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MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS  
OF GUATEMALA

by

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## INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

### A. The Subject Stated

"Indian America includes the greatest stretch of unevangelized territory in the world."<sup>1</sup> This statement and similar statements have not only attracted the attention of the missionaries on the Latin American field, but also have aroused the interest of people on the home front. The result has been a real move toward separate mission work for the Indians. Hitherto the Ladinos<sup>2</sup> have received most of the benefits of the missionaries' efforts, but due to the inherent differences between the Ladinos and the Indians, this new emphasis has been born. The missionary enterprise among the Indians of Latin America, therefore, is a comparatively recent development. In this thesis, a history of this development is set forth. As the interest in Indian Missions to Latin America is still on the increase, and is gaining momentum with the new emphasis brought about by the present war and its policy of good neighborliness with the Latin American countries, the history here presented must necessarily be only the beginning of a great movement. Some of the experiments that are being tried today may develop along separate lines as the persons involved

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1. Jordan, W.F.: Central American Indians and the Bible, p.3.
2. The race that has emerged from the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood.

learn by experience in dealing with these Indians. Some of the ultimate outcomes cannot be seen clearly at present, but the problems involved in opening and maintaining a separate mission to the Indians are very real.

### B. The Subject Justified

The subject is justified for two main reasons: first, the timeliness of it; and second, the apparent lack of available source materials.

The governments of the past have talked of incorporating the Indian into their systems. They have looked on the Indian as an alien race, a people of serfs, an army of the disinherited.<sup>1</sup> Before this new emphasis on the Indian work, the missionaries also had attempted to approach the Indians as the Ladinos did, i.e. they tried to incorporate the Indian into the Latin system. However, it was found that many of the Indians either did not respond because of the difficulty in understanding the ideas presented to them, or else they refused to respond.

"Today there is an increasing number of leaders and thinkers who no longer talk of 'incorporating' the Indian. They wish to build up a new civilization on the Indian as a part of the foundation. They wish to develop the Indian, to lead him out, and to make of America, an America for the Americans - the truest Americans of all."<sup>2</sup>

Today the missionaries are aware of the underlying current

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1. Grubb; Kenneth G.: An Advancing Church in Latin America, p.66  
2. Ibid: p. 68-69

which has all the potentialities of a class struggle between the Ladinos and the Indians. They are attempting to avoid this struggle by developing the desirable Indian traits into Christian traits. The mission boards are making plans for an expanded program. At the time of writing of this thesis, Dr. Anderson of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions is in Mexico, surveying the field in order to open new stations among the Indians. Even the lay people are sensing that underlying current.

"Six months in Guatemala only confirmed my first impression that it is a white man's country. In spite of its sixty-five per cent native population, the white race dominates it, marks it. I became aware, too, that the white man's culture rides very lightly on that of the Indian, as foam on a profound dark sea. That sea still ebbs and flows a tranquil tide, but it has terrific power, yet unaroused. I wonder if it will ever wake to a realization of its own power, and if it does, what will happen. Many people in Guatemala wonder about that too. Few speak of it."<sup>1</sup>

The second reason for the justification of the subject is the apparent lack of available material on the Mission work among the Indians proper. The source materials for this thesis have been gathered largely from letters written by the missionaries engaged in Indian work, personal reports of the missionaries, magazine articles, and general treatises on the Indians and on mission work in all of Latin America. Interviews with missionaries home on furlough have also been used

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1. Fergusson, Erna: Guatemala, p. 14-15.

to acquire general attitudes toward this new emphasis. Personal observations, gathered from fifteen years of living in Guatemala, underlie the whole outlook. The newness of the field is largely responsible for the present lack of literature. In 1926 Mr. Jordan of the American Bible Society wrote:

"The true conquest of the New-World races has yet to be made and its story written. But when it is recorded, it will be more fascinating than the volumes of Prescott."<sup>1</sup>

It is still to be done.

### C. The Method of Procedure

In order to understand the reasons for the backward condition of the Indians which has made it necessary for modern missions to establish separate work among them, the early Catholic Missions to the Indians are studied first.

Then the period of Modern Missions is discussed in Chapter Two, with its emphasis on a separate program for each race. Because of the small per cent of pure blooded Indians in all of Central America, except Guatemala, this country has been used as the basis for the study. It is the only Central American country that can rightly be termed an Indian country. The mission work among each tribe is discussed first separately; then the problems common to all of

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1. Jordan: op. cit., p. 9.



the tribes are considered in their respective turns. The Spanish work among the Indians is only mentioned in connection with the problems that arise, because in most cases it is considered as only a by-product of the specific mission station.

After having considered the development of the work among the individual tribes, and the problems arising from the different phases of the work, an attempt is made to analyze the whole field to find out what possibilities exist for expansion into channels not being reached by the present program. Chapter Three deals with this proposed expansion.

The last chapter is a summary of the findings of the study.

CHAPTER I

EARLY MISSIONS

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY MISSIONS

#### A. Introduction

The first inhabitants of Central America were short muscular men with well-proportioned limbs; a bright copper colored skin; straight, coarse, black hair; and with a general expression of intelligence and capability. No one knows their true origin; there are many conjectures, but through knowledge gained by the ruins of their towns and other works, they must have come from a very high type of civilization. The mighty cities, the great pyramids, the ruined temples, the precise calendar, the remains of art, all bear witness to former greatness, to architectural genius, superior astronomical knowledge, illustrious art, and literary attainments. Today, four hundred years after the western civilization was superimposed on them, there are still many tribes that are very backward, adhering to primitive customs, clinging to old superstitions, and in general, not adopting in the least modern patterns of thinking and living.

"It is remarkable that while this people have produced the advanced and remarkable civilization of the early history of the New World, to-day there are tribes in the far interior which have barely emerged from the stone age."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Grubb: op. cit., p. 66

Yet it is not so remarkable when we consider the position into which the Indians have been forced since the domineering white man took away his freedom. From the time of the conquest, he has had no chance to show his native ability. There have been a few cases in which individuals have been able to rise above the social, economic, and racial gap which separates the Indian from the Ladino, but as a whole, the Indians are kept in a deplorable condition of servitude.

✓ The conquest itself and the attitude of the conquerors played no small part in the degeneration of this once mighty people. This work of cruelty and ruthless treatment to satisfy the Spanish thirst for gold and adventure was only partially offset by the sincere help of those priests who truly held the welfare of the subjected people at heart. Even some of the priests held the same attitude toward the Indians that the conquerors had because greed and lust of power were more potent than the religion of the day. It is with this in mind that we now turn to a brief account of the conquest, followed by a more detailed study of the missions of mercy established by some of the evangelist-priests. In order to bring the account to date, at the end of the chapter, the present conditions of the missions is discussed.

#### B. Brief Historical Account of the Conquest

Central America itself was discovered by Columbus on his fifth and last voyage to the new world in 1502.

Several years elapsed between the discovery of this part of America and the actual conquering of the same territory. Guatemala, the northernmost country of Central America, was conquered by Pedro de Alvarado, lieutenant and representative of Hernán Cortéz, the conqueror of Mexico. Cortéz sent Alvarado to the southern countries to bring them under the Spanish sovereignty and claim them for the rapidly expanding Spanish domain. As Alvarado not only had his Spanish army, but also an army of natives from Mexico, he did not expect the fierce resistance with which the highland Indians confronted him. Due to the great advantage the Spaniards had in firearms and horses, both of which were new items to the Indians, victory for them was certain. But it was only after the third tremendous struggle with the Quiché Indians of Guatemala, that Alvarado was able to continue on his conquering journey. After this mightiest of the tribes was conquered, the two other important tribes were soon subjugated, though not always under pleasant circumstances.

In one year, 1522-1523, the three most important tribes had been conquered. With control of a large portion of the country, settlements were established and the land was considered a part of the Spanish domain.

The whole drama of the conquest was of great advantage to the Spaniards. It was not the virgin or the saints that drove the Indians before them, as some of them

liked to think; it was rather gun-powder, blades and steeds<sup>1</sup> that so overpowered the primitive people that it was only due to their outstanding courage that they resisted at all.

"The gentle, sympathetic, industrial character of these Indians..of Central America at once explains the possibility and blackens the perfidy of the romantic though unprovoked conquest of populous, peaceable, industrious nations by a mere handful of gold-seeking Spanish adventurers."<sup>2</sup>

But the work of the conquest was only the starting-point from which the slavery of the Indians began its growth. When we consider that the conquerors for the most part were devout Catholic men who thought that they were living up to their Christian standards, we must agree with McLean and Williams when they say,

"It is hard to reconcile the treatment the Spaniards gave the natives of America with the deep religious purpose that so evidently actuated some of the explorers."<sup>3</sup>

It was up to the priests who accompanied these conquerors to soften the harsh treatment and bring the Indians to an understanding of the faith that was forced upon them at the point of the sword.

### C. Motives that Inspired the Early Priests

Whenever a new field was conquered, the first act of peace was to insist that the conquered peoples accept the

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1. Cf. Crowe, F.: The Gospel in Central America, p. 59.
2. Haymaker, E.M.: The Indians of Guatemala, p. 4.
3. McLean, R. and Williams, G.P.: Old Spain in New America, p. 29.

Catholic faith en masse. Needless to say, the result was a mere formal act of acceptance without the slightest understanding of the content of this new belief. The extent to which the belief became an integral part of the life of the individual depended largely upon the character of the accompanying priest and the motives which had inspired him to join the conquerors.

