics correspond to the appendix lists of ministers.
 161. *Ibid.* Marcelo Dalmas, *Historia de los Valdenses en el Río de la Plata* (1973); Prien, *op. cit.*, pp. 421-422. See also Ernesto Tron and Emilio H. Ganz, *Historia de las Colonias Valdenses Sudamericanas en su primer centenario (1858-1958)* (1958); *La Iglesia Evangélica Valdense Ayer y Hoy* (1979).
 162. Dalmas, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
 163. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-73. Letter from emeritus pastor Ricardo C. Ribeiro. December, 1992.
 164. *Iglesia del Transplante*, pp. 120f, Dalmas, *op. cit.*
 165. Van der Linde, *Het Visioen...*, p. 22; *Suikerheren...*, pp. 195-196; Costas, *Christ Outside the Gate*, p. 59.
 166. González, *The Development...*, p. 102.
 167. Hans-Jurgen Prien, *Die Geschichte...*, pp. 749-750. Villalpando (ed.) *et. al. Las Iglesias del Transplante...*, p. 99.

CHAPTER 3

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN THE PRE-PANAMA CONGRESS ERA (1609-1916)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The Presbyterians and the Reformed in CALA are theologically and ecclesiastically very similar. Numerous partnerships were formed in missions in CALA by the twentieth century.

This chapter is divided according to geographical and chronological considerations. The geographical areas from which Presbyterian missions come include CALA, England, Ireland, Scotland, Canada, and the United States

3.2. PRESBYTERIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN (1609-1916)

3.2.1. Introduction

The English and Scottish Presbyterians were the first Presbyterians to come to CALA. Their origins are traced back to Bermuda in 1609. The Canadian Presbyterians came by 1865 and developed mission work where the Scottish had already worked. As early as 1750, Presbyterian ministers from the USA visited and worked in relationship with other Protestant churches in the Caribbean. This section will deal with their involvement in the Caribbean from 1609-1916.

3.2.2. English, Irish, and Scottish Presbyterians in the Caribbean (1609-1916)

3.2.2.1. Introduction

The Presbyterians first came to CALA with the English and Scottish colonists. Bermuda was taken by captain Sussex Cammock of the Somers Island Company in 1609. The English took San Andrés and shortly afterwards, Tortuga. This small island off the north coast of Hispaniola (now Haiti), was captured in 1630. Antigua and Bahamas were also captured.

Grenada and Trinidad received Scottish immigrants during the nineteenth century. Protestant religious services began in Grenada in 1833. Presbyterians from Scotland, Ireland, Nova Scotia (Canada), and the USA came to Trinidad during the 1830' s. Several national Presbyterian churches were established during the 1830' s and the 1840' s.

The English, Irish, and Scots settled in the English Caribbean. The friendly environment

allowed the churches to become established. Some extended themselves among the non-European inhabitants of the islands.

Presbyterianism in the Caribbean prior to 1916 came in three stages: 1) through mercantilism (1609-onwards); 2) through missions societies (1880-onwards); and 3) through expansion of national missions (1845-onwards).

3.2.2.2. Bermuda (1609-1916)

The first minister in Bermuda was the Rev. Richard Bucke of the Church of England. The first Presbyterian minister was the Rev. George Keith (Ber:1609-?) from Scotland. Keith had been trained as a Presbyterian in Scotland, but served in Bermuda through the Church of England (1).

Rev. Lewis Hedges (Ber:1613-1620;1622-1625) was the second minister in Bermuda. He began to use the Presbyterian system of church government (2). By 1620 the form of church government and the order of worship in Bermuda showed distinct Presbyterian influence (3). The Presbyterian influence within the Church of England continued in Bermuda until the beginning of the eighteenth century (4).

In 1644 a separation took place within the Church of England in Bermuda. The Presbyterian ministers continued to be pressed to use the Episcopalian prayer book and liturgy. As a result, three ministers left and a small Presbyterian congregation was formed. The congregation met at a place called Mite under the direction of Rev. Nathaniel White (Ber:1644-?).

The first established Presbyterian church was the Church of Warwick in 1719. Rev. James Paul (Ber:1720-1750) served this church from 1720 - 1750. The second minister, Rev. John Maltby (Ber:1750-1768), petitioned the Presbytery of New York to be received into their ecclesiastical fellowship. Maltby was an adventurer and was known to be involved in the exploration of the Turks Islands (5).

The congregation of Warwick continued to be filled with pastors from various presbyteries such as New York, London, Edinburgh, and Baltimore. Rev. Enoch Matson (Ber:1771 - 1831) came from Baltimore and was instrumental in inviting the Methodists to Bermuda. He also admitted Afro-American people into the membership of the church (6).

Besides the Presbyterians from the above mentioned countries, the Glasgow Mission Society (GMS: established in 1796) sent the Rev. George Galloway (Ber:1796-1834) to Bermuda. He utilized Sunday Schools and congregational preaching with notable success (7).

By 1820 the colony began to subsidize the Presbyterian Church. The congregation paid

part of the salary of the minister (8).

During the 1830's the congregation joined the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (CS). Following the separation patterns of the Presbyterian churches of Scotland, they joined the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) in 1845. By 1900, the Presbyterian Church in Bermuda (PCBer) became part of the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCS). In 1929 they became part of the CS (9). In 1874, a smaller congregation, the St. Andrews Church, joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) (10).

The missionary activities were not many because basically it was a colonist church. The PCBer established cross-cultural contacts, but worked mainly with other colonists and visitors. In the late eighteenth century, however, Afro-Americans were accepted into the church. The GMS sent missionaries who held Sunday schools for Afro-American children. Other denominations, such as the Methodists, were encouraged to work on the island.

In 1890, the Reformed Church of England (RCE) established a congregation, which later became the Reformed Episcopal church. By 1900 it had 64 members. The membership was mostly Afro-American.

3.2.2.3. Antigua and the Bahamas (17th century-1916)

The Presbyterian Church came to Antigua and the Bahamas with the English and Scottish colonists (11). The Church did not develop to any sizable proportions. Its history is not mentioned by church historians in the church history documents consulted (12).

3.2.2.4. Jamaica and Grand Cayman (1800-1916)

The earliest presence of Presbyterians in Jamaica is cited as occurring in 1688, when Presbyterians and members of other denominations worshipped together in Port Royal (13). A work was not established until 1800, when the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) sent the Rev. George Bethune (Jam:1800-?) and two catechists to Jamaica. One of the catechists died shortly after arrival, but the other, Ebenezer Reid (Jam:1800-?), started a school for Afro-American children in Kingston. The opposition to the work of the two missionaries by the government and the colonists was so great that this school was the only mission project which survived among the Afro-Americans until 1824 (14).

Rev. George Blyth (Jam: 1824-?) came from Scotland in 1824. He was able to help advance the Afro-American work to include church planting. Several slave owners were sympathetic to the idea and soon a church building was built. The mission reports of 1830 say that 800 people had become Christian (15).

Between 1834 and 1838, the institution of slavery was abolished in Jamaica. The ex-

slaves were grateful to the missionaries for their part in seeking emancipation. Elizabeth Hewat writes:

"The 1 August 1838 was a memorable day, when 60,000 people were delivered from the last remnants of slavery. The Rev. Hope Waddell gives a graphic account of it. Meeting before sunrise on their estates for thanksgiving and prayer, the people had two long banners, the Church one bearing the sign of the Cross with the words, "By this conquer", while the School one had the motto, "By Christian education, let Jamaica flourish..." Deafening cheers followed on the calling out of the mottos on the banners, "No bond but the law"; "This is the Lord's doing"; "We will work for our wives and children"; "Wages are better than whips"; "Christian freedom is the best freedom". Sermon was preached on the text, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (16).

By 1836, the missionaries were working in six large churches and eight preaching stations. The Jamaican Missionary Presbytery was formed by the United Secession Church (USCS) and the SMS. The Presbyterian Academy in Montego Bay was started in the same year. The academy started to graduate Jamaican ministers in the 1840's (17).

After considering the proposal by missionaries to involve Jamaicans in West Africa, the SMS sent missionary Hope Waddell to Calabar, West Africa in 1846. A Jamaican catechist, teacher, carpenter, and dispenser of medicine went along with him. A church was founded in Nigeria and many Jamaicans served in what is now the Nigerian Presbyterian Church (18).

Back in Jamaica, the post-slavery era proved to be very difficult. The practices of obeah and myall, black and white magic, were on the increase. Legal marriages were few. Education was lacking. Working conditions remained poor.

From 1838 to 1865, Jamaica experienced a severe social crisis which climaxed in the 'Jamaican Rebellion'. The government and the people were not working together. In St. Thomas, in the East, a court house was burned, 18 colonists killed, and 31 wounded. The authorities responded harshly, killing 800 Afro-Americans and burning more than 1000 houses. The government of England intervened, recalled the governor, and restored order. Throughout the turbulent days in Jamaica, the mission projects and church continued to grow. The SMS was absorbed into the denominational mission work of the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) in 1847. In 1874, it was reported that there were four Presbyterian churches, 26 preaching points, four Jamaican ministers, over 5,000 members and a considerable financial contribution (19).

With the help of the Scottish church, the Jamaican church was encouraged to become financially self-supporting. The efforts toward self-support were continually challenged by economic and climatic factors. Low income kept budgets down. Climatic disturbances such as the cyclone of 1903, the earthquake of 1907, and the hurricane winds of 1912 did considerable damage to the church buildings as well as to the people.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the church was supporting 32 catechists, not only for their own congregations, but also for home missions. This included a cross-cultural work among the East Indians in Jamaica. Other missionary activities were conducted. Ordained ministers from the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica (PCJ) served as missionaries in Calabar and Rajputana, in cooperation with the Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Edinburgh (20).

The ability of the Jamaican church to support catechists while not being able to support full time ordained ministers, could have led the church members and ministers to the conclusion that ministers should work part-time. However, the pattern had been set. With the presence of paid, ordained and non-ordained missionaries, paid, ordained national pastors (some pastors had received salary from the Foreign Mission Board), the idea of returning to partially-paid or non-paid national clergymen was not accepted by the church. The church remained relatively small and without sufficient church leaders.

The PCJ will long be noted for its missionary initiatives. The Jamaican missionaries who labored in Nigeria were the first non-European Presbyterian missionaries of the Caribbean to be engaged in Africa. In addition to these great efforts, a missionary strategy was developed for utilizing East Indian Presbyterians of Trinidad among the East Indians in Jamaica. East Indian Presbyterian catechists from Trinidad worked fruitfully among the Hindus in Jamaica.

The first Scottish missionaries began, after their arrival in Jamaica, to work with the Afro-American population. Immediately, language and cultural barriers were crossed. In the fight against slavery, the missionaries were pro-emancipation. The cross-cultural evangelism activities reached the Afro-Americans in their social and spiritual needs. The same can be said for the mission work among the Hindus from India living in Jamaica.

3.2.2.5. Grenada (1830-1916)

The Presbyterian Church in Grenada (PCG), according to J.C. MacDonald, originated in 1830. This occurred when several Scottish immigrants began to make plans for the construction of a church building. Services began in 1833. During the nineteenth century, the church was served by CS ministers (21).

In 1844, mission work was begun among the East Indians, Hindus, and Muslims. Catechists from the PCC in Trinidad came over to help the PCG. Local catechists were appointed as well. MacDonald reported that virtually the entire migrant population became involved in the church in one way or another (22).

The identity of the Grenada church became closely associated with the Trinidad Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Church in Trinidad and Grenada: PCTG).

The ability of the Presbyterians to go beyond the community of the colonist church in

order to evangelize the whole island was accomplished through missionaries and churches. Repeatedly, the Trinidadian religious workers were sent to help work among the East Indian populations. It is therefore not surprising that the Grenada Presbyterians were predominately East Indians and closely associated with the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad. The evangelization of the East Indians, who stayed in the Caribbean longer than the Scottish and the Canadians, led to the establishment of a church which was not dependent on a European or North American immigrant community.

3.2.2.6. Trinidad (1836-1916)

Presbyterian contacts and beginnings in Trinidad date back to 1836. Before that date, significant events had led to the religious formation of this small island.

Spanish rule ended in Trinidad in 1797. Afro-American slavery was abolished in 1807, although slavery actually survived until 1834. This created a labor shortage on the island, since the free slaves settled their own land. By 1845, Indian workers had been found willing to come from India. By 1871, the East Indians constituted over 25 per cent of the population and by 1911 they accounted for more than 33 per cent. The predominant Protestant representation on the island among the English colonists was the Anglican Church. The Presbyterians from Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and the United States (cf. 3.2.3.2) were present, but to a lesser extent.

Rev. Alexander Kennedy (Trin:1836-1850), from Glasgow, Scotland, came to Port of Spain, in 1836, representing the United Secession Church of Scotland. The church was called the "Greyfriars." Kennedy worked among Trinidad's Scottish community. Since he was critical of the colonists treatment of the former slaves, Kennedy's short stay was not made easy. He moved to Canada in 1850. Another Scot, Rev. George Brodie (Trin:1845-?), who had joined Kennedy, also left.

The first presbytery was formed in 1845. Two clergy and one elder constituted the leadership. The second clergy was James Robertson (Trin:1845-?), who was ordained as a missionary by the newly formed Presbytery.

In 1846 a Portuguese pastor, Rev. Henrique Vieira (Trin:1854-?), was ordained by the newly established presbytery. Thus work among the Portuguese and in the Portuguese language was started. The congregation grew to 70 members by 1864 (23).

3.2.2.7. Conclusion

The origins of the English, Irish, and Scottish Presbyterian churches and missions in the Caribbean are closely associated with mercantile activities. The Presbyterians followed the English conquests and colonization patterns in the Caribbean. Some of the churches continued to work closely with the European colonial administrators while several mission groups made a radical break with the colonists.

Several contextual factors are important to observe. The SMS spearheaded the task of missions right from the beginning of their work. Despite resistance from the colonists, they endured and prospered. The tendency to work with the marginalized in society became a trademark of the early Jamaican Presbyterians. The SMS strategy was to identify with the Africans at the expense of developing cultural ties with the colonists.

Jamaicans were encouraged to do missions work in Africa. A Nigerian Presbyterian Church in Africa was established through these early Afro-American missionaries.

The SMS missionaries were willing to deny a part of their colonial heritage in order to work with the marginalized Afro-Jamaicans. This voluntary denial of the dominant culture was instrumental in developing the church in an oppressed culture. The Afro-Americans rediscovered their historical and cultural roots on African soil when, along with Scottish missionaries, work was started in Nigeria.

Presbyterianism in Jamaica was associated with emancipation from slavery. Whereas the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands Antilles were strongly associated with the slave trading system, the Jamaican Presbyterians supported emancipation.

The relationship between the missionaries cultural posture and missionary activities is observable in Jamaica. The missionaries of the SMS denied part of their Scottish colonial culture in order to evangelize and develop the church among the marginalized Afro-Americans. Their efforts included training Jamaican church leaders, developing national churches, and conducting cross-cultural mission activities. The early colonial church was not successful in doing evangelism among the Afro-Americans.

The development of the aforementioned Presbyterian churches in the Caribbean evolved in at least three ways. Some transplanted churches maintained the ecclesiastical structure and mentality of the homeland. In Bermuda, for example, the colony church changed its ecclesiastical affiliation from the CS (1644) to the CS (1830's), to the FCS (1845), to the UFCS (1900), and eventually, in 1919, to the CS again. Other transplanted churches, such as in Grenada, eventually assumed a national ethos. Several churches assumed a national character virtually from the beginning. The Presbyterian church planted by the SMS in Jamaica was such a church.

Of the three types of churches, the planted churches became the largest and most active in mission activities. The missionary work done by Jamaicans in Nigeria, and among the East Indians, Hindus, and Muslims in Jamaica, was a result of such a strategy.

After emancipation, the mission movement of Afro-Americans to Nigeria ranks as a highlight in Presbyterian mission history. The Afro-Americans had received good modeling from the sacrificial Scottish missionaries and felt called to cross the ocean and establish the church in Nigeria, their distant and former homeland.

The utilization of non-paid, or part-time catechists, proved very beneficial. Catechists went as far as Africa. They also went to the East Indians in Jamaica, British Guyana, Grenada, and St. Lucia.

The theological orientation of the transplanted and planted churches was confessionally Presbyterian. All the Presbyterian churches under consideration adhered to the Westminster Confession.

The Presbyterians who continued the ecclesiastical identity struggles of the homeland, such as those in Bermuda, were hindered in their cross-cultural evangelism activities.

The Presbyterian fraternal spirit in the Caribbean and British Guyana was clear in the sharing of both national and international missionary personnel and resources. Also, mission strategies were imitated from one field to the other. As far as the expansion of the church is concerned, the common strategy of working with specific people groups (e.g. East Indians), the training of catechists, and the priority for evangelism, were factors which led to growth. The development of Christian schools, which at the beginning served as a significant means for evangelism and church cooperation, later waned when the vision for evangelizing children or for training church leaders was lost. Some schools became institutional burdens for the national churches and drained the church membership and leadership of potential mission resources.

Focusing on homogeneous people groups led to the formation of small but ongoing churches. When the resident population of the island or country was evangelized and a Christian community developed, the church continued for longer periods of time. Churches built on the basis of the transient colonial community, however, enjoyed a limited time span. The Presbyterians did not only preach and evangelize, but also developed educational and social institutions. Of these, the national church was able to take over a large part of the educational institutions. Many of the social welfare institutions had a short life span.

Some interdenominational activity is observable, mostly among fellow Presbyterians and sometimes with other Protestants. There was virtually no institutional cooperation with Roman Catholics prior to 1916.

For a chart summary of the English, Irish, and Scottish Presbyterians in the Caribbean from 1609 to 1916, see Chart 3. (24).

3.2.3. United States Presbyterians in the Caribbean (1750-1916)

3.2.3.1. Introduction

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, US Presbyterians were active in the Caribbean, especially in the English and Dutch speaking Antilles. Missions work by US Presbyterians in Spanish speaking Caribbean countries, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico,

and the Dominican Republic, started at the end of the nineteenth century.

The earliest church contacts were made by Presbyterian church members who moved to the Caribbean for vocational reasons. They were followed by ministers, sent by US presbyteries. The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions started in 1837. Due to the Civil War, a separation took place, starting in 1857, drawn along the Mason-Dixon line. The Northern Presbyterian Church (PCUSA) formed its Board of Foreign Missions (PCUSABFM), as did the Southern Presbyterian Church (PCUSBFM) (25).

3.2.3.2. Bermuda (1750-1831)

As mentioned in 6.2.2.2, Rev. John Maltby (Ber:1750-68), from the New York Presbytery, served in Warwick, Bermuda. Rev. Oliver Deming, from New York, served in Warwick from 1771-1778. Rev. Enoch Matson, noted for admitting Afro-Americans into the membership of the Presbyterian Church of Warwick, served from 1771-1831. These ministers cooperated with the Scottish, Canadian, and Bermudian members and conducted their ministries on a congregational level (26).

3.2.3.3. Saba (1755-1771)

Rev. Hugh Knox (Saba:1755-1771) was sent to the Reformed Church in Saba (NHK) by the English Presbyterian Church of New York. The earliest North American Presbyterian connections in the Caribbean were with English and Scottish Presbyterians and the Netherlands Reformed churches (27).

3.2.3.4. St. Martin (1770' s)

The Presbytery of New York sent Rev. John Runnels during the 1770' s to work with the NHK in St. Martin (see 2.3.3.6.4).

3.2.3.5. Trinidad (1843-1916)

Presbyterians from the United States started among the descendants of African slaves in 1843. It was to this group that the Canadian pioneer missionary, Dr. John Morton, came. Eventually, the Afro-American outreach was replaced by the East-Indian outreach of the Canadian Presbyterians (28).

3.2.3.6. Cuba (1884-1916)

The PCUS in the United States was among the first Protestant churches to become established in Cuba. Latin American Church historian, Justo González writes:

Presbyterian work in Cuba is almost as old as that of the Episcopalians, and is also the result of the work of Cubans who had come to know the Protestant faith while in exile in the United States. The first and most remarkable of these was Evaristo Collazo, who in

1890 wrote the Southern Presbyterians in the United States informing them of the existence in Cuba of three congregations and a school for girls that he and his wife had founded and supported until that time (29).

The War of Independence in 1895 interrupted the work. After the war was over, missionaries from the PCUS came to Cuba. Through a series of affiliations, the Congregationalists gave five preaching centers in 1909 to the Southern Presbyterians. In 1918 the Disciples transferred three congregations and one pastor, the Rev. Julio Fuentes. Fuentes later became a superintendent of the Presbyterian mission council (30). The Presbyterian work was eventually turned over to the Northern Presbyterians.

It is noteworthy that the church was begun by Cubans and that the missions was initiated by way of invitation. The church had national leadership from the beginning. There was also a high level of interdenominational cooperation. Several small groups were combined to make a stronger national church.

The new church was also associated with the War of Independence against Spain. Members had fought in the war. The ethos surrounding independence from Spain was conducive to the acceptance of Protestantism.

In reviewing the historical records, it was not possible to determine if the PCUS had cross-cultural mission projects on other Caribbean islands or with the Cuban immigrants in the United States (31).

3.2.3.7. Puerto Rico (1899-1916)

As in Cuba, the PCUSA came to Puerto Rico through an invitation of new Protestants living in Puerto Rico. Justo González writes:

“Although the Presbyterians arrived in Puerto Rico in 1899, they profited from events that had begun to take place as early as 1868. At that time Antonio Badillo Hernandez visited Saint Thomas and there obtained a copy of the Bible. After returning to Puerto Rico, he studied his new acquisition, and felt led by it to Protestantism. He then began leading his friends and relatives in the same direction. When he died, his teachings did not succumb, but rather continued by his widow and children. In consequence, in 1900, when the Presbyterian missionary, Judson L. Underwood, visited the town of Aquadilla, he found there a group who called themselves "believers in the Word" whose doctrines were clearly Protestant. This was the first nucleus of the Presbyterian Church in Puerto Rico” (32).

Graeme Mount describes the formative years of Presbyterianism in Puerto Rico in a very illustrative and well-documented way. He offers a list of factors which led to the development of the missions and the church (33).

An advantage held by the American Presbyterians staying in Puerto Rico was the

protection offered by the United States government. Puerto Rico was under United States sovereignty. This situation, as compared to the problems Presbyterians had in Colombia and Mexico, gave evangelism and church development a more stable environment in which to work (34).

The denominational mission agencies and national churches divided Puerto Rico into zones, so that church work would not be duplicated. San Juan and Ponce, being bigger cities, were left open for all to work in. The comity agreement promoted Protestant extension (35).

The RCC lacked pastoral resources to meet the challenge of her members leaving in order to join Protestant groups. Some very articulate Catholic dissenters became leaders in the Puerto Rican Presbyterian Church (36).

The PCUSA poured into Puerto Rico a variety of resources in increasing amounts. The mission board budget increased from \$4,916 in 1900 to \$97,085 in 1914 (37). Ordained missionaries increased from one in 1899 to eleven in 1905. Medical doctors, nurses, and school teachers were sent. By the year 1914 there were eighteen missionary teachers and seven persons in medical services (38).

The PCUSA had since the middle of the nineteenth century been involved in Spanish speaking countries in South America, Central America, and Mexico. Experienced Spanish-speaking missionaries could therefore be sent to Puerto Rico (39).

During the first decade of the twentieth century two hospitals were begun: the Presbyterian Hospital in Santurce and the Rye Hospital in Mayaguez. Evangelistic ministry was carried out within the hospitals.

A Seminary was opened in Mayaguez in 1906. By 1914 there were six Puerto Rican clergymen. Communicant membership by 1914 was 2,745 and a trained clergy was of great importance (40).

As was the tradition of Presbyterians in other Caribbean fields, schools were organized. Already by 1901 there were six primary schools (41). A primary-secondary school, the Polytechnic Institute, was started in 1912. The latter developed into the Inter-American University.

The rapid development of institutional, educational, and social-service ministries shows that strategies and programs from other fields were utilized in Puerto Rico. The Presbyterians came with "everything they had." Would the national church be able to maintain these mission ministries? Would evangelism and cross-cultural missionary activities go on in the Presbyterian Church of Puerto Rico?

The expansion of North American Presbyterian mission work in the Caribbean began to peak and decline during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

3.2.3.8. Dominican Republic (1911-1916)

Prior to 1916 there was no established PCUSA church in the Dominican Republic, although Presbyterians were present in the country. Presbyterian ministers from the United States and Puerto Rico began to visit the Dominican Republic in 1911. A Board for Christian Work was formed with the Methodists and Evangelical United Brethren in 1920. This board was: "a unique missionary experiment without precedent in the history of missions....Various denominational boards of missions come together with the purpose of establishing in a foreign country a single Church, united from its very beginning" (42). The result of the board and cooperation was the formation of the *Iglesia Evangelica Dominicana* (IED: Evangelical Dominican Church), founded in 1925.

The Dominican Republic was significant in several ways. The Presbyterians arrived here later than other Caribbean countries. Also, Latin missionaries and Presbyterian ministers from Puerto Rico, were involved in setting up the work. It was an interdenominational effort. However, did this result in a strong and dynamic evangelical church? Dominican church historian, Dr. Luis Thomas, and veteran Presbyterian missionary, Rev. T. Dodd, echo the same concern when they speak about a church with various traditions being divided against itself and therefore weakened in its potential outreach. Thomas also noted that the mission resources at the beginning stages of the work was rather minimal, compared to other countries where the mission board of the PCUSA was more directly involved (43). Nevertheless, the IED has produced several noteworthy mission leaders in the twentieth century who have served in para-church agencies such as the United Bible Society, Gideons International, bookstores, hospitals and social service agencies in the Dominican Republic.

3.2.3.9. Conclusion

Presbyterian missionary activities were carried out by the North American missionaries working with the Presbyterian churches in the Caribbean in four distinct ways. The cultural and ethnic mosaic of the Antillean islands also led to a fragmented mission approach.

First of all, individual ministers of the Presbyteries of New York and of Baltimore came to minister in colony churches. Such churches could be the Netherlands Reformed churches in Saba or the Scottish Presbyterian churches in Bermuda. The transplant of colonial churches served the English, Scottish, and later the North American population. It is significant to note that some cultural barriers were crossed. In Bermuda, Rev. Maltby promoted Afro-American membership in the church during the eighteenth century.

In Cuba and Puerto Rico, Presbyterian missions came by means of invitation from nationals who had started churches. The subsequent church development took a different form. The church grew far larger and included more people.

Presbyterianism in Puerto Rico displayed another dimension, which was not as noticeable in Bermuda and Cuba. The Presbyterians' mission boards poured millions of dollars into the building and maintenance of large institutions, such as hospitals, schools, and social work projects. Puerto Rico started as a national church but became a mission project again, with the results of the continuation of a small nucleus of national churches.

In the Dominican Republic, the Presbyterians did not become involved directly in church planting. The IED was formed with national leadership from the start, gathering together several small mission groups. Para-church institutions were supported from North America.

Presbyterian missions became increasingly pluralform at the turn of the twentieth century and until 1916. The evangelism/church planting model was being substituted for institution development and educational activities. Even though the Protestant population of the Spanish speaking Antilles was very small, church development was no longer seen as the priority.

For an overall summary of the United States Presbyterians in the Caribbean, see Chart 3. (44).

3.2.4. Canadian Presbyterians in the Caribbean (1865 - 1916)

3.2.4.1. Introduction

The Presbyterian Church in Canada (PCC) was an offshoot from the Scottish Presbyterians of Scotland. Through commercial contacts with the West Indies during the middle of the nineteenth century, Canadian Presbyterian mission work was started in the Caribbean, beside the existing Scottish Presbyterian work.

3.2.4.2. Trinidad (1865 - 1916)

The Scottish Presbyterians preceded the Canadian Presbyterians in Trinidad. Cooperation between the Scottish Presbytery in Trinidad and the Canadian missionaries was established.

Canadian Presbyterian, Rev. John Morton (Trin:1868-1912), did not only come as a minister for the colonists in Trinidad, but also as a pioneer missionary. During the 1864-65 exploratory trip to Trinidad, he noticed the absence of a strong Christian witness among the East Indians. He returned to Canada asking and receiving permission in 1868 from the Maritime Presbytery to begin work among the Indians of Trinidad. This marks the beginning of missionary work by the Canadian Presbyterians in the Caribbean (45).

The Biblical, theological, and cultural motivations as well as the thorough missionary strategy of John Morton is described in Sarah Morton's biography about her husband, *John Morton of Trinidad*. Another thorough autobiography was written by missionary K.J. Grant, *My Missionary Memories*. The recent missiological writings of Graeme Mount, in *Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rico* gives an in-depth, well documented description and analysis of the mission history, missionary dynamics, mission motivations, strategy and results. National church leaders such as Idris Hamid in *A History of the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad: 1868-1968* give a Trinidadian perspective on the Canadian mission efforts and the development of the mission/church relationships.

The Canadian Presbyterians worked with a marginal people group. The church reflected its unique cultural characteristics. Geoffrey Johnson writes:

“For the Indians who came to Trinidad, if we take religion as an indicator of assimilation, one could remain a Hindu and unassimilated, or at the other end of the spectrum, adhere to the majority religion of the island, Roman Catholicism. Presbyterianism was a middle way. There were only a handful of Creole Presbyterians, so that the Presbyterians could be said to be an Indian church” (46).

The first missionaries learned Hindi, used the Hindi Bible, translated hymns into Hindi, used Indian musical instruments, and evangelized in Hindi. Eventually, their own presbytery was formed. Indian leaders were trained and ordained, and Indian missionaries were sent to other Caribbean islands. These initial efforts to establish an indigenous Indian church were soon replaced, according to Hamid, with East Indians seeking to become Western. The missionaries, directly or indirectly, supported this, especially through the Western type of schooling and education that was established (47).

The Canadian missionaries actively supported the development of national missionaries. Sarah Morton wrote:

“Trinidad was not the only island to receive Indian indentured labor, and as the Presbyterians in Trinidad were recognized as specialists in mission to the Indians, their services were sought in Guyana, St. Lucia, Grenada and Jamaica...In Jamaica the Trinidadian contribution was in advice and staff training, but the mission in that island was under the control of the Jamaican Presbyterian Church. The St. Lucia mission, although it took up a good deal of the Trinidadian missionary time, was eventually wound down as the Indians left the island and the remnant was taken over by the Methodists. The Grenada work was the smallest of all, and remains to this day as part of the Trinidad church” (48).

The challenge of developing a fully Trinidadian or national church-supported mission movement made a small beginning in the nineteenth century. E.B. Rosabelle Seesaran observed:

“From the start of his ministry, John Morton realized that without native helpers, there could be no progress. Hence, he welcomed the westernized Charles Clarence Soodeen as teacher and catechist. In the same strain K.J. Grant embraced Babu Lal Behari and both Soodeen and Lal Behari were recommended in 1875 to the Foreign Mission Board and accepted on the staff of the Trinidad Mission as paid catechists. These two, by their dedicated service, unconsciously pioneered the indigenization of the Church” (49).

Christian schools were developed amongst the East Indians. Already in the first year of Canadian mission presence, a school was started. Both Mortons were involved in education. John Morton opened a school in 1868 and Sarah Morton taught Indian girls at home. In 1894 a Normal training school was opened. The Princetown school started in 1905 and eventually merged with the Morton schools in 1909.

At the onset of Christian day schools, evangelism was integrally inter-woven with education. In Morton's annual report of 1877, he states: "I may also note that one half of the baptisms on my list are the result, direct or indirect, of our schools" (50). When the churches and the schools became more established, evangelism through the schools waned. Hamid notes that many East Indians placed more emphasis on the socio-economic benefits schooling provided than on conversion and church membership. He also observed that a conversion emphasis ran counter to the more universalistic view of salvation common to East Indian tradition (51).

Mount and Hamid also observed the influence of the Canadian missions on the Trinidadian society. Efforts were made by the Presbyterians to influence society as a whole. The lower crime rate, the decrease in alcoholism, improved education, the emancipation of women, were some of the positive influences. Charles Clarence Soodeen became the first East Indian school master. He was also the first Presbyterian on the country's Board of Education (52).

Although Hamid recognizes the presence of the above mentioned influences and social improvements, he laments the influence the missionary community had on certain social, political, and other cultural matters. Hamid questioned John Morton's defense of the Indian migration system. Was Morton representing the needs of the planters or the needs of the East Indians (53)? Hamid observed that the socio-economic conditions of the East Indians were often very undesirable (54). He states:

“The alliance between the missionary and the planters in the Presbyterian Church may explain certain attitudes and ethical positions of the missionary. It is an alliance that blinded the eyes of the missionaries to the basic ethical issues of the era, and the particular needs of the people for whom they claimed pastoral responsibility...The early missionaries cultivated the friendship of the planters. Apart from playing golf together, they visited and socialized with each other. They also received support for the school from the planters. In 1878 planters contributed 578 pounds, in 1880, 712 pounds. Not only were they contributing to the schools; that contribution also went toward missionary salaries...The missionaries in conflict resigned. Those in alliance remained. But what is

of importance is not only the financial relationship, but the fact that the missionaries' view of the Indians and their problems were reinforced or affected from the perspectives of the planter. Drinking was a serious problem, and the planters complained a lot about it and the way it affected production. The missionary was also complaining about it and moralized on the problem. But they were not moralizing on such issues as wages and living conditions, nor the inhumane conditions that drove them to drinking" (55).

The relationship of Canadian missionaries to Canadian or Scottish planters is not unique to Trinidad. What is of importance is the question of how far and to what extent the gospel was applied to cultural situations. Hamid's observations suggest that the influence of the planters' culture on the development of Christianity and the church should have been radically addressed.

The nineteenth century and early twentieth century Presbyterian work in Trinidad placed importance on church and Christian leadership training. East Indian leadership was developed at an early age and at an early stage. The Christian schools started in 1868. Between 1871 - 1873, more than 12 schools were opened. The community Christian schools were training grounds for future East Indian leaders (56).

The Naparima Teacher' s College was opened to train school teachers, separate from the apprenticeship training given by missionaries. With the help of the government, this Presbyterian Training College was opened in 1894 (57). Hamid writes:

"The Teacher's Training College was to play a crucial and key role in the life of the mission. Its graduates were not only equipped to teach secular subjects but to carry on the tasks of religious instruction and evangelization. They were expected to conduct services on Sunday and to provide leadership in Sunday school work" (58).

The beginning of Naparima College dates back to 1883, when training in the areas of civil services and other professions was begun (59). Hamid notes that by the 1940's the College had lost its evangelism emphasis (60).

Pastoral leadership training started on an apprenticeship basis. Each missionary trained the helpers and native catechists closest to him. The first theological college was begun in 1892, in San Fernando. Men with experience in teaching in the Christian schools, as well as catechists, were trained in the theological college. Hamid reports that by 1915, six of the catechists were ordained (61). However, the Mission Council did not give full ecclesiastical authority to the ordained East Indian pastors. The Minutes of the Mission Council of April 14, 1914 state:

"In their congregation they will continue to be associated with the Home Missionary as their superintendent. To him they will submit quarterly reports; the serious cases of discipline in the congregations must continue to be dealt with by the missionary and the Mission Council" (62).

By 1916, the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad was still controlled by the Canadian missionaries and the Mission Council. The East Indian leaders were their "helpers". It was a church with much missionary influence. It also became a middle class church. Hamid states that the leadership among the poor class was not developed and that the churches and schools became increasingly middle class. Hamid concludes that it was a process of not only Christianization but also the westernization of the East Indians.

The observations of Hamid are echoed by Seesaran. She mentions the early evangelism efforts of the Canadian missionaries and saw the shift of emphasis toward education. The educational system helped the Indians move into all social positions in society and leadership positions in the church.

3.2.4.3. St. Lucia (1896-1916)

The influence of Presbyterianism in St. Lucia did not become very extensive. As in Trinidad, the Canadian Mission was associated with the East Indian laborers. Sarah Morton explained that the work in St. Lucia was an extension of the Trinidad mission. Trinidadian catechists were sent to St. Lucia to work among the East Indians. Canadian missionaries who had been associated with St. Lucia also went to other nations. James B. Cropper (StL:1896), who lived and worked in St. Lucia went to British Guyana in 1896. The work was finally given to the Methodists when the East Indians moved away and became fewer in number (63).