Adventure, when connected with primitive people, attracts two types of individuals: those who seek thrills for selfish gratifications of their restless natures, having no constructive ideals in view; and those who are inspired by the desire to lead mankind to a higher plain of living, being stimulated by a vision of the possibilities of molding the new peoples into the highest known good. These were the two types of priests who were drawn to the New World. The first type was characterized by "enthusiastic disinterestedness"<sup>1</sup>. At first there were not so many of these on the field, but as the Spanish immigrants were rebuked by the true missionaries for their exploitation of the Indians, these immigrants intrigued and plotted until they acquired the type of priest who allowed them to continue their merciless treatment of the Indians.

The second type of priest was characterized by a true evangelistic zeal. Great honor is due these messengers

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1. Crowe: op. cit., p. 100.

of the Church.

"These monks not only accompanied all the military expeditions, to look after the welfare of the natives, but often, alone, they penetrated the wilds wherever souls were to be found, exiling themselves from civilization and all congenial companionship, suffering hunger, thirst, cold, persecution, and death, with no thought of reward except the approval of the Master whom they served with all the fiery and consecrated zeal of the old crusades..... Often they protected the Indians against the cruelty and lust of the adventurers.... The fact that their own conduct would not, at times, meet the test of modern Christian civilization, must be viewed in the light of their age; they were seeing as a glass, darkly....The missionaries had not accompanied them (adventurers) for the sake of adventure; theirs was a desire to serve the people, to bring them to the Cross, and again and again the priest stayed with the savages when his companions returned to civilization. Through their efforts many missions were established on Spanish territory, but oftentimes the missionary was foully murdered by the very ones he hoped to save."<sup>1</sup>

The quality of these priests left little to be desired; the trouble with them was the method they pursued in trying to bring the Indians to the Cross. Often their zeal was much greater than their acts of kindness. That was the reason for the use of force in many instances. The motive behind the act was genuine, but they did not see the implications. In all fairness, although pressure of authority played no small part in the conversion of the Indians, even that part has been overstressed.<sup>2</sup>

Another error in method was the adaptation of

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1. McLean, R., and Williams, G.P.: op. cit. p. 34-35.
2. Cf. Braden, C.S.: Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico, p. 171.



Christian worship to the beliefs and practices of the pagan tribes. Indoctrination was sketchy because of the lack of background of the Indians and the inability of the priests to express themselves in an unknown language. The result was the paganizing of Christianity rather than the Christianizing of paganism.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to note that in spite of these evil methods employed by some of the priests, when their motives were sincere, they gained the confidence of the people to a greater extent than the conquerors did. The holiness of their lives, the unselfishness of their purpose, and the devotion to their duty struck a responsive chord in the hearts of the Indians. It was this that mitigated to the Indians the severity of the conquerors, without aiding their spiritual welfare.

#### D. The One Shining Light - Bartolomé de las Casas

No history of the Indian Missions would be complete without the shining example of the true priest who attempted to help the Indians to the best of his knowledge and ability.

"No man in the whole history of this stirring drama of conquest proved himself a more genuine or more powerful friend of the oppressed natives."<sup>2</sup>

He has earned for himself the title "The Indian's Friend".

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1. McLean and Williams: op. cit., p. xiii
2. Braden: op. cit., p. 319.

Fray Bartolomé de las Casas was born in Spain in 1474; he accompanied his sailor father on a voyage to the new world under Columbus. In 1510 he was ordained to the priesthood and served in Cuba for several years. His knowledge of conditions in the New World was first hand, based on personal observations.

### 1. Inspiration for his Work

While in Cuba, the injustice of the wholesale slaughter of the Indians by the Spaniards and the injustice of the system of "repartimientos"<sup>1</sup> started Las Casas on his life of helpfulness. He himself was given "repartimientos" of Indians to do the work on his land, but while reading the book of Ecclesiastes, he came to the conclusion that the system was wrong.<sup>2</sup> When he expressed his desire to give up his allotments, he received no cooperation from his companions. This made it necessary for him to go to Spain to plead the cause before the royal court. From this time on, he was engaged in constant controversies either in Spain or in the New World in his zeal to secure legislation favorable to the Indians.

His conviction that converts could be made by peaceful means rather than by the sword, was finally put to

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1. A system of allotments of the Indians among the Spaniards.
2. Cf. Helps, Sir Arthur: The Life of Las Casas "The Apostle to the Indies", p. 19-21.

the test when he came to Guatemala in 1536 and received from the king of Spain a large tract of land to try out his ideas. Alvarado had attempted three times to conquer this section, called "Tierra de Guerra", Land of War, without success. Now, no Spanish adventurers were allowed to enter for the space of five years, while Las Casas and his dominican friars were free to evangelize the heathen by peaceful means. It was during this period that Las Casas' methods were best demonstrated.

## 2. Method of his Work

Las Casas' main thesis is set forth in these words as he speaks of converting the Indians:

"The only way of doing this is by long assiduous and faithful preaching, until the heathen shall gather some idea of the true nature of the Deity and of the doctrine they are to embrace. Above all, the lives of the Christians should be such as to exemplify the truth of these doctrines...."<sup>1</sup>

When given the opportunity to try out his thesis, he started to work out a plan of action. First, he invited some Quiché Indians to live with him in order that he might learn their language. When he was able to express himself sufficiently, he translated into verse the doctrines of the Church from the Creation of the World to the Future Return of Christ to Judge, including Punishment of the Wicked and Reward of the Good.

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1. Braden; op. cit., p. 142.

Then he became acquainted with four Indian merchants who made trips into this ferocious country selling their wares. These merchants learned the verses, set them to music, and went on their journey. They stopped in the markets of the Indian villages, displaying their scissors, knives, looking glasses, buttons, and bells. When a crowd was gathered, they sang the verses Las Casas had taught them. The change from merchants into priests caused a great sensation among the Indians. Word reached the chief of the tribe who became interested in them, and later accepted Christianity. After a stay of seven days, they were asked to bring back someone able to explain the meaning of the verses of the song. The priest who returned in answer to the request found an expectant audience. In 1537 Las Casas visited the chief. His method of approach had been a complete success. This land that had been so impregnable when approached through war, was a demonstration of what could be done through peaceful means. Charles V called the territory Vera Paz, True Peace, because of the success of the measures taken under the direction of Las Casas.

### 3. Results of his Work

Success of an enterprise is judged not only from the immediate results, but also from the permanent effects of it. The immediate results of Las Casas' mission were very favorable. The Catholic religion found an entrance

into a hitherto antagonistic region, the chief of the tribe was converted, and did not waver in his new faith until a nucleus of Christians was formed. The Indians of that region had a changed attitude toward the Spaniards. The new faith attracted converts and gathered momentum as time went on.<sup>1</sup> Many communities accepted the doctrine spontaneously and gladly.

In addition to the Christianizing of the Indians, Las Casas succeeded in forming villages. He believed that laws exist only where there is liberty and a community.<sup>2</sup> The Indians naturally were unfavorable to community settlements because they had always lived in the open fields and mountains. However, at the order of Las Casas, Rabinal was founded in 1538 in spite of the dislike of the Indians. Eventually 100 families were collected and soon became accustomed to the new way of life.

Another result was the immediate proof that Christian ideals can be successful even in conquests.

The permanent effects of Las Casas' work are not so easily determined. His zeal for the Indians did not allow him to remain in one place very long. As soon as he left, others, opposed to the Indians, followed him.

"Carnal weapons.....were, in his absence, again resorted to, to keep the converts steadfast to

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1. Cf. Grubb, K.G.: Religion in Central America, p. 55.  
2. Cf. Helps: op. cit., p. 215.

their profession."<sup>1</sup>

However, a real heritage in Indian tradition and in true Christianity was left behind, the results of which will never be known. Las Casas' attitude of faith and tenacious belief in his ideals must have had their effect on the Indians themselves as well as on other friars. The Christian ideal of Christianizing the heathen by peaceful means had been a success as far as it was carried out. The spirit of the man has been remembered to such an extent that both the Indian and the Ladino see in the Protestant Missionary the spiritual successor of Las Casas.<sup>2</sup>

Though at times he was impetuous, with a hasty temper, and though he did advocate the importation of negro slaves to relieve the forced Indian labor, Las Casas stands out among the notable men of his age as a man of faith, working incessantly and against great odds for the welfare of the Indians. The two departments of Guatemala, Upper and Lower Verapaz are a reminder to this day of this great adventure of faith.

#### **E. Present State of Catholic Missions**

Out of the 17 million Indians in all of Latin America, the Catholic Church reaches about 12 million.<sup>3</sup> How-

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1. Crowe: op. cit., p. 113.

2. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 57.

3. Cf. Bower, R.E.: The Unreached Indian, p. 8.

ever, there are very few constructive missions among them. Every village has its Catholic Church at the center, but resident priests are scarce except in the larger cities. In name, the missions are there.

As the years passed, the Spanish people developed a religious standard of their own with little emphasis on ethical obligations; the Indians, while keeping many of their pagan practices, at least were sincere in their search for God. Thus, two types of Catholic religion were developed, which were constantly conflicting with each other. As the fervor of the early priests became less known, the Church dropped into the policy of protecting the Indians and serv-  
ing the colonists. Protection short of service is not a factor in advancement; thus the Catholic missions today are inactive as constructive forces. Long before the present century dawned, the Roman Catholic Church had ceased to do anything positive or constructive for the Indians of Latin America.<sup>1</sup>

Today the typical Indian commune is visited by the priest only once or twice a year. Mass is celebrated and tithes are received. The Mass is followed by a drinking party. "The Church fattens on sin, and liquor is a fruitful mother of holy revenue."<sup>2</sup> After a day or two spent in the

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1. Cf. Burgess, P.: The Indians, p. 7.
2. Haymaker, E.M.: Indians of Guatemala, p. 18.

community, the priest rides home again followed by a procession of Indians bearing the gifts he has received while in the village. No priest speaks the native language of the tribe with which he works. He does not enter into the life of the village further than is necessary to exploit it.<sup>1</sup>

The main use of the Church, as far as the Indians are concerned is as a place to baptize their children, to go for prayer to their gods, and to pay their tithes and bring their offerings. The Indians themselves are Christian only in name.