3.2.4.4. Conclusion

During the nineteenth century, the Presbyterians world-wide were known for their church planting and school development approach as a means for missions. The Canadian Presbyterians in the Caribbean were no exception. The early missionaries sought to keep the development of church and school close together. The two institutions sought to serve each other. From the late nineteenth century to 1916, this strategy was very successful. The church received education for their lay and ordained leadership. Children and young people of the church were taught in schools which upheld similar religious values. Especially in the early stages, church membership growth was seen in relationship to the work in the schools. Around the turn of the century, this relationship changed. The schools developed their own identity.

The Canadian Presbyterian mission strategy was to work with the East Indians in the Caribbean and South America. The presence of East Indian religious workers on different islands allowed them to share mission personnel, strategies, resources, national workers, and to utilize a common language. Such an approach was successful for initiating the work and influencing the whole of the East Indian community. Prior to 1916, however, they did not complete the indigenization of East Indian Christian leadership. By 1916, the catechists, pastors, school teachers, and other leaders in church projects were still under the authority of the missionaries and their council. Nevertheless, great strides were made in contextualizing the message of the gospel

and the development of the church into the community of the East Indians.

Canadian Presbyterian mission work in the Caribbean was immersed in both the East Indian culture as well as the colonist's culture. Both Eastern and Western values, customs, and social structures had to be taken into account. It was to the benefit of the growth of the church that the East Indian Hindi and Tamil languages, music, and customs were valued in the work among the East Indians. The school system, however, was very Western and East Indian culture was not propagated. The East Indian writers describing the early Presbyterian history were far more critical of the westernization of the East Indians than were the Canadian writers.

The Canadian missionaries made great personal sacrifices and inroads into the East Indian communities. Yet, their impact was not comparable to the inroads made and influence exercised by the East Indian religious workers. One of the highlights of Presbyterianism in the Caribbean is the recognition and utilization of national workers. Although the national workers were not given full ecclesiastical authority, a lot of work was done which had far-reaching mission results. East Indian workers effectively explained the gospel in the language of the people. The church was led by Christians who understood the fine distinctions, values, and norms of the East Indian society. Problem-solving could be done at the local level, in the language of the people.

The pioneer missionaries made evangelism a priority. At the beginning stages, the schools and social work projects were also tools for evangelism. Did the early missionaries train the church to take over their vision? In part, yes, because conversion growth and church growth continued after their departure. On the other hand, Bisnauth, Hamid, and Seesaran observed that educational motives began to be more important than evangelism motives. The growth of the schools in Trinidad was more rapid than the church growth. The school and training began in the Morton's home on a small scale in 1868. By 1892 there were 52 schools and 2,951 students. By 1917 there were 70 schools and 14,336 students. Several authors observed the relationship between the development of leadership in the church and the leadership of the schools. In the early years, the relationship was very strong. The church depended upon the teachers of the schools for religious services. In turn the schools depended on the churches and mission agencies for their financial support.

Institutionalized schooling served many purposes. Hamid notes that it was a process of socialization, namely, the westernization of the East Indians. Although this was not the expressed intent of the schools, it undoubtedly served that function. The missionary community saw education as strengthening the Christian community. The schools were very popular, for educational and social reasons, among Christians and non-Christians alike.

The process of socialization took on a different form in the church and the schools. The church was more eastern, in that Hindi language, customs, and traditions were woven into the functioning of the church. The schools were more western in function, content, and style.

The motivation of the early Canadian Presbyterian missionaries was not only to evangelize but also to educate and improve social conditions. The evangelism motivation was very strong. This was observable in the missionary reports and writings and in Mission Council minutes. The visible result of evangelism can be measured in the reported conversions and membership growth of the churches. The work in Trinidad started in 1868 and by 1892 there were 514 communicant members. By 1917, 1,591 were counted.

For a chart summary of the Canadian Presbyterians in the Caribbean see Chart 3 (64).

3.2.5. Conclusion

In this conclusion, overall observations about the church and mission context (origin, development and cultural factors), the church and mission agency (agents, means, recipients and partners) as well as church and mission motivation (principle and message) will be made. Conclusions made in previous sections (c.f. 3.2.2.7; 3.2.3.9; and 3.2.4.4.) will be summarized in this section. See Chart 3 for a summary about the Presbyterian congregations, missionaries, and ministers in the Caribbean.

Presbyterianism was greatly favored by the ability to move away from the colonial mentality and towards a national identification. The use of ethnic languages, music, and leadership increased Presbyterian acceptability among the East Indians and Afro-Americans. The rejection of colonial customs concerning slavery, social roles, and other "apartheid" symptoms caused considerable uproar at the time but eventually served to transform the aging colonial society to its contemporary democratic state.

Five distinct ways of establishing churches were practiced by the early Presbyterians in the Caribbean. First, more than 30 international ministers transplanted liturgical styles and congregational practices directly to Antigua, the Bahamas, Bermuda, and Grenada. This was practiced by Scottish, English, and USA ministers. Secondly, some of the transplanted churches became national churches, mostly by the inclusion of nationals as members and through the training of national leaders. Thirdly, according to the records, 66 international missionaries, which included both ordained and lay workers, planted churches with national members. Fourthly, it is recorded that 15 national ministers worked with missionaries to plant national churches among their own people. Finally, more than 40 national missionaries (cf. Jamaica) and a large number of catechists (from Trinidad) established national churches cross-culturally in Nigeria, Jamaica, Grenada, and St. Lucia.

The Canadian Presbyterians utilization of non-paid or part-time catechists proved to be instrumental for the East Indian churches where the catechists lived. It was also an acceptable cross-cultural means to reach East Indians in other countries. The missionaries maintained administrative control over the mission work in the Caribbean perhaps too long, but that weakness did not cancel out the positive effect which the

national leaders had.

The use of day schools, starting early on by the Scots in Jamaica and the Canadians in Trinidad, became a structure for training future church and society leaders. Several national authors observed that as the social and educational levels increased, evangelism zeal began to decrease.

The partner groups which responded with the greatest intensity were the Afro-Americans and the East Indians in the Caribbean. Focusing in on marginalized homogeneous groups which did not have a significant Christian presence, proved to be an effective strategy. Added to this strategy was the immediate training of national leaders, educated in their national language and encouraged to utilize their own cultural practices in the Christian community in appropriate ways.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Caribbean Christians were inviting Presbyterians to join the Protestant cause on their islands. This is how the US Presbyterians became involved in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. Since the US had become a protector of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other Caribbean islands, it appeared to be a stable environment.

The motivation for Presbyterian missions in the Caribbean was initially to meet the religious needs of the Presbyterian colonist of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The entrance of the GMS and the SMS around the turn of the eighteenth century signaled the arrival of the evangelism motive. Added to evangelism, was the Christianization of society motive. This included nation building, development of schools, introduction of social work program, and the support of Christian organizations.

Colonial Presbyterianism was plagued by the continual splitting of denominations in Scotland. Some of the colonial Scottish churches maintained the homeland divisions. Churches led by nationals generally did not follow the splitting patterns. Even though there was considerable denominationalism in the colonial church, both colonial and national church adhered to the Westminster Confession. Doctrinal controversies were not frequent among the Caribbean Presbyterians prior to 1916. Many missiological and theological questions were raised and differences of opinion and practice were evident, but divisions did not occur until the 1920' s.

3.3. PRESBYTERIANS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (1815-1916)

3.3.1. Introduction

The English and Scottish Presbyterians were the first in Latin America. Technically, Latin America includes all of South America and Central America. Geographically, British Guyana and Belize are part of South and Central America. However, linguistically, they are often counted as part of the Caribbean countries. In this chapter, the geographical distinctions will be followed in order to maintain consistency with the

rest of the thesis.

3.3.2. English and Scottish Presbyterians in Central and South America (1815-1916)

3.3.2.1. Introduction

Belize was captured by the English during the 1630's and in 1655 Jamaica fell into English hands. The Providence Company, under the auspices of the English King, established three settlements on the coast of Nicaragua. A Spanish attack was repelled in 1641 but shortly afterwards the Company was closed down. A group of more than a thousand Scottish Presbyterians attempted to form a colony in the present day Panama during the years 1698 - 1700. The expedition failed.

The English and Scottish Presbyterians in this section do not involve pioneer church planting or even church transplant efforts. Rather, in British Guyana, the work of the NHK was taken over, and new starts were made in Argentina, Peru, and Belize.

3.3.2.2. British Guyana (1815-1916)

Guyanese church historian D. A. Bisnauth gives an interesting account of how the English Presbyterians encountered the condition of the NHK in the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, which the English took over from the Dutch in the early nineteenth century. The Dutch colonists had undergone a slave revolt and this had weakened their colony as well the NHK (65).

Presbyterian activities are traced back to 1815 by Bisnauth who speaks of a meeting led by a Scottish Presbyterian, Lachal Cuming, the "Patriarch of Scotland in Guyana." The Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of Guyana (PG) was established in 1837. By 1860 the Presbyterians had absorbed the NHK into their midst.

When the Presbyterians organized their first presbytery in 1837, the Westminster Confession was adopted. The creedal stance of the church did not change during the nineteenth century. Administratively, several minor changes occurred during the nineteenth century. Constant contact was maintained with the CS.

The first minister from Scotland was the Rev. Archibald Brown (BG:1818-?). He served in places like St. Andrew's, Corentyne, Wakenaam, Windsor Forest, and Sage Pond.

The Scots worked with the colonists as well as the Afro-American population. In 1821, Africans were admitted into the Church. Bisnauth noted that many of the Scottish church members were slave owners.

Unlike the NHK, the Presbyterians admitted slaves into their congregations and the children of the slaves were baptized (66). Nevertheless, the English and Scottish colonists were not outspoken against slavery. Some discriminatory practices, such as

special seating for European colonists, were permitted (67).

Rev. Thomas Slater, one of the English ministers in the Presbyterian Church sought cooperation with the Canadian Presbyterians. The Scottish Presbyterian Church in Guyana had formed a Presbyterian Missionary Society (1860). In the beginning several East Indian catechists were employed to do missionary work among the East Indians in British Guyana. Rev. Slater, member of the Presbyterian Mission Society, invited Rev. John Morton, then working in Trinidad (see 3.2.3.5), to send Canadian missionaries to work among the East Indians in British Guyana. The East Indians had been brought in to replace the emancipated slaves. Although many East Indians did not want to be associated with the colonists' plantations, the Canadian work among the East Indians proved to be fruitful, growing to be larger than the Scottish Presbytery.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Scottish Presbytery in British Guyana became a link in the formation of Presbyterianism in British Guyana. The Presbyterian connection begins with the NHK and continues with the CS. It helped to introduce the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries, who in turn helped form the Guyanan Presbyterian Church (GPC) (68).

The inclusion of Afro-Americans in the church eventually led to the continuation of the church.

3.3.2.3. Argentina (1829-1916)

The CS provided ministers for the Scottish immigrants in Argentina, who established a church in 1829. It grew from one congregation to two by 1860, four by 1880, five by 1900, and six by 1910. Five congregations were English speaking and one in Buenos Aires was Spanish speaking. In 1829, there was one pastor, by 1889, two, by 1900, three, and by 1910, four. All the pastors were Scottish. The church started with about 100 members and 300 attendees. There was no indication of cross-cultural missions prior to 1916 except that Spanish was being spoken in the church. This implied that Argentinians were becoming members through intermarriage (69).

3.3.2.4. Belize (1840-1916)

The origin of Presbyterianism in Belize is associated with the coming of the Scottish settlers in the nineteenth century. The settlers asked the British crown for approval and support for a Presbyterian Church in British Honduras. At that time, Belize was known as British Honduras. The new church was affiliated with the FCS. Rev. David Arthur (Bel:1825-1876) came in 1825 and was the first minister for the small colony church. He ministered until his retirement in 1876. In the following decades, the church had difficulties securing continuous leadership. In 1903, the church was incorporated into the CS. The Presbyterian Church in Belize (PCB) was a transplanted church for Scottish colonists until the twentieth century. Prior to 1916, little mission activity is

reported (70).

3.3.2.5. Peru (1916)

The First World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh, Scotland (1910) did not recommend that Protestants do mission work in the predominantly Roman Catholic South America. The FCS did not agree with such a position and consequently sent Dr. John Mackay (Peru:1916-1926) in 1916 to Peru to start mission work there. Mackay labored in setting up a Christian education system which would seek to loosen the grip Roman Catholicism had on the population. A small church was started amongst the Peruvians after 1916. In his later years, Mackay became a prominent ecumenical leader, not only in South America but in North America (71).

3.3.2.6. Conclusion

The Scottish mission efforts reflect in part the situation of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland. In Scotland, Presbyterianism was divided into many different Presbyterian denominations. The mission churches which resulted from the work of the Scottish in Argentina, British Guyana, and Belize, maintained a transplanted church character, not only in doctrine and liturgy, but also in the composition of the majority of its church members. In Peru, the Scottish immigrant community was not as large, and the church, despite the missionary control, took on more national membership.

Significant efforts were made in British Guyana to work together with the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries. This resulted in missionary work among the East Indians in British Guyana.

The Presbyterian Mission Society (PMS) became a means by which to reach out beyond ecclesiastical boundaries to the non-Scottish or non-European population. This society was instrumental in motivating and supporting the Canadian work in British Guyana.

The main mission motivation exhibited by the English and Scottish Presbyterians associated with denominational missions in the Caribbean and Central America prior to 1916 was to serve fellow colonists. Jamaica and Peru were the exceptions.

Chart 3. gives a summary of church and mission statistics for English and Scottish Presbyterians in Latin America and Central America (1815-1916) (72).

3.3.3. United States Presbyterians in Central and South America (1853-1916)

Church members and missionaries who would later become Presbyterians, preceded the official work of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Boards in CALA. The Northern Presbyterian's work due to its larger size, will be explained first.

3.3.3.1. Northern Presbyterians (1853-1916)

3.3.3.1.1. Introduction

Prior to 1857, the Presbyterian churches conducted missions throughout the world, including missions in Europe among the Roman Catholics. The Northern mission leaders expressed anti-Romanism sentiments. The Sixteenth Annual Report BFM PCUSA (1877) reads:

“On the one hand we see arrayed numbers, wealth, political influence, all largely controlled by a numerous, bigoted, unscrupulous priesthood, and directed by the great enemy of God and man; on the other hand, we see a handful of the ministers of Christ, and some little flocks of his people but the Lord is on their side. It may please him to permit the powers of darkness to retain for a season the ascendancy in these lands, for the punishment of the sins of their inhabitants; but in the meantime he is gathering into his fold his elect people, and eventually he will surely destroy "the man of sin" and the kingdom of Satan. In this faith our Protestant brethren labor and suffer, and pray and hope” (73).

Political openness to North Americans and the rise of Latin nationalism were other motives for the Board of Foreign Missions to enter Latin America. The same report notes:

“The readiness with which these places can be reached; the increasing intercourse between our citizens and the people of the Spanish American States; the growth of intelligence and the liberality of views amongst many of our Central and South American neighbors, a most signal example of which has been shown lately in the complete overthrow of Jesuit power in New Grenada; and, above all, the solemn spiritual interests of our fellow men, should all serve to call forth the missionary zeal of our churches on behalf of these Roman Catholic nations. No open door should be left long un-entered.”

Missionaries from Presbyterian churches had already gone to Latin America with interdenominational missions. For example, Rev. David Trumbull had gone with the Foreign Christian Union to Chile in 1845. He was joined by other Presbyterian missionaries as well. In 1873, the work was turned over to the PCUSA.

The following will be a review of the Northern Presbyterian work in Argentina, Columbia, Brazil, Mexico, Chile, Guatemala, and Venezuela.

3.3.3.1.2. Argentina (1853-1916)

Among the first North American Presbyterians sent to South America were Rev. John C. Brigham and Theophilus Parvin. They were sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to go to Argentina in 1823. Their short-lived work ended in 1825.

The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (BFM) sent Rev. Thomas L'Hombrial (Arg:1853), member of the Presbytery of New York, to Buenos Aires in 1853. L'Hombrial was from a French background and ministered mostly among the French immigrants. Due to civil war and L'Hombrial accepting a teaching position at a college, the missions board decided to close down the work (74).

3.3.3.1.3. Colombia (1856-1916)

The BFM sent Rev. H. B. Pratt (Col:1856-1859) to Colombia in 1856. Part of the reasons are stated in the following quote of the BFM:

“The late declaration on the part of the government in favor of religious toleration, the growing desire of the youthful portion of the more intelligent classes to receive an English education, the declining influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood, the known healthfulness of the interior portions of the country, the increased intercourse between that people and our own, and the great facilities of access now offered for reaching the heart of the country, and especially the offer of the services of one whom the Committee regarded as suited to this work...” (75).

Rev. Pratt took a polemical approach to the errors of the RCC in Colombia. He began to write against the RCC in the public newspapers. His articles received a condemnatory response from the Roman leaders, while others, including persons from the upper and ruling class, gave a receptive ear to the new Protestant ideas. Pratt also used his literary interests to work on a better translation of the Spanish Bible. This was done in conjunction with the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Pratt founded a magazine in Bucaramanga. It was mailed to leaders of the nations' Liberal Party. He also translated the *Versión Moderna de la Biblia* along with Latin authors. He translated into Spanish Nights with the Romanists and started a Spanish series called Critical and Explanatory Studies of the Holy Scriptures (76).

During 1859, two new missionary families were received. Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Sharpe (Col:1858-1860) and Rev. and Mrs. William McLarens (Col:1860-1863). Rev. Sharpe completed his language training, but died shortly afterwards. Their infant daughter had died previously. Mrs. Sharpe stayed in Bogata and eventually remarried.

Due to the Civil War in the United States, Rev. Pratt left the field to join the PCUS. This left the McLarens alone. McLaren was not as polemical as Pratt and preferred a more indirect approach of quietly distributing tracts and Bibles.

The first Presbyterian church in Colombia was formed in 1861. It was not until 1865 that Colombians joined the church. For almost 9 years the church work had been with English speaking foreigners.

The church planting work was hampered by the loss of missionary personnel, the fierce

opposition of the RCC, as well as the failure to find and concentrate on more receptive segments of the population. The efforts were concentrated mostly in Bogota. Other missions were finding greater receptivity in other urban centers.

Rev. Paul Pitkin (Col:1866-?), in coming to Colombia, realized the necessity of moving out of Bogota and was instrumental in encouraging the mission work in Barranquilla and Medellín (77).

The BFM continued to affirm the necessity of separation of the Church and State, freedom of speech, religion, press, marriage, and burial. Yet the Board encountered a close relationship between religion and society. The RCC were seen as the enemy behind the scenes which kept the Latin society in bondage. The social ills were directly or indirectly related to the religious condition of the RCC.

The *Colegio Americano*, a girls school, was started by Miss Kate McFaren (Col:1869-?) in 1869. The school continued off and on, depending on McFaren's furlough schedule. Eventually Colombian teachers took over. Rev. Thomas Candor (Col:1886-?) launched a boys' school in 1890. Eventually, the two schools became one.

As in Brazil, Mexico, Guatemala, and Venezuela, the schools for the youngsters were seen as an evangelism tool to save the young from the influence of the RCC. The Roman Catholic Archbishop, in return, threatened excommunication for young and old who would attend Protestant services and schools (78).

The missionaries utilized Sunday schools for children, and Bible classes and prayer meetings for the adults. Although these efforts did not produce immediate church growth, they were a source of great strength and perseverance amid personal hardships, persecutions, and slow church growth.

The mission work in Barranquilla and Medellín blossomed more rapidly than in Bogota. The work of more experienced missionaries and an aggressive educational approach facilitated church growth among the Colombians. Rev. Thomas Candor started in Barranquilla in 1888 and A.H. Erwin operated a boys school. Mrs. T. Candor and later Mrs. Lad directed the girl's school. An orphanage was opened as well. Rev. and Mrs. J. G. Touzeau (Col:1889-?) went to Medellín in 1889. Bible-tract distribution as well as church and school development was begun (79).

During 1912 Bucaramanga was opened as a church planting station. Cerete was opened in 1913 and Cartagena in 1914. By 1916 there were 27 American missionaries, 38 national workers, overseeing 14 churches and groups, 398 communicants and 1,523 adherents. There were also eight schools and 841 students (80).

In conclusion it can be said that the Northern Presbyterian had a late start in church planting. Early missionaries such as Pratt did not emphasize developing an indigenous church. Due to this late start, church growth was slow. The missionary presence

became overwhelming in relationship to the size of the church (27 missionaries for a church of 398 adult members) and the years of mission work. The anti-RCC polemic may have been popular with the BFM, the missionaries and certain elements in society, but did not lead to church growth. Church growth came through persuasive evangelism and not through public debates. Other fields would experience that church growth was more rapid among peoples marginalized or overlooked by the RCC than by conducting a direct anti-RCC campaign (81).

3.3.3.1.4. Brazil (1858-1916)

According to church historian, Robert Leonard McIntire, the history of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil from 1859-1917 can be divided into four periods: 1859-1869; 1869-1888; 1888-1903; and 1903-1917 (82).

First period (1859-1869). The Presbyterian presence in Brazil is traced back to the coming of Dr. Robert Reid Kalley (Bra:1855-?). He was a Scottish physician, who arrived in 1855 in Rio de Janeiro. Kalley had been forced to leave Madeira. With some of his followers, including an evangelist from England, William Pitt (Bra:1855-?), he organized the first Presbyterian church in 1858. The congregation included several Brazilians from the higher ranks of Brazilian society (83).

Rev. Ashbel Green Simonton (Bra: 1859-1867) was trained at Princeton Seminary and sent to Brazil by the New York BFM (PCUSABFM). The Board regarded Simonton's going an experiment. The Presbyterians were testing the social climate of Brazil to see if the people would be responsive to the preaching of the gospel. Simonton practiced a non-polemical approach. He reasoned that any direct assault upon the established religion, especially by a foreign resident, would produce disturbance, and might lead to his expulsion from the country. There was a wide margin of liberty, nevertheless, for the diffusion of truth in a quiet and unostentatious way, especially in the circulation of the Scriptures, for which there was a great demand (84).

Simonton was a model missionary. He started doing mission work on the boat, gathering the sailors and voyageurs together for Bible study. Upon arrival in Rio de Janeiro, he started an English class for Brazilians, where upper class people could be met and contacts could be made. He became known as a fervent Bible teacher and Bible distributor. His mastery of the Portuguese language was noticed by the Brazilians and his fluency helped to establish contacts among the nationals. Soon a national work was begun. His book of sermons, *Sermoes Escolhidos*, became a classic among the evangelicals (85).

The potential conflict between Dr. Kalley and Rev. Simonton was dealt with in a spirit of Christian love. When differences arose as to mission methods, whether the gospel should be spread secretly or openly, the two workers resolved their differences by talking and praying about it (86).

When Rev. Simonton's brother-in-law, Rev. Alexander Latimer Blackford (Bra:1860-

1890), arrived in 1860, he worked with Rev. Simonton in Rio de Janeiro until 1863. Rev. Blackford began to concentrate on itinerate evangelism in the interior of Brazil. Itinerate evangelism soon became a major church activity and a great source of church growth.

The steady growth of the mission work was accompanied by difficulties as well. Helen Murdock Simonton died several days after giving birth to the Simonton's first daughter. Special permission had to be granted by the Roman Catholics to bury her (87).

One of the most important efforts was the development of Brazilian leadership in the church. The conversion of Padre Josaa Manael da Conceica (ministry: 1865-?) and his subsequent ordination to the Presbyterian Church gave the new mission movement a Brazilian and a trained leader. The letter of resignation of Conceica as to his Catholic Bishop reveals his religious convictions:

“To renounce a religion which was (the) inspiration of the best acts of my life, is a step so important that only a conviction as immovable as faith could make me decide to take it. Yet, notwithstanding the sincerity of our actions, the world judges them arbitrarily, and no one can avoid the duty of explaining them to friends and enemies, to the authorities and to society. Such explanations, I propose to make in a short time, in order that everyone may later study and upon reflection, judge me with right and liberty. Your Excellency, Prince of the Church to which I belonged, I ought in the first place confess that I have separated myself from her, because instructed by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, Our Divine Redeemer, not to confound with His precepts, maxims, inventions and traditions of men, and that we must obey God rather than men. I feel, constituted as is actually the Church of Rome, that it is absolutely impossible to maintain in her intact that liberty of conscience indispensable to the preaching and practice of the Gospel. Separating me from that Church, I by this act remove the obstacles to a life more in harmony with Jesus Christ whose Gospel not only I am not ashamed of but acknowledge and confess solemnly that it only can show me the way of life, teach me the truth and give me the faith in the Redemption of the Son of God. God save your Excellency and Reverence -City of S. Paulo.

To the most Excellent and Reverend Lord D. Sabastian (sic) Pinto do Rego, Most Worthy Bishop of S.Paulo and of the Council of his Imperial Majesty of whom I am the most humble servant” (88).

During 1865 the *Imprensa Evangélica* was formed. It was well received and became a useful communication tool for evangelism and Christian education. During the same year several candidates were presented for the ministry. Plans were made for a seminary. Also, the first presbytery was formed in that year, which would continue until 1917. In the presbytery both missionaries and national pastors were participants.

The Mackenzie Institute, a day school, was founded by Mrs. Mary Ann Kesley Chamberlain. The school started as *Escolar Americana* and later developed into one of the finest educational institutions in the country.

Second period (1869-1888). The second period is marked by the entrance of the PCUSBFM. By 1888, the missions of the two major US Presbyterian churches joined hands and united to form the Synod of Brazil. The Northern missions had 34 churches and the Southern had 18 for a total of 52 churches. The Synod would meet every three years and it was entirely independent of the assemblies in the United States. There were 20 missionaries working with the new denomination and 12 national workers still working with the mission agencies (89).

The Northern missions continued to develop schools. Robert L. McIntire noted that during the years of 1869-1889 there was a pattern in which schools were to reinforce the evangelistic thrust and to educate the children of believers. McIntire reports that "the intensive versus the extensive mode of evangelism began to become a real issue..." (90).

The PCUSABFM commented:

"The schools have occupied, no-doubt, the larger part of the attention of the laborers at Sao Paulo. It is hoped that, additional help being furnished in these during the coming year, more labor may be liberated for the work of evangelizing in that field "(91).

Evangelism through the school system or evangelism through itinerant trips into the interior of Brazil were both utilized and resulted in church growth.

Third period (1888-1903). The missionary force, like Brazil at large, was hard hit by the Yellow Fever epidemic. Six missionaries died of the plague. Three others passed away, although not directly due to Yellow Fever. The mission staff was considerably weakened. Moreover, the two mission agencies had difficulties in working together. Disputes over the location of the seminary as well as personality clashes took their toll. By the turn of the century some of the national pastors were asking for the removal of missionaries from the Presbyteries and Synod. The Masonry issue also became a point of dispute and so the stage was set for a major split. The missionaries were against Masonic membership while a group of Brazilian Presbyterians defended the usefulness of Masonic participation due to its anti-Roman nature and its support of Brazilian freedoms.

At the 1903 Synod meeting, seven ministers and twice as many elders withdrew from the Synod and formed the Independent Presbyterian Church (IPC). The membership of the new denomination grew from 2,500 in 1903 to 4,000 in 1908.

Fourth period (1903-1917). The Presbyterian Church stood in need of reorganizing its strategy and institutions. For the training of ministerial candidates, the seminary was transferred to Campinas in 1907. In northern Brazil a second seminary was started in Garanhuns (92). The schools flourished. The *Escola de Natal* was founded by three missionary ladies. By 1908 the college, *15 de Novembro*, was established in Garanhuns. Dr. W. Waddell started the *Instituto de Punte Nova* in the interior of the

state of Bahia. A school to prepare candidates in the south, *Instituto Crista a*, was started in 1911 in Castro, Parana (93).

By 1917 the Brazilian Presbyterian Church began to operate by the "Brazil Plan". It was a peaceful separation of the missionaries from the church councils. It also divided the fields of labor. When the missionaries had work to hand over to the national church, it was handed over to the nearest Presbytery. The plan was well received and the Presbyterian Church continued to grow (94).

The PCUSABFM reported in 1917 that there were 24 missionaries (not counting wives) who were working with 46 churches. The mission work was divided among nationals and missionaries alike. The IPB accounted for about 150 churches, 67 pastors and 15,000 members (95).

Having reviewed the four periods of Brazilian Presbyterianism related to the Northern Missions, several conclusions can be made.

1. *Cultural openness.* American missionaries were able to enter Brazil, when anti-clericalism, social liberalism, nationalism, Masonry, and industrialism led to a more favorable reception of North Americans.

2. *Missionary emphasis.* The first missionaries were deeply dedicated to developing the church and also were qualified doctors and ministers. Rather than using a polemic approach toward the RCC, the missionaries developed organizations according to their specialties. The early missionaries had personal differences amongst themselves but were able to work together in order to give the mission work a good initiative.

3. *National leadership at a early stage.* The missionaries were not adverse to encouraging and receiving national leaders such as Josa Manuel da Conceica. This gave the Presbyterian Church a more independent character.

4. *Cooperation in itinerant evangelism.* Both missionaries, national leaders, and church members were not afraid to do the difficult work of proclaiming the gospel in new regions. This led to church growth and evangelism remained a high priority with the missions and national church.

5. *Development of schools.* Female missionaries and missionary wives were very instrumental in starting schools. In true Presbyterian tradition, a lot of emphasis was placed on educating the children of believers. Schools were used for evangelism purposes as well.

6. *Deaths.* The deaths of missionaries, their wives, and children, due to the Yellow Fever or other illnesses, points to the intensity of their sacrifice for the gospel's sake. The deaths did not deter the mission agencies from continuing.

7. *Mission Board cooperation.* Both the Northern mission board and consequently the

Southern mission board were recipients of a strong Presbyterian mission tradition. Cooperation with inter-denominational mission societies was highly valued. The cooperation of the mission agencies that eventually led to the Brazil Plan was exemplary.

The Panama Congress, in part inspired by the PFMB secretary, Dr. Robert Speer, was held in 1916 and was the first Protestant ecumenical congress in Latin America and the Caribbean. The practice of allocating mission work into specific areas was helpful. The Northern and Southern mission agencies functioning in different areas continued to cooperate. Such logic was also applied by the Panama Congress to national churches.

3.3.3.1.5. Mexico (1872-1916)

The coming of the Northern Presbyterians to Mexico has a lot to do with the life of Arcadio Morales Escalona (96). He was born in humble conditions on January 12, 1850, in Mexico City. His father died in 1859, leaving his mother, a younger brother, and himself. Having learned to read and write and being of a serious disposition, he was considered a likely candidate for the priesthood by family friends. His mother, D. Felipa Escalona, did not agree and so Arcadio did not go to Spain. From age nine to 13, he had to quit school and sell candies amongst the lower classes of society. All the while he remained a faithful Catholic church attendee. After a severe bout with typhoid, Arcadio came to work for a man named, Francisco Aquilar. Francisco had a Bible, which Arcadio eventually began to read over a six year period.

In the year 1869, Arcadio was invited by his mother to attend a Protestant baptismal service conducted by the Mexican Saastenes Juarez. Arcadio was greatly impressed by the preaching of the Bible. He became convinced that his prior suspicions about Protestants had been wrong. The message of Jesus became more to him personally. He began to see the differences between the Roman Catholic faith and Protestantism.

Shortly after the time of Arcadio's conversion and adherence to Protestantism, he came under the influence of the ex-Roman Catholic priest and Doctor of Theology, Ignacio R. Arellano. During the week Arellano gave classes in rhetoric, philosophy, exegesis, history, and other courses. This lasted for two years.

With the prompting of John Butler, colporteur for the British Foreign Bible Society, Escalona began to go door to door to sell Bibles and evangelize. This lasted but a short time, as a mob attacked the Bible salesmen, killing two persons and injuring others. Escalona was among the injured.

As time progressed, Arcadio became more involved in church developments. The original church, the First Protestant Church in Mexico City, split when Rev. Herman Riley formed an Episcopal Church. In 1871, Escalona began to work with another ex-Roman Catholic priest, Augustin Palacios.

When the Presbyterian missionaries first arrived in Mexico, they encountered several Protestant groups. They chose to attend the church of Escalona while they prepared themselves in the Spanish language. By 1873, the Presbyterian mission paid Escalona \$50.00 a month plus travel costs in order to lead the congregation full time. A split arose between Escalona and Palacios, when Escalona wanted to become Presbyterian and Palacios stayed independent.

What were the reasons for the PCUSABFM to start mission work in Mexico? The 35th Annual Report (1872) gives five reasons why:

1. The great promise. In further support of the facts already stated, it may be said that after the downfall of the Empire of Maximilian and the Papal Alliances of his usurped throne, a great reaction was produced in the public mind.
2. The evangelization of Mexico is geographically and therefore providentially assigned to Protestants of the United States. No other evangelical nation is brought in contact with it. It lies upon our south-western frontier as only a part of our own land.
3. The whole social, commercial, and political drift of Mexico depends on the establishment of free thought, enlightened patriotism, and sound moral character; and these can only be gained by those same religious truths which have elevated our own and all other Christian nations.
4. The purification of the Papacy itself in Mexico demands the vital, not to say the healthful rivalry of Protestantism.
5. The field is not a difficult one, nor is it far distant (97).

The impact of Protestantism in Mexico was seen in the life of Benito Juarez. Benito was a full blooded Indian, born in the state of Oaxaca. He was a lawyer and governed in Oaxaca. He was known to defend the rights of the poor Indians. He gained respect for his honesty. His army captured Mexico City in 1860 and he was made president of Mexico.

Benito Juarez's first term as President was short. He proceeded with liberal reforms which included freedom of speech, land reforms, ecclesiastical controls, and the suspension of foreign debt. The latter led to his downfall as France intervened and set up Maximilian as Emperor in 1863. Maximilian lasted until 1867, when he was captured and executed by Juarez's troops.

Juarez's second term went from 1867 to 1872. His ecclesiastical reforms would soon pave the way for Protestant groups to enter and become established in Mexico. The liberal agenda of Juarez's reforms included freedom of worship, nationalizing ecclesiastical properties, exiling religious orders, and upon occasions, handing over Catholic buildings to Protestant groups.

President Juarez attended the newly formed Protestant worship services as well.

In 1861 Ramon Lozano separated from the catholic church and established in his parish the 'Mexican Church' with a provisional constitution. Another ex-priest followed him,

Aquilar Bermañadez, who began his preaching in 1865 and organized a congregation in the capital. When he died, his successor asked for help of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Some funds were sent by the bishop of that church in New Orleans. The group elected a new pastor, Enrique C. Riley, who was born in Chile of North American parents...The work of Riley drew opposition from the clerics. President Juarez attended with his family the worship services...(98).

The Presbyterian mission inherited the work of other mission agencies. The mission work at Zacatecas and at Cos was transferred from the American and Foreign Christian Union (99).

Rev. Paul Pitkin (Mex:1872-1873) was transferred from Colombia, giving the mission agency a Spanish speaking and experienced missionary.

Missionary M.N. Hutchinson (Mex:1872-1880) began to train the church leaders in preaching and evangelism. New centers were opened. Arcadio was ordained in 1878 with ten other national leaders. By 1882, the church membership had grown to 551 and the congregation was financially self-sufficient.

Rev. Escalona's prison ministry proved to be a good recruiting ground for two future church workers. Julian Meza and Manuel González became members of the *El Divino Salvador* church upon release from jail. Later, they were sent out by the church as missionaries, being supported by the Mexican Missionary Council. Other prisoner converts, who were not freed, evangelized within the jails.

In 1895, the American evangelist Dwight Moody came to Mexico and Rev. Escalona was invited to be his interpreter. Since that experience, Escalona started his own campaigns and became known as the "Moody of Mexico."

On July 6, 1901, the first Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Mexico was established. In the register were found 73 churches, 190 smaller congregations, 5,508 active members and 46 national ministers and missionary ministers (100).

By 1917, several schools were in operation. The *Escuela Preparatoria* in Coyoacan had 34 boarding students. The San Angel Normal School had 75 pupils. The Boys School in Zitucuaró failed due to lack of teachers. The Girls school in Zitucuaró continued under the direction of a graduate of the San Angel school. The day schools in Aporo and Los Sauces continued with national teachers and a partial subsidy by the missionaries (101).

The missionaries operated a mission press with a religious publication, *Antorcha Evangélica*, being published monthly. Tracts and Christian literature were also distributed via the press (102).

By 1917 the Mission Board's statistics included 49 outstations, 21 American

missionaries, 31 national ministers, 69 churches and groups and 1,550 communicants (103). The drop in membership was in part due to the relocation of work as agreed upon by the Northern and Southern missions.

The Northern and Southern Presbyterian mission agencies decided to cooperate and unite in 1894. During the years 1914-1916 plans were made to divide the work into zones. The Northern missionaries would evangelize and work in ten states: Michoacan, Mexico, Guerrero, Morelos, Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, Tabasco, Chiapas, Campeche, and Yucatan. This covered the areas of Mexico City and southern Mexico. The Southern would work in the northern areas (104).

In conclusion to this brief summary, a sketch of Rev. Escalona history is instructive. An inside perspective of both the personal and cultural dynamics within the Presbyterian Church and Mexican Society are observable. In the reasoning for the coming of the Northern mission, importance was placed on discerning the receptivity of people and favorable cultural conditions. Also, one notices the very peculiar theological assumption that North America was a Protestant and Christian nation and had a divine destiny in the evangelization of its neighbors. There was a wide diversity of reasons why people came to serve in Mexico. The historical and missiological fact remains that a dynamic religious movement was born in a volatile situation in Mexico.

The Northern Presbyterians did not initiate the Presbyterian church in Mexico. Bible distribution, the formation of Protestant churches, conversions, and even leadership training took place prior to their coming. The Northern mission served as an extra impulse to a movement already in progress. The organizational structure and training which the mission brought was helpful for the small Presbyterian groups to grow. The Presbyterians were sensitive to preserving the national character of the Protestant groups and its functional leaders. The missionaries did not hasten to undo what already had been done, nor did they transplant the American Presbyterian model directly into Mexico. By 1878, the congregation of Rev. Escalona was financially self-sufficient. Shortly thereafter, the Mexican Missionary Council sent two national missionaries to the work in Mexico. In 1901 the Presbyterian Church of Mexico became totally self-governing.

The difficult task of evangelizing in a hostile environment was carried out. Prison ministry, as well as rural and urban evangelism, were carried out with success. The church continued to grow and national leadership was trained. The church was not afraid of using new evangelism techniques, such as the mass-meeting campaigns modeled after Moody. In many ways, the church was engaged in its cross-cultural task.

3.3.3.1.6. Chile (1873-1916)

The origins of Presbyterianism in Chile is traced back to Bible Society efforts, the influx of American and European visitors and immigrants, as well as the efforts by the congregationalist, David Trumbull.

The history of the Presbyterian churches in Chile has been part of the well documented dissertation defended at the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands, by Dr. Jean Kessler Jr. Kessler describes the history from 1873 to 1963 from a critical perspective. He observed the dynamics of church divisions, nationalism, and the role of the native ministry. This description is very useful for observing the relationship between culture and cross-cultural missions in CALA from a missionary perspective (105).

The Presbyterian work in Chile actually started with the congregationalist David Trumbull (Chile: 1873-1889) (106). Trumbull had been sent by the Foreign Evangelical Society and the Seaman's Friend Society to work with the sailors as well as to do evangelism. Due to problems involving denominational support and internal conflicts in the mission, Trumbull agreed to turn the work over to the BFM. He transferred his membership and church work in 1873 and thereby became the first Presbyterian missionary in Chile (107).

The date, 1873 is not the actual date of Presbyterian beginnings. Dr. Jorge Cárdenas Brito mentions that in June of 1868, the first Presbyterian church was organized in Santiago. One year later a church was organized in Valparaíso. The first pastor to be ordained was the Chilean pastor Manuel Ibáñez-Guzmán who died several years later (108)

Rev. Trumbull was a social and religious reformer. He published English and Spanish magazines. He helped Roman Catholics receive New Testaments. And he challenged the traditional superstitions of the Roman Catholics by exchanging opinions with the priests in the press. He also started a home for abandoned children. He helped Protestants, non-Christians, and Roman Catholics in social welfare programs. He involved himself in political issues. And he sought and was successful in securing change in the religious tolerance laws of 1865, the secular cemeteries law of 1883, and the civil marriage law of 1884 (109).

Kessler's concluding description of Trumbull was:

“Trumbull is...distinguished by two things: firstly, his striving for unity, and secondly, his identification with the Chileans he came to serve” (110).

The precedent set by Trumbull was not, according to Kessler, the pattern continued by the Presbyterian churches in Chile.

Turning over the church work to Chilean leadership proved to be very difficult for the succeeding missionaries. Kessler writes about their relationship with Canut, Viduarre, Elphick, and Moran.

“The Presbyterian mission had a hand in training men, some of whom were to play a vital part in the further developments of Protestantism in Chile, but they never enjoyed the fruits themselves. Canut they lost because of inner dissensions. Vidaurre became

soured because the missionaries refused to sacrifice their standard of living. Elphick slipped through their fingers because of their unwillingness to adapt themselves in their manners and doctrines to a more emotional atmosphere in Chile, and Tulio Moran could no longer be used then because they insisted on holding on to the Presbyterian rules which were developed against a different cultural background. The conclusion can only be made that if one wishes to do missionary work and above all if one wishes to establish a native ministry in another land, it is necessary to abandon very much of that which may be justifiably considered essential in one's own country" (111).

Missionary ethnocentrism, that is holding on to foreign cultural habits, caused an inverse reaction among the Chileans. The issue of unequal pay of foreign missionaries and national workers was considered to be mission discrimination by the national workers. The repeated justification of the "missionary is right and knows best," as well as the inability to learn from the mistakes of the past, led to a strained missionary-national church leaders relationships. The results of such strain were a reduced number of national pastors as well as slow church and membership growth. The growth was slow, in comparison to the Methodists and Baptist (112).

What can be learned from this history? Kessler concludes:

"If instead of immediately organizing Presbyterian churches, the early missionaries had continued Trumbull's general proclamation of the Gospel and had waited for the Chileans to take the initiative in forming churches, several heart aches would have been avoided" (113).

The vision of national church self-support was not realized from the onset of the work. The transplant of the American model of Presbyterianism did not leave much room for a truly indigenous church. The institutional ministries, so common to American Presbyterianism, began to sap the church of its vital resources necessary for evangelism and growth. Theological controversy led to the departure of several important leaders (114).

Kessler's conclusions about church divisions, nationalism, and native ministry, are helpful to recognize the importance of culture in cross-cultural missionary activities.

Kessler observed four groups of church divisions. The first group is distinguished by good organization. The second group is so small in size that when members leave, they have to join other groups. The third and fourth group have splits for a variety of reasons. Concerning the reasons for divisions, Kessler points out: "In order of importance were personality problems, defective organizations, nationalism, inadequate adaptation, and doctrinal disagreement" (115). The third and fourth groupings were evident among the early Presbyterians in Chile.

Kessler observed three types of nationalisms. The first is when the missionary imposes his culture from his own country on the converts. The second type of nationalism is of

the young church which is directed against the foreigners and which is the result of some form of discriminatory treatment. The third type is to re-express the Gospel in terms that are relevant to the local situation. The first two types were prevalent in the development of the early IPC.

The training of national leaders was conducted through formal seminary patterns. Students were trained but not many stayed with the Presbyterian church ministry. When the seminary closed in 1898, 37 students had been trained but only six were still in the ministry. For a brief period of time an apprenticeship training program, in which learning, training, and preaching were combined, was conducted. It too failed due to internal problems amongst missionaries (116).

According to Kessler, from 1873 - 1916, the IPC was an example of a missionary controlled church whose development and evangelism was plagued by a series of personal, social, and cultural problems. Cross-cultural mission work into areas where Christianity had not yet been established was limited due to internal conflicts.

By 1916, there were seven national ministers, serving more than 850 communicant members in 23 churches and preaching points (117). The 80th Annual Report of the BFM states, that in 1917 there were 43 churches, 26 outstations, served by 60 nationals and 21 missionaries. There were 1014 communicants, as well as 175 added during the year, with 6,345 attendees. There were 12 schools and 1298 students (118).

3.3.3.1.7. Guatemala (1882-1916)

The beginning of Presbyterianism in Guatemala is closely associated with the missionaries Rev. John.C. Hill (Gua:1882-1886) and Rev. Edward Haymaker (Gua:1887-1933) (119). The PCUSABFM was presented with an open door for several reasons. Cultural factors such as nationalism and political liberalism, made Guatemala receptive. This was coupled with the reaction against Spain and the RCC. To top it off, an invitation to come to Guatemala by national politicians was given.

Rev. Hill was invited to work in Guatemala after independence was gained in 1881. The new president, Don Justo Rafino Barrios, had heard about the Presbyterians through Mrs. Cleaves, a family friend of the Barrios. She was a Presbyterian living in Guatemala. The president was looking for a force that could compete and offset the powerful Catholicism. This alternative would also assist Guatemala in the process of modernization. Little mention was made about evangelism and church ministry.

Rev. Hill was made a member of the president's party and given use of government buildings and protection. The Union Church was formed among the English-speaking Protestants. A school, *Colegio Americano*, was started. It included the children of the president and officials of the government. Instruction was given in English by three missionary ladies.

The mission work of Rev. Hill included writing and distributing tracts, conducting Spanish worship services, helping the lay pastors, and assisting the poor who came to the church.

With the death of Barrios in 1885, Rev. Hill ran into financial and work difficulties and went back to the USA. The Board of Foreign Missions sent Rev. Haymaker in 1887. He had previous mission experience in Mexico. With Haymaker, the mission revitalized the Spanish-speaking congregation. The school was altered to educate the poor. An evangelistic magazine, *El Mensajero*, was published and new churches were started. By 1891, a chapel for the Spanish speaking congregation was built (120).

A girls' school operated from 1884 - 1891. In 1913, another girls' school was started. Sunday Schools were conducted since the beginning of the work.

Medical work started in 1906 and by 1913 a hospital and nursing training school was in operation due to a generous donation by the Rockefeller Foundation. Still, the missionaries lamented that many patients had to be turned away.

The initial stages of developing the mission and church work were greatly facilitated by Guatemalan political leaders who invited the Presbyterians to create in Guatemala an alternative religious and social system to Roman Catholicism. Prior to the arrival of the Presbyterians, in 1871, the Jesuits had been expelled, religious orders forbidden, ecclesiastical properties nationalized, and civil marriages inaugurated (121).

In the Quezaltenango area, Indian church membership and Indian leadership were increasing. By 1916, the missionaries were asking for a new missionary to work full-time with the Indians.

The Presbyterians in Guatemala made rapid cross-cultural transitions. The church and mission moved from English to Spanish and finally to the Quiché and later the Mam languages. In the Annual Report of 1918, the 1917 statistics are given. There were 64 churches and groups, 904 communicants, eight missionaries and 11 nationals working. 240 adherents were added during one year and 610 catechumens were registered (122).

3.3.3.1.8. Venezuela (1897-1916)

The PCUS was the first Protestant group to begin permanent denominational work in Venezuela. The work began in Caracas in 1897. The *Colegio Americano* opened in 1896, four years prior to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church (123).

The Annual Report of the PCUSABFM (1897) states that Rev. T.S. and Mrs. Pond (Ven:1897-?) were transferred from Colombia to Caracas (124).

The ex-Colombian missionaries found Venezuela culturally more receptive to their presence and mission work. There was freedom of speech, of assembly, and of press.

Civil marriages were permitted and cemeteries were available for non-Catholics (125).

By 1899, there were public services being held and two national women teachers were working at the school of 20 students (126).

The Annual Report of 1918 gives the 1917 statistics for the Venezuela field. There were six missionaries working in two churches and two schools. There were 15 Venezuelans officially working in the churches and schools. The churches had 73 members and 225 catechumens and adherents (127).

The growth rate of church membership went from 76 in 1916 to 73 in 1917. There was a low number of missionaries, national work force (15), and church members (128). There was an absence of mission stations and self-supporting churches.

In the 20 years of mission work (1897 - 1917), the self-propagating, self-supporting, and self-governing aspects of church development had not been achieved. As on other Presbyterian fields of the same era, institutional, educational work absorbed a substantial amount of time and resources.

3.3.3.1.9. Conclusion

In this brief section the concluding observations from the particular countries will be summarized and commented upon from the perspective of the PCUSABFM mission context, mission agency, and mission motivation.

By the end of the nineteenth century the PCUSABFM had an aggressive strategy for entering fields. The short-lived effort in Argentina was meant to reach North Americans as well as European immigrants. In Chile, a missionary from another agency turned the work over to the Presbyterians and became a Presbyterian missionary. In Colombia contacts were made with the English speaking community. In Brazil, Presbyterian lay people paved the way for ordained missionaries to come and work with Brazilians. Contacts were made with Bible societies. In Guatemala, the advice of a Presbyterian lady was taken by the President and missionaries were invited to come to Guatemala. In Mexico, missionaries transferred from Colombia came and the mission eventually became involved in a Christian movement already underway. The first missionaries to Venezuela were transfers from Colombia as well.

The fields with the greatest amount of receptivity were among the marginalized and homogeneous people groups. This was the case in Brazil, Guatemala, and Mexico. Even though the middle class was represented in the church, the poorer, non-Iberian, and non-professing Catholic populations were more receptive.

The major obstacle to Protestantism in Latin America had been the dominance of the RCC. During the last parts of the nineteenth century, RCC dominance began to wane due to the wars of independence, anti-clerical laws, the moral and political degeneration within the RCC, and increasing non-Latin influences in Latin America. The PCUSABFM

was aware of these significant changes and sought to utilize the new opportunities.

Protestantism in general had to face the opposition and sometimes violent persecution of the RCC. This was not always for strictly religious reasons. The coming of North Americans into the Iberian, Ladino, Indian, and other people groups caused tension and conflict. Not until the churches were led by nationals did the foreign stigma lessen. Language was a very important cultural factor. The shift from using the English language to using indigenous languages at an early stage was imperative for mission extension.

The development of institutions by the mission agencies made it very difficult for the national church to become self-supporting. By 1917, there were only two self-supporting churches and no self-supporting schools. Most of the institutions required indefinite North American support.

Most of the evangelism energies of the Presbyterian mission and resulting churches were taken up in reaching peoples within geographical boundaries close to the established church. The Presbyterian mission staff in Brazil eventually separated itself from the administrative duties of the national church and concentrated on church planting in other regions, where the national church had not worked.

The evangelism done by national church members and leaders was crucial to the ongoing development of the church. In times of national turmoil, the national evangelists could stay in contact with the people, while the missionaries were forced to leave.

The PCUSABFM had more than 100 North American Presbyterian ordained missionaries (excluding missionary wives) and more than 80 lay missionaries on seven CALA fields with over 70 national pastors on a continuing basis from 1856 until 1917. As mentioned before, the missionaries were well trained and sought to train the nationals in higher education as well.

Missionaries were instrumental in developing the national churches. Yet, there were times when they did not know how to turn over their responsibilities to the national church. This is one reason for the formation of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil. On the fields where national church leadership was encouraged and developed, such as in Mexico, the national church could continue without the presence of the missionaries. This was the case during the Mexican revolutions.

The PCUSABFM utilized missionaries from existing fields to start work in newer fields. This happened in Mexico, Guatemala, and Venezuela. Consequently, the BFM had an international team of missionaries which was readily used.

Noteworthy is the longevity of missionary service. Considering the differences in culture, the number of sicknesses and epidemics, the loss of family members, the opposition of clergymen and members of the RCC, the internal struggles within the

mission agencies and amongst missionaries, the sacrificial services rendered by the Northern Presbyterian missionaries were remarkably long.

The Northern Presbyterian missionaries used church planting as well as institutional education as a means for mission work. By 1917 there were 241 churches and groups and 35 schools in the 7 fields.

The church planting and Christian education efforts were in keeping with the mission motivations to bring about moral, intellectual, social, and religious change.

There were only two self-supporting churches on the six fields. These were self-supporting from the beginning. Therefore the dependency upon the mission agency was considerably large for both church and school. Field contributions towards the work on the field came to 13,950 US dollars, according to the Annual Reports of the PCUSABFM.

Self-support would eventually mean establishing middle and upper class churches and schools, who could support full time pastors and teachers. Churches among the lower classes would either have to work with part time or voluntary leaders or subsidized leaders.

The initial strategy of entering new fields was not just a "shotgun" approach. The PCUSA did not enter all of the Latin American countries. Other countries, such as Panama, Costa Rica, and Uruguay, were possible mission fields, but the PCUSABFM concentrated their mission forces elsewhere. By 1916, the PCUSABFM was in agreement with the division of the mission fields among mission agencies so that there would be less duplication and competition.

National leaders were found, trained, and utilized, in some countries at the initial stage. In Mexico and Brazil, the national leadership was crucial for the survival and growth of the early Presbyterian church. By way of contrast, Chile and Colombia struggled for years to establish national churches. Not only was there a lack of national leaders but continuing missionary control discouraged some national leadership.

Part of the strategy of early missionaries was to start in a friendly environment, such as with receptive government officials or the English-speaking community. From there, they proposed to move into less familiar areas of society. The drawback was that the church became established among a restricted sector of society. Missionaries who concentrated on receptive people groups from whatever social class in society, advanced farther. Missionaries who tried to break down the resistance of the RCC and its membership through polemics were not as effective as missionaries who avoided public polemics and concentrated on working with people who were nominal RC and not satisfied with the RCC.

The PCUSABFM was directed by the well known mission strategist, Dr. Robert Speer.

In his book, *South American Problems*, Speer summarizes the BFM mission motives as follows:

1. The moral condition of South American countries warrants and demands the presence of any form of religion which will war against sin and bring men the power of righteous life.
2. The Protestant missionary enterprise with its stimulus to educate and its appeal to the rational nature of man is required by the intellectual needs of South America.
3. Protestant missions are justified in South America in order to give the Bible to the people.
4. Protestant missions are justified and demanded in South America by the character of Roman Catholic priesthood...
5. ...The Roman Catholic Church has not given the people Christianity.
- 6 ...because the South American Roman Catholic is at the same time so strong and so weak (129)..

The anti-RCC motives were in part a reaction to the conclusion of certain mission leaders at the Conference of Edinburgh in 1910, who did not consider Latin America as a mission field since it was a Roman Catholic domain.

Speer gave examples of how the Presbyterian church was invited to certain Latin American nations. Besides the problem of its condition, the RCC was not reaching all people. Speer considered that religious "competition" would be good for the RCC and serve as a purifying influence. Speer saw the need for helping the Christian inner forces within the RCC to begin the purifying task in the RCC. The Protestant movement was not "mere proselytism", but a powerful educational and moral propaganda, teaching freedom and purity (130). Only a strong evangelical religion, according to Speer, can produce the moral, intellectual, and responsible man Latin America needs.

Speer observed that there were also English-speaking immigrants in Latin America who needed to be ministered to. Missionaries would be able to minister in that area as well.

The moral, intellectual, socially responsible, and anti-RCC motivations were combined with the evangelism motivation to bring the gospel of Jesus Christ to peoples who did not know Jesus.

The PCUSA missionaries maintained evangelism and gospel proclamation in most of the mission efforts. This is seen in the continuing evangelism activities of the missionaries, the national church leaders, and the church membership.

The 1917 church and mission statistics of the Northern Presbyterian mission work in South America, Central America, and Mexico are given in Chart 3.3.3.1. (131).

3.3.3.2. Southern Presbyterians (1869-1916)

3.3.3.2.1. Introduction

The history of the split between the PCUSA and PCUS is given previously. In Colombia, Rev. H. B. Pratt had been with the Northern Presbyterians from 1856-1860. He returned to Colombia with the Southern Presbyterians in 1873. The Brazilian and Mexican fields were new, although situated close to the Northern mission fields. The Cuban field is discussed in section 3.2.3.6.

3.3.3.2.2. Brazil (1869-1916)

At the first General Assembly meeting in 1861 of the PCUS, Dr. Wilson, who had formerly worked for the PCUSABFM, urged the Committee on Foreign Missions to consider the churches' responsibility, especially in Africa and South America (132).

Colonists from the southern states moved to Brazil after the Civil War. At least three Presbyterian ministers accompanied them. Rev. James Robinson Baird (Bra:1867-?) and Rev. William C. Emerson (Bra:1867-?) went to Santa Barbara colony near Campinas and stayed there for years. Rev. Holines Harvey's stay in the Santaran colony lasted from 1867 - 1869. When two missionaries were sent: Rev. Edward Lane (Bra:1872-1892) and Rev. George Nash Morton (Bra:1872-?), the 4 ministers formed the Presbytery of Sao Paulo in 1872. The first church had already been organized in 1871 (133).

Besides the organization of churches, a night school was begun by Lane and Morton in order to win converts from RCC background through education (134).

In 1873, Miss. Henderson opened a school for girls. By 1878 the *Colegio Internacional* had reached an enrollment of 135 boys and 52 girls. The School suffered from financial difficulties but managed to continue.

The time and money invested in the schools caused concern on the home front. Therefore, Dr. Wilson was sent to visit Brazil in 1874 - 1875. He was sufficiently impressed by the quantity and quality of education to recommend that continued support must be given. However, the school project had financial debts which it could not pay. Overspending and administrative conflicts led Morton to set up his own school in Sao Paulo in 1879. The school went bankrupt in 1880 (135).

The consequence of the school episode was the creation of conflict and resignations among the missionaries (136). The mission efforts in secular education had been made at the expense of evangelism and church development (137). It also led to future difficulties in establishing schools (138). After the school failure, the missionaries turned to evangelism and the training of Christian leaders.

Missionary John Boyle (Bra:1886-1892), following up on a colporteur named Wingerter,

was given permission to develop churches in the interior of Brazil. He was accompanied by the Rev. George W. Thompson (Bra:1886-1889) in 1886. However, Thompson died of yellow fever in 1889 and Boyle died of a ruptured aorta in 1892. Rev. Cowan, who had come to replace Thompson was incapacitated by tuberculosis (139).

The schools in Campinas came to a close due to outbreaks of yellow fever by 1892. Missionary J.W. Dabney (Bra:?-1890) died in 1890 and Dr. Edward Lane in 1892. The missionaries decided to move to Lavras, which then became the new mission headquarters. From 1893 - 95 there was a large turnover of missionaries but new missionaries were sent (140).

The Lavras field saw the development of a primary school, Sunday school literature, a magazine and Portuguese translation work was carried out by missionary Kempers. The missionaries re-opened the Campinas school in 1902.

Church development and evangelism was carried on by missionaries such as Mr. Franklin Gammar and several nationals. In 1899 the church was dedicated in Lavras. The Araguaian field had several churches and national leaders. The Campinas church was in national hands as well.

The split of 1903, in which the Independent Presbyterian Church (IPIB) was formed, seriously divided the work of the PCUS. Although the immediate issue was whether Christians could drink alcohol and be Masons, the underlying issue was missionary authority in the church.

The PCUS was also divided over other issues. This included the mission strategy priority of education or for education sake or evangelism. The Mission Committee and General Assembly upheld the policy for giving priority to the schools. Dr. Houston, the secretary of the home board, resigned over the issue.

By 1906 the missions in Brazil agreed to split into East and West Brazil. East Brazil had Lavras as its center and included eight missionaries. West Brazil centered in Sao Paulo with eleven missionaries (141).

The PCUS also worked in northern Brazil. This work was marked with both successes and frustrations. They two were closely related.

The repeated attempts to establish mission work in the north in cities such as Recife were frustrated by missionary illness, deaths, furloughs, and moving patterns. The economic depression in 1873 in the southern US did not help the matter either. But the pleas of men like Rev. Rockwell Smith did not fall on deaf ears. The missionaries kept coming, despite the large missionary turnover rate and sporadic church growth (142).

The approach of Smith was to emphasize both rural and urban evangelism. Repeated efforts were made to establish mission stations in larger cities as well as in rural areas.

Cities like Recife, Joao Pessoa, Fortaleza, and Sao Luiz developed churches.

Having entered into new areas between 1882 - 1885, the missionaries had a difficult time maintaining the work. The PCUS Mission Committee decided to put northern Brazil on hold, while the work in Japan and China would be started and developed (143). The unfruitfulness of the Brazilian field was cited as one of the reasons for this policy. No new missionaries were sent for four years. Due to such considerations, the national leadership had to develop and the response of the people to the national leadership was encouraging (144).

By 1890, mission events had changed. Six new missionaries were sent. The national church was becoming more organized. The Synod of Brazil was formed and a seminary planned.

From 1894 -1903, the mission moved into the interior and more churches were developed. Missionaries called for more national workers (145).

By 1900 there were 18 churches and a total membership of 576. National leaders were taking leadership of the church government. The missionaries took it upon themselves to develop educational and social institutions and they concentrated in the state of Pernambuco. All were involved with institutional work or education. None were engaged in full time evangelism.

By 1916 the girls' school at Pernambuco had an attendance of 70 pupils. Dr. Butler opened a new hospital in Canhotinho. A theological seminary was started in Garanhuns and in 1919 moved to Recife. Primary school education was given in Garanhuns which by the early 1900's accounted for nearly 100 students (146).

The PCUS Fifty-Fifth Annual Report states that there were 36 missionaries, 21 native workers, 37 churches, 92 preaching point, 3,458 communicants and a total Christian constituency of 5,485. There were also 14 schools with 488 students.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

1. *Inter-agency and church agreements.* Although the Northern and Southern missions represented two agencies, on the field they were cooperative. The agencies were also cooperative with the Presbyterian Church of Brazil. The Brazil Plan called for a united strategy and helped move the missionaries into new regions.
2. *Educational work versus evangelism.* The relationship between evangelism and education became a point of conflict. The schools had a record of failure and the majority of the missionaries wanted to emphasize more evangelism.
3. *Sacrifice.* The high death rate of missionaries, especially due to outbreaks of yellow fever, serve as a sign of the sacrifice made in order to build the Presbyterian Church.
4. *Missionary turnover.* Among the first missionaries there was a high rate of missionary turnover, as internal conflicts and external difficulties took their toll. However, the Mission Committee kept sending missionaries. There was less turnover with the missionaries who came later.

5. *Emergence of national leadership.* The church split of 1903 and the Brazil Plan of 1917 are indications of the emergence of national church leadership and the ability to deal with missionary influence. The Brazil Plan gave direction to the mission agencies and asserted the responsibilities of the national church.

3.3.3.2.3. Colombia (1873-1878)

In 1873 Rev. H. B. Pratt (Col:1873-1878) returned to Colombia. He had been with the Northern board in Colombia from 1856 - 1860. The Pratts went to Socorro and worked with two nationals in Bible distribution and with a school in Baranquilla. Rev. J.G. Hall (Col:1875-1878) and his wife arrived in 1875 and settled in Baranquilla (147).

The Annual Report of 1876 states that the mission headquarters moved to Bucaramanga, when Rev. Pratt moved there. Pratt was also occupied with Bible distribution and a monthly magazine "which must, sooner or later, exert a powerful influence in the country" (148).

By 1877, the mission had very little to report:

"The seeds of the Gospel may have fallen into good ground, but as yet there is no evidence of its bearing fruit...people have been so much engrossed by the ruinous civil war raging among them, that they have had very little disposition to attend to other matters" (149).

Direct church planting was slowed by the missionaries' concentration on literary work, administrating schools, language training, and English ministry.

The Colombian work was closed in 1878. The financial crisis in the USA had stopped the board from sending new missionaries for the previous four years. The lack of response required the board to re-allocate its resources to areas of growth. Colombia, for the Southerners, was not such an area.

The Colombia experiment verified the necessity of evangelism to all peoples in a Spanish speaking country in order to secure church growth. Converts must be found and national leaders trained. Pratt worked with both the Northern and Southern mission boards in Bible distribution, printing and tract preparations. He did not learn the Spanish language. Although the Northern counter-part experienced similar difficulties in Colombia, namely, the civil war and anti-Protestantism, they were able to surmount the difficulties with a different strategy and a larger working force.

3.3.3.2.4. Mexico (1874-1919)

Miss Melinda Rankin (Mex:1850-?) was the first Presbyterian lay missionary to labor in Mexico. She walked across the border at Brownsville (1850) and started a school for Mexican children. When religious freedom was granted to Mexico in 1857, she served

in Matamoras and Monterrey. She could not find a board to send more workers or support her so she had to solicit help herself. Eventually the Southern Presbyterians took over. The Northern Presbyterians had established contacts in central Mexico, namely Mexico City, in 1873. The Southern Presbyterians started in northern Mexico (150).

The first full time Southern Presbyterian missionary was Anthony Thomas Graybill (Mex:1874-1905), who crossed the Mexican border in 1874. He made contact with a Mexican woman who had previously received a Bible from an American soldier. Her son, Leandro Garza Mora, became the missionaries' Spanish teacher and eventually a Christian convert and student for the ministry.

A Sunday school, Bible class, and preaching service in the Spanish language was begun in the home of the Graybill's. By 1875, the first Presbyterian church in Matamoras was organized with eighteen adult members. Elders were chosen and regular collections gathered.

Mrs. Graybill died of pneumonia at the age of thirty, leaving a moving testimony about Christ and her Christian life amongst those who knew her (151).

Evangelism efforts continued through the missionaries as well as the national workers. The church continued to grow and national leadership developed. By 1879, Leandro Garza Mora became the first ordained Mexican for the PCUS in Mexico.

Rev. John. G. Hall (Mex:1874-1899) came to Matamoras and shortly after moved to Brownsville. Mrs. Hall established a school. Miss Hattie Loughridge came to work at the school and eventually married Rev. Graybill. The field received several single missionary ladies to work especially in the schools.

Miss Elsie Lee (Mex: 1890-?) came in 1890 and concentrated on developing evangelical Spanish literature as well as giving classes in Bible, English, French, and Music. Miss Sarah E. Bendinger (Mex:1891-1911) arrived in 1891 and developed young peoples' work (152).

Missionaries and national church leaders moved further south. Despite the strong and violent opposition and anti-USA spirit of traditionalist Roman Catholic groups, the churches continued to grow. The persecution did not stop the advance of the Protestants. The new religious freedoms encouraged the Protestants to continue (153).

In 1884, the first presbytery was organized. Missions and leadership training were stressed. The ministers were instructed to preach mission sermons throughout the year and collections were taken for missions. At the end of the annual presbytery meetings a special missionary service was held. In 1885, several students were accepted as candidates for study. Five of the candidates were self-supporting (154).

In 1904, the Mexican Rev. Leonardo Garza Mora was sent to Scotland to be the Mexican representative at the conference of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (155).

Three presbyteries of the Northern Presbyterian and one Southern presbytery joined in 1905 to form a Synod of Mexico. Students for ministry were sent to the Presbyterian College and Seminary in Coyoacan.

By 1905 the missionary force had dwindled down to five missionaries-one man and four women. An anonymous missionary wrote:

Those who did more than all the others to hold the work steady in its forward march were the Mexican ministers and elders and teachers who were trained during the years. Even if all the missionaries had left them and no new ones had replaced them the presbytery would have continued its work (156).

The truth of this statement was tested during the years of the Mexican Revolution when the American missionaries were forced to leave. The church survived. Yet it was the desire of the national church to have missionary support and personnel to help in the work (157).

The missionaries expressed their concern about the future of the church in terms of self-support. It was reasoned that an industrial school would help the men to become self-supporting. To that end the Graybill Memorial School was instituted in 1911. It was eventually closed down due to the revolution in 1913 (158).

By 1913 only two male missionaries were left in the country. The Mission Executive Committee asked the missionaries to leave due to the revolution. By 1914, they had left. In 1916 the missionaries resumed their positions in Mexico (159).

The PCUS Fifty-Fifth Report reported for 1915 that 11 missionaries were designated for Mexico. There were 30 national workers, 14 churches, 40 preaching points, 1,239 communicants, a constituency of 1,911, as well as 13 schools and 438 students. In 1915 most of the missionaries worked in US border cities, awaiting their return to Mexico.

The Panama Congress of 1916 had special consequences for the Southern Presbyterian Mission. The Mission was asked to go to the States of Michoacan, Guerrero, and a part of the States of Mexico and Morelos. Although the Mission objected at first; eventually in 1919 the move was made, leaving the Presbytery of Taumalipas on its own. The move was made to the south to bring the Northern and Southern Presbyterians closer together and to cover more of Mexico. The PCUS mission board responded to the new challenge by increasing the mission force from eleven to twenty one.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

1. *The immediate training of national leaders.* Leandro Garza Mora was a prime example of how a new convert was trained and given ample responsibility in the church until he became a national renowned leader.
2. *A high priority on evangelism.* The pioneer missionaries as well as the presbyteries were theologically and financially committed to evangelistic work. The visible result was the continuation of the growth of the church.
3. *The role of Christian women in mission work.* Author W. Ross notes how the missionary ladies made contributions to the mission work through Sunday Schools, day schools, Christian literacy development, youth work, social work, and through their personal life style. Mexican Christian women played a crucial role in the church, often being the first converts in the family and thereby bringing the whole family under Christian influence.
4. *Missions flexibility to go into new areas.* In 1919 a new field was opened, through the decisions made at the Panama Congress. The Southern Mission responded with resources and renewed evangelism interest.

3.3.3.2.5. Conclusion

This section will present conclusions concerning Southern Presbyterians in South America and Mexico. Comments will be made concerning the mission context, mission agency, and mission motivation.

The origin of the PCUSBFM is in part a continuation of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church before the Civil War. The mission fields and mission board structures are similar. The PCUS did not inherit Presbyterian Church mission fields per se, but mission work was established in close proximity to the Northern PCUSA mission work. The Northern and Southern missions work in Latin America eventually joined together by 1916. Both churches were participants in the Panama Congress. Internal conflict between missionaries, mission agency, and national church, as well as the church-school issue, hampered the cross-cultural mission efforts during the nineteenth century. The dying of scores of missionaries due to Yellow Fever or other illnesses, as well as missionary turnover were discouraging. However, the national church became stronger through it all. The Brazil Plan of 1917 gave direction to the mission agencies and asserted the responsibility of the national church, also in terms of evangelism.

In Colombia the Presbyterians stayed with English-speaking ministries far too long and eventually the mission work ceased.

The economic depression in the US South during the end of the nineteenth century squeezed the mission's financial purse but it did not stop missions.

It could not be determined by this study if the Southern Mission's support of slavery, and the bringing over of slaves by some early missionaries to Brazil, had a significant

effect on the mission work (160).

The civil revolutions in Mexico and Colombia had the opposite effects. The Mexican Revolution forced the missionaries to leave but provided more liberties for the Mexican Protestants. The Colombian revolution had a devastating effect on the people of Colombia and the persecutions of Protestants continued for nearly a half a century.

The increased immigration patterns between Latin America and the Southern United States increased mission contacts on both sides of the border. The emergence of the Mexican American *Iglesia Presbiteriana* in the Southwest US as well as the beginning of churches by Southern Presbyterian missionaries in Mexico and the Caribbean are evidence of that (161).

Social progress was important to the majority of Presbyterian missionaries. The emphasis on education, involvement in political and economic questions, as well as social work among the needy, showed that Presbyterian mission went beyond the walls of the church as institution. Although the national church did not have the same financial resources as the international missions for education, social work, and other cultural activities, the resulting Presbyterian churches and their members were important agents of social change, as seen when church members became more educated and influential in society (162).

The immediate planting of national churches and development of national leadership were important to the Southern Mission. The example of Rev. Leandro G. Mora in Mexico is one of the better models. Solid theological training at an early stage of leadership training produced stable leadership. This became evident in the case of Cuban pastor Evaristo Collazo who developed his own style of ministry which after several years was not deemed beneficial by the congregation and the Presbyterian missions. In certain countries, such as Colombia, the development of national pastors and leaders was not initiated soon enough and so a large missionary force had to maintain a small church.

In Mexico as well as in Brazil, missionary women played a crucial role in educational and social work ministries. On the home-front, the women's missionary councils were very active in raising financial support as well as sending missionaries. The use of institutional schools as a means of missions caused considerable more tension than had been experienced by the Northern missions. This seems to have been caused and aggravated by internal problems amongst missionaries and their agency. It could also have been due to the lack of social and political stability in the areas of work which in turn caused a high rate of missionary turnover.

Church growth occurred on all of the fields, with the exception of Colombia. The unstable Colombian situation, both in terms of the religious antagonism as well as on-field mission strategy, was not conducive to evangelism and church growth.

The churches were the most viable means for advancing the mission work. The churches were far more stable than the schools, as seen in their longevity and multiplication.

The mission motivation of the Southern Mission was not very different than that of the Northern. In fact, on all of the fields where the two agencies were working, there were agreements and defined relationships with the existing national churches. By 1916, both Presbyterian mission boards had become established as pioneer evangelism, church planting, educational and social work agents. The prime motivation was to establish the Christian church and community, preferably in agreement with the Presbyterian traditions. The national church which developed was very evangelism orientated. The Presbyterian churches in Brazil would become the second largest Presbyterian community in the Western Hemisphere, second only to the Presbyterian community in the United States.