Many of the ancient practices are still followed. The Church has either adopted these under a Christian name, or else overlooked them. Some of these practices are the native pagan dances on certain religious occasions, the perpetuation of certain pagan feasts as Christian festivals, the pagan custom of making offerings before the images, and the taking over of pagan shrines or divinities under Christian names.<sup>2</sup> The spiritual level of the Indians after four hundred years of Spanish influence is not very much higher than it was four hundred years before the colonists arrived.

The priests have deliberately kept the Indians in ignorance. Christ is presented as dead or dying, rather than as the risen Lord of life. The Bible is a sealed book. There is no connection between religion and morality. These are

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1. Cf. Burgess, P.: op. cit., p. 4.

2. Cf. Braden: op. cit., p. 280-281.



largely Catholic influences throughout the world, but in connection with the Indians, they gather new meaning. The priests recognize that the Indians have the best qualities of character and the finest material for development into strong Christians. Therefore their efforts to keep the Indians ignorant have been purposeful and selfish. Their policy in connection with Protestant work is, "You may have the Ladino, but keep your hands off the Indian."<sup>1</sup>

In all fairness to the Catholic Missions, there have been communities in which some real constructive work has been done. In a few rare cases, the Church has secured its members against the demoralizing effect of alcohol by inducing the civil authorities to prohibit the sale of liquor within its borders. Also polygamy has largely disappeared from the larger Christian communities, and idolatry as such is seldom found. The greatest contribution of the Catholic missions has been the groundwork it has laid for true Christian spirit to enter and transform the lives.

#### F. Reasons for the Decline of Catholic Missions

Some of the reasons for the decline of the Missions are self-evident from the previous discussions. However, in drawing them together, there are five main reasons for such a degeneration.

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1. Haymaker: op. cit., p. 35.

First, the religion the Spaniards brought with them was the religion of the Inquisition with all its inherent idolatry, indulgences and absorption of human rights. When that was coupled with the superstitions of the Indians, the product was a mass of ideas foreign to the pure Christian thoughts of the apostolic Church. The light and fire of pure religion was so covered by form that it could not shine through. The practices brought to the New World were the same which were repudiated by Northern Europe as destructive to mankind.

The second reason for the decline of the Missions was the policy of conversion which the Church followed. It was in keeping with the idea of the absorption of human rights. Religion imposed by force does more harm than good, and seldom can hold its own in the vicissitudes of life. It is no wonder that many of the Missions were abandoned, and others maintained only indifferently.

In the third place, the colonists lowered still further the standards in connection with their religion. They themselves were evil examples of religious living, in addition to being hostile or indifferent toward the Indians and their religious welfare.

The fourth reason, the failure to do away with the pagan rites of the Indians, is closely linked with the type of religion that came from Spain. In some churches the sun occupies a higher place than the Virgin or Christ. The

witch doctors are the guides even within the Catholic Church. This has made the Spanish priests feel less responsible.

The fifth reason was the deliberate lack of attempts to educate the Indians. The priests built monasteries for their own people, and thus diverted the energies which otherwise would have gone into the education of the natives. They seldom learned the language of the Indians and less often did they understand the attitudes and thoughts of these people. The result was the lack of vision in the Missions. They had no definite goal for which to work, no incentive to expend energy and build for the future. Nothing is more deadening to any work than the lack of an ideal toward which to aim..

#### G. Summary and Conclusion

"The Indian, at the Conquest, retired into the substratum of his being, and there survived."<sup>1</sup> This is borne out by the condition of the Indians today in their relation to the Catholic Church of which they form a part. The reasons for such a statement become apparent as the history of the conquest and establishment of the Catholic Missions is studied, together with the present conditions of the Catholic work among them. The conquest with its merciless slaughter and forced imposition of a foreign re-

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1. Grubb: An Advancing Church in Latin America, p. 67.

ligion; the early priest with true zeal and fervor, but with wrong methods of approach; the indifference of modern priests and their refusal to accept the obvious spiritual responsibilities for the Indians are factors which serve to fill out the picture of the Catholic Missions. These same factors lead to a better understanding of the needs of the people and of the reasons for their refusal to be incorporated into the accepted social, religious, economic, and intellectual life of the country of which they form a part. The evil social forces, even within the Church, have been strong enough to offset any of the constructive work that individual priests have been able to do.

The main contribution of these Catholic Missions has not been on the social line, nor along any tangible channels, but rather in the field of concomitant learnings. It has laid the groundwork for the true Christian principles to enter and transform the lives.

CHAPTER II

MODERN MISSIONS

## CHAPTER II

### MODERN MISSIONS

#### A. Introduction

During the 450 years of the Spanish influence in the New World, the emphasis in religion as well as in every other phase of social life has been on the work among the Spanish people. As we have seen, the Catholic Missions were developed and maintained largely in behalf of the Ladinos. Meanwhile, the Indians, forming 66.7% of the total population of Guatemala<sup>1</sup>, have existed under adverse circumstances, serving others, without ambition or purpose in life; they are the great "neglected" race of the world today.

Protestant Missions likewise have concentrated their efforts on the Spanish people. It has only been within the last twenty years that the Church has awakened to the fact that there is such a tremendous need for evangelization and education among the majority of the population of Guatemala.

With this picture in mind, we now turn to the study of the modern Protestant Missions among the Indians. The period that is covered will necessarily be very short. First,

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1. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 132.

the present conditions of the Indians are briefly discussed, and then, the development of evangelization and education among these people is studied with special emphasis on the problems involved.

B. Brief Survey of the Present Conditions  
of the Indians

The condition in which the Indian tribes live today depends on their relationship with the European or part European races. In Guatemala the Indian population has been more or less forced to support the Ladinos through the system of peonage little better than slavery itself. This system has made the Indian physically strong, but socially, an outcast except in his own society and among his own people. He is the beast of burden of the country. His services cost less than do those of the pack animal with which he competes.<sup>1</sup>

In the highlands, where many of the Indians own their own small tract of land, they are economically self-sufficient, but live in a very primitive manner. They are extremely conservative; the ways of their fathers are good enough for them. If something has never been done before, it is sufficient reason for not doing it now. Several of the simple trades are in their hands; most of the agricultural labor is done by them.

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1. Cf. Jordan: op. cit., p. 59.

Religiously they worship the "God-world". Their faith has a pantheistic element which makes it difficult for them to appreciate man's sinful nature and its consequences.<sup>1</sup>

The racial animosity between the Ladino and the Indian is what has kept the latter in such a subjected position. The Indians feel the laws are interpreted differently for them than for the Ladinos; the Ladinos complain that the Indians are monopolizing the commerce and breaking into new trades (tailors, carpenters, tanners) that were formerly reserved for themselves.<sup>2</sup>

Both pictures of the Indian, as a burden bearer and as a self-sufficient individual, are true pictures. The one exists on a slightly higher economic level than the other. Both have to contend with closed doors and prejudices standing in the way of advancement of any type. Both cleave to the distinctive Indian manner of life, maintaining the language, costume, and religious traditions of their ancestors.

### C. The Development of Indian Missions

As soon as missionaries attempt to begin work among the Indians, they find themselves face to face with many problems arising primarily from the attitudes of the Indians to-

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1. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 53.
2. Cf. Burgess, Paul and Dora: Statement in Regard to a Quiche Presbytery, p. 3.



ward the Ladinos, and viceversa.

### 1. Beginnings of the Missions

In launching a program in a new field, there are many possible approaches. Some begin with an intensive language study, some concentrate on medical treatment, some on social welfare or agricultural aids. The missionaries in Guatemala have chosen the approach through intensive language study with the development of literature. But any approach must be preceded by awareness of the need for evangelization.

#### a. Awareness of the Need for Evangelization

Until very recently, the evangelical movement in Latin America, which is about fifty years old, has been occupied exclusively with the Ladino. The awakening of the need of evangelizing the Indian arose first among the missionaries on the field. Two facts served in no small measure to awaken the sense of this need: the overwhelming majority of missionaries to a minority group and the overwhelming majority of believers in a minority group. Sixty missionaries were giving their time to the 35% of Spanish-speaking people, but only two were dedicating their lives to the 65% of Indians; there were at least 15,000 Spanish-speaking Christians, but only a few hundred Indian Christians.

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1. Missionary Survey of Guatemala Indians, Manuscript from the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

The missionaries who have sensed this neglected field so keenly, have done much to interest the Boards in establishing a separate Indian work. However, until the last ten years, much resistance was encountered, and even today there are many of the missionaries on the field who are opposed to such a plan. In spite of the opposition, there is growing an awareness of the impossibility of reaching the majority of Indians except through separate and individual work done by missionaries sent exclusively to the specific tribe in question. In a recent book on the history of the Central American Mission's work, the Indian groups of Guatemala are named as one of the three fields for urgent evangelistic need.<sup>1</sup> This, coming from a Mission that twenty years ago refused to establish a department of Indian work when the opportunity arose, and which today has four people working among specific tribes, shows the trend of the times.

b. Actual Beginnings

Although the first mission work was done among the Spanish-speaking people, sporadic efforts to reach the Indian as an Indian had been made from the beginning of this century. Mr. and Mrs. McBath felt the Indian call so strongly that they resigned from the Presbyterian Mission Board to carry on an independent work among these people. This was

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1. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 46.

necessary because of the antagonism of the Board to distinctly Indian work. However, in 1914, Mr. and Mrs. McBath were forced to discontinue their work on account of lack of support.<sup>1</sup> In 1920 Mr. Howard B. Dinwiddie, a Baptist minister from New York, visited Guatemala to attend some conferences; he was joined later by Mr. Legters, a minister from South Carolina. Both became so interested in the Indians' condition that they did much to make the missionaries Indian conscious. As the Boards were still unwilling to form a separate division, and the missionaries were not ready to break with their individual Boards, these two men concentrated their efforts through the Pioneer Missionary Agency in the United States, which has cooperated with the Mission Boards in securing missionaries and funds for the Indian work.