As with the Northern Presbyterians, the Southern Presbyterians and related national churches adhered to the Westminster Confession, without major deviation prior to 1916.

The church and mission statistics of the PCUS from 1869-1916 are made available in Chart 3. (163)

3.3.3.3. Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church in Mexico (1879 -1916)

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church (ARPC) worked in one country in the Southern Americas, namely, Mexico. Rev. and Mrs. Neill Erskine Pressly (Mex:1879-1917) were the first ARPC missionaries in Mexico. After language study and consultation with other denominations, they moved to Tampico in the state of Tamaulipas (164). The Northern Presbyterians had worked in this area but left the field "in favor of the Associate Reformed Presbyterians." The transfer included receiving the services of the Mexican, Rev. Pedro Trujillo, who had been trained by the Presbyterian Church US (165).

Evangelism and church development went slowly. In 1881, a congregation of 15 members was organized. National leaders were trained at the initial stage of the work. Mr. Zaleta was one of the first converts. He was tutored by Rev. Pressly in preparation for the ministry. He was ordained in 1885 but died three years later.

Despite the hardships and setbacks a small presbytery was formed in 1888. Inez Hernandez, an Indian, was ordained. Shortly thereafter, Dr. and Mrs. J.S.A. Hunter (Mex:1888-1909), came to the field to live in Ciudad del Maiz, in the state of San Luis Potosi. By 1889, there were 12 preaching points with 226 members.

Even though there was very strong public opposition, the Mission employed different means to establish the work. A girls school was begun in Tampico, and medical missions were established in San Luis Potosi, a new church was opened in Ciudad del

Maiz, an orphanage in Rioverde, and a Bible colporteur in Tampico. By 1903 there were ten missionaries on the field (166).

In 1912, the number of missionaries on the field had increased to 12 and the program expanded to include a boys' school, both primary and secondary, a theology department (in the secondary school), and a large number of national workers. Then the Mexican Revolution hit.

The Mexican Revolution forced all the missionaries to go home for at least for a year. Many did not come back. James Mitchell writes:

But the difficulties and hardships brought about by the Revolution fostered a spirit of self-support and self-government and spiritual values, although kept undercover, remained strong (167).

Missionaries J.G. Dale (Mex:1899-1913;1919-1945) and his wife Dr. Katherine Dale, returned to the field and helped to reorganize and encourage the church.

By 1916, the mission work continued and resulted in the formation of a national church. The small church and mission continued, despite the variety of circumstances.

The ARPC sent one ordained missionary (only Rev. Neill Pressly listed by Mitchell) and 21 lay missionaries during 1879-1916. The lay missionaries include working missionary wives (6), medical personnel (4), teachers (11), and evangelists (1).

Chart 3. summarizes the church and mission statistics of the ARPCH in Mexico.

3.3.4. Canadian Presbyterians in British Guyana (1880-1916)

The coming of the Canadian Presbyterians to British Guyana has much to do with two other nationalities: the East Indians and the Scottish.

By 1834 slavery was completely abolished in British Guyana. Chinese and Portuguese workers came to replace the Africans and shortly thereafter, the East Indians followed. The working conditions were nearly as bad as those of slavery. The East Indians were paid one shilling per work day. After five years they could go back to India at their own expense. After ten years, three-fourths of their passage was paid. If he remained, he could remain as a freeman and settle on the land (168).

At first, the church ignored the complex needs of the Indians, but after the 1850's, when it became clear that the Indians would stay, foreign mission efforts were considered. The first Presbyterians to work among the East Indians were the Scottish Presbyterians, through the presence of the Presbyterian Missionary Society. That society, with the help of estate planters, involved itself with education and religious instructions in the estate schools. That work was begun in 1879. Services were conducted in several

churches in the Hindi language (169).

Rev. John Morton, the pioneer Canadian Presbyterian missionary of Trinidad, made an exploratory visit to British Guyana in 1880. It was through his contacts with the Scottish Presbyterian preacher, Rev. Thomas Slater, that contacts were made with the Canadian Presbyterian Church and Rev. John Gibson (Guy: 1885-1888). Gibson, who had been in Trinidad for a short stay, came in 1885 to British Guyana and basically repeated the mission strategy used by the Canadian Presbyterians in Trinidad, i.e., planting churches, establishing schools, and training catechists. Gibson died already in 1888. No successor was sent until in 1896 when James B. Cropper (Guy: 1896-?) came from Halifax (170).

The mission established financial and administrative ties with the estate owners. Schools and teachers were in part supported by the owners. Cropper became a superintendent of an East Indian settlement. Using his position as an instrument, he helped catechists to establish churches in various settlements. The tension created by differing educational motivations was evident. Was education a tool for evangelism and education, or a process of socialization? Church historian D.A. Bisnauth makes the following observations about the high school in Berbice:

“Scrimgeour' s hope was that the schools would be pervaded with the spirit of Christ; but, he wanted the school to produce a better boy for Guyana even if he remained a Muslim or Hindu. Cropper, on the other hand, saw education as the hand-maid of evangelism” (171).

The church in British Guyana (GPC) had a slow start, due to the death of missionary Gibson in 1888, but by 1913 there were 58 preaching stations amongst the East Indians. In British Guyana there were 24 schools and 70 teachers and catechists in 1913 (172).

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, Bisnauth observed that:

“At the end of 1918, the Canadian Mission could boast a total Christian community of about 1,933 people. There were 59 congregations, 46 Sunday schools, 38 day schools and one high school. Twenty-nine catechists were in the employ of the Mission, as were 79 school teachers and two high school teachers” (173).

In conclusion, it can be said that the Canadian Presbyterian missions in British Guyana were similar in strategy to the work in Trinidad. The mission work focused on the East Indians. Churches and schools were established. The Mission had a working relationship with the colonists and planters in which financial and social support was given by the planters while the missionaries and church labored in religious and educational concerns which improved the personal lives and social conditions of the East Indians.

East Indian catechists were trained to help lead in the church. Before 1916, there were

no ordained national pastors or elders. Missionary presence was not permanent, although missionaries Cropper and Scrimgeours provided a stabilizing missionary presence.

The mission work was firmly established by 1916, as congregations and schools were planted. The Canadian Presbyterians had brought the Christian gospel into the East Indian culture of British Guyana. That witness did not continue into other cultures present in British Guyana, such as that of the Buddhist, Muslim, and other non-Christian religions and peoples. Evangelism became secondary to the process of socialization and Westernization, as represented by the developments in the school system.

Chart 3. contain the church and mission statistics of the Canadian Presbyterians in South America (1800-1916).

3.3.5. Conclusion

A notable distinction in the European and North American associated Presbyterian extension lies in the area of cultural association, mission methodology, and evangelism motivation. The dynamic cross-cultural ministry of the North Americans and consequently the South Americans continued well into the twentieth century.

3.4. CONCLUSION

Mission Context. During the seventeenth until the middle of the nineteenth century, transplanted Scottish and English churches were set up in the English speaking colonies. In Jamaica, the SMS charted a new and important course in working directly with the Afro-Jamaicans. This resulted in a large Jamaican mission force which eventually went to Nigeria to establish the Presbyterian Church in Nigeria.

Roman Catholic Christendom' s hegemony with the political powers began to wane during the nineteenth century. Bible colporteurs were the first to establish Protestant contacts in Portuguese and Spanish speaking Latin American nations.

Presbyterian churches were established in 19 CALA nations. Three Presbyterian churches were established on English speaking islands during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Beginning with the nineteenth century, churches were established in six English speaking, nine Spanish, and one Portuguese speaking countries.

In comparison to the Reformed churches during the same time span, the Presbyterians displayed more continuity. Reformed churches were planted in 12 countries and by 1916, two were still in existence (St. Thomas and Surinam). Two new Reformed immigrant movements (Argentina and Brazil) were underway. The Presbyterians initiated mission work in 24 nations and by 1916 were busy in 19. The mission activities in Haiti, Panama, St. Lucia, Antigua, and Argentina did not develop prior to 1916.

The Presbyterian as well as the Reformed churches initially were associated with

mercantile and colonial forces. The Presbyterians, however, advanced beyond the colonists and worked among the Africans, East Indians, American Indians, as well as European and other Latin groups. The double factor of working among marginalized people groups as well as training national leadership at an early stage, made the Presbyterian mission work distinct from the Reformed, prior to 1916.

The contextual factors of missionaries working with marginalized people groups, supporting the emancipation movement, utilizing indigenous leadership from the start, and taking opportunity to enter countries upon the invitation of friendly governments, have been mentioned in the course of this section. What do all of these contextual factors have in common? The common denominator is the importance of the host culture. The host or receiving persons and culture must be given the responsibility of reacting to the gospel. The receptivity of the gospel must flow along the cultural lines of the host society.

International missions is a dispensable intermediate agent between the transmission of the gospel from one church and Christian community to another.

The Canadian and US Presbyterians were able to bring the gospel at the right time and right place in CALA. Historically speaking, Trinidad, British Guyana, and Brazil were ready to receive the missionary pioneers, who came to peoples open to Protestantism.

Mission agency. There were 11 denominational Presbyterian mission agencies, plus four Presbyterian mission societies, who sent more than 185 ordained missionaries and more than 159 lay missionaries to CALA prior to 1917. The missionaries worked in four major areas: 1) evangelism and church development; 2) Christian education; 3) teaching at seminaries; and 4) social work. All of the ordained missionaries were men. The vast majority of missionary teachers in the schools were single ladies and missionary wives.

The PCC provided the most united mission front, while the Scottish Presbyterian church's missions were divided into seven denominational agencies and two mission societies.

The Jamaican mission work had the most extensive outreach. After 45 years of mission work, the Jamaicans sent Jamaican missionaries to Nigeria. Several basic reasons explain this development. The Scottish missionaries had immediately begun to work directly with Afro-Americans. Also, the coming of freedom from slavery opened doors for traveling and serving other peoples. Finally, the extension of the kingdom ran along family and national lines; the Afro-Americans returned to their national roots in Nigeria.

Three types of national churches were formed: 1) transplanted immigrant churches; 2) national churches started by international missionaries; and 3) national churches started by nationals.

Several of the partner churches became very large. Brazil, Mexico, and Guatemala

developed national leadership at the initial stage and the nationals along with the strong support of the international missionaries were able to endure hardships and oppositions, overcome obstacles and develop a large church and Christian community.

The Presbyterian missionaries made extensive use of national helpers. This included school teachers, catechists, and social workers. National pastors were ordained at the beginning of most of the national churches. The failure to ordain and maintain national pastors was crucial for the continuation of the church and mission.

Christian schools became very prominent on most fields. The Canadian Presbyterians developed the largest school system, which by 1916 was reaching over 8,000 students.

Pressure was placed on national churches to become self-supporting. Careful note was taken of church offerings. Educational and working institutions helped bolster membership income.

Extensive use was made of lay missionaries. Many of the lay missionaries were single women who taught for short periods of time in Christian schools. Several lady missionaries became long-term and career missionaries.

Female missionaries accounted for the majority of missionary personnel on the field. When one includes the services rendered by missionary wives, single lady missionaries, national pastor wives, as well as the Women Mission Boards, then the importance of women missionaries continues to be impressive. Had all the field statistics been uniform in reporting the presence of missionary wives and detailing their involvement, a more extensive commentary could have been made in this thesis on the women's involvement in missions in CALA.

Some of the Woman's Boards which supported Presbyterian missions in CALA included: 1) Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the PC; 2) Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the Northwest; 3) Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the PC. New York; 4) Woman's Occidental Board of Foreign Missions of the PC; 5) Woman's Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions of Southwest; and 6) Woman's North Pacific Presbyterian Board of Missions.

The target or host group for missions work differed in each country where the Presbyterians went. The transplanted European churches served their fellow country people. Several of the Presbyterian missions served English speaking churches. The indigenous churches in Puerto Rico and Cuba started among Spanish speaking peoples right away. The composition of the churches, according to Mounce, reflected the general make-up of society. The indigenous churches did not "zero in" on a specific people group. The missionary-initiated national churches were more focused on special people groups.

The Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA exhibited several different ecumenical patterns. The separatist tradition was transplanted from Scotland. The cooperation and union tradition was practiced by several Scottish churches as well as

the North American Presbyterian churches at the end of the era.

The separatist tradition was expressed initially in the separation of the Presbyterians from the Church of England in Bermuda (1644). The separation patterns in Scotland eventually were reflected in the Presbyterian churches of the Caribbean Islands as well. Bermuda went through the following affiliations: Church of Scotland (1644), Glasgow Mission Society (1796), Presbyterian Church of Scotland (1830' s), Free Church of Scotland (1845), United Free Church of Scotland (1900) and Church of Scotland (1929). The Scottish churches maintained Scottish presbyteries in British Guyana and Trinidad.

The large CS eventually became modern day ecumenical partners with Caribbean Presbyterian churches involved in the ecumenical movement.

The USA Presbyterians came with a divided mission to CALA, but by 1916, many of the fields had been joined under one national church.

The Canadian Presbyterians cooperated with the US and Scottish Presbyterians, but maintained their own denominations. This was also due to the East Indian ethnic composition of the church.

When Canada' s Methodists and Congregationalists united with two-thirds of the Presbyterians in 1925 to form the United Church of Canada, the missions in Trinidad and Grenada became the responsibility of the United Church of Canada, while those in British Guyana became the responsibility of the remaining PCC (Presbyterians who did not become part of the United Church).

The pre-Panama Congress era demonstrated that the Presbyterian denominations in CALA maintained a high degree of uniformity in terms of confessional standards, national church cooperation and ethnic group work. Did the theological, ecclesiastical, and ethnic uniformity help the Presbyterians become established and enable them to extend themselves in CALA? Uniformity in terms of confessions, purpose of mission, organization and target group had positive effects. Separatism in terms of forming ethnic "ghettos," exclusive social classes, closed worship services, did not serve mission extension. The twentieth century would provide another test: how would the national church deal with religious pluriformity within the church and mission?

The mission means par excellence of the Presbyterians prior to the Panama Congress was to establish churches and Christian schools. These two institutions supported the Christian development of personal, family, and social life. Christian communities were not only established on a local level but the churches, schools, and later the social institutions networked together at a national level. The Presbyterian churches in the Caribbean and British Guyana exchanged national and missionary workers, according to the needs of the mission field.

Missionary presence was very important at the beginning of the planting of the church

and school. It was also important for the initial training of national leaders. Almost all of the fields had one or more pioneer missionaries who established the strategy for the field.

Missionaries utilized contacts with friendly national and municipal governments in order to make inroads into the host society. During the nineteenth century, American Protestantism, like American foreign policy, was expanding. The Latin liberal progressive governments were quick to make the association between Christian missions and North American socio-economic and political influences.

Mission motivation. As with the Reformed churches and missions prior to 1916, the Presbyterians generally stayed within the classical Reformed confessional tradition. Very little is heard about doctrinal deviations from the Westminster Confession.

The Reformed and Presbyterians differed in terms of viewing USA as God' s divinely appointed nation for evangelizing the world. The motives given by the Presbyterian Church USABFM for doing mission work in Latin America were in line with the concept of Divine Destiny, which argued that the United States was a special instrument of God for the evangelization of the world. Yet, the strength of early Presbyterianism resided not in the North American missionaries, per se, but in the nationalization of the church and missions.

The summary Chart of Presbyterians in CALA (1609-1916) is found in Chart 3 (174).

Volume II will study the development of the national Presbyterian and Reformed Church in CALA. In order to understand national Reformed and Presbyterian churches, the historical survey and missiological analysis of Pre-Panama CALA Presbyterianism is vital. Four centuries of seeking to penetrate into Iberian-American RCC territory finally gave rise to, first of all colonial churches, but then, and most importantly, the national churches

FOOTNOTES

1. Peter J.C. Smith, "Early Religious History," *Presbyterianism in Bermuda* (1984), p. 1. Smith dates Bermudas takeover by the English in 1609 while Bastian, "Protestantismo y Colonia en America Latina y el Caribe," *Taller de Teología* (1981), pp. 22-24, mentions 1625. In this study the early date is used since Smith is writing about Bermuda in particular and Bastian made reference to it in passing. See also Arthur Newton, *The European nations in the West Indies* (1933), p. 191.
2. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13. There are differences of opinion as to the extent of Presbyterian influence in the Church of England in Bermuda. Writers from the respective church traditions claim the Bermuda tradition as their own.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
11. David Barrett, "Bahamas," *World...*, pp. 145-146; Latourette, *A History of Christianity* Vol. 2, (1975), p. 951.
12. "Histories of the Presbyterian Churches in the Caribbean," *The Caribbean Presbyterian* Vol. 1, No. 1, (Nov., 1958), p. 1.
13. Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: the rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies 1624-1713* (1972), p. 182.
14. Elizabeth Hewat, *Vision and Achievements: 1796-1959: A History of the Foreign Mission of the Churches united in the Church of Scotland* (1960), pp. 14-15.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 18; Clement Gayle, "The Church in the West Indies-Bondage and Freedom," *Caribbean Journal of Religious Studies* Vol. 3, No. 1, (April, 1980), pp. 16-27; Brian Gates (ed), *Afro-Caribbean Religions* (1980), p. 43; D. A. Rothnie, "The Presbyterian Church of Jamaica," *The Caribbean Presbyterian* (Nov., 1958), pp. 25-26.
19. Hewat, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
20. *Ibid.*
21. J. C. MacDonald, "The Church of Scotland in Grenada," *The Caribbean Presbyterian* Vol.1, No.1 (Nov. 1958), pp. 29-30.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
23. Graeme S. Mount, *Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rica: the Formative Years, 1868-1914* (1983), pp. 27-31; 55-56; Sarah Morton, *John Morton of Trinidad* (1916), pp. 7-10.
24. Sources for chart: see footnotes 1-23.
25. The Board of Foreign Missions of PCUSA was formed in 1813. Its predecessor was the Western Foreign Missionary Society (1831). Originally it was made up of 40 ministers and 40 laymen. (Presbyterian Historical Society Archival Resources. No. 31, p. 67); L. Knappert, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
26. Joseph Frith, *Reminiscences of an old Bermuda Church* (1911), pp. 42-43.
27. See 2.3.3.6.7.
28. Graeme S. Mount, *Presbyterian Missions to Trinidad and Puerto Rico...*, pp. 27-31.
29. González, *Development...*, p. 93.
30. *Annual Report-1891* (54th), pp. 27-28.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 28; *Annual Report 1892* (55th), pp. 30-32; *Annual Report-1893* (56th), pp. 57-58; *Annual Report-1895* (58th), p. 24; *Annual Report-1890* (53rd), p. 58-59; *Annual Report-1902* (65th), pp. 42-44; *Annual Report-1903* (66th), pp. 33-35; González, *op. cit.*, p. 93; *Annual Report-1902* (65th), p. 20; *Annual Report-1916* (79th), pp. 111.

32. González, *Development...*, pp. 103-104.
33. Graeme Mount, *Journal of Presbyterian History* Vol. 55, (1977), pp. 241f.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, p. 247.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
42. González, *Development...*, pp. 78f.
 Personal interview on July 3, in 1987 with
 Dr. Luis Thomas, professor of church history of the Dominican Evangelical Church
 and with Rev. Dodd, retired Presbyterian missionary who worked with the
 Dominican Evangelical Church. George Lockward's *Protestantismo en la
 República Dominicana* (1982).
44. Chart sources: see footnotes 46-63.
45. Mount, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61. E. B. Rosabella Seesaran in "The Unfolding Panorama
 of the Presbyterian Church in Trinidad: 1868-1993," *Trinidad Presbyterian* (1993),
 p. 15, notes: "In 1868 John Morton arrived and after declaring to the Scottish
 Presbyterian Church.....his intention to work among the Indians, he was appointed
 missionary to the Indians."
46. Geoffrey D. Johnstone, "The Canadian Mission to Trinidad, 1868-1939" (1976).
47. Idris Hamid, *A History of the Presbyterian
 Church in Trinidad: 1868-1968* (1980), p. 235.
48. Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
49. Seesaran, *op. cit.*, p. 16. *Samuel Doodnath, in Trinidad Presbyterian* (1993), p. 15.
50. *The Record* (April, 1878), as cited in Mount.
51. Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 86. List of schools, p. 74.
52. Hamid, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-86. Seesaran, *op. cit.*, p. 16; Doodnath, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
53. Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Mount, *Review Interamericana* Vol.
 7, No. 1, Spring 1977, p. 37.
54. Hamid, *op. cit.*, pp. 40ff.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-49.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 80--81.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 113f. Seesaran, *op. cit.*, p. 20 notes: "It is evident that the missionaries
 underestimated the leadership qualities of the Indians whom they themselves
 helped to educate. They maintained their paternalistic hold longer than necessary
 and hence conflicts arose. Finally they were forced to realize that the church had
 come of age and that if they wished to work in Trinidad, they had to do so as
 partners."

62. Minutes of Mission Council of April 14, 1914, as quoted by Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
63. D.A. Bisnauth, *A Short History of the Guyana Presbyterian Church* (1970) p. 21; Morton, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-301.
64. Chart sources found in bibliography of footnotes of # 25-43.
65. See section 2.3.3.2. Mount notes that it is British Guyana and after independence, Guyana.
66. D.A. Bisnauth, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
68. W.A. Frazer, "The Church of Scotland in British Guyana," *The Caribbean Presbyterian*, pp. 30-31.
69. Villalpando, et. al, *Las Iglesias Del Transplante*, pp 107-110. John MacKay, *The Other Spanish Christ* (1932), p. 234, cites 1825 as the arrival date of 250 Scots in Uruguay, some of whom made their way to Argentina.
70. The information was gathered from written correspondence with Rev. Tom Lacey, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Corozal Town. Also see Wilton Nelson, *El Protestantismo...*, p. 46; Latourette, *A History...*, Vol. 11; Barrett, "Belize," *World...*, pp. 174-175.
71. John A. Mackay, the FCS missionary, became an outstanding spokesman for Protestant missions in general in CALA. His monumental work, *The Other Spanish Christ* (1932) remains until today the authoritative Protestant Christological commentary in CALA.
72. See bibliography for footnotes 65-71.
Sixteenth Annual Report BFM PCUSA (1877).
Stanley Rycroft, *Latin America and the United Presbyterians* (1961), p. 11; Robert Speer, *Presbyterian Foreign Missions* (1901), pp. 269-270; *The Seventeenth Annual Report of the BFM of the PCUSA* (1854), pp. 64-65; from now on the *Annual Reports* will be listed as *Annual Report* with their date and number. Prien, *op. cit.*, reports Presbyterian activity in 1836.
75. *Nineteenth Annual Report* (1856), pp. 101-102.
76. *Twenty Fifth Annual Report* (1862), pp. 16-17. Luis Salem, "Christian Writers Paved Way for Outreach in Latin America," *Latin American Evangelist* (July-Sept., 1989), pp. 8-9. Dates of the books mentioned are not cited.
77. *Thirty First Annual Report* (1868), p. 11.
78. *Thirty Third Annual Report* (1870), p. 13.
79. Historical Sketches of the Mission under the Care of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church USA (1897), pp. 332-340.
80. *Eightieth Annual Report* (1917), p. 337.
81. For other perspectives see Eugenio Restrepo Uribe, *El Protestantismo en Colombia* (1944) and Wheeler Reginald-Browning Webster, *Modern Missions on the Spanish Main*, (1925).
82. Robert Leonard McIntire, *Portrait of Half a Century* (1969), pp. 3/17-3/19.
83. *Ibid*; Prien, *op. cit.*, reports beginning in 1859.
84. Portrait, 4/10-12.
85. *Ibid.*

86. *Ibid.*, p. 4/16.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 4/25-26.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 4/39.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 6/8-7/57.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 7/61.
91. Forty *Eighth Annual Report* (1885), p. 36.
92. William Read, *A Presbyterian Church in Central Brazil* (1969), p. 216.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 2/16-17; Rycroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.
94. Read, *op. cit.*, pp. 2/18-19.
95. *Eightieth Annual Report* (1917), p. 354. Not all of church directly associated with missionaries so not reported in missions statistics. Read, et al., pp. 71,77 reports for 1917 for IPB, 150 churches, 475 preaching points, 67 pastors, 7 presbyteries and an estimated 15,000 members.
96. Joel Martinez Lopez, *Orígenes del Presbiterianismo en México* (1972); *1872-1972 Centenario: Iglesia Nacional Presbiteriana de México* (1973), pp. 39f.
97. *Thirty Fifth Annual Report* (1872), p. 27.
98. González, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
99. *Thirty Fifth Annual Report*, p. 25.
100. Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
101. *Eightieth Annual Report* (1917), pp. 282-289.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
105. Jean Baptise August Kessler Jr., *A Study of Older Protestant Missions and Church in Peru and Chile* (1967). See also R. Speer, *Modern Missions in Chile and Brazil* (1926), pp. 1-4, 331-344.
106. Paul Irven, *The Life and A Yankee Reformer in Chile Works of Dave Trumbull* (1973).
107. González, *Historia...*, pp. 352-353; Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.
108. Jorge Cárdenas Brito, *La Tradición Reformada y Presbiteriana* (1995), pp. 21-22.
109. González, *op. cit.*, p. 353; Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 47-68.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
114. Herbert Kane, *A Global View of Christian Missions* (1975), pp. 444-445.
115. Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-334, 337-338.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 76, 340-343.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
118. *Eightieth Annual Report* (1917), p. 70. No explanation is given as to the significant difference between the statistics of the 1916 and 1917 reports.
119. *Eightieth Annual Report* (1917), pp. 378-380; Virgilio Zapata Arceyuz, *Historia de la Iglesia Evangélica en Guatemala* (1982), pp. 34f; Wilton Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53. James Emery notes that Haymaker continued to make trips to Guatemala until 1946, letter, May, 1995.

120. *Eightieth...*, p. 379.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
122. *Ibid.*
123. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 474. See also Wheeler, *op. cit.*,
124. *Sixtieth Annual Report* (1897), p. 204.
125. *Sixty First Annual Report* (1898).
126. *Sixty Second Annual Report* (1899).
127. *Eighty First Annual Report* (1918).
128. *Ibid.*
129. Robert Speer, *South American Problems* (1912), p. 241.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Eightieth Annual Report*, p. 70. Brazil statistics are incomplete. The 1917 statistics refer to the year 1916. Chart sources: footnotes 73-130. See Read, pp. 75-78.
132. Minutes: General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the US, Vol. 1, 1861, p. 17.
133. Robert Leonard McIntires, *op. cit.*, pp. 6/8-12.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 7/14.
135. James Bear, *Mission to Brazil* (1961), pp. 16-17.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
138. *Ibid.*
139. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.
142. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-36.
143. *Twenty Sixth Annual Report* (1887), p. 5.
144. Bear, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.
145. *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.
146. "The Foreign Mission Work of the Southern PC," *Fifty Fifth Annual Report* (1916), pp. 6, 11.
147. *Thirty Seventh Annual Report* (1874), p. 11; *Thirty Eighth- Annual Report* (1875), p. 11.
148. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
149. *Fortieth Annual Report* (1877), pp. 10-11.
150. *Annual Report* (1874), p. 10.
151. Wm. A. Ross, *Sunrise in Aztec Land* (1922), pp. 50-57.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.
154. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
157. *Ibid.*, pp. 102-108.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

159. *Fifty Fifth Annual Report* (1915), p. 8.
160. Prien, *op. cit.*, p. 425.
161. R. Douglas Brackenridge and Francisco O. Garcia-Treto, *Iglesia Presbiteriana* (1974).
162. Jean Pierre Bastian, *Breve historia del protestantismo en América Latina* (1986), pp. 109-110.
163. See bibliography of footnotes #132-162. National workers are reported with no distinction as to pastor and helpers. The 21 national workers are assumed to be ministers serving in the churches.
164. James Mitchell, *The Emergence of a Mexican Church: the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of Mexico* (1970), p. 30.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
168. Charles Alexander Dunn, "The Canadian Mission in British Guyana-The Pioneer Years: 1885-1927," (1971), pp. 3-4.
169. Bisnauth, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
172. *The Canadian Presbyterian*, p. 46.
173. Bisnauth, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
174. See charts previously mentioned in chapter for sources.

CHAPTER 4

MISSIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give missiological conclusions concerning the mission context, agencies and motivations of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions in CALA. In each section conclusions supporting by the study will be formulated and supported.

4.2. MISSION CONTEXT

4.2.1. Introduction to Mission Context

In this section, conclusions will be drawn concerning historical and cultural influences, church and mission organizations, mission partnerships and the cultural composition of the church groups associated with the Presbyterian and Reformed in CALA.

4.2.2. The Extension of Churches and Cultural Receptivity.

Conclusion number one is: *the extension of CALA Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions is related to the degree of receptivity within CALA cultures.*

Ibero-American colonial societies from the early sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century strongly rejected Protestant intrusions. Protestant Christianity was established under the jurisdiction of "Protestant friendly" territories associated with nations from northern Europe and North America. The Ibero-American colonies were strongly homogeneous, with a tight relationship between the colonial government, military and the Roman Catholic Church. When CALA nationalism took its course during the middle and at the end of the nineteenth century, CALA become more heterogeneous and religiously plural form. Only then did Protestantism, including the Presbyterians and Reformed, become established in the former Ibero-American colonies.

Three socio-political eras can be identified in post Columbian CALA. These eras include the European colonial era (1492-mid 19th century); the new nationalism era (mid 19th century to beginning of 20th century) and the North American imperialism era (beginning of 20th century until present).

Our study shows that during the European colonial era the Ibero-American colonies rejected Presbyterians and Reformed and that the northern European colonies accepted the Presbyterians and Reformed. The northern European colonies associated with Denmark, England, Holland and Scotland which accepted the Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions include: Antigua, Argentina, Aruba, Bahamas, Belize,

Bermuda, Bonaire, Brazil, Grand Cayman, Grenada, Curacao, Guyana, Jamaica, Panama, Saba, St. Eustatius, St. John, St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Martin, St. Thomas, Surinam, Tobago and Trinidad. The French colonies allowed Protestants in Anquilla, French Guyana, Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Eustatius and St. Martin.

During the era of nationalization in the mid 19th century, many of the new constitutions recognized the Roman Catholic Church as the religion of the State yet freedom of religion was slowly introduced. Such freedoms were novel for the Protestants seeking entrance into former Ibero-American colonies. During this era the Presbyterians were able to enter Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Mexico and Venezuela.

At the turn of the twentieth century North American imperialism exerted itself throughout the Caribbean as the USA invaded and influenced Cuba, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Again, Presbyterian churches were established in the wake of North American imperial expansion.

Besides the Ibero-American colonies and the North American influences, both of which was predominantly Anglo, the Indo and Afro-American cultures in CALA showed times of receptivity and non-receptivity.

The receptive Indo-American cultures from the 16th to the end of the 18th century were minimal. Prior to the Reformed churches association with the slave trading enterprise of the West Indies Companies, several cases of Indian receptivity were documented. The first was during the Villegaignon expedition in the mid 16th century and the second was during the Dutch colonial days in the mid 17th century. Both attempts ended in failure due to colonial problems. It was not until the coming of North American Presbyterians who worked directly with the nationals in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru that significant inroads were made among Indo-Americans. This started to occur at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. Even then, Indo American involvement in Presbyterian churches was minimal.

Receptivity for Presbyterians and Reformed among Afro-American cultures in CALA did not blossom until 1800. Prior to that time, both the Presbyterians and Reformed were colonist' churches. With the coming of the Glasgow Mission Society in 1800, Presbyterian missionaries worked directly with Afro-Jamaican peoples. Despite many obstacles, the work flourished and its influence expanded not only to other Caribbean islands but also to Nigeria and Chad in Africa.

Cultural receptivity was directly related to the church's and mission's cultural posture. If the churches were associated with the European colonists and international immigrants, the receptivity between the Afro and Indo Americans was very limited. When the church and missions were fully involved with Afro and Indo-Americans, it flourished. The Dutch Reformed association with the slave trading West Indies Company coupled with the discriminatory attitudes and practices of the Dutch colonists and churchgoers, translated into a very low level of trans-cultural missions work among the Afro-Americans.

These above mentioned observations show that cultural receptivity does not only depend on the receiving culture but also points to the importance of the nature of the culture associated with the sending agency.

4.2.3. The Effects of Church Association with Slavery and Church Development

The active and passive involvement of the Reformed churches and missions in discriminatory practices resulted in limited evangelism, lack of church development and absence of Christian service with the Afro and Indo-Americans.

Members of the Reformed churches were actively involved in the transcontinental and intercontinental trafficking and trading of African slaves. This practice was not considered a sin, nor were members of the colonial churches who were involved in slave trading put under ecclesiastical discipline. To the contrary, ministers who protested the slave trade lost their ministerial positions starting as early as the 17th century.

One of the primary reasons for the protection of the slave trade by church members and leaders was due to the association of the NHK churches with the West Indies Company (WIC). The WIC had strong influence in the NHK colonial church consistories. The pro-African ministers such as Ch. De Rochefort, W. Volckringth, Jan Kals, Henricus Muller and George van Essen were the exceptions.

African and Indian participation in the colonial churches was mainly through domestic slaves and servants. As early as 1649, African and Indian babies were baptized in the NHK in Surinam. The first registered African member is said to be Isabella, who became a member in 1721 in the Cottica-Perica church in Surinam. Despite the periodical inclusion of domestic slaves into the church, Afro and Indo-American pastors and missionaries were not trained among the Reformed.

Not one Afro or Indo-American Reformed church was formed prior to 1916 compared to 58 Dutch and French congregations. Attempt to form non-colonial churches were made in 17th century Brazil, but this came to an abrupt end, when in 1652 the WIC legalized slave trading and when the Portuguese defeated the Recife colony in 1654.

Presbyterian churches and missions had a different experience in terms of cross-cultural evangelism, church planting and leadership training and ministry.

4.2.4. The Role of Mission Societies in Cross-cultural Missions

Cross-cultural missions carried out by the Presbyterians were mostly accomplished through missionary societies and denominational mission societies who planted churches rather than the transplanted colonial church.

From the beginning of the 17th century onward, Presbyterian colonial churches were established in the English speaking Caribbean islands. The Scottish Mission Society

(SMS) began to work directly with non-colonists in Jamaica starting in 1800. The missionaries worked with marginalized people groups, supported the emancipation from slavery movement, immediately developed Jamaican leadership for the church and mission and ministered directly to the needs of the non-colonists.

The Canadian Presbyterians used a similar strategy for working in Guyana, Trinidad and St. Lucia.

By 1916 the Presbyterians had 61 planted churches among CALA nationals and 10 transplanted churches from Europe in 24 CALA countries.

4.2.5. The Role of Nationalization in Church Development

A process of nationalization contributed to the development of strong Presbyterian churches throughout CALA.

By 1916, the Presbyterians were active in 24 CALA countries. The British, Irish and Scottish Presbyterians were introduced to CALA through the mercantile companies, but soon the missionary's societies set out on a non-colonial course of missions. The mission societies extended their work among the Afro and Indo-Americans and East Indians.

In several places, national leadership was immediately initiated in the churches. The first leaders were evangelists and catechists. This latter developed into a national pastorate.

Contextualized strategies such as using Indian languages, employing Indian catechists, educating the Indian population, using Indian Scriptures and hymns was effectively developed by Canadian missionaries among the East Indians in Guyana and in the Caribbean.

The increase of Presbyterian missions during the second half of the nineteenth century was in part related to the invitations given by leaders in the newly formed CALA republics, the growing presence of North American imperialism, and the willingness of denominational mission boards to expand to CALA. Significant new inroads were made into former Hispanic Roman Catholic strong holds of Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico and Puerto Rico.

4.2.6. Conclusion for Mission Context

The early Reformed ministry in CALA accommodated to the WIC and to the colonial cultural ethos as the expense of missions with the African and Indian Americans. The Presbyterians were able to overcome the colonial ethos by establishing mission agencies that worked directly with cross-cultural groups. Growing CALA nationalism during the 19th century opened the doors of opportunity to enter Hispanic Roman

Catholic nations. Cross-cultural missions results were seen in church planting and the developing of national leadership.

4.3. MISSION AGENCY

4.3.1. Introduction to Mission Agency

In this section observations and conclusions about mission agencies will be made. Such factors as missionary sending agencies, missionary and pastoral positions, mission fields, mission strategies and mission partnerships will be commented on.

4.3.2. The Priority of Reformed Pastoral and Missions Ministries

The European Reformed churches were more concerned about providing pastoral ministry to the colonist than ministry to non-colonist. This can be measured by comparing the number of congregational ministers and missionaries sent out as well as comparing the number of colonial transplant churches to planted churches.

The first church to send ministers to CALA was the home church of John Calvin in Geneva. Three ministers were sent from 1556-1558 to Brazil.

The *Nederlandse Hervormede Kerk* (NHK) send ministers in both French and Dutch languages. The Synod of Arnhem sent 10 ministers (French speaking) and one missionary (Indian speaking) to Surinam from the years 1686-1783. Classis Walloon sent 9 ministers to serve the colonial church in St. Eustacia from 1630-1850. Classis Amsterdam sent 57 ministers starting in the year 1630 to colony churches in Tobago (1630- ?), Curacao (1634-1825), St. Martin 1648-1792), St. Thomas (1660-1827), Surinam (1667-), St Kits (1722-1774), Saba (1736-1816), British Guyana (1736 -), St John (1750-1828), Aruba (1822-) and Bonaire (1843-).

The Reformed Church in America (RCA), Classis New York, sent 19 ministers to St. Kitts and St. Thomas to serve two congregations from 1774-1916.

The Waldensians from Italy sent 12 ministers and 3 missionaries to 10 churches in Uruguay and Argentina from 1856-1916.

From 1556 to 1916, Dutch, Italian, Swiss and USA churches had sent 258 Reformed ministers and 11 missionaries. 58 immigrant churches were established during that time. By 1916, there were 4 NHK, 1 RCA and 10 Waldensian churches remaining. The NHK in Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao had become United Protestant Church. Of the 18 congregations that existed in 1916, all were transplanted formed colonial churches and none were planted churches among the Afro or Indo-American population.

4.3.3. The Priority of Presbyterian Pastoral and Missions Ministries

The Presbyterians became more concerned about cross cultural missions than immigrant pastoral ministries as seen by the number of missionaries sent out in comparison to regular parish ministers as well as by observing the number of planted churches and transplanted churches.

Presbyterians sent 41 international ministers, over 184 international ordained missionaries, and 159 international lay missionaries to 21 CALA nations from 1609-1916. During that same time period, there were 116 national ministers, over 335 national workers and catechists, and over 40 national missionaries, for a grand total of 875 ministers and missionaries.

Most of the ministers and missionaries were sent to: Mexico (115), Brazil (75); Trinidad (34); Colombia (29), Jamaica (20) and Chile (20). The countries with the most national workers were: Brazil (90), Jamaica (84), Mexico (70), Chile (67), Colombia (44) and Br. Guyana (44).

The Presbyterians transplanted 24 immigrant churches and planted 445 churches. There were 5 churches that merged. This adds up to 474 total churches in 22 countries. The vast majority of the planted churches survived. The 24 immigrant churches either slowly disappeared or were maintained for immigrants.

4.3.4. Cross-cultural Languages and Reformed Missions

The Reformed ministers worked primarily in the Dutch language and cross-cultural missions were the exception rather than the rule.

The Dutch language was used by 209 of the 258 ministers and 11 missionaries. Eight missionaries spoke Indian languages and 3 Spanish. Thirteen ministers spoke French and 15 ministers spoke Italian.

The Indian groups ministered to where in Brazil. The first time was the Coligny expedition (1556-1558) and the second time was the Dutch Recife colony (1625-1654). Individual efforts were made in Surinam and Aruba. By 1916, only the Aruba and Curacao was Papiamentu being used along side of the Dutch language.

Both French and Italian was used for colonial churches. The Waldensians began to use the Spanish language for missions. Spanish ministry was noticeably absent prior to the Dutch immigration to Argentina at the end of the 19th century. By 1916, the Dutch Reformed in Argentina still had Dutch language ministry.

The RCA in St. Kitts and St. Thomas ministered in the English language. English was also used in Tobago and British Guyana.

By 1916, the Reformed church in CALA was not ministering in neither the Portuguese and Spanish languages, representative of over 90% of CALA.

4.3.5. Cross-cultural Languages and Presbyterian Missions

The Presbyterian ministers worked in the English language but cross-cultural missions was primarily realized in the Portuguese and Spanish languages thereby facilitating the planting of national churches and developing national leaders.

The Portuguese and Spanish languages were primarily used in the new Presbyterian mission efforts beginning at the end of the nineteenth century. This took place in the Caribbean: Cuba and Puerto Rico; Mexico; Guatemala; South America: Argentina, Brazil (Portuguese), Chile, Colombia and Venezuela.

When missionaries, such as in Colombia, lagged in their transition from English to Spanish, the mission work was significantly stunted.

Presbyterians were involved with 19 major people groups from 1609-1916. These groups include European Anglos such as the Scots, Irish, British; Africans in Jamaica; East Indians in British Guyana, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Lucia and Trinidad; Indian groups in Brazil, Guatemala and Mexico; Hispanics in the South American countries previously mentioned.

An overwhelming number of persons send from USA and Canadian Presbyterian churches and mission societies learned the Spanish and/or Portuguese language. This conscious shift from the Anglo world to the Hispanic world greatly facilitated mission work in the newly opening Hispanic countries.

4.3.6. Partnerships in Missions

By 1916 the foundation for the Presbyterian national churches had been laid and the Panama Congress of 1916 brings in a new era of partnership in missions.

Jamaica, Mexico and Brazil developed the strongest and largest national Presbyterian churches. All of these fields overcame formable obstacles such as slave issues, yellow fever and national revolutions. Throughout the struggles of the late 19th century and early 20th century, national leadership developed and the national churches became strong.

The Panama Congress of 1916 was more of an international missions conference than a CALA led conference. Since the conference was a first of its kind, its decisions had long-term effects. The most important decision was to divide up all of CALA into denominational regions according to the comity agreements. For that reason, the Presbyterians only entered Guatemala in Central America and Chile, Colombia, Venezuela and Argentina in South America. Overall, the Panama decisions limited the Presbyterian expansion rather than expanding it.

The most unfortunate dimension of the Panama Congress was its lack of national church leadership. It was a North American missions conference more than anything

else. This was an indication that 1916 Protestantism was still in the throes of missionary paternalism.

4.3.7. Conclusion about Mission Agency

The European Reformed churches were more concerned about providing pastoral ministry to the colonist than ministry to non-colonist. The Reformed ministers worked primarily in the Dutch language and cross-cultural missions were the exception rather than the rule. The Presbyterians became more concerned about cross-cultural missions than immigrant pastoral ministries. The Presbyterian ministers worked in the English language but cross-cultural missions were primarily realized in the Portuguese and Spanish languages. As a result, the Reformed did not develop a national church while the Presbyterians planted national churches that survived well into the 20th century.

4.4. MISSION MOTIVATION

4.4.1. Introduction to Mission Motivation

In this section, the study will make concluding statements about the role of Reformed theology, the relationship between orthodoxy and orthopraxis and the nature of the justification for missions.

4.4.2. The Role of Reformed Theology

Reformational theology was used to define the theology of both the transplanted colonial churches as well as the planted national churches. During the 19th century the Reformed churches participate in evangelical mission agencies and ecumenical ventures.

Reformational theology was the distinguishing mark of Reformed and Presbyterians in CALA. Since the death of the three martyrs in Coligny and up to 1916, Reformed confessional teachings, as represented by the European continental catechisms and creeds as well as the Westminster Confession of Faith, were not seriously questioned. There were ministers, like the Rev. John Runnels from St. Eustatius, who was accused of being non-Reformed, but such cases, were few and far between.

The Reformed doctrinal tenets were relaxed when the Reformed congregations in Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao joined the Lutherans in order to form the United Protestant Church. Reformed churches were absorbed into other denominations in British Guyana, St. Eustatius, St. John, St. Martin, Saba and Tobago.

Presbyterians maintained their identity in all of the CALA nations they entered. The Presbyterians were known to transplant church splits from Scotland to some of the

Caribbean islands. For example, in Bermuda, the two congregations underwent the transition from the Church of Scotland (1644), Glasgow Mission Society (1796), Presbyterian Church of Scotland (1830's), Free Church of Scotland (1845), Reformed Church of England (1890), the United Free Church of Scotland (1900) and finally, the Church of Scotland (1929). On some of the islands, like Trinidad, different Presbyterian denominations were organized. During the 19th century, like in British Guyana, the Scottish Presbyterians worked with Scottish immigrants as well as the Afro-Americans. The Canadian Presbyterians worked with the East Indians.

Three distinct stages of theological identification can be identified. First, during the first four centuries, the majority of Reformed and Presbyterian churches maintained their theological confessional identity as distinct from the Roman Catholic as well as other Protestants. Starting in 1825, with the formation of the United Protestant Church in the Lower Dutch Antilles, we witness the entrance of the ecumenical church in which the Reformed confessions are historically respected but not legislatively used. Finally, for evangelism and mission purposes, Bible Societies and mission agencies are developed in which Reformed distinctions are respected.

4.4.3. Reformed Orthodoxy and Orthopraxis

The Dutch Reformed colonial churches ideologically affirmed classical Reformed theology but in practice denied some of its basic teachings, such as the covenant of grace, evangelizing all peoples and the communion of the saints.

Whereas Reformed orthodoxy is defined by theological documents such as the Canons of Dordt, it is significant to note that at the same synod the decision was made that children of "heathen" parents should not be baptized (1619). The Classis of Amsterdam reaffirmed this in 1666.

The contradiction between the affirmation of the doctrines of grace and the covenant and the refusal to baptize children of "heathen" parents shows the discrepancy between a theological affirmation and its practical outworking. Children of non-colonists presented are in the same spiritual condition as children of colonial (i.e. non-heathen) parents yet they are refused this "means of grace."

The exclusion of heathen children from the covenant symbols was not the only form of exclusion in CALA among the Dutch Reformed. The Dutch Reformed, as shown previously, did not plant a national church, consisting of Afro and Indo-American membership and leadership, from 1654 until 1916.

The Dutch Reformed congregations involved domestic servants, slaves and friends from Afro and Indo-American extraction but church leadership and mission responsibilities were withheld from them. The Dutch Reformed congregations did not represent the population of the whole society nor was this encouraged in many of the nations.

4.4.4. Presbyterian Orthodoxy and Orthopraxis

Presbyterian orthodoxy was affirmed by adherence to the Westminster Standards and the denominational church orders. From 1609 to 1916 there were no challenges to the standards that caused church divisions.

The 19th century saw the division of the Presbyterian churches in the USA over the issue of slavery and other issues related to the Civil War. By the time missionaries came to the CALA fields, the issue about owning slaves were not relevant anymore. The practical effect of the division of the USA churches was that now there were two operating mission boards rather than one. By 1916, most of the fields had combined missions efforts, that is, the two mission boards were cooperating with the national churches.

Since North American Presbyterian mission movement was a post Civil War event and a cross-cultural work, the ethnic issue of slavery did not affect the mission field. To the contrary, the cross-cultural work cast a different perspective on the race relation issues. The Presbyterian missionaries promoted cross-cultural membership and leadership in the national churches.

4.4.5. Reformed Justification of Missions

The European Reformed justification for missions is expressed by influential leaders, church confessions and social institutions.

The French and Dutch Reformed mission theory was influenced by the leadership and writings of John Calvin. Calvin was personally involved in the sending of the first ministers to Coligny.

The Canons of Dort, adopted in 1619, had the strongest mission language of all of the continental Reformed confessions. For example, Second Head, Art. 5:

“Moreover, the promise of the gospel is that whosoever believes in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have eternal life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His good pleasure sends the gospel.”

The mission goals and strategies expounded by Gisbertus Voetius proved to be instrumental for NHC missions. His three fold purpose for missions: to evangelize the heathen, build the church and manifest God’s glory in all areas of life, ideologically expressed the Dutch Reformed concept of missions.

The West Indies Company, in its charter, mentions the mission motivation of evangelizing the heathen. WIC ships were used to transport Dutch ministers and missionaries and WIC administrators held a tight reign over the NHC consistories in

CALA. The WIC proved to be a detriment to Dutch Reformed missions in CALA. It was not until their demise and disappearance and the subsequent beginning of regular European immigration, that their control over the colonial churches waned.

The pro-African and pro-Indian ministers such as Ch. De Rochefort, W. Volckringth, Jan Kals, Henricus Muller and George van Essen were the exception to the colonist's orientated ministries. The advocacy in Holland of Jan Willem Kals for the Indians in Surinam was instrumental in exposing the discriminatory practices of the WIC and NHK.

The Rev. Nicolaas Kuiperi (Aruba: 1858-1871) was innovative in contextualizing ministry to the local population. The use of the Papiamentu language was initiated upon his arrival. The local consistory, however, wanted a ministry to pay more attention to the colonial church. When Rev. Gerrit J. Eybers (Aruba: 1908-1917) came he began translating the New Testament into Papiamentu.

By 1916, the only practical justification for Reformed ministry and missions in CALA was to maintain the Dutch immigrant church. Non-Dutch immigrants were invited to the traditional church.

4.4.6. Presbyterian Justification for Missions

The Presbyterian justification for missions is found in the Westminster Standards. Besides the standards, which were honored throughout the history of Presbyterianism in CALA, there were spokespersons that were motivational for Presbyterian missions in CALA.

George Bethune (Jamaica: 1800- ?) and Ebenezer Reed (Jamaica: 1800 -?), pioneer missionaries with the Scottish Mission Society in Jamaica, were not missions spokespersons with high representation in church councils, but set the great example, followed by so many others, of full heartedly committing themselves and others to cross-cultural and contextualized missions in Jamaica.

John Morton (Trinidad: 1868-1912), the pioneer Canadian Presbyterian missionary in Trinidad, was motivational in establishing a contextualized missions approach among the East Indians.

Robert Speer, leader in the northern PCUSA, author of *South American Problems* (1912) and *Missions in South America* (1912) was instrumental in the Foreign Mission Boards of the PCUSA as well as a leading contributor to the Panama Congress of 1916. His contribution was to motivate Presbyterians to seize the opening opportunities to enter the Hispanic nations.

National Presbyterian leadership in CALA is not so much expressed in writings and mission council decisions but in the model of leadership of such pioneers as Rev.

Arcadio Morales Escalona (Mexico: 1873-), Antonio Badillo Hernandez (Puerto Rico: 1868-) and Rev. Josao Manuel da Conceica (Brazil: 1865-).

4.4.7. Conclusion to Mission Motivation

The Reformed desire to preach the gospel “to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction” was distorted by the NHK association with the WIC. Presbyterians were able to move beyond the colonial church and work cross-culturally.

4.5. CONCLUSION

The mission context, mission agency and mission motivation for Reformed and Presbyterian missions in CALA has been documented and conclusions have been made. *Collectively, it can be said that Reformed and Presbyterian missions from 1528-1916 took two very different paths starting in the mid 17th century. After the two initial attempts to colonize in Brazil, the Dutch Reformed became established in the Caribbean and became associated with the African slave trading through its alliance with the WIC. The NHK preoccupied itself in sending pastoral ministers for the Dutch colonists. Religious services were conducted in the Dutch language. As a result of an European and North American orientated ministry, there were only a handful of Reformed and Waldensian congregations operating in 1916. Contrasted to the Reformed development, the European Presbyterians established colony churches, but after precedent setting cross cultural efforts of the Scottish Mission Society, followed by the entrance of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries and dispersion of USA missionaries through opening countries at the end of the 19th century, the Presbyterians planted many more national churches than maintaining immigrant churches. Although the Reformed and Presbyterians maintained very similar theological standards, their mission contexts, agencies and motivations were directionally distinct. The Presbyterians went beyond the colonial and immigrant context, learned the Portuguese and Spanish languages, trained national leaders from the inception of the church plants and gave the responsibility of the church and missions to the nationals. The Presbyterian mission efforts were exemplary and motivation for the national churches that were initiated and continued into the 20th century.*

CHAPTER 5

CHURCH MAINTENANCE AND MISSION TO THE PEOPLES: A CLASH OF WORLDVIEWS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The conclusions of the historical description and missiological analysis of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA (1528-1916) are summarized in chapter 4. Chapter 5 will take the conclusions of chapter 4, address the issue of the tension or clash of worldviews between mission to the peoples and church maintenance and formulate a practical response that will be of help to the churches and missions today. Section 5.2. will present observations about the church maintenance and mission to the peoples of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA. Section 5.3. will offer a response for reconciliation to the conflicting relationship of the mission extension and church maintenance.

The Presbyterian and Reformed worldviews (1), from a doctrinal perspective, have much in common. Both are established on the theological framework of 16th and 17th century Protestantism. Their worldview affirms the glory of God in missions as the main motivation. The doctrines of grace as defined and in the Canons of Dordrecht (1618-1619) and elaborated on in the Westminster Standards (1643-1648) are common to both ecclesiastical traditions. Although there are differences in the government of the church, both are presbyterial in terms of office and conciliar in terms of ecclesiastical deliberations. Presbyterianism grows out of the cultural soil of Scotland and the British Isles while the European Reformed are scattered throughout Europe (France, Hungary, Germany) but centralized in the Netherlands. Ideologically, particular distinctions can be mentioned, but the real difference and eventual clash in worldviews does not arise out of their common theological sources. The clash is more sociological than theological.

The particular sociological conflict lies in the area in what missiologists have called indigenization or in the contextualization of the church and mission (2). We will use the term **kingdom responsibility** to refer to the responsibility of the believers for evangelism, church and mission administration and support and manifesting the glory of God in all areas of life of his own context and beyond (3).

In the conflicting worldviews as generally represented by the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA we will see that ecclesiastical maintenance was associated with colonists and immigrants worshiping in transplanted churches while mission extension took place in planted churches among the non-colonial peoples.

With the ecclesiastical maintenance model the church and mission existed to attend to the religious and cultural needs of the European colonists. The church and mission was supported, administrated and propagated by the colonial system. With the mission for

the people model the church leaders and members, with or without the support of their society, supported, administrated and promoted the church.

5.2. MISSION TO THE PEOPLES AND CHURCH MAINENANCE

5.2.1. Introduction

Both the Reformed and Presbyterians were involved in church maintenance and missions to the peoples in CALA. The sections 5.2.2. and 5.2.3. will review church maintenance and the missions to the peoples by looking at mission agency, motivation and contextual considerations of the Reformed (5.2.2) and the Presbyterians (5.2.3). Prior to proceeding with the analysis, it is important to identify the main ecclesiastical and missiological concepts under consideration.

Ecclesiastical concepts of missions are recorded in the denominational confessions, Church Orders and assembly statements. Without going into detail, the continental Reformed subscribe to the Three Forms of Unity, the Belgic Confession, Canons of Dort and the Heidelberg Confession. All three confessions speak to the importance of missions.

The Belgic Confession was not written as mission statement, yet, its teachings have important missiological implications. Articles 27 states:

“This holy Church is not confined, bound, or limited to a certain place or to certain persons, but is spread and dispersed over the whole world; and yet is joined and united with heart and will, by the power of faith, in one and same Spirit.”

The Canons of Dort, with its doctrinal emphasis on the doctrines of election and grace affirm in the Article 5 of the Second Head of Doctrine:

“Moreover, the promise of the gospel is that whosoever believes in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have eternal life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His good pleasure sends the gospel.”

Finally, the Heidelberg Catechism, in speaking about the communion of the saints teaches (Lord’s Day 21, Question and Answer 55).

Question. “What do you understand by the communion of saints?”

Answer. “First, that believers, all and every one, as members of Christ, are partakers of Him and all His treasures and gifts; second, that every one must know himself bound to employ his gifts readily and cheerfully for the advantage and salvation of other members.”

Besides the inspiring statements from the confessions, continental Reformed theologians such as John Calvin (1509-1564) and Gisbertus Voetius (1580-1676) expressed their zeal for world wide missions.

Section 2.2. showed the involvement of the Genevan Church and their leader, John Calvin, in the promotion of worldwide missions. The main antithesis for the 16th century reformers was not the resistance of paganism to the gospel but the life and death struggle with the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant movement sought to return to the foundations of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church. In their efforts to submit to the authority of God as expressed in the Scripture and in order not to bow to the traditions of men and religion, the reformers formed their own congregations. Calvin observed:

“If the Church is founded on the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, by which believers are enjoined to place their salvation in Christ alone, then if that doctrine is destroyed, how can the Church continue to stand? (4)”

In separating from the RCC and forming a multitude of national, provincial and local churches, the institutional unity of the “one, holy, catholic and apostolic church” was broken, according to the Roman Catholic view. Calvin reasoned, however, that wherever the Word of God is sincerely preached and the two sacraments are properly administered there the Church exists.

The mission motivation of God’s glory was brought to the foreground by the 17th century Dutch Reformed theologian and missiologist pioneer, Gisbertus Voetius. The three fold goal for missions was: *vocatio et conversio gentium* (the calling and conversion of the gentiles); *plantatio ecclesiae* (the planting of the church) and *Gloria et manifestatio gratiae divinae* (the glory and the manifestation of divine grace). In summary the mission of God is to glorify Himself through evangelism, church growth and the application of kingdom principles in all areas of life (5).

The Westminster Confession, Article 25 recognizes that the Church is catholic or universal. It also points out that the church will be impure.

IV. “This catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less, visible. And particular Churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them.”

V. “The purest Churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error: and some have so degenerated as to become apparently no Churches of Christ. Nevertheless, there shall be always a Church on earth, to worship God according to his will.”

The Westminster Confessions stresses the antithesis with the Papacy of the Roman Catholic Church.

VI. "There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ: nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof; but is that Antichrist, that man of sin and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God."

The 16th and 17th century Presbyterian and Reformed concept of missions was closely related to soteriological and ecclesiastical concerns. However, it was not so much in the formulation of doctrinal documents that determined the course of Reformed missions in CALA but the mercantile and cultural pursuits set the tone of what was to come.

5.2.2. Reformed Church Maintenance and Mission to the Peoples in CALA

The conclusions of chapter 4 about the cultural receptivity (4.2.2), association with slavery (4.2.3), the role of mission societies (4.2.4) and the role of nationals within the Reformed churches (4.2.5) point to an ecclesiastical maintenance model rather than a mission to the people emphasis. The development of the Dutch Reformed churches in CALA served the needs of the colonists and immigrants rather than all of the peoples present in their communities.

From 1528 to 1916 there are three main mission eras in Reformed mission to the peoples in CALA. The eras include: 1) exploratory stage (1528-1636); 2) the transplanted church age (1636-1825); and 3), the plural form church developments (1825-1916).

The first era is the exploratory stage, which goes from 1528 to 1636. This covers the time period from the first French Huguenot expeditions to the establishment of the main Dutch colony in Curacao. The Dutch Reformed in Brazil, starting in 1630, carry out missions to the people. From 1636 to 1825 there is a monolithic Reformed denominational presence, which rises and falls with the coming and going of the colonist. The second era is marked by sporadic attempts to conduct missions among non-Dutch colonists but these efforts are frustrated by the colonial powers. In 1825, the Lutherans and Reformed join to form a union church. This marks the beginning of a more plural form church structure in the Caribbean. From 1825 to 1916, we see Reformed churches migrating to a variety of South American nations and mission opportunities are initiated and developed.

For centuries the Dutch Reformed administrated missions out of the context of the classis in the Netherlands. The classis is a regional group of churches who met in the Netherlands. The classis used the West Indies Company to not only transport their missionaries but the Company was involved in minister and missionary placement, financing and administrating. On some islands the Company director was the chairman of the church council (6). Due to the WIC association with slave trading and

mercantilism as well as the general disinterest in genuine evangelism, church planting and ministry activities among non-colonist peoples, mission advancements were few.

The early efforts of the Dutch Reformed in Brazil, starting in 1630, were an exception to above mentioned observations. However, when the WIC officially approved slave trafficking in 1652, the Brazil project faltered and missions to the peoples in CALA became an afterthought.

Not until the dawn of the non-denominationally controlled mission societies such as the Moravians, Bible Societies and mission societies at the end of the 18th century and into the 19th century, where the Dutch Reformed in CALA able to go beyond the boundaries of the colonial church.

Motivation for evangelizing non-colonist was expressed by Villegaignon, the directors of the WIC, local ministers and missionaries alike. However, evangelism and church planting efforts were minimal among non-colonists from 1528-1916. Not a single Afro or Indo-American Reformed church was formed prior to 1916 as compared to the establishment of 58 Dutch and French congregations during that same time period. According to the data collected for this research, from 1556 to 1916, Dutch, Italian, Swiss and USA churches had sent 258 Reformed ministers as compared to 11 missionaries. None of the missionaries established a non-colonist church.

The efforts by the Reformed ministers and missionaries to contextualize the gospel among the peoples was minimal. The data collected for this research indicates that the Dutch language was used by 209 ministers and 11 missionaries. Thirteen ministers spoke French and 15 used Italian in their services. The English language was used in British Guyana, St. Kitts, St. Thomas and Tobago. Eight missionaries spoke Indian languages and three ministered in Spanish. By 1916, the Reformed Christians in Argentina and Brazil were beginning to use the Spanish and Portuguese languages, the dominant languages of CALA.

The largest influx of slaves and mulattos into the Reformed church during the 19th century is reported in Surinam. In Nickerie (1849), 158 free people and 1617 slaves were reported as members. By 1855, 55 free people and 686 slaves were registered (7).

The colonial church maintenance model clashed with the mission to the people model well unto the end of the 19th century. First of all, there was a resistance to having Africans and Indians be members of the colonial churches (8). Secondly, the Reformed did not establish churches for the non-colonists. Efforts to incorporate non-colonists church members were resisted by most churches (9). Ministers advocating the inclusion of non-colonists were considered suspect (10).

The Reformed churches in Aruba and Curacao, who by the mid 19th century had become an union church but who maintained a close relationship with Netherlands

Reformed ministers and members, showed signs of crossing cultural barriers. An early usage of the Papiamentu language (1858) in the church services was followed up by translating the New Testament into that language, which began in 1908.

Within Reformed Christianity in CALA there arose a clash of worldviews between those who sought to maintain the ethnic, social and class unity of the church and those who sought to bring to the church to the people. Even though ministers and members affirmed the same theological constructs, spoke the same language and participated in the same culture, their motivation for keeping the gospel ethnically pure or for bringing the gospel to all people, set them on a collision course and led them to different actions and conclusions.

5.2.3. Presbyterian Church Maintenance and Mission to the Peoples in CALA

The conclusions of chapter four indicate that the primary motivation and practice of the Presbyterians in CALA was evangelistic. This was especially true of the mission societies and later the North American denominational missions. After 1800, the Presbyterians were more concerned about planting churches than transplanting them (4.2.4). National leaders were involved from the beginning (4.2.5). More missionaries were sent than ministers to attend to the immigrants (4.3.3). The national languages were used for evangelism, preaching, literature and liturgy (4.3.5). Eventually, partnerships between the mission agencies and the national churches were formed (4.3.6).

The theological constructs of the Presbyterians were similar to the French and Dutch Reformed. The history of church development and missions of the Presbyterians is very different than the Reformed. The Presbyterian church history from 1528-1916 can be sketched in three eras: 1) the European colonial church era (1609-1800); 2) the entrance of the mission societies (1800-1859); and 3), the coming of North American denominational missionaries.

The watershed turning point in Presbyterian church and mission history happened in 1800 when the first missionaries of the Scottish Mission Society came to Jamaica. At this point, there was a departure from both the denomination controlled mission structures and the colonial church. The mission societies worked directly with the non-colonists people, like the Moravians did a century earlier.

By 1916, the Presbyterians had 61 planted churches among CALA nationals and 10 transplanted church from Europe in 24 CALA countries. This is an inverse pattern from the Netherlands Reformed planted and transplanted church data (11).

After 1800 there was a strong emphasis among the Presbyterians to reach non-colonists. In part this was due to the fact the mission society missionaries intentionally worked with non-colonists. Also, the North American missionaries had far less of a

colonists community to work with. The North Americans did not establish immigrant colonies but rather economic and imperialistic ties with the emerging CALA nations.

Presbyterians sent 41 international ministers, over 184 international ordained missionaries and 159 international lay missionaries to 21 CALA nations from 1609-1916. The Dutch Reformed send many more pastors than missionaries. Again, the absence of American colonies in the CALA meant that ministers of the gospel could concentrate on non-colonists (12)

The freedom the Presbyterians had in working with non-colonists and all peoples allowed them to enter many nations and train national leaders. From the time period under study, 116 national ministers, over 335 national workers and catechist and over 40 national missionaries were trained by the Presbyterians (13)

5.2.4. Conclusion

The Presbyterians and the Reformed had similar theological doctrines and historical experiences, yet their worldviews developed in different ways. The significant minority of Presbyterian leaders broke away from the colonial church and society. This was brought on by the Scottish non-denominational mission societies, the North American missionaries working with non-North Americans and through the planting and leadership training and planting of national church and leaders.

5.3. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND MISSION

5.3.1. Introduction

Reconciliation between the church maintenance view and mission to the people views needs to be considered for three worthy reasons. First of all, both church and missions are part of the kingdom of God. Any contradiction or conflict needs to be resolved in order to be consistent with being part of the kingdom. Secondly, sins with dire consequences were committed during the course of the Presbyterian and Reformed church and mission history. They too have to be reconciled. And finally, the Presbyterian and Reformed response to the Great Commission needs to be highlighted.

5.3.2. Reaffirmation of the Unity of Kingdom Work

This study has shown that there was a disruptive conflict among the Presbyterians and the Reformed in CALA between church maintenance and carrying out the mission to the peoples.

Missions are the extension activity of the kingdom of God on earth. God's mission (*missio Dei*) is to glorify Himself through the extension of His kingdom. The kingdom of God is theocratic in that it is God who rules (14). The rule of God, according to 16th and 17th century Reformers, is by the infallible Word of God and the illumination of the Holy

Spirit. The rule of God is represented, promoted and safe guarded through the Body of Christ, the church. The church is led by leaders who are accountable to God, to each other and the members through conciliar interactions and mutual submission to the Word of the King as authoritatively given in the Bible (15). Scripture teaches in the Great Commission that the church is to proclaim the gospel and disciple all creatures in all the nations.

All the nations (Gk: *ethne*) of the world are the object of the church and mission of God (16). The Great Commission for “making disciples of all *ethne*” (Mt. 28:19) does not refer the notion of nation building but rather the discipling of all people groups within the nations.

When the church of Jesus Christ fails to participate in the unity of church and missions it is the task of her leaders and members to call her to repentance and reconciliation. The silence of the Church in face of unrepentant sins is antithetical to her sacred calling.

Among the Reformed, the call to unite the church to the mission task was sounded by Jan Willem Kals in Surinam; George van Essen in St. Eustatius and Henricus Muller in St. Kitts. However, they were voices that were suppressed. Far more effective for uniting the church and mission task were the efforts of the missionaries of the Scottish Mission Society who were part of specialized mission agency which worked directly with the non-colonists in Jamaica starting in the 1800's.

It can be argued that the mission societies introduced ecclesiastical division in the colonies. From an denominational institutional perspective this may be so but from an overall kingdom perspective, true unity is found in common obedience to the Word and Spirit and not necessarily through institutional togetherness. Such was the unity of the early Reformers. They too had broken with sinful ecclesiastical structures, namely the Roman Catholic Church. Besides, in order for the church and mission to break away from the colonization of the church, special mission structures were necessary to bring that about.

5.3.3. Repentance of Sinful Theology and Practice

The Presbyterian and Reformed theological world views as expressed in their creeds emphasis the doctrines of grace. Without grace there would be no Presbyterians or Reformed people. Was the message of grace shared with non-Presbyterians and non-Reformed peoples?

The history of both the Presbyterians and Reformed in CALA shows that there was law breaking. However, this study will not simply seek to present the list of crimes committed but rather describe overall patterns of sin and propose resolution.

It could be said that the unwillingness to evangelize others is a sin of omission. However, there are a variety of sins of commission that contribute to such an omission.

The practices of religious and cultural apartheid are noticeable. Religious *apartheid* (Dutch word for a state of segregated separation) is seen in not allowing non-colonist to come to church, become members in the church or be trained to be leaders in the church. Cultural apartheid was most noticeable in the formation of the colonist-slave society (17).

Reconciliation in the context of religious apartheid requires that all Christians who affirm the Biblical, theological and church government constructs of the church be treated as Christians. Full church membership, opportunities for church leadership, leadership training and participation in the “priesthood of all believers,” need to be given to all who qualify. Sadly enough, emancipation had to occur in society before it occurred in many of the Reformed churches in CALA.

Cultural apartheid, the owning and trafficking of slaves, was common among Reformed colonist. The ills of slavery were denounced by such ministers as Rev. Jan Willem Kals and others. Yet, slavery persisted among Reformed colonists until well into the 19th century. Even though the Moravians, Methodists, some Baptist and Presbyterians had denounced the abusive system of slavery, far to little was said and done in Reformed churches.

One of the consequences of the Reformed association with slavery was the rejection of the Reformed church by the Afro Americans. On the other hand, the Presbyterian mission society missionaries were training Afro-Jamaican leaders starting in the 18th century. Even though the Reformed colonist had trafficked and owned hundreds of slaves since the mid 17th century, by 1916 there were no ordained Afro-American church leaders in the Reformed churches.

Religious and cultural apartheid is eliminated when national Christians are allowed to be responsible for evangelism, church planting and development and the bringing of the Christian witness into all areas of human existence. Such responsibilities were exercised by the Jamaican Presbyterians in the 19th century, as they participated in the emancipation efforts in the Jamaican society as well as the leadership in church and mission.

5.3.4. Responsibility to the Great Commission

The 16th to 19th century history of the Presbyterians and Reformed in CALA points to the absolute necessity for Christians to be fully responsible to the Great Commission (Mt. 28:16-20; Mark 16:14-18; Luke 24:36-49; John 20: 19-23 and Acts 1:1-8). This responsibility is for all Christians, both colonists and non-colonist, for Reformed and Presbyterians as well as non-Reformed Christians (18).

The responsible Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions in time period under study exhibited the following:

1. Full and unreserved submission to the authority of Scripture and the Great Commission as expressed in their allegiance to theological statements that reflected that (Belgic Confession, Art. 1-7; Westminster Confession, Chapter 1). As part of that authority, submission to the Great Commission (Mt 28:16) was professed and practiced. Evangelism, church planting and development and witnessing to Christ in all areas of life were considered as a matter of faithful obedience rather than a selective option left to the discretion of the church and colonial leaders. Such a spirit was reflected by the missionaries of the Scottish Mission Society in Jamaica during the 19th century (19).
2. The Presbyterians and Reformed seeking to serve the kingdom of God in CALA were convinced that the solution for CALA was the Christian gospel. Living for the glory of God was not only necessary for the church but also for society. The neglect of the Great Commission and the Great Commandment of Love spelled the demise of Christian witness (20).
3. A manifestation of a living faith in Jesus Christ as man's only hope for salvation and an urgency to communicate the gospel to all who will hear. Not only was this affirmed by their doctrinal creeds (Belgic Confession, Art. 22; Canons of Dort, II.5; Heidelberg Catechism, Lord's Day 11; Westminster Confession, Chapters 11-12) but in practice all means were used to evangelize all people. The 19th century history of the Presbyterians in Brazil, Guatemala and Mexico, among others, demonstrate a commitment to reach masses of people yet unreached.
4. A deep commitment to the establishment of the Church of Jesus Christ among all peoples (Belgic Confession Art. 27-35; Westminster Confession, Chapters 25-31). The Roman Catholic Church was considered antithetical to Biblical truth and Christian living; open conflict and ongoing persecution were commonplace. Church planting among all peoples, colonists and non-colonists, was promoted. Through the proper usage of the means of grace: the preaching of the Word, the administration of the two sacraments and in the exercise of church discipline, the Church was to be spiritually healthy.
5. A diversity of mission strategies was employed to reach the unreached. Churches were involved directly in missions and mission society missionaries were supported. Although the mission societies not directly under control of the denominational church were instrumental in some areas, denominational missions were responsible in some of the time periods of the church.
6. Emphasis was placed on planting the church, translating Christian literature into the language of the people, using the music and meeting styles of the peoples, training of local leadership and giving over of responsibility for the church to local leaders at an early stage, as manifested by the Canadian Presbyterians working in Grenada and Guyana in the 19th century.
7. National responsibility for evangelism, church planting, support of the local church, government of the church and the training of leaders is best exemplified by the Presbyterians in Brazil, Jamaica, Mexico and Trinidad.
8. A critical attitude toward the colonial experiment was expressed and acted upon by responsible members, ministers and missionaries such as George Bethune

(Jamaica: 1800-?); George Blyth (Jamaica: 1824-?); Guillaume Chartier (Brazil: 1557-1558); Johannes Willem Kals (1731-1733); (Henricus Muller (St. Kitts: 1774-1792); Pierre Richier (Brazil: 1557-1558); George van Essen (St. Eust. 1765-1778) among others.