It was among the Cakchiquel tribe that missionaries were first able to carry on work sanctioned by their Boards. Mr. W.C. Townsend, a colporteur through Central America in 1917, had studied the Indian-Ladino situation in Guatemala, and had come to the conclusion that from a missionary viewpoint, the Indians were the key to the situation.<sup>2</sup> In the summer of 1919 the Central American Mission assigned him and Mrs. Townsend to the Cakchiquel Indians, numbering approximately 375,896.<sup>3</sup> At first they were sent to the La-

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1.Cf. Burgess: Statement in Regard to a Quiche Presbytery, p.1.  
2.Cf. Jordan: op. cit., p. 19.  
3.Cf. 1940 Census of Guatemala.

dino town of Antigua, but as long as they lived there, it was difficult to get sympathetic contact with the Indians. A few months later, they moved to San Antonio Aguas Calientes. After 12 years there were more than 100 places where the Gospel had been preached weekly.<sup>1</sup> It was not an easy task to live among people who were hostile to their every move, but prejudice broke down as they were able to show their love for these people through small deeds of comfort and kindness. Today there is a small chapel, a day-school, a house for missionaries in charge, a home for boarding pupils and a hospital building.<sup>2</sup> The problems involved in the learning of the language will be described later, but the work of Mr. and Mrs. Townsend in the translation of the New Testament and in the establishing of the Indian school in Panajachel should be mentioned here. Mr. Townsend attempted to establish a separate Indian department in the Central American Mission with dialect-speaking churches alongside the Spanish-speaking churches. Here again, the Mission refused to do such a thing, fearing that trouble would break out among the Ladinos if such a policy were followed. The result was that Mr. and Mrs. Townsend left the Mission. Since, they have found a much greater work among the Indians of Mexico. In Guatemala he started a work which was subsequently followed

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1. Cf. Gregory, R.R.: The Gospel among the San Blas and other Indians of Central America, p. 9.
2. Cf. Jordan: op. cit., p. 24.

by other missionaries in other tribes.

In 1922 Mr. and Mrs. H.D. Peck went to Guatemala under the Presbyterian Board. Mr. Dinwiddie had interested Mr. Peck in Indian work. When he first went to the field, it was with the intention of devoting his entire time to the Mam Indians, numbering 299,957.<sup>1</sup> However, in his personal annual reports to the Board, Mr. Peck lamented the fact that his duties lay too much among the Ladinos so that his time with the Indians was far too limited. In 1926 he wrote, "Progress of the Mam would have been quite impossible were it not for Mrs. Peck's constant efforts."<sup>2</sup> It was not until 1929 that intensive time could be given to the study of the language, and then it was only by moving to an Indian town in the field of the Central American Mission where executive duties could not demand the time of the missionaries.

Dr. and Mrs. Burgess were sent out by the Presbyterian Board in 1913. Their early efforts were with the Spanish-speaking people, although they saw the need among the Quiché tribe soon after their arrival. As early as 1920 Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dr. Burgess, "May God bless you and your fellow-workers and set you free for the work among the Indians which you have so much at heart."<sup>3</sup> Throughout the years of patient waiting for the Board to release them for

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1. Cf. 1940 Census of Guatemala.
2. Peck, H.D.: Personal Report, 1926.
3. Personal Correspondence.

Indian work, they had attempted to arouse the interest of the Indians in their own people. In the early 1920's, Dr. Burgess started an Indian League in the Spanish Church because he was impressed with the lack of enthusiasm among the the Indian members of the Church for the evangelization of their own people. But the Indians refused to use their own language in this League, feeling that through their membership with a Spanish Church they had risen above their fellow-Indians. Dr. Burgess summarizes his efforts thus:

"For ten years we tried to make something out of the League, but felt all the time that we were beating our hands against a stone wall. It still exists after twenty years because its founders were young men....but as an evangelizing agency it has been an utter flop."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, in 1932, these missionaries were definitely freed from their duties in the Spanish Church and were able to devote their entire efforts to the Quichés. In order to work more effectively, they moved to the Indian section of the city.

1928 marked the first Indian station in the Central American Mission among the Highlands. Mr. and Mrs. N. B. Cox went forth to the Del Norte Indians, a tribe that either did not know its real name or else refused to make it known. Hence the name "Of the North" was given them. Mr. Cox has called the language "Conob" and is making progress in evangelization and translation.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Burgess: Statement in Regard to a Quiche Presbytery, p. 5.  
2. Cf. Spain, M.W.: And in Samaria, p. 189.

c. Problems Involved

The three main problems in beginning and carrying on Indian work - language, training of leaders, and organization of separate churches - will be dealt with later in greater detail. At present we are dealing with problems more pertinent to the actual beginning of the work.

The problem of freedom of missionary labor for Indians has been an acute one in the past. As has been stated, the Spanish churches demanded so much time that the Indians were virtually neglected. Of all the missionaries sent out, only Mr. and Mrs. Peck were definitely assigned to Indian work, and they found it impossible to give their hours to their specific field. This should not be a problem of the future because the Spanish Church has developed enough leadership so that natives are taking over many of the duties previously assigned to missionaries.

A second problem deals with the relationship of the Indian to the Ladino. The Ladinos have had the upper hand so long that they resent any effort made to help the Indian. In fact, they consider it a direct affront to themselves.<sup>1</sup> When the missionary has been away, they have taken the opportunity to discredit the Indian efforts.<sup>2</sup> It is a real problem for the missionary to educate the Indian to the

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1. Cf. Burgess, D.M.: Gospel Pioneering in the Quiche Language, The Women's Missionary Magazine, Jan. 1943, p. 273.
2. Cf. Peck: Personal Report, 1925.

place where he ceases to cling to the Ladino precedent and domination, and to inspire him to stand on his own feet in the Christian faith. Then also, the Ladinos attack the work from the standpoint of fellowship in Christ. Some of the Indians agree with them in stating that it is not in keeping with the Christian fellowship to make a distinction of race or language. But the fact that the majority of the Indians neither comprehend the gospel truths nor are given an opportunity to develop their own gifts in a Spanish Church is ample reason for the establishment of separate churches.

A third great problem with many ramifications is that arising from the Indian himself. The first effort of the missionary should be to learn how the Indian thinks and to reach him through his own medium of thinking. But this is especially difficult to attain because the Indian presents a false front to foreigners and to Ladinos. He has been the object of Spanish oppression too long. For centuries he has been suspicious of any outsider's touching his life for fear he will be exploited. Therefore he has built a protective wall about himself and has retired behind it. By approaching the Indian in his own language this problem is partially overcome, but at the same time it presents a tremendous problem for the missionary himself, because most of the languages are unwritten and very difficult to learn.

Another problem connected with the Indian is his slow mind and conservative nature. He has been the underdog



so long that he is slow in taking advantage of the opportunities that are presented to him. It is difficult for him to free himself from the shackles of routine thinking and let his spirit soar into new heights. The missionary must work with infinite patience and understanding to educate the Indian into free thinking, and expression. Connected with this is the problem of guiding the Indian to the place where he will be himself. Naturally he is an enterprising person with initiative. That quality comes forth on certain occasions when he is celebrating some of his own feasts. How to carry this over into his relationships with the Ladino and allow it to influence more of his life is a real problem.

A fourth problem is the opposition encountered from fellow missionaries. Not all of those who work in foreign fields have the same vision. Often a missionary finds himself working alone, contending with his fellow-Americans as well as with the Ladinos and with the Indians who do not see value in his efforts. But the results of his labors and the vision of the great need keep him struggling even under this terrific strain.

## 2. The Development of Literature

One of the three greatest problems in carrying on Indian work is that of developing literature in the original language. Until a literature exists, the growth of Christian

living is comparatively small, and the education is almost at a stand-still. Although it is not the only factor, it is true that people never feel so much at home as when they speak their mother tongue. Growth is greatest when the individual is uninhibited, feeling at ease. The natural outcome of presenting new ideas in a new language is the writing of these ideas for further study and distribution.

a. Use of Indian Languages

Indians remain Indians as long as they use their garb and speak their language. Many of the political and social leaders believe and hope that the Indians will soon be amalgamated into the Spanish culture. Therefore they are opposed to any expansion in the use of the distinct languages, as this retards the incorporation into Spanish ways of thinking. However, we have seen that many Indians refuse to be incorporated into a strange system. It is only because they have preserved themselves separately, by force and by will, that they have survived. While education is attracting more and more, there is no reason to believe that the majority of Indians will discontinue the use of their language at least for several generations. Meanwhile, they should be reached with the Christian message in their own speech.

b. Reasons for Using the Indian Languages

There is a difference of opinion as to the feasibility of using the Indian languages among the missionaries not busy with Indian work, among the Ladinos who dislike seeing the Indians being helped, and among the few Indians who wish to break away from their ancient traditions. Therefore, it is fitting that certain reasons for the use of the languages be presented.

First, through the language it is possible to enter into the thinking of the Indians. The idiomatic expressions throw great light on the patterns of thought of any people. Mr. and Mrs. Peck found this especially true in the study of the Mam recordings which they made under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation.<sup>1</sup> A few examples of the Quiché speech will show how opposite their thoughts are from ours.