9. Interdenominational and ecumenical efforts were promoted in order to establish the church and extend the mission without compromising on Biblical faithfulness and theological truth as was accomplished by Lutherans and Reformed in the Netherlands Antilles in 1825; the Bible Societies and Presbyterians in Chile and Peru; in the partnership with missionaries from other mission societies, such as with David Trumbull in Chile (1873-1889), as well as ecumenical conferences such as hosted in Panama in 1916.

10. A full use of members, ministers and missionaries are used for the extension of the gospel. The Presbyterians sent 41 international ministers, 184 international ordained missionaries and 159 international lay missionaries to 21 CALA nations from 1609-1916. During that same period, there were 116 national ministers, over 335 national workers and catechists and more than 40 national missionaries.

11. International partnerships were maintained not only as an expression of the catholicity of the church but also as a means to fulfill the Great Commission. The efforts of Robert Speer and John Mott are noteworthy as the Presbyterian church was involved in planning for worldwide missions, which led to formation of the Panama Congress for mission in 1916.

12. The mission task for the Presbyterians and Reformed in CALA is not finished. A full fledged Reformation is still to come in CALA (21).

5.3.5. Conclusion

We have the advantage of 85 years of history after the closing date of the study (1916). Did the Reformed and Presbyterians unite church maintenance and mission to the peoples? Was there genuine repentance for the sins of religious and cultural apartheid? Did the churches assume their full responsibility? There are both affirmative and non-affirmative responses. It is not the subject matter of this research to give an answer to these questions. They are questions, however, which require future research.

5.4. CONCLUSION

Even though we live about 85 years after the close of this research, the tension between church maintenance and mission to the peoples remains with us. The church maintenance model depends on foreign churches sending ministers to serve a transplanted church mostly serving persons who already are members of the church community. The mission to the people model emphasizes planting churches by nationals who are joined by international missionaries as they seek to reach and gather in the unreached and those who are not members of the church community. The transplanted churches belonging, first of all to the colonists and latter to the immigrant

communities, became institutions in CALA. W.L. Villalpando, C.L. D'Epina y and D.C. Epps study on the transplanted Protestant churches is a classic example of that (22). The planted churches, however, hold the future for the Presbyterians and the Reformed in CALA. Today there are more than one million Mexican Presbyterians. The Presbyterian church in Brazil accounts for hundreds of thousands of members. The Guatemalan Presbyterian churches are numerous.

The mission to the people's worldview has outperformed the church maintenance mindset on the long run. As the churches enter into the third millennium, may the lessons learned from the first 5 centuries serve to motivate the churches to faithfully respond to the Great Commission in the first century of the new millennium.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gailyn Van Rheenen, *Communicating Christ in Animistic Contexts* (1996), p.33, defines worldviews as: "models of reality that shape cultural allegiances and provide interpretations of the world." Van Rheenen offers a series of definition on www.missiology.org. *AOL Learn and Dictionary: Merriam Webster*. Worldview comes from the German weltanschauung (Welt) world + (Anschauung) view. It originally was used in 1868 and is defined as "a comprehensive conception or apprehension of the world especially from a specific standpoint."
2. Indigenous comes from the Latin indigenus and indigena, n., meaning a native. Originally used in 1646 and it means "having originated in and being produced, growing, living, or occurring naturally in a particular region or environment." *AOL Learn and Dictionary: Merriam-Webster*. In the Spanish-speaking context, indigenization would be an improper term since indigena refers to Indian (hence, indianization) while indigenization generally refers to the self-support, self-administration and self-propagation of the gospel. Contextualization, the placing of the church in its context or local setting, is a concept which began to be used in the 1934 (*Merriam-Webster*) in secular circles and in 1972 in theological dialogue (Shoki Coe, "Authentic contextuality leads to contextualization," *Theological Education* 9 (Summer, 1973). In theological terms, the phrase, "priesthood of all believers," is very helpful. It is the task of all of the people of God to be involved in ministry (Eph. 4:11-16). This study does not place the emphasis on the human subjects, the ethnic or cultural context but rather on the duty of each believer to advance the kingdom of God. This calls for their response and formulates their responsibility.
3. Peter Beyerhaus and Henry Lefever, *The Responsible Church and the Foreign Mission* (1964), challenged the usage of the word "self" in the traditional definition of indigenization (p. 17). The authors prefer Christonomy, the 'rule of Christ.' Another usage would be "responsible selfhood." Other terminology is available: evangelism (self-propagation), church support (self-support), church government (self-government), and church leadership training (self-training).
4. John Calvin, *Institutes of Christian Religion*, 4.2.1.

5. Harvie Conn, ed., *Theological Perspectives on Church Growth* (1976), presents a contemporary expression of Reformed theology in which the glory of God is central. CALA authors associated with the Latin American Theological Fraternity, such as Pedro Arana Quiros, Orlando Costas, Samuel Escobar and René Padilla, have written extensively about the kingdom of God and missions and have incorporated classical Reformed thought into their writings. Among their writings are: Pedro Arana Quiros (ed.) *Teología en el Camino* (1976); Orlando Costas, *Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America* (1976); Samuel Escobar, *Evangelio y Realidad Social* (1985); Emilio Nunez, *Teología de la Liberación* (1986); René Padilla, *El Reino de Dios y América Latina* (1975) and *Misión Integral* (1976). On Voetius read J.A.B. Jongeneel, “The Missiology of Gisbertus Voetius...”
6. Hartog, *op.cit.* p 53.
7. Van Dissel, *Eenige Bijzonderheden betreffende de Cristelijke Gemeente te Paramaribo* (1877), p. 9.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Van de Linde, *Het Visioen...*, pp. 34-42.
10. The Reverends Henricus Muller, George van Essen and Jan W. Kals denounced the lack of evangelization and ministry among non-colonists. Their stays were short.
11. See section 4.2.4.
12. Section 4.3.3.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, “The *basileia* of God,” *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Vol. I. Schmidt notes the relationship of the kingdom with the *kerygma* of Jesus and the apostles (p. 583).
15. Article 7 of *Belgic Confession*
16. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, “*Ethnos* in the NT,” *TDNT*, Vol. I, p. 369, “In most cases *ethnos* is used of men in the sense of a “people.” It is a general term. By means of the gospel, the ethnic barriers between the nations are removed. The gospel is for all ethnic groups.
17. From the Afrikaans context, from Dutch, from (*apart*) apart + (*heid*) hood. First used in 1947 but originating in the Dutch colonial occupation in South Africa. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*. Its meaning: “racial segregation; specifically: a policy of segregation and political and economic discrimination against non-European groups in the Republic of So. Africa.”
18. Beyerhaus, *op cit.* reviews the views of 19th and early 20th century Henry Venn, Rufus Anderson, Roland Allen, Merle Davis, Gustav Warneck and Bruno Gutmann as to indigenization. Beyerhaus and Lefever recommend the use of the word “responsible church” which we have adopted. His summary in chapter 3 point out the role of the colonial church in mission thinking. Chapter 6 is a review of the Presbyterians in Korea and specifically the Nevius method (pp 91-92). The Nevius method (John Nevius: Presbyterian missionary), initiated at the end of the 19th century, consisted of: 1) missionaries as evangelists; 2) self-propagation: each

- believer being taught and teaching someone else; 3) church self-government; 4) church self-support; 5) systematic Bible study; 6) strict discipline, including the observance of the Sunday; 7) cooperation with other bodies; 8) non-interference in private matters; 9) general economic and social helpfulness.
19. Sidney Rooy in "La evangelización protestante en América Latina," *Boletín Teológico* (December 1992), p. 237f. presents ten theses about the last 150 years of Protestant evangelization in Latin America. The ninth thesis affirms the importance of the Bible, education and preaching. "During the first century of Protestant expansion, education through the schools, the reading of the Bible and the sermons were the most privileged methods for missions."
 20. Rooy's thesis number five affirms that the predominant conception of the immigrant churches as well as the mission churches was the belief that the spiritual values and morals of the Protestant society was the key to the solution of not only the religious problems in Latin America but also the solution to the economic crisis (poverty and misery), political crisis (authoritarianism and corruption) and cultural crisis (ignorance and superstition (p. 45). Rooy's sixth thesis responds to this study's observation that the transplanted churches were extension of the colonial ethos. Rooy observes that in light of the traditional (Protestant) churches, both their immigrant and mission churches coupled with the tendency of the Roman Catholic Church to defend their own traditions, hierarchy and rites, and with the failure of both to respond to the needs of the growing sector of marginalized peoples, Pentecostalism arose as a religious alternative which was able to integrate with them.
 21. Rooy's final theses (number 10) is very revealing. He states that the evangelical churches have not been able to reconstruct a world view which is coherent with the social and religious crisis of the last decades, a world view which includes the cultures of the Indians, the *mestizas* and the whites in a new social project. In order to accomplish this it will be necessary to be clear about the fundamental principles of the kingdom of God, to have courage to denounce the idols and myths of our society, and to have a vision of a new way (not the last one) which will help us to advance. This requires nothing more than a new way to be the church of Jesus Christ, a community that knows how to share and receive His grace and His presence wherever it is manifested.
 22. W.L. Villalpando, *et. al.*, *Las Iglesias del trasplante: Protestantismo de inmigración en la Argentina* (1970).

APPENDICES

1. LIST OF REFORMED AND PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS AND MISSIONARIES IN CALA (1557-1916)

The appendix of ministers and missionaries will be given according to the section referred to in the thesis. When full names and dates are not known, the available information is noted, in the hope of completing the information by further research. Sources are listed by the author's name. The first name listed is the major source. Differences will be noted. Page numbers of sources are available in the footnotes which correspond to the section listed. (*) refers to missionaries who died on the mission field.

REFORMED CHURCHES AND MISSIONS (1555-1916)

DUTCH, FRENCH, ITALIAN, NORTH AMERICAN REFORMED IN CALA.

2.2.2. THE VILLEGAINON EXPEDITION TO COLIGNY (French Huguenots)

Sources: Lery, Rooy, Schalkwijk, Velse

Rev. Pierre Richier (1557-1558): sent by Genevan church

Rev. Guillaume Chartier (1557-1558): sent by Genevan church. Jean du Bourdel*, Matthieu Vernueil* and Pierre Bourdon*, were the first martyrs, Feb. 1558, at the hands of Villegaignon. Jean Le Balleur was martyred in Rio de Janiero, 1567.

2.3.2.7. SURINAM (French Huguenots)

Sources: Marcus, Ort

Rev. Gideon Fleurnois (1685): deacon and teacher

Rev. Jean Briffault (1687-1692): (Marcus: 1690)

Rev. P. d' Albas (1683-1684)

Rev. Fleurnois (1685)

Rev. Pierre Terson (1693-1697): missionary to Arrowaken Indians

Rev. Pierre Saurin (1697-1707)

Rev. Balthasar Morcas (1697)

Rev. J. Fauvarque (1708-1710)

Rev. Grob (?)

Rev. David Estor (1712-1731)

Rev. Petrus Yver (1730-1739)

Rev. Audra (1741-1742)

Rev. de Liège (1743-1744)

Rev. Duvoisin (1746-1750)

Rev. J.J. Sporon (1751-1756)

Rev. le Fère (1757-1760)

Rev. Elie Pierre Royere (1762-1764)

2.3.3.2. GUYANA (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Bisnauth, McGowan

Rev. Johannes Fronderdorff (1736-?)

Rev. G. Ryk (in Guyana in 1808-?)

2.3.3.3. BRAZIL (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Joosse, Schalkwijk

Rev. Joachimus Vincentius Soler (1636-1644): Recife among French colonists

Rev. David van Dooreslaer (1638-1643): in Paraiba-Goiana area

Rev. Johannes Eduardus (1639-1643): in Paraiba- Goiana area

Rev. Thomas Kempius (1635-1636; 1641-1654): teacher in Paraiba and later preacher: died

Rev. Dionísio Biscareto (1640-1648): in Paraiba as teacher and later as preacher.

Rev. Gilbertus de Vau (1640-1648): among French in Recife and later among Indians in Goiana

Rev. Nicolas Ketel (1640-1645): among Angolans from 1642-1643.

Salvador de Bahia

Rev. Enoch Sterthenius (1624-25)

Rev. Hermanus Wisman (1624)*

Rev. Valentinus Artopaeus (1624-25)

Rev. Jonas Michaelis (1624-1625)

Rev. Johannes Neander (1624)*

Rev. Jan Cornelis Pick (1624)

Northeast

Rev. Johannes Baers (1630)

Rev. Jacobus Martini (1630)*

Rev. Lambertus Latonius (1630-1631)

Rev. Christianus Wachtelo (1630-1635)

Rev. Wilhelmus Pistorius (1630-1633)

Rev. Cornelius Leoninus (1631-1632)

Rev. Jodocus à Stetten (1632-1647)

Rev. Conradus Cleve (1633)*

Rev. (Cornelius)? (1633-1634)

Rev. Daniel Neveu (1634-1636?)

Rev. Samuel Bachiler (1634-1647)

Rev. Daniel Schagen (1634-1637)

Rev. Johannes Osterdag (1634-1639)
 Rev. Samuel Folckerius (1635-1637)
 Rev. Johannes Theodorus Polhemius (1635-1654)
 Rev. Cornelis van der Poel (1635?-1646)
 Rev. Jacobus Dapper (1637-1639, 1625)
 Rev. Fredericus Kessler (1637-1643)
 Rev. Franciscus Plante (1637-1644)
 Rev. Jan Michiels (1638-1640)
 Rev. Antoni Claesz (1639)*
 Rev. Pieter Jansz Lantman (1639-1640)*
 Rev. Rabirius Eeckholt (1639-1642)*
 Rev. Fredericus Vitteus (1639-1641)
 Rev. Nicolaus Vogel (1639-1647)
 Rev. Caspar Velthusen (1640-1646)
 Rev. Johannes Offringa (1640-1651)*
 Rev. Petrus Ongena (1640-1654)
 Rev. Cornelius Leoninus (1640-1644, 1647-1652?)
 Rev. Samuel Coninck (1640-1642)
 Rev. Petrus Doornick (1640-1643)
 Rev. Johannes Haselbeeck (1641-1645)
 Rev. Dionísio Biscareto (1642-1648)
 Rev. Lamertus Ritsma (1643)*
 Rev. Jacobus Cralingius (1644-1645)
 Rev. Meindert Henricks (1645-1646)
 Rev. Henricus Hermanius (1645-1654)
 Rev. Petrus Bribius (1646-1648)
 Rev. Johannes Apricus (1646-1654)
 Rev. Wilhelmus Cammius (1648-1649)
 Rev. Jacobus Clavius (1653-1654)

Schalkwijk registers 109 comforters of the sick and readers from 1624-1654)

2.3.3.4. CURACAO (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Gilhuis, Hartog, Smith

Fortkerk (Fort Church) in Curacao:

Rev. Fredericus Vitteus (1635-1639) (Hartog adds 1639)
 Rev. Jonas Aertsz (1640-1642)
 Rev. Johannes Corn. Backer (1642-1649) (Hartog cites 1648): later went to New Amsterdam
 Rev. Charles de Rochefort (1649) (Smith cites 1648): as visiting minister
 Rev. Michael Syperius (not mentioned by Smith)
 Rev. Andrianus van Beaumont (1659-1663) (Smith dates beginning at 1658)

Rev. Wilhelmus Volckringth (1664-1668)
 Rev. Philipus Specht (1668-1676), rector of Kuilenburg, was Lutheran
 Rev. Theo. a Dobben (1678) (not cited by Smith)
 Rev. Nicolaas Verkuyl (1679-1713): in Yarmouth, *
 Rev. Henricus (1713, 1714-1717) *
 Rev. Theodorus van Cambron (1713-1726)*
 Rev. Johannes Ferrarius (1727-1728) (Smith cites 1726 as beginning)
 Rev. Nathan Erichson (1728-1729) (Hartog cites 1729 only)
 Rev. Wigboldus Rasveld (1730-1757): former preacher in St. Thomas, died in Curacao
 Rev. Johannes Ellis (1751-1758): first Antillian Reformed minister, born in St. Eustatius
 Rev. Rudolf Wildrik (1758-1765) went to St. Eustatius and returned in 1778
 Rev. Johannes Stephanus Brands (1758-1759)*
 Rev. Lambertus Lunterbos (1761)
 Rev. Warnoldus Kuijpers (1764-1768)*
 Rev. Abraham Wijngers (1767-1768): before in Yzendijke
 Rev. Johannes Ellis (1768-1784): was in Curacao, went to St. Eustatius and returned in 1768 *
 Rev. Johan Caspar Adolf Quast (1770-1783): formerly preacher in Schwanenberg, Germany
 Rev. Isaac Anthonie Sporon (1784-1785): Hartog cites 1787 as last year of ministry. *
 Rev. Rudolf Wildrik (1785-1794): second term in Curacao, returned from St. Eustatius*
 Rev. Hermanus Arnoldus Idema (1786-1787)
 Rev. Johan Caspar Adolf Quast (1790): second time *
 Rev. Dionysius Johannes Godefridus de la Houssaye (1796)(Smith mentions from 1796 to 1799).
 Rev. Pieter van Esch (1800-1808)
 Rev. Peter Will (1810-1816): English preacher
 Rev. Gerardus Balthazar Bosch (1816-1825)

The United Protestant Church (joined with Lutherans in 1825):

Rev. Gerardus Balthazar Bosch (1825-1836): formerly Dutch Reformed
 Rev. Jacob Muller (1825-1841): formerly Lutheran church* Rev. Cornelis Conradi (1837-1855): in 1855 went to Paramaribo, Surinam
 Rev. Arend I.K. Meyer (1842-1847)(Smith adds: 1849-1851)
 Rev. Jan H. Betting (1847-1851)
 Rev. Sybrand van Dissel (1855-1865): in 1865 went to Paramaribo
 Rev. Gerrit Jan Simons H. A. (1865-1872)*
 Rev. Johan Paul Englert (Smith: Engleris) (1869-1880)
 Rev. Frans Fernindand Sonstral (1873-1880): went to Nickerie in 1883.
 Rev. Herman Frederik Hamelberg (1880-1889)
 Rev. A. Tydeman (1882-1891): In 1877 in St. Sebastien; Waldensian preacher in Maastricht 1879; West Indies preacher in 1891; minister in Padang 1892
 Rev. Hendrik Snel (1892-1893)
 Rev. A van den Hoeven (1892-1902)

Rev. Hendrik van den Brink (1896-1902)
Rev. M.H.J. Bosch van Loenen (1906-1915)
Rev. Wichard van den Brink (1908-1918): son of Rev. H. van den Brink; minister in Bonaire (1901), Aruba (1902)

2.3.3.5. SURINAM (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Dissel, Knappert, Marcus, Ort, Van der Linde
(NHK ministers who were sent to the Ev. Luth. church in Paramaribo are not listed.)

Reformed congregation in Paramaribo:

Rev. Johannes Baseliers (1667-1673)(Marcus dates:1668-1687)
Rev. Francois Chaillou (1673-1681) (Ort: 1671-1681)
Rev. Andriaan Backer (1679-1680) (Ort: 1682-1683)
Rev. Jacobus van Beynum (1684-85)
Rev. Boreland (1685-1688): proponent
Rev. Antonius Ketelaer (1687-1688)
Rev. Hermanus Rosinus (1688-1695) (Marcus has 1687-1694, Ort: 1687-1695)
Rev. Wachtendorp (1695-?)
Rev. Van Staveren (n.d.)
Rev. Wolffsen (1692)
Rev. Noach Barbary (1694) (Ort:1693-94)
Rev. Franciscus van Wijngaarden (1697-1704)
Rev. Christoffel Nucella (1697-1705)
Rev. Cornelis Voltelen (1706)*
Rev. Boetius Moda (1707-1708)
Rev. Diederik Jacob Engel (1710-1713)
Rev. Bouman Rosier (1713)
Rev. Abraham Egidius Engel (1713-1734)*
Rev. Emanuel Vieira (1729-1731 and 1758-1760)*
Rev. Martinus Kleijn (1731-1733)(Ort:1732-1734)
Rev. Johannes Willem Kals (1731-1733)
Rev. Georgius Wilhelmus Montanus (1734-1738): died
Rev. Petrus Yver (1743-1763)* (Ort: 1741-1753)
Rev. Lambertus de Ronde (1746-1750)
Rev. Eggo Fonkes (1743-1744, 1749)
Rev. Lambertus Doesburgh (Ort: 1751-1756)
Rev. Johannes van der Gaegh (1759-1760) (Ort:1752-1760)
Rev. Daniel Schouten (1762-1763)* (Ort:1763-1764)
Rev. Timotheus Holscher (1756-1764)* (1756-1760)
Rev. Elie Pierre Royer (1764-1767)(Ort:1765-1767)
Rev. Sugnens (1765-1771)
Rev. Jacob Tallans (1768-1777)*
Rev. Lepper (1770-1778)

Rev. Grob (Ort:1772-1783)
Rev. Snijderhans (1774-1780)
Rev. Jan Antony Aemilius (1769-1770, 1778)
Rev. J.C. de Cross (1780-1781)
Rev. W. Schierbeek (1781-1785)*
Rev. Jean Samuel C. Donkerman (1785)* (Ort: 1783-1785)
Rev. Apollonius Adrianus Sporon (1783-1789)* (Ort:1783-85)
Rev. A. Groenevelt (1786-1800): died
Rev. David Salainder Lapra (1793-1796)*
Rev. Abraham van Tricht (1801-1802)
Rev. P.J. van Esch (1809-1814)
Rev. Henricus Uden Masman (1815-1826)
Rev. Andries Roeloffsz (1827-1851)
Rev. C. Conradi (1856-1876)
Rev. A. Betting (1851-1852)
Rev. Cornelis de Best (1863-1865): secession
Rev. Berend Veenstra (1862-1865): secession
Rev. S. van Dissel (1865-1876)
Rev. F.C.A. Hoogvliet (1877-1887)*
Rev. J.C. Zaalberg (1876-1885)
Rev. A. Winold de Wilde (1886-1888)
Rev. H.H. Zaalberg (1888-1901)
Rev. Ph. Begemann (1890-1903)
Rev. Rev. H. Burskool (1904-1913)

Reformed congregation in Commewijne:

Rev. De Ronde (?)
Rev. Andriaan Backer (1680-1682)
Rev. Antonius Ketelaer (1688-1692)
Rev. Henricus Rosinus (1687-1688)

Reformed congregation in Cottica en Perica:

Rev. Paulus Cleij (1691-1695)*
Rev. Aegidius de Hoy (1696-1697) (Marcus has 98 and Ort 99 as death)
(Candidate) van Meij (1697-1704)
Rev. Emanuel Vierira (1743-1758)
Rev. Martinus Kleijn (1733-?)
Rev. Petrus Yver (1739-1743)
Rev. J.C. de Cross (1770?-1781, 1781-1799) (Marcus notes that church closed in 1791)

Reformed congregation in Thorarica:

Rev. Bernard Termaath (1667-1699)
Reformed congregation in Saramacca:

Rev. Coupin (1845-1846)
Rev. van den Brandhoff (1845-1854)

Reformed congregation in Nickerie:

Missionary F.A. Wix (1823-?) (sent by Nederlandse Zendingsgenootschap)
Rev. Batenburg (1858-?)
Rev. F.W.H. Laret (1869-1882): retired in 1882
Rev. Sonstrall (1883-1892)
Rev. Steenmeijer (1897-?)
Rev. H.W. Eldermans (1913-1921)

2.3.3.6.2. ST. EUSTATIUS (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Joose, Knappert, Smith for all Neth. Ant.

Candidate van Meija (1630) (De Mey: Joose)

Rev. Johannes Osdorius (1699)
Rev. Anthony Kowan (1701-1740)
Rev. Johannes Ellis (1758- 1768)
Rev. George van Essen (1742-1764)
Rev. Rudolf Wildrik (1765-1778)
Rev. Conrad Schwiars (1778-1780)
Rev. Johan Hendrik Reneman (1785-1787)*
Rev. Roelof Brill (1789-1792)
Rev. F.W.H. Laret (1856-1860)

2.3.3.6.3. TOBAGO (Netherlands Reformed)

Source: Joose

Rev. Johannes Petrus Mijlyser (1630)

2.3.3.6.4. ST. MARTIN (Netherlands Reformed)

Source: Knappert

6 ministers from 1739-1789

2.3.3.6.5. ST. THOMAS (Netherlands Reformed and RCA)

Source: Van den Berge

Rev. Oliandus (1685-88)
Rev. Christian Strumphias (1712-18)
Rev. Isaac Grovewold (1718)
Rev. Arnoldus van Drummen (1733-36)
Rev. Johannes Borm (1737-44)
Rev. John Paldamus (1744-52)
Rev. John A. Monteneag (1752-63)
Rev. G.J. Scheers (1763-84)
Rev. Johannes Willem Brand (1772-1778)
Rev. Francis M. Verboom (1784-1812)

In 1827 taken over by the RCA: source: Van den Berge

Rev. Abraham Labagh (1828-41)
Rev. Phillip M. Brett (1842-45)
Rev. John P. Knox (1845-54)
Rev. Theodore F. Wyckoff (1854-55)
Rev. E. Whittlesey (1854-55)
Rev. W.O. Allen (1855-74)
Rev. William Anderson (1874-78)
Rev. P.McQueen (1874-78)
Rev. W.O. Allen (1878-82)
Rev. Anseon Du Bois (1882-86)
Rev. Andrew J. Hageman (1887-90)
Rev. John C. Lowe (1890)
Rev. Engelbert C. Oggel (1890-93)
Rev. James Foster (1894-97)
Rev. James C. Hume (1897-99)
Rev. Andrew M Arcularius (1899-1901)
Rev. Clarence M Perlee (1902-11)
Rev. A.H. Leslie (1916-18)

2.3.3.6.6. ST. KITTS (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Knappert

9 ministers including Henricus Muller (1774-1792)

Rev. R. van Vlierden (RCA)

2.3.3.6.7. SABA (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Knappert

Rev. Josias Jacques (1736-1739)
Rev. Hugh Knox (1755-1771)

2.3.3.6.8. ST. JOHN (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Knappert

3 ministers in St. John

2.3.3.6.9. ARUBA (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Knappert

The United Protestant Church congregation in Oranjestad:

Mr. Klaas van Eekhout (1822-1831): religious instructor
Mr. Abraham van Dragt (1843-1848): religious instructor
Rev. Nicolaas A. Kuipéri (1858-1871)
Mr. Evert Lodewijk Zeppenfeldt (1871-1877): religious instructor
Rev. Johannes Emilius van Duyneveldt (1887-1901)
Rev. Wichard van den Brink (1902-1907)
Rev. Gerrit J. Eybers (1908-1917)

2.3.3.6.10. BONAIRE (Netherlands Reformed)

Sources: Hartog, Smith

Rev. G.B. Bosch (1822) as visiting minister
Mr. Willem Frederik Meinhart (1849-1860, 1868-1877): religious instructor
Rev. Willem Frederik Hendrik Laret (1860-1868)
Mr. Marinus L. Stadius van Eps (1878-1882): religious instructor
Rev. Karel Supheert (1892-1898)
Rev. Wichard van den Brink (1901-1902)
Rev. J.J. Muis (1903-1904)

2.3.4. URUGUAY AND ARGENTINA (Waldensians)

Source: Comba, Dalmas, Thron-Ganz

Waldensian Evangelical Church of Ri'o de la Plata:

Rev. Miguel Morel (1860-1865)
Rev. Juan Pedro Michelin Salmon (1870-1874)
Rev. Daniel Armand Ugon (1877-1925)

Rev. Pedro Bounous (1882-1892)
Rev. Aquiles Monnett (1890-1890)
Rev. Enrique Beux (1895-1938)
Rev. Pablo Lantaret (1896-1897)
Rev. Felipe Guigo (1897-1901)
Rev. Pablo Davit (1901-1919)
Rev. Benjamin Pons (1905-1912)
Rev. Levy Tron (1920-1933)
Rev. David Forneron (1880-1912)
Rev. Julio Tron (1914-1921)

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES AND MISSIONS IN CALA (1609-1916)

The name of the national church will be listed. Chart 3.1. summarizes the names of the mission agencies.

ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS IN CARIBBEAN

3.2.2.2. BERMUDA (Presbyterian Church in Bermuda)

Source: Smith

Rev. George Keith (1609-?): from Presbyterian with Church of England
Rev. Lewis Huges (1613-1620; 1622-1625): with Church of England
Rev. Nathaniel White (1644-?): Warwick
Rev. James Paul (1720-50): Warwick
Rev. John Maltby (1750-68): from Presbytery of New York
Rev. Alexander Ewing (1771-78): from Presbytery of New York
Rev. Oliver Deming (1771-78): from Presbytery of New York
Rev. John Dalziel (1779-80)
Rev. James Muir (1781-87): Scottish ord. by London Presbytery
Rev. Enoch Matson (1771-1831): from Presbytery of Baltimore
Mr. Thomas Dickson (1822-23) assistant
Rev. George Galloway (1796-1834): GMS missionary
Rev. Alexander O Greig (1835-38): GMS missionary
Rev. James Morrison (1839-49): with Presbyt. of Halifax
Mr. Francis Landey Patton (1843-1932): preacher
Rev. James Adam (1850-51): FCS
Dr. Alexander Forester (1851): from Presbytery of Halifax
Rev. Adam Muir (1852): from Boston and St. Johns
Rev. Walter Thornburn (1852-81): FCS
Rev. Alexander Brown Thompson (1886-88): FCS
Rev. William R. Notham (1889-93): FCS
Rev. Alexander Christie (1893-1903): FCS
Rev. Jacob Layton (1903-1904): from Presbytery of Halifax

Dr. A.B. Cameron (1904-1919): UFCS

Not all missionaries with GMS are mentioned.

REC sends one minister in 1890.

3.2.2.4. JAMAICA (United Church of Jamaica and Grand Cayman)

Sources: Dunn, Hewat

Rev. George Bethune (1800-?)

Ebenezer Reid (1800-?)

Rev. George Blyth (1824-?)

Rev. Hope Waddell (1827-1845): went to Africa

Rev. James Watson (1827-?)

Rev. John Chamberlain (1827- ?)

Rev. James Paterson (?)

Mr. Niven (1845-?): Grand Cayman

Rev. James Elmslie (-?-): Grand Cayman

Rev. John Simpson (1831-?)

Rev. John Cowan (1832-?)

Rev. John Radcliffe (1848-92)

Mr. Morrison (1900-22)

Church yearbook mentions more than 20 missionaries but not all names available.

40 Jamaicans were sent to Nigeria since 1845.

By 1900 there were 14 national pastors. Names not mentioned.

3.2.2.6. TRINIDAD (Church of Scotland in Trinidad)

Sources: Hamid, Mount

Rev. Alexander Kennedy (1836-50): USCS

Rev. George Brodie (1845-?): USCS

Rev. James Robertson ((1845-?): Presbytery of Trinidad

Rev. Henrique Vieira (1854-?): FCS

Rev. George Lambert (1862-?)

Rev. W.F. Dickson (1862-?)

Rev. Walker and several others.

USA PRESBYTERIANS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Some of the Presbyterian ministers served in Reformed churches.

3.2.3.2. BERMUDA (see 6.2.2.2)

Source: Smith

Rev. John Maltby (1750-68): Presbt. of New York
Rev. Oliver Deming (1771-78): Presbyt. of New York
Rev. Enoch Matson (1771-1831): Presbyt. of Baltimore

3.2.3.3. SABA (Netherlands Reformed Church)

Sources: Hartog, Knappert

Rev. Hugh Knox (1755-71): Presbyt. Ch. of England in New York to Netherlands Reformed Church in Saba

3.2.3.4. ST. MARTIN (Netherlands Reformed Church)

Source: Hartog

Rev. John Runnels (1770' s): Presbyt. of New York to Netherlands Reformed Church

3.2.3.5. TRINIDAD (Presbyterian Church in Trinidad)

Source: Morton

3.2.3.6. CUBA (Presbyterian Church of Cuba)

Source: Annual Reports of PCUSABFM

Rev. Evaristo Collazo (Cuban)
Rev. Julio Fuentes (Cuban)
Dr. Green (1901-17)
Rev. H.G. Smith (?)
By 1917-2 missionaries.

3.2.3.7. PUERTO RICO (Presbyterian Church in Puerto Rico)

Source: Annual Report of PCUSABFM

Rev. Milton E. Caldwell (1899-?)
Rev. J. Milton Green (1900-?)
Miss Dawson (1900-?)
Miss Godward (1900-?)
Rev. Judson L. Underwood (1900-?)
Rev. John Knox Hall (1901-02)

Rev. James Greer Woods (1901-?)
Dr. Grace Atkins (?)
Rev. Donald McLaren of American Bible Society
Mr. Joseph W. Jarvis (colporteur)
Rev. James A. McAllister (1901-43)
Rev. Howard T. Jason: (first black minister)

By 1902, Puerto Rico Presbytery of New York Synod was formed.
By 1911- 11 ordained missionaries, 18 teachers and 7 medical staff were active.

National pastors: Rev. Antonio B. Hernandez (1868-?)
By 1914, 6 national pastors.

3.2.4.2. TRINIDAD (Presbyterian Church in Trinidad)

Sources: Doodnath, Hamid, Mount, Seesaran.

Missionaries:

Rev. John Morton (1868-1912)*
Rev. Kenneth Grant (1870 - ?)
Rev. Thomas Christie (1874-1883)
Rev. J.W. McLeod (1881- ?)_
Rev. John Knox Wright (1884-1888)
Rev. W.L. Mccrea (1886-1904)
Rev. F.J. Coffin (1889-1904)
Rev. A.W. Thompson (1891-1911)
Rev. S.A. Fraser (1894-1915;1916-1918; 1919-1922)
Rev. Harvey H. Morton (1901-1936)
Rev. James Scrimgeour (1904-1912; 1927-?)
Rev. W.J. Jamieson (1905-1915):* (Doodnath: 1906 as starting date)
Rev. W.I. Green (1910-1919; 1922-31)
Rev. Hector F. Kemp (1912-?)
Rev. J.C. MacDonald (1914-1929)
Miss Annie Blackadder (1876-)
Miss Hilton (1884-1886)
Miss Semple (1883-1889)
Miss Copeland (1884-1889)
Miss M. Archibald (1886-1887)*
Miss A.S. Archibald (1889-)
Miss Graham (1889-1891)
Miss Fisher (1890-1900)
Miss Kirkpatrick (1891-1897)
Miss Sinclair (1894-1899)
Miss Layton (1900-1902)

Miss Mc. Cunn (1901-1906)

National ministers:

Rev. Babu Lal Behari (1875-1882: pd. catechist) (1882-1915: minister)

Rev. Charles Bless Ragbir (1888-1893)

Rev. David Ujagar Singh (1896-)

Rev. Paul Bhukhan (1896-1906)

Rev. Andrew Gayadeen (1896-1912)

Rev. D. Ujagarsingh (1896-1903)

Rev. C.O. Lalla (1915-)

Rev. Henry Ramcharan (1915-)

Rev. Henry Laltoo (1915-)

Rev. James Rameshwar (1915-)

Rev. C.W. Pragsingh (1915-)

Rev. Charles Ramrattan (1915-)

3.2.4.3. ST. LUCIA (Presbyterian Church in Trinidad)

Source: Morton

Rev. James Cropper (1896-)

ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

3.3.2.2. BRITISH GUYANA (Presbytery of Guyana)

Source: Bisnauth

Rev. Archibald Brown (1818-?)

Rev. Thomas Slater (?)

15 catechists mentioned

3.3.2.3. ARGENTINA (Scottish Presbyterian Church of Argentina)

Source: Villalpando

Rev. William Brown

Rev. John Davidson

Rev. Thomas Guthrie

Rev. James Smith

By 1910, 4 active missionaries in 5 congregations

3.3.2.4. BELIZE (Presbyterian Church of Belize)

Source: Nelson

Rev. David Arthur (1825-76): FCS

3.3.2.5. PERU (Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Peru)

Source: Arana

Dr. John Mackay (1916-1926): FCS

UNITED STATES PRESBYTERIANS IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Northern Presbyterians (PCUSA)

3.3.3.1.2. ARGENTINA (PCUSA)

Source: PCBFM Annual Reports

Rev. Thomas L' Hombral (1853)

3.3.3.1.3. COLOMBIA (Presbyterian Church of Colombia)

Source: PCUSABFM Annual Reports

Rev. and Mrs. H.B. Pratt (1856-59)

Rev. Thomas Wallace (1857-?)

Miss Ana Duncan

Rev. and Mrs. Samuel Sharpe (1858-60)

Rev. and Mrs. William McLarens (1860-63)

Rev. and Mrs. Paul Pitkin (1866-?)

Miss Kate McFaren (1869-?)

Mr. A.H. Edwin (?)

Mrs. Lad (?)

Rev. and Mrs. Willis Weaver (1875-)

Rev. and Mrs. Thomas Candor (1886-)

Rev. and Mrs. Alex Allen

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Warren

Rev. and Mrs. Grover V. Hoogestratt

Miss L.W. Quimby

Miss Florence M. Sayer

Rev. and Mrs. W.S. Lee

Miss Martha B. Hunter

Rev. and Mrs. Clifford A. Douglas

Miss J.R. Morrow

Rev. and Mrs. T.E. Barber

Mr. and Mrs. J.H. Cruickshank
Rev. and Mrs. Charles S. Williams
Rev. and Mrs. John L. Jarrett
Rev. and Mrs. Edward C. Austin
Rev. and Mrs. J.G. Touzeau (1889-?)

By 1917, 27 missionaries (calculated 15 ordained and 12 lay missionaries), 38 national helpers, 4 national pastors
3.3.3.1.4. BRAZIL (Presbyterian Church of Brazil, Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil)

Sources: Annual reports of PCUSBFM and PCUSABFM, Prien

Missionaries:

Dr. Robert Reid Kalley (1855-?): Scot. Presbyt.
Evangelist William Pitt (1855-?): Engl. Presbyt.
Rev. and Mrs. Ashbel Green Simonton (1859-1867): PCUSA
Mrs. Helen Simonton (1863-64)*
Rev. and Mrs. Alexander Latimer Blackford (1860-1890)
Rev. and Mrs. Francis Joseph C. Schneider (1861-?)
Rev. and Mrs. George Whitehill Chamberlain (1865-?)
Rev. and Mrs. H. McKee (1867-?)
Rev. and Mrs. E.N. Pires (1868-69)
Rev. and Mrs. Lenington (1868-?)
Miss Mary Dascomb (1869-?)
Rev. E. Vanorden (1873-?)
Miss Ella Kuhl (1875-?)
Rev. and Mrs. D.M. Hazlett (1876-?)
Rev. and Mrs. J. Houston (1876-?)
Rev. Pinkerton (?)*
Mr. James Dick (?)*
Rev. B. Howell (1876-?)
Rev. and Mrs. L. Bickerstaph
Rev. and Mrs. H.P. Midkiff
Rev. Dr. and Mrs. W.A. Waddell
Rev. and Mrs. A.C. Salley
Mrs. Mary H. Hallock
Rev. and Mrs. Charles A. Carriel
Miss Jean Stoner
Rev. and Mrs. J.B. Kolb
Rev. Dr. and Mrs. T.J. Porter
Rev. and Mrs. Phillip S. Landers
Rev. and Mrs. George.A. Landis
Dr. Horace Lane

Rev. and Mrs. H.C. Anderson
Mr. and Mrs. Reese
Mr. Bixler
Mr. and Mrs. H.J. McCall
Miss Carrie Jayne
Miss E.R. Williamson
Rev. Franklin F. Graham
Rev. and Mrs. Clements
Rev. and Mrs. Edgar Short
Dr. and Mrs. Welcome Wood

National church pastors mentioned:

Rev. Josao Manael da Conceica (min:1865-?)
Mr. Eduardo Carlos Pereira
Rev. M.P.B. Carvalhosa
Rev. Rodolpho Fernandez
Rev. Augusto Dourado
Rev. Joao Capistrano (there are more pastors prior to 1916).

3.3.3.1.5. MEXICO (National Presbyterian Church of Mexico)

Sources: Centenario, PCUSABFM annual reports

Missionaries:

Rev. and Mrs. Paul Pitkin (1872-73)
Rev. and Mrs. M.N. Hutchinson (1872-80)
Miss Ellen Allen (1872-76)
Mrs. James Pascoe (1872-?)
Rev. and Mrs. Henry C. Thompson (1872-92)
Rev. and Mrs. Maxwell Phillips (1873-80)
Miss Miriam E. Leason (1876-79)
Miss Mary G. Forbes (1877-80)
Miss Leonie Hennequin (1877-81)
Rev. and Mrs. T.F. Wallace (1878-1910)
Rev. and Mrs. Augustus P. Keil (1879-82)
Miss Abbie D. Cochran (1879-82)
Rev. Jothan.D. Steward (1875-99), married Dionisia Ponce in 1880
Rev. and Mrs. Isaac Polhemus (1879-81)
Miss Fanny C. Snow (1881-86)
Rev. and Mrs. Joseph Milton Greene (1881-92)
Miss Laura M. Latimer (1881-83)
Rev. and Mrs. Luiji DeJesi (1882-84)
Rev. and Mrs. Rollo Ogden (1882-83)

Rev. Samuel Wilson (1882-84)
 Rev. Marion E. Beall (1883-92)
 Mrs. Jeanette Porter Beall (1883-85)*
 Mrs. Mary E. Cochran Beall (1879-92): mentioned above
 Miss Dora Burdick (1883-84)
 Miss Kate McFarren (1884-85)
 Rev. and Mrs. Isaac Boyce (1884-96;1897-1911), Mrs. died in 1910)*
 Rev. and Mrs. Hubert W. Brown (1884-1906)
 Miss Effie M. Coopwood (1884-85)
 Rev. and Mrs. Edward M. Haymaker (1884-87)
 Miss Andrea M. Prevost Cos'io (1884-86)
 Mr. C.D. Smith (1885-1893): Printer for El Faro
 Miss Fannie E. Ward (1885-88)
 Miss Virginia A. Dissosway (1886-88)
 Miss Mildred H. McKnight (1886-87)
 Miss Annetta May Bartlett (1887-96)
 Miss Abel Elliot (1887-91)
 Rev. and Mrs. Ralston Irwin (1887-88)
 Miss Jennie Wheeler (1888-92)
 Miss Ella DeBaun (1889-97)
 Rev. Dr. William (1890-1934) and Mrs.(1895-1926)*
 Miss M.L. Hammond (1891-93)
 Miss Edna Johnston (1892-1903)
 Rev. Calvin Scott (1892-1912) and Mrs. Medora (1893-1912) Rev. and Mrs. James
 Greer Woods (1892-96)
 Miss Lelia Roberts (1893-)
 Rev Charles Danford (1893-99)* and Mrs. Myrthie (1893-1907) Rev. and Mrs James A.
 Dodds (1893-95)
 Rev. Charles C. (1893-1907) and Mrs. Margaret (1896-1907) Millar
 Miss E. Mitchell (1896-)
 Rev. George (1896-1902) and Mrs. Florence (1897-1902) Johnstone
 Rev. Walter H. (1896-1906) and Mrs. Margeret (1899-1906) Semple
 Rev. and Mrs. William Vanderbilt (1896-1917)
 Miss Maggie Fleming (1897-98)
 Miss Clara Browing (1897-1907)
 Miss Mary McDormid (1897-1909)
 Miss Mary Frances Turner (1898-1931)
 Miss Mary Kate Spencer (1899-1923)
 Rev. Charles (1900-23) and Mrs. Tabitha (1902-23) Petrán
 Rev. and Mrs. Edwin McDonald (1902-06)
 Rev. John T. (1902-30)* and Mrs. Minnie (1902-35) Molloy
 Prof. Robert A. (1903-42) and Mrs. Lena (1909-42) Brown
 Miss Rena R. Cathcart (1906-14)
 Miss Mary Beckwith (1906-1909)
 Rev. and Mrs. Lansing Bloom (1907-08)

Rev. and Mrs. Newell Elliot (1907-24)
Miss Anna Mary Hunt (1907-10)
Miss Anita Boyce (1909)
Miss Windel (1909-)
Miss Emma Weidaw (1909-10)
Miss Blance B. Bonine (1911-19)
Miss Murray (1911-)
Rev. and Mrs. Raymond R. Gregory (1911-20)
Rev. Harry (1911-34) and Mrs. Ellen (1917-34) Phillips
Miss Jessie R. Bergens (1916-21)
Rev. Alfred Cheney (1916-23) and Mrs. Gertrude Soresen Cheney (1917-23)

Mexican missionaries working with PCUSA:

Mrs. Dionisia Ponce de Steward (1880-1899), wife of Rev. David Jotham Steward (1875-99)
Miss Andrea Prevost Cosío (1884-1886), daughter of Dr. Julio M. Prevos

1917-31 national pastors., 21 active American missionaries

3.3.3.1.6. CHILE (Presbyterian Church of Chile)

Sources: PCUSABFM annual reports, Kessler

Rev. and Mrs. David Trumbull (1873-1889)
Rev. and Mrs. A.M. Merwin (1866-?)
Rev. and Mrs. W.E. Dodge (1882-?)
Rev. Dr. and Mrs. W.H. Lester
Rev. Dr. and Mrs. W.E. Browning
Rev. and Mrs. James McLean
Rev. and Mrs. W.B. Boomer
Rev. and Mrs. David R. Edwards
Rev. and Mrs. C.H. Spining
Miss F.E. Smith
Rev. and Mrs. Robert B. Elmore
Miss Martha A. Beatty
Miss Cora Beatty
Rev. and Mrs. J.S. Smith
Rev. and Mrs. J.F. Garvin
Mr. James F. Garvin Jr.
Mr. John W. McDonald
Mr. Joshua S. Garritt
Mr. Eugene D. Idol
Mr. Paul T. Manchester
By 1917, 7 national pastors and 60 national workers

3.3.3.1.7. GUATEMALA (National Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Guatemala)

Sources: *Apuntes para la historia*, PCUSABFM annual reports

Rev. and Mrs. John C. Hill (1882-1886)
Rev. and Mrs. Edward M. Haymaker (1887-1933)
Rev. and Mrs. William B. Allison (1903-1922)
Miss Sallie A. Hart (1882-1886)
Miss Annie Ottoway (1884-1888)
Miss Imogene Stimers (1888-1891)
Rev. and Mrs. Iddings (1890-1893): (Yidings?)
Rev. Walker Mcbath (1903-1913)
Miss Mary Bodman (1905-1906)
Miss Ana Alloway (1906-1913)
Dr. Mary E. Gregg (1906-1916)
Rev. and Mrs. Linn P. Sullenberger (1911-1958)
Miss Grace Stevens (1912-1914)
Miss Henrietta S. York (1913-1918)
Rev. and Mrs. Paul Burgess (1913-1958), Mrs. (1958-1962)
Miss E. Morrison (1915-1942;1946-1953)
Rev. and Mrs. Elmer E. Freed (1915-1916)
Dr. Rankin (1916-1917)
In 1917, 8 ordained missionaries, 10 lay missionaries
In 1917, 11 national lay pastors, not ordained until 1925

3.3.3.1.8. VENEZUELA (Presbyterian Church of Venezuela)

Source: Annual reports of PCUSABFM

Rev. and Mrs. T.S. Pond (1897-?)
By 1917, 6 missionaries and 15 national workers.

3.3.3.2.2. BRAZIL (see 3.3.3.1.4)

Source: Annual reports of PCUSBFM

Rev. James Robinson Baird (1867-?)
Rev. William Emerson (1867-?)
Rev. Holiness Harvey (1867-1869)
Rev. Edward Lane (1872-1892)*
Rev. George Nash (1872-)
Miss Henderson (1873-)
Rev. John Boyle (1886-1892)*
Rev. George W. Thompson (1886-1889)*

Rev. Cowan (?)
Rev. Kempers (?)
Prof. J.W. Dabney (-1890)*
Mr. Franklin Gammar
Rev. John Rockwell Smith (1873-?)
Dr. Butler

36 missionaries, 27 national workers reported by 55th Annual Report. It is assumed there were 10 ordained and 26 lay missionaries.

3.3.3.2.3. COLOMBIA (Presbyterian Church of Colombia)

Source: Annual reports of PCUSBFM

Rev. and Mrs. H.B. Pratt (1873-78)
Rev. and Mrs. J.G. Hall (1875-78)

3.3.3.2.4. MEXICO (National Presbyterian Church of Mexico)

Source: Annual reports of PCUSBFM

Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Anthony Thomas Graybill (1874-1905)* Mrs. D.T. Graybill died in 1875, Mrs. Hattie Graybill in 1889 and Mrs. Annie Graybill in 1912.
Rev. and Mrs. John G. Hall (1874-99)
Rev. Dr. and Mrs. J. Walton Graybill (1881-83)
Miss Janet Houstin (1881-89)
Miss Anne E. Dysart (1882-?)
Miss Elsie V. Lee (1890-?)
Miss Sara E. Bedinger (1891-1911)
Miss Minnie Gunn (1892-1899)
Miss Edith McC. Houston (1895-1899)
Rev. and Mrs. Jas. O. Shelby (1902-?)
Rev. Hervey L. (1906-?) and Mrs. Ross (1909-?)
Rev. and Mrs. Wm. A. Ross (1907-?)
Miss Alice McClelland (1909-?)
Prof. and Mrs. Rufus Morrow (1909-?)
By 1916, 31 national workers

3.3.3.3. MEXICO (Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church)

Source: Mitchell

Missionaries:

Rev. Neill and Mrs. Rachel Erskine Pressly (1879-1917)

Dr. James and Mrs. Emma Hunter (1888-1909): Emma died in 1901
Miss Mattie Boyce (1891-1896)
Miss Mary Parmelia Stevensen (1891-1913;1917-1941)
Dr. John and Mrs. Amelia Edwards (1893-1907)
Miss Lavinia Neel (1894-1913;1917-1930)
Dr. James and Dr. Kathrine Dale (1899-1913;1919-1945): Kathrine died in 1941
Miss Fannie Lynn Wallace (1900-1902)
Miss Janie Mabel Love (1903-1913;1922-1945)
Mrs. Rosemma Beamer Hunter (1903-1913)
Miss Anna Strong (1903-1906;1910-1913)
Mr. William and Mrs Nelle Jones Bonner (1909-1910)
Miss Jennie Gettys (1909-1913)
Mr. Henry and Mrs. Mary Elliott Pressly (1909-1913;1923-1939)
Dr. Rachel McMaster (1910-1913)
Dr. W. and Mrs. Lucille Boyce (1912-1913;1921-1922)

National pastors:

Rev. Inez Hernandez (1888-?)
Rev. Guadalupe Cruz
Rev. Cresenciano Cruz
By 1910, 9 national pastors

3.3.4. BRITISH GUYANA (Guyana Presbyterian Church)

Source: Bisnauth

Rev. John Gibson (1885-1888)*
Rev. James Cropper (1896-?)
Rev. George E. Ross (1899-1901)
Rev. George A. Sutherland (1901-1903)
Rev. George Grant (1901)
Rev. James McKay (1903-1905)*
Rev. Ernest Forbes (1903-1905)
Rev. R. Gibson Fisher (1906-1933)*
Rev. J. Scrimgeour (1912-1926)
29 national workers considered as helpers

THE CONFESSION OF COLIGNY (1558) ¹

“Following the doctrine of the apostle Saint Peter in his first epistle, all Christians must always be prepared to give reason for the hope that is always in them; and this, with all gentleness and kindness. We, the signers, Lord of Villegaignon (according to the measure of grace that our Lord has given us), we have, unanimously, given reason for each point, as you have ordered and required of us; and (therefore now) starting:

Article 1. We believe in only one God, immortal and invisible, Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible as well as invisible; who is distinguished in three persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; who are no more than the same substance in eternal essence and of the same will; the Father is the fount and beginning of all good; the Son, eternally generated from the Father, who, when the fullness of time was completed, was manifest in flesh to the world, having been conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary, placed under the law, in order to rescue those under (the law), in order that we would receive the adoption as his own sons; the Holy Spirit, that comes from the Father and Son, teacher of all truth, who spoke by the mouths of the prophets, and suggest (gives) all things that have been said by the apostles, about our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the only counselor in affliction and who gives consistency and perseverance in all good things.

We believe that it is only necessary to worship and to perfectly love, to pray and to invoke the Majesty of God.

Article 2. In worshiping our Lord Jesus Christ, we do not separate one nature from the other, but we confess two natures, that is, divine and human, inseparable in him.

Article 3. We believe that concerning the Son of God and the Holy Spirit all that which the Word of God and apostolic doctrine and creed teach us about them.

Article 4. We believe that our Lord Jesus Christ will come to judge the living and to the dead, in visible and human form, as he ascended to heaven, and that he will execute judgment as foretold in Saint Matthew chapter 25, having all the power (authority) to judge, which was given to him by the Father as it refers to men. And as it concerns in what we say in our prayers, that the Father will appear in judgment through the person of his Son, we understand that the power (authority) of the Father, given to the Son, will be made manifest in that judgment, without, however, confusing the persons, knowing that they are really distinct from each other.

Article 5. We believe that in the Holy Sacrament of the Supper, with the corporal signs of the bread and the wine, faithful souls are really and truly nurtured of the same substance or our Lord Jesus, as our bodies are nourished by foods, yet we do not intend to say, nor believe, that the bread and the wine are transformed or transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, since the bread retains its nature and substance as such, and equally the wine, and in them there is no change or alteration, we distinguish, however, such bread and such wine from others that are of

¹ Jean Crespin, *Los martires de Rio de Janeiro*. (trans./ed. G Baez-Camargo) México DF: Casa Unida de Publicaciones, S.R.I., sf. pp. 109f.

common usage, in that the other is for us a sacramental sign, under which one receives the truth in an infallible way.

Now to be sure, this communication (communion) is not made but through faith, and in faith it is not convenient to neither think of the flesh, nor prepare one's teeth in order to eat it, as was taught by Saint Augustine when he said: "Why do you prepare your teeth and stomach? Believe, and you have eaten it." Therefore, the sign does not have us the truth nor that which it signifies, but our Lord Jesus Christ, by his power, virtue and goodness, feeds and comforts our souls, and makes them participants of his flesh and his blood and all his benefits. We go now to the interpretation of Jesus Christ: "This is my body." Tertullian, against Marcion, explained these words in the following way: "This is the sign and the figure of my body." Saint Augustine says: "The Lord did not doubt in saying; This is my body, when he did not give something other than the sign of his body." Therefore, (as ordered by the first Canon of the Council of Nicea) in this holy Sacrament, we must not imagine nothing of the flesh, not become distracted with the bread and the wine that in Him are given to us under signs, but to lift our spirits to heaven to contemplate by faith, the Son of God, our Lord Jesus, seated at the right hand of God, his Father. To this end we can add the article about the Ascension, with many other sayings of Saint Augustine, all of which we have omitted in fear of being (too) long.

Article 6. We believe that if it were necessary to put water with the wine, the gospel writers, and the same Saint Paul, would not have omitted such a matter of great consequence. And about the old teachers who observed such things (basing [their view] in the blood mixed with water that came out of the side of Jesus Christ) considering that such an observation does not have any foundation in the Word of God, even though this was introduced after the institution of the Lord Supper, we can not approve such a thing, necessarily.

Article 7. We believe that there is no other consecration that the minister does, when the Supper is celebrated: with the minister reciting to the people, in a known language, the institution of the Supper, according to the form in which our Lord Jesus prescribed to us, and warning the people about the passion and death of our Lord Jesus. As Saint Augustine said, the consecration is the word of faith that is preached and received by faith. From this it follows that the words secretly pronounced with the signs, can not be the consecration, as is shown by the institution that the Lord Jesus Christ left for his apostles, directing his words to the disciples who were present, to whom he commanded to drink and to eat.

Article 8. The Holy Sacrament of the Supper is not food for the body, but for the souls (since we do not imagine in it anything that is fleshly, as we have declared in the 5th Article), receiving from him by faith, that which is not fleshly.

Article 9. We believe that baptism is a sacrament of penance, as an entrance into the Church of God, in order to be incorporated into the body of Jesus Christ. Baptism represents to us the remission of our past and future sins, which is fully obtained through the unique death of our Lord Jesus. Furthermore, it signifies for us the mortification of our flesh, and it represents the cleansing, as the water that is sprinkled over the child, which is a sign and seal of the blood of our Lord Jesus, which is the true purging of our souls.

The institution of baptism is taught to us in the Word of God, which the apostles observed: taking the water in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. As to the exorcisms, the spells of Satan, crismas, saliva and salt, we reject them as traditions of men, being satisfied with the only form and institution that the Lord Jesus left us. 10. As to free will, we believe that the first man, having been created in the image of God, have freedom and will in regards to good and evil, and that only he knew what was free will, living in his integrity. However, man did not protect this gift of God, but was deprived of it by his sin, and all who descended from him, in such a way that none of the seed of Adam did not have a spark of good. For this reason Saint Paul says that the sensual man does not understand the things that are of God. And Hosea says to the children of Israel: "You are lost, Oh Israel." Now, we understand such a thing about the man who has not been regenerated by the Holy Spirit of God. As to the Christian man, baptized in the blood of Jesus Christ, who walks in the newness of life, our Lord restores in him the free will, and reforms his will for every good work; not, however, in perfection (since the execution of his good will is not in the power of man), but comes from God as it is widely declared by the holy apostle in the seventh chapter of Romans, saying: "Because I have the desire, but I cannot reach doing the good." The man who is predestined to Eternal Life, and even though he sins because of human frailty, however, he cannot fall into impenitence. About this, Saint John says that he does not sin, because the election dwells in him.

Article 11. We believe that only by the Word of God are sins remitted, of which, as Saint Ambrosio says, the man is but a minister.

Therefore, if the minister condemns or absolves, it is not him, but the Word of God that announces this. About this particular thing Saint Augustine says that it is not by the merits of men by which sins are remitted, but by virtue of the Holy Spirit. So the Lord, having said to his apostles, "Receive the Holy Spirit," afterwards adds: "If you forgive someone their sins," etc. Cipriano says that the servant cannot pardon the offense committed against his master.

Article 12. Concerning the imposition of hands, this was useful in its time, and there is no necessity now to retain it, for by the laying on of hands you cannot give the Holy Spirit, which corresponds only to God. Concerning the ecclesiastical order we believe that Saint Paul has written about it in the first (epistle) to Timothy and in other places.

Article 13. The separation between a man and a woman legitimately united in marriage cannot be carried out except for fornication, as the Lord Jesus taught us (Mt. 5:19). And not only can separation be carried out because of fornication, but also, once the cause has been well examined by the magistrate, the innocent party, not being able to stay chaste, can remarry, as Saint Ambrose says in chapter 7 of Corinthians. However, the magistrate needs to proceed with wise counsel.

Article 14. St. Paul, in teaching that a Bishop needs to be married to one woman, does not prohibit with this that after the death of his first wife that it would be illegal remarry. The holy apostle reproves bigamy, something to which the men of those days were greatly inclined. However, about this, we concede to the judgment to those more versed in Holy Scriptures, y that our faith is not founded in this particular point.

Article 15. It is not good to promise to God except for that which he approves. Thus it is so with monastic vows which are nothing more than a corruption of the true service of God. It is also greatly reckless and presumptuous that men make vows that go beyond the measure of their vocation, and that the Holy Scriptures teaches us that abstinence is a special gift. Mt. 15 and I Cor. 7. Therefore, it follows that those who impose this necessity, renouncing marriage for all of life, can not be excused of extreme recklessness and arrogant faith in themselves, y this means tempt God, in view that such the aforesaid gift of abstinence is but temporal in some, and the one who has it for some time, cannot have it for the rest of his life. About this, then, the monks, priests and other similar persons, who are obliged to live in chastity, tempt God, seeing that it is not in them to fulfill what they have promised. St. Cyprian, in the eleventh epistle, speaks thus: "If the virgins dedicate themselves to Christ with a good heart, that they preserve in chastity without fail and being thus strong and constant, they hope for the reward that is prepared for them for their virginity. If they will not and cannot persevere, as they have promised, it is better that they marry and not be rushing into the fire of licentiousness because of their desires and pleasures." In terms of the passage of the apostle St. Paul, it is true that the widows, taken for the service of the Church, have submitted themselves to not marrying again while they are subject to such a task, without imputing or attributing to them some holiness, but without which they could not very well carry out their duties being married. And if they wanted to marry, they would renounce the vocation to which God had called them, with so fulfilling what they had promised in the Church, even if violating the promise made in baptism which contains this point: "That each should serve God in the vocation to which called." The widows, then, do not make vows as far as the gift of abstinence, but as marriage was not convenient to the office to which they presented themselves, and did not have any other consideration but to carry this out. But they were not forced in such a way that they were not allowed to marry, before burning themselves and fall into infamy and dishonesty. Furthermore, in order to avoid such inconvenience, the holy apostle St. Paul, in the above mentioned chapter, prohibits them from making such vows until they are seventy years of age, which is an age in which commonly there is no problem with abstinence. He adds, to those that are chosen, that they not have been married more than one time, so that in this way they had already given a proof of their abstinence.

Article 16. We believe that Jesus is our only mediator, intercessor and lawyer, through whom we have entrance to the Father, and that being justified in his blood, we will be freed from death, and being already reconciled through him, we will obtain full victory over death. As for the dead saints, we say that they desire our salvation and the fulfillment of the kingdom of God, and that the number of elect be made complete. However, we must not address them as intercessors in order to obtain something, for would counter act the law of God. As for us, while we are alive, as we are united as members of one body, we must pray for each other, as we are instructed in numerous passages of the Holy Scripture.

Article 17. As to the dead, St. Paul, in first Thessalonians, chapter 4, prohibits us to mourn over them, for that is how the pagans act, who do not have any hope to resurrect. The holy apostle does not command nor teach to pray for them, something which they would not have forgotten, if it had been necessary. St. Augustine in commenting on Psalm 48, say that the spirits of the dead only receive that which corresponds to what they did while they were alive, and if they did nothing while living, they receive nothing being dead."

This is the answer that we give to those articles which you sent us, according to the measure and portion of the faith that God has given us, asking Him in prayer that it would please him that such a faith would not be dead in us, but that it should produce fruit worthy of his sons, in such a way that, giving us growth and perseverance in it, and by it we give him thanksgiving and praise for ever and ever. So be it.

ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THREE HUGUENOT SIGNERS OF THE CONFESSION OF COLIGNY (FEB. 8, 1558).

(Jean du Bordel)...”Climbing to the top of the rock, he hardly received permission to leave him to pray to God, before leaving this world, due to the haste that Villegaignon wanted the executioner to proceed. However, by way of concession, he permitted him to kneel on that rock, on which he made confession to God for his faults and sins, asking him for grace and pardon in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, in whose hands he commended his spirit. After which, he took off his clothes, all but his shirt, and he submitted himself to the will of the executioner asking him that he would not make him suffer. Villagaignon, seeing that the execution took too long, threatened to whip him if he did not hurry up. Therefore, the executioner wildly threw the poor man into the sea, who called to our Lord Jesus for his help, until he drowned with great violence and cruelty, gave up his spirit to God.” (p. 117)

(Matthieu Vermeil)...”Once Jean de Bordel was executed, the executioner brought out Matthieu Vermeil, who was greatly surprised by the death of his comrade. However, he stayed firm and constant.”

“In leading him to the place of the execution, Villegaignon, who did not profess such hatred against him as to Jean du Bordel, asked him if he wanted to be lost and condemned, but that man replied courageously. It is true that when he undressed on the rock, and comprehending that he was going to die, that he asked that they tell him for what reason they were going to make him die. “Oh, lord Villegaignon (he said), perhaps we have plotted our death, or tried to do something that resulted in our dishonor? If there are any who accuse of it, have them appear.”

“No, indecent one,” responded Villegaignon, “neither you or your comrades die for something that you have alleged; but because you are very dangerous pests, separated from the Church, it is necessary to cut off as rotten members, so that you do not corrupt the rest of my company.”

The poor patient responded in these terms: “Well enough, being that it is thus that you have taken religion as a covering I ask you, have you not made (its not even eight months) also a wide open confession of the points and articles for which you now make us die? Oh, eternal God, being that for the cause of your Son Jesus Christ we suffer today, being that for upholding your holy Word and doctrine, they take us to death, be honored, by your clemency, show yourself y assist your own, take his cause, which is your own, in your hands, in such a way that neither Satan, nor the power of the world, would gain victory over me.

Turning his head to Villegaignon, he asked him not to have him put to death but conserve him as his slave. Villegaignon, uneasy with shame, did not know how to respond to the petitions, worth of compassion, of that poor patient, but he did not know in what to employ him, esteeming him as being less than the garbage of the road. However, he promised to think about this if he

was willing to retract himself and confess that he was in error. When Vermeil saw that the hope that was given him, was of great damage toward his salvation, and even so, something insecure, with great resolution cried out in a loud voice that he preferred it better to die, in order to live eternally with the Lord, than to live for a little time dying forever with Satan. After, having made his prayer on the rock, and commending his soul to the protection by God, he willingly gave himself to the executioner, and crying with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me," he gave up his spirit." (p. 118)

(André la Fon...Villegaignon kept him as a Taylor....p. 119)

(Pierre Bourdon)...[he was sick and was brought from the land in a boat]

While they brought him, he asked if they wanted to employ him in something, but no one dared to respond one single word to him. However, when he was interrogated by Villegaignon as to whether he wanted to support the confession that he had signed, he said he would think about it. However, without more delay, when they ascended to land, the executioner (according to the command he had received), tied him, and after he took him to the place where the others had suffered, exhorting him to examine his conscience. Then the poor patient lifted his eyes to heaven, with his arms crossed, and in no way saddened, judging that in the same place his comrades had obtained the victory against death. He entrusted his soul to God and shouted with a loud voice in the following terms: "Lord God, I am the same clay as my comrades, who with glory and honor have sustained this combat in your name. I ask you that you give me the grace to not permit that I succumb in the midst of the assaults that Satan, the World and the Flesh throw against me; that you deign to pardon me of all faults and offenses that I have committed against your majesty, all this in the name of your well beloved Son, our Lord.

Having prayed this, he turned to Villegaignon, to whom he asked what the cause of his death was. He responded to him that it was because he had signed a heretical and scandalous confession. And as he wanted to respond and know about which point was declared heretical, being that he had not been examined in order to be convicted, no one paid attention to these manifestations because (as Villegaignon would say) it was not time to discuss the cause, but to examine the conscience, thus he ordered the executioner to make haste. The poor man, seeing that the divine and human, the honorable and civil ordinances, humanness, Christianity, had been buried, with all resolve he submitted himself to the executioner, and invoking the help and favor of God, breathed his last in the Lord; suffocated and strangled, was thrown into the water as (was done) to his comrades (pp. 120).

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Visits: 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985-86, 1988, 1990, 1993-1998, stay: 1998-

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Visits: 1992, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2004

STUDENTS MANUAL

JUSTIFICATION: A study of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in the Caribbean and Latin America, with special attention to its origin and development from 1528-1916.

COURSE THEME: CALA Reformed Christianity is one of the original Christian movements in CALA but it has yet to come to full expression due to its lack of nationalization.

COURSE OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS

1. The student will participate in the reading of the class materials as shown in brief outlines (15%)
2. The student will complete the assignments for the 8 lessons (15%)
3. The student will read 300 pages (for BA, or 500 for MA) on history of the Reformed or Presbyterians from the time period of 1916 to the present (30%)
4. The student will write a 10 page paper on a Reformed or Presbyterian church or mission that is ministering in CALA today (20%)
5. For the final exam a five page comparison will be written between the book, *MISSION TO THE PEOPLE AND CHURCH MAINTENANCE* and church/mission the student wrote about (20%)

COURSE MATERIALS

1. Either the book, *MISSION TO THE PEOPLE AND CHURCH MAINTENANCE* with the corresponding student and teacher's manual or the web page version of the same (www.mints.edu).

COURSE COMPLETION

In order to complete the course the student will need to hand in the following:

1. 5 brief outlines for 5 chapters read of *Mission to the People and Church Maintenance*
2. The students answers to the questions for the 8 lessons
3. A 3 page (for BA) or 5 page (for MA) report on the readings of post 1916 history of Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions.
4. A 10 page essay.
5. The final written exam.

THE COURSE PROFESSOR OR FACILITATOR NEEDS TO SEND INTO MINTS-MIAMI THE FOLLOWING

Name of student	Reading outlines (15%)	Answers to questions in lessons (15%)	Reading reports (30%)	10 page essays (20%)	Final exam (20%)	Final Grade (100%)

Lesson #1. Objective. The student will be introduced to CALA themes in history, politics, bibliographies, theology and missions in order to prepare to study the course.

A. History

1. The name of the island where Columbus build his first fort.
2. The year when the first Protestant church was established in the Americas.
3. Name of the first theological confession written in the Americas.
4. Name of the spiritual advisor for the first Protestant mission in the Americas
5. The year in which the Anglican Church came to Bermuda.
6. The year when the West Indies Company legalized their practice of slave trading.
7. The year the first Presbyterian mission society came to the Caribbean.

B. Politics

1. Name of first independent republic in CALA.
2. Name of one of the 19th century national Mexican heroes who attended Protestant services.
3. Name of the Venezuelan liberator of the 19th century who was sympathetic to Protestantism.
4. Year of the Cuban Revolution

C. Bibliography.

1. Author of the first doctrinal book in the Americas.
2. Author of what is known as the 70 prophecies.
3. Author of the *History of the Indies*
4. Author of *Presbyterian Foreign Missions*.
5. Author of *The Other Spanish Christ*.
6. Author of *Through Gates of Splendor*.
7. Author of *A History of the Church in Latin America. Colonialism to Liberation*.
8. Author of *The Story of Christianity*.
9. Author of *The World Christian Encyclopedia*.
10. Author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

D. Reformed Theology.

1. T or F. "If God requires something of you He supplies the means by which to accomplish it."
2. T or F. "Faith precedes regeneration."
3. T or F. "Justification is infused to the believer."
4. T or F. "The church is the maximum authority in interpreting the Bible."
5. T or F. "It is unfair for God to let innocent people suffer."
6. T or F. "Human life begins at conception."
7. T or F. "God has a preferential option for the poor."
8. T or F. "The Great Commission was fulfilled with the early disciples."
9. T or F. "One can be a true believer and stay within an apostate church."
10. List the 10 commandments in order.

E. Missions (students own answers).

1. List the names of the CALA countries where your denomination has mission work.
 2. List the names of the para-church agencies working in CALA supported by your church.
3. List the names and basic task of 5 missionaries you know who are working in CALA.
4. List the names and basic tasks of 5 CALA nationals working in CALA.
5. Name the CALA country which has the highest percentage of evangelical Christians.
6. Name the CALA country which has the lowest percentage of evangelical Christians.
7. Name the CALA country which has the highest percentage of Presbyterian Christians.
 8. Name the CALA country which has the lowest percentage of Presbyterian and Reformed Christians.
9. If you were to do mission work in CALA, where would you go and what would you do?
10. If you were to recommend to your local church financial support for mission work in CALA, what would you recommend?

Lesson #2. First Era. Roman Catholic Conquest (1492-1791)

READING: pages 1-40 (in regular book), pp. 1-42 on the internet (www.mints.edu)

OUTLINE

1. History. Spanish and Portuguese conquest. Was Columbus Christian?
2. Political. The Iberian conquest was all encompassing.
3. Social. Two tier system: colonists and servant-slaves. The justification of slave trading.
4. Theological. 1) arrival was accompanied by an evangelism zeal; 2) the abuse of the Indians accompanied Columbus (La Navidad justification) and conquista; 3) abuse of Indians led to protest (Montesino, Las Casas) ; 4) partial response to Indian abuse (African slavery); 5) theological reformed attempted but failed. 6) establishment of Inquisition signals end of reform.
5. Ecclesiastical. Traditional and inquisitional (1569)
6. Missiological.
 - a. mission context: Catholicism and Iberianism/ the role of marginalized.
 - b. mission agency: church and colonists
 - c. mission motivation: the cross and the sword: a militant missiology
7. Conclusion: the RCC ecclesiastical, social and theological sin justifies the need for Reformation.

QUESTIONS

1. What does CALA stand for?
2. Who is Gisbertus Voetius and how can his view of missions be described?
3. What does the mission context refer to? What questions does it answer?
4. What does mission agency refer to? What questions does it answer?
5. What does mission motivation refer to? What main question does it answer?
6. In what trip did the first religious workers come to the New World?
7. Mention one attempt at Roman Catholic theological reform in the 16th century New World
8. Mention one attempt at Roman Catholic social reform in the 16th century New World.
9. What is the view of Frank Moya Pons as to the celebration of the 500 years of RCC evangelization?
10. Why were the Roman Catholics able to keep the Protestants at bay in South America?