"We take a companion, they are always respectfully accompanied; we are blamed...., they carry the blame; we think of a gift as coming from someone, they think of receiving it....; one does not take a book to read it, but rather that the book may be read."<sup>2</sup>

Second, through the language it is possible to transfer Christian concepts, ideals, and purposes from the abstract and foreign Spanish into concrete and familiar Indian terms of the home and social life.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cf. Ferger, H. R.: Flight over Latin America, p. 137.
2. Burgess, D.M.: Gospel Pioneering in the Quiche Language, The Women's Missionary Magazine, Jan. 1943., p. 274.
3. Cf. Peck: Personal Report, 1924.

Third, language helps to break down fear and prejudice and to open an avenue through which to present these Christian concepts. A point of contact is established when approached in the native language. The Indians feel the missionaries are not there to exploit them, and so they have confidence to pour out their hearts to these friends. The language tends to create mutual understanding and opens the possibility of presenting Christ in a winning way. After evangelistic meetings, Mr. and Mrs. Peck have found the language has been the means of friendly reception in their follow-up work.<sup>1</sup>

Fourth, the gospel in the language creates a Christian vocabulary. Even in English there is a distinct Christian vocabulary. The new converts need help in articulating their new relationship. The Spanish vocabulary is slow in penetrating their hearts; the Indian vocabulary captures their interest.<sup>2</sup>

Fifth, many Indians who are untouched by the Spanish Church are reached through their own language. This reason really comprehends all the rest. The statements from two different occasions will serve to point this out.

"They found that so long as they tried to evangelize the Indians through the Spanish language they got nowhere."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Cf. Peck: Personal Report, 1938.
2. Cf. Burgess, D.M.: op. cit., p. 274.
3. Ferger: op. cit., p. 139.

"We found it so much easier to evangelize the Indian in his own language, and the number of Indians converted has grown so much more rapidly since we have been using it."<sup>1</sup>

c. Reasons for Developing a Literature

The literature is a natural development of the use of the language; the reasons for its growth are implied in the preceding reasons for the use of the language. The fact that the missionaries will not always take the lead in the native church makes it imperative that natives be trained for leadership. This is impossible without literature. Also, the uplift of the Indian becomes more widespread with ideas circulating more widely in printed form. An understanding Governor of one of the Departments said upon the occasion of the presentation of the first Cakchiquel New Testament:

"The Indian is one of the greatest resources of the Nation; our future greatness depends on his uplift. This Book will help us in this great task."<sup>2</sup>

Another reason may be the cultural value which written languages add to the civilization. In this way, past ideals are preserved more accurately and life becomes more uniform.

Through literature, those natives who have not come into personal contact with the missionaries are able to avail themselves of the helps that Sunday School leaflets and hymns

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1. Burgess, D.M.: Personal correspondence, 1941.
2. Gregory: op. cit., p. 9.

afford them. Thus, the cumulative values which have come out of long and studied experience in other lands are transmitted to these young churches through the missionaries and their work.

Other reasons are the spread of the Message through tracts and the interest that the written page has for those who have never seen it before.

"The fact that something had been written down in the Mam language and could be read, proved an irresistible attraction to Indians and gave the evangelists a direct point of contact for explaining the meaning of the Gospel and bringing home issues of faith."<sup>1</sup>

This last one would never be a valid reason in itself, but it is an interesting sideline.

#### d. Problems Involved

Most of the Indian languages of Central America are of Mayan stock; therefore in their general make-up they are similar. The first problem confronted by missionaries is the learning of these odd-sounding languages. Most of them are unwritten, so there is no help to be gained from grammars, rules, word lists and short easy lessons. The ear of the learner has to become accustomed to the gutturals, clicks, explosives, fricative, affricative, nasal, labial, alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, glottal consonants and

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1. Peck: Personal Report, 1938.

vowels.<sup>1</sup> Little by little the four "k" sounds of the Mam language become differentiated, as do those of the other languages. As the sounds become distinct, the words begin to mean something, but then the problem of the construction of sentences is trying. The main structure begins to emerge through conversation, through infinite patience, bearing with many mistakes and being constantly on the alert for new forms. The accuracy of these languages makes them more difficult to grasp. There is one word for a woman speaking to a man, another word for a woman speaking to a woman, for a woman speaking to a sister, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> The verbal character of some of them try the patience of the missionary until he can place the several thousand possible forms of a single verb where they belong and give them their exact meaning.<sup>3</sup>

A second problem is the writing of the unwritten language. After the ear has distinguished the sounds, how are these going to be written so that each sound has a distinct character? An alphabet has to be worked out in which the recorded sounds must be accurate but simple. Roman letters can not adequately express guttural and explosive sounds, nor glottally stopped vowels and consonants.<sup>4</sup> At first an Indian committee is appointed to work with the missionary to

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1. Cf. Hills, M.T.: Another Language Captures a New Testament, Guatemala News, Feb. 1940, p. 3.
2. Cf. Cox, N.B.: Personal Correspondence, 1942.
3. Cf. Burgess, D.M.: op. cit., p. 273.
4. Cf. Wiser, W.H. and C.V.: Manuscript for Adult Study Book in the Foreign Literature Program of 1943-1944, Pt. I, p. 21.

form an alphabet. Often it happens that the first attempt is so far from satisfactory that the orthography has to be changed several times as knowledge of the language increases. This is true of those missionaries who have had no special training in the problems of language study and writing.

Today, those men and women who are sent to places in which they will have to deal with an unwritten language are first advised to attend Camp Wycliff to learn the methods needed for such a work. Comparative language study helps somewhat.

A few examples of the way in which the language must be accurately written will point out these difficulties more clearly. It has been decided to represent the explosives by a ' mark after the consonant to be exploded. As the vowels are so often left out or scarcely pronounced, a " mark is placed over them when such is the case. "Xtz'ibanic" means "he wrote" in Quiché; "ch'kp", meaning "the other side of", can be written "ch'káp", showing that the vowel is scarcely audible under the best of circumstances.<sup>1</sup> In Mam the four "k" sounds are differentiated by "ca" (tooth), "c'a" (bitter), "ka" (if) and "k'a" (boy).<sup>2</sup>

A very serious third problem in producing literature is the problem of Indian localism. As the language has not been written, several communities have developed their

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1. Cf. Ferger; op. cit., p. 141.

2. Cf. Peck, H.D. and D.M.: It's Difficult to be a Christian, Five Continents, May, 1942, p. 10.



own particular words which are not understood elsewhere. Although the language is well defined in the tribes, these local words are the cause of much jealousy between the communities. The translators must exercise extreme care in the choice of the words. Often it happens that local words are recognized in several towns so that out of the twenty-two Mam dialects, it was possible to harmonize most of them until the number was reduced to six major dialectical groups. All this requires repeated trips into the different communities, gathering comparative word lists and morphological tables, bringing in informants from the different dialects to discuss possible usages of their words, and extreme caution in checking and rechecking the sentences that are to be printed.

Another difficulty is the different connotations a single word may have. Thus in Mam, "A woman came to the well to draw water" translated in the Ostuncalco dialect, would mean "A moon came to the well to draw water" to the people of Tacaná.<sup>1</sup>

One means of solving this problem is to have a table of the variable words at the end of the printed matter, with a degree sign before the word in question. Thus, if a person reading the portion cannot understand a word, he looks in the table of variables and finds the correct word for his particular dialect. As reading becomes more familiar, it is

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1. Cf. Peck: It's Difficult to be a Christian, p. 10.

hoped that the word printed in the body of the material will become so familiar that the variables will no longer be needed in the future.

A fourth problem may be stated as one specifically dealing with the translation of the Scriptures. Some Biblical concepts are foreign to the thinking of some of these tribes; therefore there are no words in the language to express them. In this case, the translators either have to manufacture words and educate the people in their meaning, or else attempt to convey the ideas in explanatory phrases. Thus, in Conob, "nukan" is a burial place with a corpse in it. There is no word to describe a tomb without a body in it. Therefore "ch'en olbil yet camnak" was chosen, meaning "something hard dug out for the dead".<sup>1</sup> That to them would indicate a species of cave dug out of a rock in which the dead might be placed.

Great care must be taken to get the exact shade of meaning. At times discussions, lasting hours, are carried on until the accuracy of a word or expression is certain. The translators use several versions of the Bible, the Greek New Testament, and several modern languages where possible. Often the poverty of the language to express spiritual truths is a stumbling block.

With slow progress, great patience, and years of

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1. Cf. Cox: Personal Correspondence, 1942.

work, most of these problems are overcome. Mr. and Mrs. Peck found the prayers of the Indians a great help in solving some of these difficulties. While in ordinary conversation, the Indians often beat around the bush so badly that the meanings appeared confused or not quite clear, in their prayers, they spoke naturally, but with dignity and sincerity.<sup>1</sup>

e. Accomplishments

The Cakchiquel tribe was the first to receive the gospel by John in 1923. By 1931 this tribe also was buying the entire New Testament, translated by Mr. and Mrs. C. Townsend. It was printed by the American Bible Society in diglot form - Spanish and Cakchiquel.

The Mam tribe had the gospel by John in 1929 and several tracts. One of these last was eight pages of aids in personal work. After six years of constant work on the Mam New Testament, Mr. and Mrs. Peck completed this task. The first copy was used on the day after Christmas, 1937. After the New Testament was completed, 200 sheets of the Sunday School leaflets, the T.pac bal ba'n, were printed each week for the use of the different congregations. To this day they continue being printed, containing the Golden Text, references for daily Bible reading, a few helps, and choruses. A hymn book has also been in circulation for sev-

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1.Cf. American Bible Society Report, 1937, p. 35.

eral years.