Class discussion or individual response (if studying by correspondence): The author's view is that the RCC Inquisition justified the formation of a separate Protestant church in CALA. Give several reasons for your point of view.

Lesson #3. Second Era. Entrance of European Protestantism (1528-1732): the transplanted church.

READING. pp. 41-134 (in book); pp. 43-93 on web page

OUTLINE. French Huguenots, Dutch Reformed, English Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians.

1. French Huguenots: corsairs; first church (1557), first confessional statement; first martyrs: Jean du Bourdon, Matthieu Verneuil, Pierre Bourdon; Jean Ribaut in Florida (1562-1565).
2. Dutch Reformed: theological motif: Gisbertus Voetius; cultural motif: WIC; entrance: Guyana (1616-), Brazil (1630-1654); Curacao (1635-), Surinam (1668), Netherlands Antilles (1630-). Association with WIC slave trade (1652).
3. Political. Nations associated with Protestants challenged Spain and Portugal on the high seas (i.e. Pete Heyn).
4. Social. Three tier system: Iberian colonists, servant-slaves, “pirates” of non-Iberian nations. The Reformed did not transform culture but the slave trading culture formed deformed Christianity.
5. Theological. Protestants transplant theology, with one major change: treatment of the marginal people (i.e. slave trade, lack of evangelism)
6. Missiological.
 - a. mission context. Reformed Christians entered the Caribbean and Dutch colonies. The Presbyterians enter Bermuda and English colonies.
 - b. mission agency. The transplanted church is for the colonists.
 - c. mission motivation. Maintenance of traditional church
7. Conclusion. The European migrant Protestant’s association with mercantilism and colonialism and its abuses was coupled with its failure to minister among non-colonists justified the need for a radical reformation within Reformational Protestantism in CALA.

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Welsers?
2. Year of the celebration of the first Protestant Church service
3. Name of the “Cain of the Americas.”
4. Briefly describe the first evangelism contacts made by the Huguenots in the Coligny expedition.
5. What was the relationship of Calvin in Geneva with the Coligny expedition?
6. What monumental decision was made in 1652 that would negatively affect Dutch Reformed missions in CALA?
7. What main effect did the Dutch colonist’s association with slave trade have on the Netherlands Reformed churches in the Caribbean?
8. What did the Spanish do with the French Huguenots in Florida in the mid 16th century?
9. What importance does Jan Willem Kals have for Dutch Reformed missions?
10. What are your general impressions as to the Dutch Reformed mission beginnings in CALA?

Lesson 4. Third Era. Continuation of Church maintenance and entrance of mission societies (1732-1853): a mission to the people.

READING: Book: 88, 97-98, 105-122, 135-149; on web page: 68, 73-74-77-86, 94-101

OUTLINE

1. History. Entrance of Moravians, Scottish Mission Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the British and Foreign Bible Society
2. Political. The new republics are beginning to form, a measure of anti-Iberianism and more pluralistic.
3. Social. Mission societies break with the colonial church and begin working with marginal peoples.
4. Theological and ecclesiastical. The denominational lines are drawn all over CALA.
5. Missiological
 - a. mission context. Along side the church maintenance model comes the mission to the marginal peoples.
 - b. mission agency. The mission societies break with the denominational only approach and begin meeting a variety of mission needs.
 - c. mission motivation. The urgency to reach the lost is rediscovered, compassion for the need is expressed and the indigenous method of missions is planted.
6. Conclusion. Mission societies bring a much needed mission focus to all peoples to CALA.

QUESTIONS

1. When did the Moravians come to the New World and how was their mission approach different from the Netherlands Reformed?
2. What was the experience of Netherlands Reformed ministry Henricus Muller when he sought to include Afro-Americans in the church?
3. What was different about the Scottish Mission Society who came to Jamaica in the early 19th century?
4. What relationship was there between the Scottish Mission Society's work in Jamaica and Presbyterian mission work in Nigeria, Africa?
5. What was the main sociological difference between the Netherlands Reformed ministry and the mission work of the mission societies in the 18th and 19th century?
6. What do the ratio of Netherlands Reformed ministers and missionaries being sent out say about the emphasis of the Netherlands Reformed church and mission?
7. What role would the Bible society mission agencies play in Latin America?
8. What mission agencies were beginning to form in North America that included both Reformed and Presbyterians participants?

Lesson 5 (continued). Fourth Era. Entrance of North American Presbyterianism and another wave of European immigrants (1853-1916).

READING: pp. 111-116, 150-256 (book); on web page, 80-83, 102-158

OUTLINE

1. History. 1) USA Presbyterianism (1750-), p. 157-158, 209-216, 228-232, 238; 2) Canadian Presbyterianism (1865-), p.166-170; 3) ongoing European immigration, especially in South America. These continued in the transplant tradition. The birth of the national Presbyterian churches in Brazil (i.e. Independent) and Mexico (Arcadio Morales Escalona).
2. Political. The birth of the new republics gave rise to religious pluralism and pro-American sentiments.
3. Social. Mission and church planting work among non-Iberian and non-colonial people begin to rise: i.e. Indians in Mexico, Guatemala. Brazilian church grows in both rural and urban centers.
4. Theological. Ecumenical theology develops; European Protestantism opts for the 1910 Edinburgh conclusion and North American go the way of the 1916 Panama Congress.
5. Missiological.
 - a. mission context: shift from European colonial interest to both American and national interest.
 - b. mission agency. Denominational mission adopt mission society methods. European churches continue to transplant churches.
 - c. mission motivation. Presbyterians mix civilization and evangelism motives, while the European Reformed continue with immigration motive.

QUESTIONS

1. When and where did the 1st Presbyterians come to the Caribbean?
2. When and where was the 1st Presbyterian church established?
3. How did the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) mission strategy differ from the colonial church?
4. What were the names of the two largest Presbyterian mission boards at the end of the 19th century?
5. In what ways was the Presbyterian work in the Dominican Republic different from the mission starts in other Caribbean islands?
6. In what ways was the Canadian Presbyterian mission work contextualized to Caribbean culture?
7. Briefly describe the transition from European Presbyterian and Reformed work to North American mission work in British Guyana.
8. What conclusion does the author draw about the development of Northern Presbyterian mission work in Brazil?
9. What conclusions does the author draw about the development of Southern Presbyterian mission work in Mexico?
10. What importance did the Panama Congress of 1916 have on the development of Presbyterianism in CALA?

Lesson 6. Missiological analysis of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA from 1528-1916

READING: Chapter 4 in book and on web page.

OUTLINE: List of the conclusions. The student will write a brief response to each of the conclusions.

The extension of CALA Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions is related to the degree of receptivity within CALA cultures.

The active and passive involvement of the Reformed churches and missions in discriminatory practices resulted in limited evangelism, lack of church development and absence of Christian service with the Afro and Indo-Americans.

Cross-cultural missions carried out by the Presbyterians were mostly accomplished through missionary societies and denominational mission societies who planted churches rather than the transplanted colonial church.

A process of nationalization contributed to the development of strong Presbyterian churches throughout CALA.

The early Reformed ministry in CALA accommodated to the WIC and to the colonial cultural ethos as the expense of missions with the African and Indian Americans. The Presbyterians were able to overcome the colonial ethos by establishing mission agencies that worked directly with cross-cultural groups. Growing CALA nationalism during the 19th century opened the doors of opportunity to enter Hispanic Roman Catholic nations. Cross-cultural mission's results were seen in church planting and the developing of national leadership.

The European Reformed churches were more concerned about providing pastoral ministry to the colonist than ministry to non-colonist. This can be measured by comparing the number of congregational ministers and missionaries sent out as well as comparing the number of colonial transplant churches to planted churches.

The Presbyterians became more concerned about cross cultural missions than immigrant pastoral ministries as seen by the number of missionaries sent out in comparison to regular parish ministers as well as by observing the number of planted churches and transplanted churches.

The Reformed ministers worked primarily in the Dutch language and cross-cultural missions were the exception rather than the rule.

The Presbyterian ministers worked in the English language but cross-cultural missions was primarily realized in the Portuguese and Spanish languages thereby facilitating the planting of national churches and developing national leaders.

By 1916 the foundation for the Presbyterian national churches had been laid and the Panama Congress of 1916 brings in a new era of partnership in missions.

Reformational theology was used to define the theology of both the transplanted colonial churches as well as the planted national churches. During the 19th century the Reformed churches participate in evangelical mission agencies and ecumenical ventures.

The Dutch Reformed colonial churches ideologically affirmed classical Reformed theology but in practice denied some of its basic teachings, such as the covenant of grace, evangelizing all peoples and the communion of the saints.

Presbyterian orthodoxy was affirmed by adherence to the Westminster Standards and the denominational church orders. From 1609 to 1916 there were no challenges to the standards that caused church divisions.

The European Reformed justification for missions is expressed by influential leaders, church confessions and social institutions.

The Presbyterian justification for missions is found in the Westminster Standards. Besides the standards, which were honored throughout the history of Presbyterianism in CALA, there were spokespersons that were motivational for Presbyterian missions in CALA.

The Reformed desire to preach the gospel “to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction” was distorted by the NHK association with the WIC. Presbyterians were able to move beyond the colonial church and work cross-culturally.

Lesson 7. A clash of world views.

READING: Chapter 5 in book and on web page.

STUDENT ASSIGNMENT FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

The author concluded the following:

“The mission context, mission agency and mission motivation for Reformed and Presbyterian missions in CALA has been documented and conclusions have been made. Collectively, it can be said that Reformed and Presbyterian missions from 1528-1916 took two very different paths starting in the mid 17th century. After the two initial attempts to colonize in Brazil, the Dutch Reformed became established in the Caribbean and became associated with the African slave trading through its alliance with the WIC. The NHK preoccupied itself in sending pastoral ministers for the Dutch colonists. Religious services were conducted in the Dutch language. As a result of a European and North American orientated ministry, there were only a handful of Reformed and Waldensian congregations operating in 1916. Contrasted to the Reformed development, the European Presbyterians established colony churches, but after precedent setting cross cultural efforts of the Scottish Mission Society, followed by the entrance of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries and dispersion of USA missionaries through opening countries at the end of the 19th century, the Presbyterians planted many more national churches than maintaining immigrant churches. Although the Reformed and Presbyterians maintained very similar theological standards, their mission contexts, agencies and motivations were directionally distinct. The Presbyterians went beyond the colonial and immigrant context, learned the Portuguese and Spanish languages, trained national leaders from the inception of the church plants and gave the responsibility of the church and missions to the nationals. The Presbyterian mission efforts were exemplary and motivation for the national churches that were initiated and continued into the 20th century.”

Questions: (student’s own answers)

1. Give your reflections on the above conclusion.
2. How do you see the difference between mission to the people and church maintenance?
3. How is this reflected in the mission efforts of your church (es) today?
4. What steps are to be taken in order to avoid simply transplanting one’s own church?
5. Does your church mission suffer from a cultural sin (i.e. like the Reformed being associated with the slave trading WIC) that is holding back its mission?
6. What is your church’s mission motivation? How is that expressed?
7. What is the main mission agency that your church uses to conduct missions?

Lesson 8. Formation of National Reformed and Presbyterian Churches (1916-2002)

READING. The student will search in books, articles and web sites information about one particular CALA Reformed or Presbyterian mission or church and report to the other students in class.

OUTLINE

1. History. After WW I, the Americans become more American. European ties are maintained by immigration groups. During the latter part of the 20th century, liberation movements challenge missionary presence.
2. Political. Democracy is introduced in the midst of totalitarianism. Nationalism clashed with globalism. Revolutionary movements persist.
3. Social. Migration of Hispanics across the Americas. Rise of the CALA middle class is associated with globalism, new technology, education and dirty money. Increase in poverty and mega cities.
4. Theological. The introduction of Pentecostalism. The Modernism-Fundamentalism issues influence national church in Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Peru. Liberalism distorts several historical Presbyterian churches, i.e. Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Conservatism prevails in Brazil, Mexico, and Peru. Evangelicalism predominates in Guatemala. Transplanted churches are dying out.
5. Ecclesiastical. The nationalization of the Presbyterian and Reformed churches changes the landscape as to theological outlook (more evangelical), program development (fewer funds) and missiological emphasis (evangelism). The rise of CLIR is a resurgence of evangelical reformed Christianity in CALA.
6. Missiological.
 - a. Mission context. Dying of the transplanted church and growth of national missions.
 - b. Mission agency. Proliferation of national churches and missions.
 - c. Mission motivation. Preservation of what is useful and experimentation of what may be useful.

NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES AND MISSIONS (1916-2004)

Arab speaking

1. Arab Evangelical church of Sao Paulo

Chinese speaking

1. Taiwanese Presbyterian Church in Argentina
2. Presbyterian Church of Formosa in Brazil

Dutch speaking

1. Reformed Church in Curacao and the Netherlands Antilles
2. Reformed Churches (Liberated) in Curacao
3. United Protestant Church in Netherlands Antilles
4. Reformed Church in Surinam
5. Reformed Church in Paramaribo

English speaking.

1. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (Bahamas)
2. Presbyterian Church in Belize
3. Christ Church of Warwick (Bermuda)
4. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (Bermuda)
5. Presbyterian Church of Grenada
6. Presbyterian Church of Guyana
7. Guyana Presbyterian Church

8. Guyana Congregational Union
 9. United Church of Jamaica and Cayman Islands.
 10. Reformed Church in St. Thomas
 11. Reformed Church in St. Croix
 12. Church of Scotland in Trinidad
 13. Presbyterian Church of Trinidad and Tobago
- French speaking
1. French Evangelical Church of Argentina
 2. Evangelical Church of French Guyana
 3. Evangelical Church of Guadalupe
 4. Reformed Church of France in Martinique
- German speaking
1. Swiss Evangelical Church in Argentina
 2. Swiss Evangelical Church in Brazil
- Haitian Creole speaking
1. Evangelical Reformed Church in Haiti
 2. Presbyterian Church in Haiti
 3. Christian Reformed Church in the Dominican Republic
- Hungarian speaking
1. Hungarian Christian Evangelical Reformed Church in Argentina
 2. Latin American Christian Reformed Church of Brazil
 3. Hungarian Reformed Church of Uruguay
 4. Hungarian Reformed Church of Venezuela
- Korean speaking
1. Central Presbyterian Church of Buenos Aires
 2. Che II Korean Presbyterian Church of Argentina
 3. Korean Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Argentina
 4. Evangelical Presbyterian Church in Bolivia
 5. Evangelical Presbyterian Church –Cochabamba
 6. Korean Presbyterian Mission in Santa Cruz
 7. Korean Presbyterian Mission in Santa Cruz II
 8. Korean Presbyterian Mission in La Paz
 9. Korean United Presbyterian Church of Sao Paulo
 10. Korean Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 11. Antioch Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 12. Korean Presbyterian Church of Chile
 13. Korean United Church of Chile (there are more).
- Japanese speaking
1. Evangelical Church of Sao Paulo (Brazil)
- Papiamento speaking
1. Reformed Churches (Liberated) in Curacao
 2. United Protestant Church of Curacao.
- Portuguese speaking
1. Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 2. Independent Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 3. Caiuá Evangelical Mission
 4. Conservative Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 5. Fundamental Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 6. Renewed Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 7. United Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 8. Traditional Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 9. Christian Reformed Church of Brazil
 10. Evangelical Reformed Church of Brazil
 11. Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Brazil
 12. Reformed Churches of Brazil

Spanish speaking

1. Reformed Churches in Argentina
2. Evangelical Presbyterian presbytery in Argentina
3. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church
4. Evangelical Church of Rio de Plata
5. Evangelical Waldensian Church of Argentina
6. Evangelical Congregational Church of Argentina
7. Evangelical Presbyterian Church in Bolivia
8. Presbyterian Church in Bolivia
9. Presbyterian Church of Colombia (Presbyterian Synod)
10. Presbyterian Church of Colombia (Reformed Synod)
11. Cumberland Presbyterian Church of Colombia
12. Presbyterian Church in Colombia (PCA)
13. Christian Reformed Church in Costa Rica
14. Association of Reformed Churches in Costa Rica
15. Presbyterian Church of Chile
16. National Presbyterian of Chile
17. Fundamentalist National Presbyterian Church of Chile
18. Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Chile
19. Presbyterian Church of Chile (PCA)
20. Christian Presbyterian Church of Chile
21. Christian Reformed Church in Cuba
22. Presbyterian Reformed Church in Cuba
23. Christian Reformed Church in the Dominican Republic
24. Christian Reformed Church in El Salvador
25. Reformed Church of El Salvador
26. Christian and Reformed Church of El Salvador
27. Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ecuador
28. National Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Guatemala
29. Independent Fundamental Presbyterian Church of Guatemala
30. Bethlehem Bible Presbyterian Church of Guatemala
31. Presbyterian Synod of Southwest of Guatemala
32. Christian Reformed Church in Honduras
33. Evangelical and Reformed Church in Honduras
34. National Presbyterian Church of Mexico
35. Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church of Mexico
36. Christian Congregational Churches in Mexico
37. National Conservative Presbyterian Church of Mexico
38. Presbyterian Reformed Church of Mexico
39. Independent Presbyterian Church of Mexico
40. Christian Reformed Church in Nicaragua
41. Evangelical and Reformed Church in Peru
42. Christian Reformed Church in Puerto Rico
43. Association of Christian Churches of the Reformed Faith in Venezuela
44. Presbyterian Church of Venezuela
45. Presbyterian Church El Redentor (Venezuela).

TEACHERS MANUAL

JUSTIFICATION: A study of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in the Caribbean and Latin America, with special attention to its origin from 1528-1916.

COURSE THEME: CALA Reformed Christianity is one of the original Christian movements in CALA but it has yet to come to full expression due to its lack of nationalization.

COURSE OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS

1. The student will participate in the reading of the class materials as shown in brief outlines (15%)
2. The student will complete the assignments for the 8 lessons (15%)
3. The student will read 300 pages (for BA, or 500 for MA) on history of the Reformed or Presbyterians from the time period of 1916 to the present (30%)
4. The student will write a 10 page paper on a Reformed or Presbyterian church or mission that is ministering in CALA today (20%)
5. For the final exam a five page comparison will be written between the book, MISSION TO THE PEOPLE AND CHURCH MAINTENANCE and church/mission the student wrote about (20%)

COURSE MATERIALS

1. Either the book, MISSION TO THE PEOPLE AND CHURCH MAINTENANCE with the corresponding student and teacher's manual or the web page version of the same (www.mints.edu).

COURSE COMPLETION

In order to complete the course the student will need to hand in the following:

1. 5 brief outlines for 5 chapters read of Mission to the People and Church Maintenance
2. The students answers to the questions for the 8 lessons
3. A 3 page (for BA) or 5 page (for MA) report on the readings of post 1916 history of Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions.
4. A 10 page essay.
5. The final written exam.

THE COURSE PROFESSOR OR FACILITATOR NEEDS TO SEND INTO MINTS-MIAMI THE FOLLOWING

Name of student	Reading outlines (15%)	Answers to questions in lessons (15%)	Reading reports (30%)	10 page essays (20%)	Final exam (20%)	Final Grade (100%)

Lesson #1. Objective. The student will be introduced to CALA themes in history, politics, bibliographies, theology and missions in order to prepare to study the course.

A. History

1. The name of the island where Columbus build his first fort.
Hispaniola (where current day Haiti and the Dominican Republic are)
2. The year when the first Protestant church was established in the Americas.
1557 (by the French Huguenots who went to Coligny, Brazil)
3. Name of the first theological confession written in the Americas.
Coligny Confession (written in 1558 by 4 French Huguenot martyrs drowned by Villegaignon.
4. Name of the spiritual advisor for the first Protestant mission in the Americas
John Calvin (advised from Geneva via the pastors send by the Genevan Church)
5. The year in which the Anglican Church came to Bermuda.
1609 (Anglicans came with the English mercantile company)
6. The year when the West Indies Company legalized their practice of slave trading.
1652 (the practice was formally legalized in Holland)
7. The year the first Presbyterian mission society came to the Caribbean.
1800 (The Scottish Mission Society came to Jamaica that year)

B. Politics

1. Name of first independent republic in CALA.
Haiti (revolution took place in 1792)
2. Name of one of the 19th century national Mexican heroes who attended Protestant services.
Benito Juarez (A Mexican national liberator, very critical of the Roman Catholic Church)
3. Name of the Venezuelan liberator of the 19th century who was sympathetic to Protestantism.
Simon Bolivar (was friends with Protestant missionaries and involved with Quakers when he visited Europe as a young man.
4. Year of the Cuban Revolution
1959, Fidel Castro took over the country.

C. Bibliography.

1. Author of the first doctrinal book in the Americas.
Roman Pane, (Roman Catholic religious worker who wrote Christian Doctrine.
2. Author of what is known as the 70 prophecies.
Christopher Columbus (the explorer was very religious)
3. Author of the *History of the Indies*
Bartholomew de las Casas (spokesperson for the Indian peoples. This three volume classic is must reading for history students.
4. Author of *Presbyterian Foreign Missions*.
Robert Speer (influential Presbyterian spokesperson promoting missions)
5. Author of *The Other Spanish Christ*.
John Mackay, Scottish Presbyterian missionary who worked in Peru in the early 20th century, who became an ecumenical leaders and latter became president of Princeton Seminary in the USA.
6. Author of *Through Gates of Splendor*.
Elizabeth Elliot (wife of martyred missionary to the Auca Indians in Ecuador)
7. Author of *A History of the Church in Latin America. Colonialism to Liberation*.
Enrique Dussel (writes from a critical and liberationist Roman Catholic view)
8. Author of *The Story of Christianity*.
Justo Gonzalez (a classic critical and Protestant author)
9. Author of *The World Christian Encyclopedia*.
David Barrett (the most in-depth world wide missiological study published in 1982)

10. Author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Pablo Freire (popular Brazilian author on a liberationist view on education)

D. Reformed Theology.

1. T or F. "If God requires something of you He supplies the means by which to accomplish it."

T. This was Augustine's response to Pelagius.

2. T or F. "Faith precedes regeneration."

F. Faith is a fruit of the work of the Holy Spirit.

3. T or F. "Justification is infused to the believer."

F. Infusion is the position of the Roman Catholic Church (Trent)

4. T or F. "The church is the maximum authority in interpreting the Bible."

F. This is the view of the Roman Catholic Church. Sixteenth century Protestants hold that the Bible is its own authority (*sola scriptura*).

5. T or F. "It is unfair for God to let innocent people suffer."

F. It would be unfair if there were perfectly innocent people (Rom. 3:23).

6. T or F. "Human life begins at conception."

T. As with Jesus, all human live since Adam and Eve begins at conception.

7. T or F. "God has a preferential option for the poor."

F. This is the view of late 20th century liberationists, however, it is discriminatory against non-poor.

8. T or F. "The Great Commission was fulfilled with the early disciples."

F. The Great Commission was first given to the early disciples in order to pass it on to all other believers.

9. T or F. "One can be a true believer and stay within an apostate church."

F. The sixteenth century Protestant view that true believers are to congregate with true believers.

10. List the 10 commandments in order.

E. Missions (students own answers).

1. List the names of the CALA countries where your denomination has mission work.

2. List the names of the para-church agencies working in CALA supported by your church.

3. List the names and basic task of 5 missionaries you know who are working in CALA.

4. List the names and basic tasks of 5 CALA nationals working in CALA.

5. Name the CALA country which has the highest percentage of evangelical Christians.

6. Name the CALA country which has the lowest percentage of evangelical Christians.

7. Name the CALA country which has the highest percentage of Presbyterian Christians.

8. Name the CALA country which has the lowest percentage of Presbyterian and Reformed Christians.

9. If you were to do mission work in CALA, where would you go and what would you do?

10. If you were to recommend to your local church financial support for mission work in CALA, what would you recommend?

Lesson #2. First Era. Roman Catholic Conquest (1492-1791)

READING: pages 1-40 (in regular book), pp 1-42 on web page.

QUESTIONS

1. What does CALA stand for?
Caribbean and Latin America
2. Who is Gisbertus Voetius and how can his view of missions be described?
Dutch theologian (1580-1676), founder of the University of Utrecht and who wrote about missions. His three fold definition of mission of extending the kingdom of God by evangelizing the heathen, plant the church and bear witness to glory of God in all areas of life, is still valid today.
3. What does the mission context refer to? What questions does it answer?
Deals with origin, historical development and culture of church and mission. It answers the “when” and “where” questions.
4. What does mission agency refer to? What questions does it answer?
This category answers the questions “who sends, who goes, to whom is one sent, with whom does the one sent work, how is mission work accomplished and which mission method is used?”
5. What does mission motivation refer to? What main question does it answer?
This refers to the principles and message of the church and mission. It answers the “why” question.
6. In what trip did the first religious workers come to the New World?
Bernardo Boil was among the first religious workers who came on the 2nd voyage in 1493.
7. Mention one attempt at Roman Catholic theological reform in the 16th century New World
Own answer.
8. Mention one attempt at Roman Catholic social reform in the 16th century New World.
Own answer
9. What is the view of Frank Moya Pons as to the celebration of the 500 years of RCC evangelization?
Frank Moya Pons, a Roman Catholic and Dominican historian, questions the validity of celebrating a “first evangelization” when most of the Indians died in a mass genocide and war.
10. Why were the Roman Catholics able to keep the Protestants at bay in South America?
Several answers can be given. Among the reasons is the Hispanic hegemony between religion, culture and military. The other reason is that Protestantism was too weak to overcome the Iberian conquest.

Lesson #3. Second Era. Entrance of European Protestantism (1528-1732): the transplanted church.

READING. pp. 41-134 in book or pp. 43-93 on web page.

QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Welsers?
The Welsers were German bankers who were given property by Carlos the V in the New World to repay debts. The Welsers had some Protestant ties. They came to the New World in 1528 but there is no record of any religious activities.
2. Year of the celebration of the first Protestant Church service
1557.
3. Name of the “Cain of the Americas.”
Villegaignon
4. Briefly describe the first evangelism contacts made by the Huguenots in the Coligny expedition.
When some of the Huguenots were exiled from the fort they met Indians and befriended and speak about Jesus.
5. What was the relationship of Calvin in Geneva with the Coligny expedition?
Calvin and the Genevan Church send the first pastors with the Coligny expedition.
6. What monumental decision was made in 1652 that would negatively affect Dutch Reformed missions in CALA?
The West Indies Company (WIC) decided to legalize slave trading and the Dutch Reformed were in alliance with the WIC.
7. What main effect did the Dutch colonist’s association with slave trade have on the Netherlands Reformed churches in the Caribbean?
Evangelism and church membership among the Indo-Americans and Afro-Americans virtually was non-existent. The Netherlands Reformed churches became colonist and immigrant churches.
8. What did the Spanish do with the French Huguenots in Florida in the mid 16th century?
Juan Ribaut and his Spanish soldiers killed most of the colonists.
9. What importance does Jan Willem Kals have for Dutch Reformed missions?
Kals protested against the WIC control over the local churches. He was also appalled that the church was not ministering to the non-colonists. When he returned to the Netherlands he spoke against the churches mission.
10. What are your general impressions as to the Dutch Reformed mission beginnings in CALA?
Own answer.

Lesson 4. Third Era. Continuation of Church maintenance and entrance of mission societies (1732-1853): a mission to the people

READING: Book: 88, 97-98, 105-122, 135-149 in book or 68,73-74,77-86, 94-101 on web page.

QUESTIONS

1. When did the Moravians come to the New World and how was their mission approach different from the Netherlands Reformed?
The Moravians came in 1735 and worked with both the Afro and Indo Americans. The Netherlands Reformed ministered almost exclusively among the Dutch colonists.
2. What was the experience of Netherlands Reformed ministry Henricus Muller when he sought to include Afro-Americans in the church?
He was opposed by other Netherlands Reformed ministers. The WIC would ship such ministers back home after their first term or even during their first term (i.e. Jan W. Kals in Surinam).
3. What was different about the Scottish Mission Society who came to Jamaica in the early 19th century?
The Scottish Mission Society came to work with the non-colonists. A national church was formed. Also, mission was carried out through a mission society rather than a denominational agency.
4. What relationship was there between the Scottish Mission Society's work in Jamaica and Presbyterian mission work in Nigeria, Africa?
The Jamaican national Presbyterian and a Scottish Mission Society's missionary went to Nigeria and established the first Presbyterian Church there in the mid-19th century.
5. What was the main sociological difference between the Netherlands Reformed ministry and the mission work of the mission societies in the 18th and 19th century?
The mission societies concentrated their mission work among the Afro-American and Indo-American populations, rather than working among the colonists.
6. What do the ratio of Netherlands Reformed ministers and missionaries being sent out say about the emphasis of the Netherlands Reformed church and mission?
From 1528 to 1916, 258 ministers were sent out and 11 missionaries. The emphasis of the Netherlands Reformed was to maintain the colonial church rather than extending the gospel to all peoples.
7. What role would the Bible society mission agencies play in Latin America?
The Netherlands Bible Society had some influence in supplying Bibles in a variety of languages. It was the British and Foreign Bible Society that cooperated with Waldensians in Argentina.
8. What mission agencies were beginning to form in North America that included both Reformed and Presbyterians participants?
The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the American Bible Society.

Lesson 5 (continued). Fourth Era. Entrance of North American Presbyterianism and another wave of European immigrants (1853-1916).

READING: pp. 111-116, 150-256 in book or 80-83, 102-158 on web page.

QUESTIONS

1. When and where did the 1st Presbyterians come to the Caribbean?
1609, Presbyterian church members came with Anglicans to Bermuda.
2. When and where was the 1st Presbyterian church established?
1644 in Bermuda. A split from the Anglican church.
3. How did the Scottish Missionary Society (SMS) mission strategy differ from the colonial church?
The main difference is that the SMS worked directly with the non-colonists.
4. What were the names of the two largest Presbyterian mission boards at the end of the 19th century?
The Northern and Southern Presbyterian Mission Boards. The split in the Presbyterian Church was caused by the Civil War split in the country.
5. In what ways was the Presbyterian work in the Dominican Republic different from the mission starts in other Caribbean islands?
The Presbyterians went to other Spanish speaking Caribbean islands (Cuba, Puerto Rico) prior to coming to the Dominican Republic. The DR was one of the last Caribbean islands to which the Presbyterians came. Also, the Presbyterians worked together with other denominations to form a union church rather than a Presbyterian church.
6. In what ways was the Canadian Presbyterian mission work contextualized to Caribbean culture?
The Canadian Presbyterians worked in the ethnic languages, used non traditional hymns, developed local leadership, and became part of the development of the island's society.
7. Briefly describe the transition from European Presbyterian and Reformed work to North American mission work in British Guyana.
The European Presbyterians and especially the Dutch Reformed maintained a colonial ethos. Both the Americana and Canadian influence in British Guyana was more nationalized.
8. What conclusion does the author draw about the development of Northern Presbyterian mission work in Brazil?
The Northern Presbyterian mission work developed in Brazil during the middle of the 19th century, national leaders were developed at an early stage, many lay evangelists were activated, national leadership had to take over when missionaries were dying and being affected by the Yellow Fever, mission board cooperated with the national church to advance the national church.
9. What conclusions does the author draw about the development of Southern Presbyterian mission work in Mexico?
The author makes note of the early development of national leaders, the role of women missionaries, especially in the formation of schools; the role of lay evangelism and finally, the ability of the missionaries to be flexible and move into new areas.
10. What importance did the Panama Congress of 1916 have on the development of Presbyterianism in CALA?
Due to the decision of the Congress to divide the responsibilities of mission among different denominational missions, the Presbyterians became stronger in Brazil, Guatemala and Mexico, but did not work in other countries such as in Central America.

Lesson 6. Missiological analysis of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches and missions in CALA from 1528-1916

READING: Chapter 4 in book and on web page.

OUTLINE: List of the conclusions. The student will write a brief response (OWN ANSWERS) to each of the conclusions.

The extension of CALA Presbyterian and Reformed churches and missions is related to the degree of receptivity within CALA cultures.

The active and passive involvement of the Reformed churches and missions in discriminatory practices resulted in limited evangelism, lack of church development and absence of Christian service with the Afro and Indo-Americans.

Cross-cultural missions carried out by the Presbyterians were mostly accomplished through missionary societies and denominational mission societies who planted churches rather than the transplanted colonial church.

A process of nationalization contributed to the development of strong Presbyterian churches throughout CALA.

The early Reformed ministry in CALA accommodated to the WIC and to the colonial cultural ethos as the expense of missions with the African and Indian Americans. The Presbyterians were able to overcome the colonial ethos by establishing mission agencies that worked directly with cross-cultural groups. Growing CALA nationalism during the 19th century opened the doors of opportunity to enter Hispanic Roman Catholic nations. Cross-cultural mission's results were seen in church planting and the developing of national leadership.

The European Reformed churches were more concerned about providing pastoral ministry to the colonist than ministry to non-colonist. This can be measured by comparing the number of congregational ministers and missionaries sent out as well as comparing the number of colonial transplant churches to planted churches.

The Presbyterians became more concerned about cross cultural missions than immigrant pastoral ministries as seen by the number of missionaries sent out in comparison to regular parish ministers as well as by observing the number of planted churches and transplanted churches.

The Reformed ministers worked primarily in the Dutch language and cross-cultural missions were the exception rather than the rule.

The Presbyterian ministers worked in the English language but cross-cultural missions was primarily realized in the Portuguese and Spanish languages thereby facilitating the planting of national churches and developing national leaders.

By 1916 the foundation for the Presbyterian national churches had been laid and the Panama Congress of 1916 brings in a new era of partnership in missions.

Reformational theology was used to define the theology of both the transplanted colonial churches as well as the planted national churches. During the 19th century the Reformed churches participate in evangelical mission agencies and ecumenical ventures.

The Dutch Reformed colonial churches ideologically affirmed classical Reformed theology but in practice denied some of its basic teachings, such as the covenant of grace, evangelizing all peoples and the communion of the saints.

Presbyterian orthodoxy was affirmed by adherence to the Westminster Standards and the denominational church orders. From 1609 to 1916 there were no challenges to the standards that caused church divisions.

The European Reformed justification for missions is expressed by influential leaders, church confessions and social institutions.

The Presbyterian justification for missions is found in the Westminster Standards. Besides the standards, which were honored throughout the history of Presbyterianism in CALA, there were spokespersons that were motivational for Presbyterian missions in CALA.

The Reformed desire to preach the gospel “to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction” was distorted by the NHK association with the WIC. Presbyterians were able to move beyond the colonial church and work cross-culturally.

Lesson 7. A clash of world views.

READING: Chapter 5 in book or web page.
STUDENT ASSIGNMENT FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

The author concluded the following:

“The mission context, mission agency and mission motivation for Reformed and Presbyterian missions in CALA has been documented and conclusions have been made. Collectively, it can be said that Reformed and Presbyterian missions from 1528-1916 took two very different paths starting in the mid 17th century. After the two initial attempts to colonize in Brazil, the Dutch Reformed became established in the Caribbean and became associated with the African slave trading through its alliance with the WIC. The NHK preoccupied itself in sending pastoral ministers for the Dutch colonists. Religious services were conducted in the Dutch language. As a result of a European and North American orientated ministry, there were only a handful of Reformed and Waldensian congregations operating in 1916. Contrasted to the Reformed development, the European Presbyterians established colony churches, but after precedent setting cross cultural efforts of the Scottish Mission Society, followed by the entrance of Canadian Presbyterian missionaries and dispersion of USA missionaries through opening countries at the end of the 19th century, the Presbyterians planted many more national churches than maintaining immigrant churches. Although the Reformed and Presbyterians maintained very similar theological standards, their mission contexts, agencies and motivations were directionally distinct. The Presbyterians went beyond the colonial and immigrant context, learned the Portuguese and Spanish languages, trained national leaders from the inception of the church plants and gave the responsibility of the church and missions to the nationals. The Presbyterian mission efforts were exemplary and motivation for the national churches that were initiated and continued into the 20th century.”

Questions: (student’s own answers)

1. Give your reflections on the above conclusion.
2. How do you see the difference between mission to the people and church maintenance?
3. How is this reflected in the mission efforts of your church (es) today?
4. What steps are to be taken in order to avoid simply transplanting one’s own church?
5. Does your church mission suffer from a cultural sin (i.e. like the Reformed being associated with the slave trading WIC) that is holding back its mission?
6. What is your church’s mission motivation? How is that expressed?
7. What is the main mission agency that your church uses to conduct missions?

Lesson 8. Formation of National Reformed and Presbyterian Churches (1916-2002).

READING. The student will search in books, articles and web sites information about one particular CALA Reformed or Presbyterian mission or church and report to the other students in class.