The Quiché tribe had the gospel by Mark, translated by Felipe Silva, a Roman Catholic, in 1898.<sup>1</sup> When Dr. and Mrs. Burgess began their work among the tribe, they printed a hymn book which today has 146 hymns; then a diglot form of some of the gospels. In 1932 they began work on the New Testament in earnest. At present it is in the process of being published by the American Bible Society. In addition there are several poems and features for special occasions, and 400 weekly copies of the Sunday School leaflets, the Ri U Pix K'ak. These last are being used as lesson helps and as tract distributions. They consist of a picture on the lesson, a dissertation leading to the lesson, a story or sermonette relating the lesson to the life of the people, the Scripture text, and some questions on the lesson.<sup>2</sup> These leaflets are one of the main sources of study for the Institute, discussed in the development of education.

### 3. Development of an Educational Program

The efforts in developing a literature for a tribe are of small avail unless they are supplemented by instruction in reading. The Indians have a very high appreciation of reading and knowledge, but the large majority of them can not read. Their ability to learn is not questioned; in fact,

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1. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 41.

2. Cf. Knapp, F.L.: Report, A manuscript, August, 1942.

it is surprising to see what progress most Indians make along educational lines when given a fair chance.<sup>1</sup> It is this fair chance that has been largely lacking up to the present time. It is hoped that as education is opened more and more for the Indians, the illiteracy will become less.

a. Government Schools

In Guatemala, education is compulsory for children between seven and fourteen years of age,<sup>2</sup> but the Indians are treated the same as the Ladinos. Where these two peoples learn together, the Indians are slow, not because of their inability to learn so much as because of the hindrance they meet in the language used. Even in small Indian towns where the children all speak their dialect at home, the instruction in the schools is in Spanish. The Government is doing much to provide education for all children, but it is very slow in reaching the minds of the Indians. There are 75% illiterates among the total population<sup>3</sup>. Of course, many of these are adults. Many factors enter into this picture: agricultural cycle, rural distances, lack of trained teachers, but the fact remains that great numbers need to be taught to read. Here is where the Mission work is helping greatly so far as the Indians are concerned.

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1. Cf. Bower, R. E.: *The Unreached Indian*, p. 7.
2. Cf. Smith, H.L. and Littell, H.: *Education in Latin America*, p. 332-333.
3. Cf. Young, H.B.: *Hemisphere Neighbors*, p. 29.

b. Reading Campaigns

The missionaries have felt the great need for reading ability, especially in connection with the printing of Christian literature. Out of the translation grew a definite plan for reading campaigns to be conducted in the small villages and more inaccessible places. Especially among the Mam tribe has this type of campaign been used. The emphasis is "A reader in every home". A five year special campaign was begun in 1934, but reading classes date from a few years earlier. Along with the translation of the New Testament there was a Reading Room in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Peck to which the Indians were welcomed.

In the campaigns themselves, large charts with monosyllabic words are used, with pictures and blackboard illustrations. On the blackboard may be seen an alligator pear; the instructor takes the stem off, puts it beside the fruit and has the word "oj" which means alligator pear in Mam. So the instruction continues for ten days, at the end of which twenty hitherto illiterate people demonstrate their ability to read forty flash cards which have been chosen to teach them the alphabet.<sup>1</sup> Men, women, and children are all taught at the same time, using as instructors, deacons, preachers, cooks, or anyone who has had enough training to teach the fundamentals. The only textbook they have is the

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1. Cf. Peck, H.D.: Reading Campaign, Guatemala News, Oct. 1940, p. 8, 9.

Bible, although the women feel they have made a discovery when they recognize words on the hymn sheets. The results of such campaigns can not be measured as yet, because they have been such a recent development on the Guatemala field, but they are very encouraging. Education must be more widespread before the New Testament can be used to the greatest advantage. It requires time and patience, but the workers with far-reaching vision are undaunted by this seemingly impossible task.

c. The Need for Mission Schools

The Government is taking care of the Spanish instruction, but the Indian languages which are far from being extinct are completely disregarded. It is through the Mission Schools and other Mission endeavors that the only facilities for learning to read the languages are available.<sup>1</sup>

One of the great needs for schools is for the training of leaders. Leadership is one of the most important factors in the growth of a Christian community. Native leaders are more suited to reach their own people than the missionaries. But these leaders must be trained, and trained with the tools they are to use in their work. Therefore, the Indian leaders must be trained in the use of their language to present the Christian truths to their own people. In order to do this,

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1. Cf. Grubb: Religion in Central America, p. 69.

the schools must be for Indians only, with great emphasis on the use of their own language in the classroom and in their devotional life. If the Indians are trained in Spanish, they lose their desire to go back to their people and would rather serve the Ladinos, if these will allow them such a privilege. More often the case is that such individuals have "ended as task-masters on the plantations...unhappy in their Christian lives and neither fish nor fowl in society."<sup>1</sup> To fill this need, the Missions have established three schools, one in the Cakchiquel field, one in the Mam, and one in the Quiché field.

d. Cakchiquel Institute

Mr. C. Townsend came to the conclusion that a separate training school for Indian workers was essential after he observed Indians attempting to study in the Workers' Institute with the Ladinos. Plans were begun several times for such an Institute which might serve the entire Indian population of Guatemala, but it was not until 1923 that the Robinson Bible Institute was launched on the shores of the lake Atitlán. The town theatre was first rented; then an old convent property was bought, reconditioned, and, with the few additions, has been the home of the Institute ever since.

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1. Burgess, P. and D.: Statement in Regard to a Quiche Presbytery, p. 8.



The purpose of the Institute was primarily to train evangelists among any tribe of Indians. Because of this, most of the studies have been conducted in Spanish. When students arrive, many of them know nothing about reading or writing. The courses have to be comparatively simple, and progress very slow. The students come for periods of eight weeks, alternated with four weeks of practical work. While in school, each member of the student body occupies his week-ends in evangelistic trips. In January 1940 Mr. Lawrence Simpson, one of the teachers there, gave the following report:

"During the six months of classes the past year, in their week-end evangelistic trips, the students visited 142 places, traveled 2,583 miles, evangelized 1,626 persons, held 130 meetings and 24 Sunday Schools."<sup>1</sup>

The teachers are either missionaries from the Central American Mission or from the other Missions, who spend their vacation on the shores of this beautiful lake. Two families, assigned definitely for the Institute, with two Indian teachers form the permanent teaching staff.

Out of the 200 who have taken courses there in the twenty years of service, 37 have graduated; among these 37, 15 are pastors and preachers.<sup>2</sup> The steadfastness of those who have completed the course is a factor which merits great

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1. Spain, M.W.: And in Samaria, p. 247.  
2. Cf. Idem, p. 249.

rejoicing, and warrants greater efforts toward the training of these people.

In 1937, courses for women were instituted. In 1940, some 25 women had participated in these courses.<sup>1</sup>

e. Mam Institute

During the leisure hours of the long and strenuous translation days, Mr. and Mrs. Peck organized courses for the translators in which Christian doctrine, Bible geography, grammar, music, hermeneutics, history, homiletics, sociology were taught in rather simple forms. Out of this preliminary attempt at educating uneducated people, grew the Mam Institute. Its official date of opening was January, 1941, at T.xol Be, the Mam center. The purpose of this Institute is not to train ministers, but rather to help the Indians live full Christian lives in their own communities, that they might make fitting elders, deacons, and lay members of their Churches. The students are mature men, some of them with experience in translation. The first year there were eight regular students and five occasional ones; six of them were promoted at the end of the year. The course covers a three year period; no diploma is given at the end. The New Testament is the text book, but the Sunday School leaflets are used somewhat in the curriculum. The Mam lan-

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1. Cf. Spain: op. cit., p. 249.

guage is used throughout.

The students are boarders who come for six short terms, alternating with the agricultural cycle. At 6:30 there is a watch-service conducted by one of the students; at 8:30 there is a devotional period followed by six hours of classes and two hours of work. One of these last two is spent in translation, the other in manual labor.

The spiritual element is very strong, with a principal emphasis on the family altar. The practical element is also strong, for on week-ends the students use what they have learned during the week in the evangelistic services conducted in adjoining communities, overnight lodgings, and roads.<sup>1</sup>

The year's session closes with a public oral examination of the students who have successfully completed the work. Such questions as "What is the first step in approaching a tribesman about his need for Christ?", "How may the different parts of a sermon be affected by the fact that the congregation is composed of farmers?"<sup>2</sup>, show that the emphasis is extremely practical.

The results of the work of this Institute cannot be measured as yet, as the school is only in its third year of operation.

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1. Cf. Peck, H.D.: Meeting the Mam Mind, Guatemala News, July-August, 1941, p. 4.
2. Cf. Peck, H.D.: First Closing Exercises of the Mam Bible Institute, Guatemala News, May-June, 1942, p. 5.

f. Quiché Institute

In the Quiché field, it was decided to establish an Institute before the New Testament was completed. January, 1941, was the official date of opening. The purpose of it is the training of young men to be the lay leaders of the communities, with special emphasis on organizing Sunday Schools, Daily Vacation Bible Schools, and Bible classes. The distinct feature of this Institute is that it provides for agricultural experience as well as Biblical instruction, because the school lies on a farm in the Indian town of Santa María. Realizing that the Indian is a man of the soil, and that most of these boys will go back to their homes to work their plots of land, they are given the opportunity to work the 150 acre farm and produce the food that is needed to sustain them while at school. The farm is situated on a mountain side between the highlands and the lowlands. The products are varied, but common enough for the cultivation of them to be of practical value. Because there is no agricultural expert to train the boys, the improvement in method of cultivation over that of other Indian farmers is unnoticeable, but the fact that the Indian is kept in his own medium helps him to be more natural and helps lessen the risk that he will think he is better than his fellow because he is receiving an education.

The daily schedule is as follows: 6:30 to 7:00, chapel; 8 to 12:30 farm work; 2 to 6, classes; evenings,

study, services, or recreation.<sup>1</sup>

The course is built around the Sunday School lessons, using them for reading, grammar, Biblical studies, and methods of teaching. Manuscripts of the New Testament are used as well. The students are boys from 16 to 23 years of age, some of whom know nothing about reading when they arrive. The school term runs from January to March and from June to October. The full course covers three years. Here, as in the Mam Institute, each student is given opportunity to practice what he has learned during the week. Villagers gather while the young men use the flannel graph;<sup>2</sup> week-ends the students are sent off two by two to hold Sunday Schools, and prayer and preaching services in places the pastors seldom find time to visit.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the first three months, Dr. and Mrs. Burgess were convinced that the Quiché was the right language to use in the class room and in the devotional life of the students. They were amazed at the great amount of learning a boy could acquire in such a short period of time. They were also impressed with the ease with which students were acquired, with the ability of a farm to produce most of the necessary food, and with the variety of objects needed to run an institution even for such a simple life as that of the

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1. Cf. Burgess, P. and D.: The First Three Months are the Hardest, Guatemala News, May-June, 1941, pp. 6-8.
2. Ferger; op. cit., p. 134.
3. Cf. Burgess, D.M.: op. cit., p. 272.

Indians.<sup>1</sup>

The results of this Institute are more concrete. The boys are filled with enthusiasm for their work. Eight of them held Daily Vacation Bible Schools for Indian children in four different places. In one of these schools, there were 13 enrolled, and not one of them knew how to read.<sup>2</sup> The Biblical vocabulary is being accepted and used naturally. Dr. Burgess writes, "The confidence of the boys among themselves and with us is developing by leaps and bounds."<sup>3</sup> Time will test the lasting qualities of these immediate results.

#### g. Reaction of the Indians to this Work

The Indians as a whole are desirous to learn. They appreciate efforts made to give them an opportunity to improve themselves. The reading campaigns are well attended. The Cakchiquel Institute has been in existence for twenty years and the Indians are still attending it. The Mam Institute which is attended by mature men seems to be gaining in reputation, though not as enthusiastically acclaimed as the Quiché Institute. The reason there may lie in the fact that young people are much more vociferous and expressive in their likes and dislikes than are older men.

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1. Cf. Burgess, F. and D.: The First Three Months are the Hardest, pp. 6-8.
2. Cf. Burgess, D.M.: op. cit., p. 275.
3. Personal Correspondence.

There is always an element among the Indians who would rather see the race being absorbed into the Spanish culture. These oppose the Institutes, and in some cases, create some serious trouble for those young men who desire to continue their studies at the Institutes. On the other hand, the younger churches welcome the Institute men with open arms, invite them back, and do all in their power to make new contacts for these workers in training.

#### 4. Development of Presbyteries<sup>1</sup>

From the animosity that exists between the Ladino and the Indian, many problems arise in the Churches that have both races as constituents. In these Churches, the Indian is never given positions of authority, but is always expected to be present and to help in the support of the Church. On the other hand, the seriousness with which the Indian elders, deacons, and other officers assume their duties in the Indian Churches often puts the Ladino to shame. In all executive matters, their interest and careful considerations are outstanding. However, as the situation now exists, the Indian congregations are under a Ladino Presbytery. Here conflicts arise again and again, or else the Indians simply sit back and act as yes-men. The missionaries to the Quiché

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1. Note: The material for this section is taken entirely from Paul Burgess' Statement in Regard to a Quiche Presbytery. It deals exclusively with the Presbyterian fields and specifically with one attempt to establish a Quiché Presbytery.

field firmly believe that there should be a change in executive management with the formation of a separate Quiché Presbytery.

a. Need for Separate Presbyteries

A formation of a separate Presbytery for the Indians is felt to be needed, first, in order to have one organization which is fully responsible for the evangelization of the Quiché field. Many of the Spanish ministers have expressed their inability to cope with the Indian situation in their jurisdiction. A Quiché Presbytery would take over the situation and deal with it in an orderly fashion; perhaps a separate Church for the Indians of the particular district is needed. The Presbytery could take steps for such a solution to the problem.

A second need is seen in the conflicts of loyalties which arise within the Spanish Presbytery when an Indian member has tasks to perform in it. The Indian must conform to Spanish ways of acting, and often is lost in the machinery when his energies could be much more effective if used to solve the Indian problems within an Indian Presbytery.

A third need is the greater growth in religious and social development in a homogeneous group. Indian Churches established in a new community have shown a reviving influence in the lives of Indian Christians who had dropped into the background when allied with the Ladino Churches.

Fourth, the need for examining Indian ministers. When



the ministerial training has been in Quiché, it is asking too much of the student to stand before a Spanish Presbytery for his examination in Spanish. This in itself is not a sufficient need, but it is a part of the total picture which adds strength to the argument.

Fifth, the Indian field needs a centralizing agency for the direction of the different phases of its work. A Quiché Presbytery would be in charge of the development of Christian literature, the proportionate distribution of workers in the whole field, and the establishment of separate Churches within the Spanish Presbytery where needed. It would be a stabilizing and unifying force through which the total program would be integrated for greater growth.

#### b. Objections to such a Program

The main objections to such a program come from missionaries working in the other Indian territories. They lie in the fact that their own territory is too small at present to warrant a separate Presbytery. The formation of one such governing body in only one of the tribes would cause great disturbance in the others.

Other objections are the danger of duplication of Churches in one small community so that neither the Indian nor the Ladino Church would be thriving. Also there is a danger of raising a racial barrier which might cause serious damage. Minor objections are the lack of missionary person-

nel, possible objections from the government, lack of financial aid, and the prevention from the influences of the Spanish culture.

The first objection is worthy of consideration because the fields are so small and the work so new that it would seem that there is still much room for stabilizing the gains made so far in the work. The individual Indian Churches have executive management of their own affairs and can do much to meet the needs that are most pressing on a smaller scale, waiting patiently for the time when the Indian field is large enough to warrant a central governing system.

Most of the other objections would be taken care of by the Presbytery itself. The racial barrier would not exist in a more intense form than it exists now. On the other hand the formation of a Presbytery might cause the Ladinos to realize the Indians are capable of acting as intelligent human beings, and might even work toward a more friendly attitude.

Whether or not the Indian work will ever come to the point where separate Presbyteries are feasible, will depend largely on the growth of the individual Churches and their ability to cooperate with the program as outlined in the Spanish Presbytery at present.

#### D. Summary and Conclusion

The relationship between the Ladino and the Indian

gave rise to so many difficulties in a joint Church, that the Missions established work among the Indians per se.

The launching of such new activities met with opposition from several groups: the missionaries working with the Ladinos, the Ladinos who were reluctant to see Indians helped, and the Indians themselves who viewed any move in their behalf with suspicion. However, as missionary labor was pursued with love and patience, these oppositions broke down enough so that a substantial program is now being carried on in the spheres of literature, education and Church organizations.

Each one of these divisions of the total program in turn met with opposition. As the endeavors are so recent, there are still many difficulties to be met and adjustments to be made. The results of the Indian Mission work cannot be determined yet, but because of the responses from the Indians, the new enthusiasm in the lives of the old believers, and the increase in the number who accept Christ when approached through the Indian work, the missionaries feel their work is God-inspired and must be continued with renewed efforts.

CHAPTER III

OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT  
OF THE INDIAN MISSION WORK

## CHAPTER III

### OPPORTUNITIES FOR FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN MISSION WORK

The first work to be developed in a new missionary field is the establishment of Churches. Education comes a near second because of the illiteracy of the people. As the social and physical betterment has been neglected among the Indians of Guatemala, except for a few scattered clinics in the inaccessible areas, this chapter will discuss the great opportunities for medical care and for agricultural betterment. The first one is pertinent because of the many parasites and germs that uninformed people allow to multiply without knowing it; and the second phase is especially applicable because of the agricultural life of the Indians.

#### A. Medical Work

Physical needs of a people can never be divorced from evangelistic missionary enterprise, but it often happens that medical aid is either totally wanting or else so much in the background that it is only called forth when times of anxiety and crisis appear. Then it is inadequate. In Guatemala there has been no systematic program of medical aid for the Indians. The Government is trying to make available to the masses injections for typhoid and vaccinations

against small pox, but the medical need is still very great.

### 1. The Great Need for Medical Work

Dr. Dodd, one of the members of the committee that was sent out by the Presbyterian Church to visit the work in Latin America writes,

"Because Guatemala is a small country, without headlined devastations of war, famine, flood, or pestilence,.... the serious medical needs of the country are apt to be overlooked. A more careful study of the situation, including hospital reports, will decidedly correct this impression, particularly as to the Indians."<sup>1</sup>

The need does not lie along spectacular epidemics that cause the death of hundreds of people within a short time. Rather the need lies in the

"slow, insidious, depleting, and often in the end just as deadly, parasitic and nutritional diseases such as hookworm, malaria, filaria, dysentery, and anemias - to say nothing of terrible teeth. Typhoid is very prevalent."<sup>2</sup>

Many of these diseases could be prevented if the people knew simple health rules. Without this knowledge, they continue living in crowded, unhealthy conditions, where the germs and parasites can spread more easily.

The home conditions of the Indians are not healthful. Whole families, from the grandparents to grandchildren, live together in a small room, along with the chickens, pigs, and dogs. For the most part they sleep in their huts, on the

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1. Dodd, E.M.: Guatemala, p. 32.

2. Idem.

ground with doors and windows tightly closed. Body lice are common to all. Although they bathe fairly frequently, they never get rid of the lice because their clothes, bed-clothes, and furniture are infested with these parasites. The food consists almost entirely of carbohydrates. The diet is monotonous, with no variety within each meal. The water comes from rivers or springs which the animals use as well. No special provision is made for the disposal of refuse.

Under these conditions, the typhus is transmitted from one individual to another unknowingly; hookworm is practically a universal ailment; all kinds of intestinal parasites cause no end of trouble; and malaria saps the strength of the men who plant the corn which feeds the people.

One of the reasons the Indians are as healthy as they are is the fact that much of their time is spent in the out-of-doors, exercising strenuously. The sunshine and fresh air help to counterbalance the home conditions.

## 2. Suggestions for Meeting the Need

### a. Beginning of Medical Work

In recent years there have been some government agencies that have attempted to alleviate the physical discomforts of the Indians, although the greatest work of these agencies has been in the cities. President Ubico, now in

office, has been concerned about the rural health problem. Missionaries who have travelled in rather unfrequented areas have reported contacts with public health nurses working in those areas.<sup>1</sup> However, these are working rather to alleviate than to prevent the suffering.

The schools are teaching preventive measures. Next to the practical subjects, health rules are the primary concern of the teachers.<sup>2</sup> As schools are established in the small villages, the Indian children take home the knowledge of simple health rules. It is left to the individuals to observe them. A government inspector does see that the yards are kept clean and that the outward appearance of the homes is neat, but otherwise no rules can be enforced.

Only the good-sized towns have doctors; Indians who desire special medical care must attend the free clinics in these larger towns. Most of them, however, prefer to buy any medicine the pharmacist will sell them, or else call in the witch-doctor to have him cast out the evil spirit that is causing all the trouble. Both of these medical advisors have played on the superstitions of the Indians so much that the Government has had to restrict their activities as much as possible.

There has been no definite medical mission work

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1. Cf. Dodd: op. cit., p. 32.
2. Cf. Smith and Littell: op. cit., p. 332.



among the Indians except for occasional clinics held in neglected regions. In Guatemala City there is a well equipped, self-supporting Mission Hospital. From this hospital the Christian doctor, a nurse or two, and the hospital ambulance go out well supplied for two weeks of consultations and treatments. The plan is that any Christian worker or pastor may invite the clinic to visit a place where there are no medical facilities. Indian evangelists, Bible teachers, and Christian workers accompany the hospital staff. While the patients flock in for treatment, the Christian workers are ready to teach the children, the evangelists speak to the adults, and the Bible teachers organize regular classes for anyone who is interested.

The report on one thirteen-day trip was the following: 89 treatments daily, 408 consultations; 756 other treatments; 500 extracted teeth from 101 persons.<sup>1</sup>

These clinics often prove to be the opening for the preaching of the Gospel in places that have been utterly closed to it before the medical visitation. However, the doctors and nurses are so occupied with their regular hospital duties that these clinics are few and far between.

Miss Bestwick, an American nurse, has been holding weekly clinics in one of the small Indian towns. These clinics are not so extensive, but they provide chenopodium,

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1. Cf. Gregory, op. cit., p. 10.

quinine, tonics, mercurochrome, and salves for needy Indians and reach into a few of the homes of the believers.<sup>1</sup> Thus, as opportunity arises, Miss Bestwick is able to instruct the Indians in matters of personal hygiene and general health requirements.

b. Suggestions for further Development

With the beginning of educational work among the Indians, there is a real opportunity to teach the students something about their bodies and how to take care of them. Mr. and Mrs. Peck attempted such instruction with the translators who lived under their own roof for a time. When these men were given a separate home for the duration of the translation period, Mr. Peck reported a marked improvement in what he called "The self-government in matters of hygiene, sanitation, and discipline".<sup>2</sup>

In the Quiché Institute, Dr. and Mrs. Burgess had a system whereby one of the students became inspector for body lice. Clothes were boiled, new beds were built, and pride in cleanliness was an immediate result.

Courses in hygiene should be an integral part of the curriculum of these Institutes. As lay Christian workers in Indian communities, these young men will have ample opportunity to aid their people physically. They should know

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1. Cf. Young, H.B.: Hemisphere Neighbors, p. 44.  
2. Peck: Personal Reports, 1934.

the rudiments of health education and means of preventing some of the common ailments which come about by lack of care in matters of eating and body cleanliness.

With the introduction of women's sessions in these Institutes, child care and a simple course in first aid would prove profitable. Women carry their new-born babes on their backs while they go about their work; they give them coffee to drink and corn cakes to eat months before the children have any teeth. This hardly gives them a fair chance to develop normally. Through these courses on child care, the mothers could give their children a better chance to resist the childhood diseases which cause such a large number of the deaths of the members of this race. Mr. Steggerda, from the Carnegie Institution found that on the Yucatan Peninsula, the most common causes of child death were dysentery, diarrhea, whooping cough, and fever. He found that two thirds of the deaths caused by dysentery were in children between one and fourteen years of age and that whooping cough caused eleven per cent of the deaths of children from one to four years of age.<sup>1</sup>

These figures, applicable to Guatemala as well because of the nearness of the region and the similarity of the Indians, help to show the need that could be met by educated mothers.

As there is no doctor serving the Indians at present, another possibility for filling the medical need is the sending

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1. Cf. Steggerda, M.: Maya Indians of Yucatan, pp. 229-30.

of a doctor to the Indian tribes. None of the native doctors feel a strong enough pull in this direction because of the lack of prestige it carries with it. However, there is a woman doctor, product of the Missionary endeavor, trained in the United States of America, and a descendant of the Indian race, who has a great desire to help her people. At present Dr. Elena Trajo is in Guatemala City studying in order to pass the rigorous medical examination that all doctors trained outside of the country are required to take.<sup>1</sup> As a licensed doctor, she could perform wonders for these neglected people.

#### B. Agricultural Work

In different sections of Latin America, different methods have been used to approach the Indian with the Gospel. In Guatemala, the language approach has been used; in Mexico and in some countries of South America, i.e. Chile and Bolivia, the agricultural approach has proved very successful. The Indians are primarily people of the soil. For centuries the Ladinos have depended upon them to cultivate the land and to do all the manual labor connected with the growth of the crops.

#### 1. The Great Need for Agricultural Work

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1. Cf. Morgan, C.M.: Rim of the Caribbean, p. 154.

The Indian loves the soil, but has not changed his methods of farming during the centuries of Spanish domination. Whether it is in working his own land or the land of someone else, he still uses crude instruments, doing all the work by hand. In discussing the need for improved agricultural methods, the distinction between the highland and lowland agriculture should be understood.

a. Highland Agriculture

In the highlands, most of the Indians own a small piece of land which they cultivate themselves. They are able to raise enough corn to feed their families during the year. Some communities have the communal system in which all the Indians work together in a large section of land and distribute the harvest among the workers. These highland Indians are self-sufficient, requiring little more than a good crop of corn. The little excess corn is sold to buy thread, sugar, and simple agricultural instruments. However, in order to live a little better, some of them accumulate debts. Then they go to the lowlands during the harvest season where they earn twenty to thirty cents a day. Often it happens that only one family out of ten remains to care for the farms in the mountains while the others work on the lowland plantations. As the harvesting seasons differ with

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1. Cf. Morgan: op. cit., p. 155.

the altitude, this migration is made possible. The need here is for greater productivity of the land so that the Indians will not find it necessary to seek extra money in the lowlands in order to live better.

#### b. Lowland Agriculture

The lowlands are covered with large plantations in which Indians work almost as serfs. Formerly, when a plantation was sold, the Indians were a part of the property. In addition, the owner could retain any worker who owed him money. Therefore he deliberately lent money to the highland Indians who came to help with the harvesting. In that way many families never returned to their highland farms because they were never able to pay their debt. This was changed in 1937 when the Government became aware of the injustice of the system.

On these plantations the moral and social conditions are very low. There is no incentive to improve laboring methods; the heat and malaria sap much of the energy of the people. The actual work is done entirely by hand, with the aid of the crude iron instruments. The need here is for better living conditions for the workers and higher economic status, in addition to improved methods of cultivation and better quality of harvests.

#### 2. Suggestions for Meeting the Need

A few attempts have been made to introduce modern machinery into the Central American countries as aids in farming, but they have never proved successful. One reason is that the soil is very rocky and shallow; another is that human labor is so cheap that modern machinery does not pay.<sup>1</sup> For the present, old instruments are still being used, but opportunities for improvement are not lacking.

Mexico has tried out one system in which the land has been redistributed among the Indians and Ladinos alike. But it was found that the people had to be taught how to make the land productive and had to be inspired to produce more than was necessary for their immediate needs.<sup>2</sup> It is a question whether the farm laborer is better off economically under this system, but at least he is a free man who has his rights. Missions might be able to arouse interest in such a redistribution, but would be incapable of directing such a program.

However, the plan developed in Bolivia is more feasible for missionary endeavor. The Canadian Baptist Missionary Society bought 1000 acres of land which were allotted to the Indians according to their capabilities and needs. The Indian had five years in which to prove his ability to manage his affairs. At the end of this period, a land title

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1. Cf. Burgess, P.: Indians, pp. 3-4.

2. Cf. Mackay, J.A.: That Other America, pp. 88-89.

was granted him under the legal protection of the Society. Agricultural instruction was provided; specialization in highland crops was started, and the farm was found to increase 40 %.<sup>1</sup>

An adaptation of this program could take place in the Quiche Institute of Guatemala. The farm is there, but an instructor in agriculture is lacking. The boys are interested in agriculture and could study and experiment along with their half-day of work on the farm. They could carry to the other Indians information about better quality of fruits, vegetables, and grain, and methods of producing more per acre. Thus a desire for improvement would be aroused and the Indians would begin to study their present methods to see where they might be improved. In Mexico this method is being used by the Missionaries who have not been able to cultivate the friendship of certain Indian tribes. When the people see that these foreigners have something practical to offer, they become more friendly and the Missionaries are able to help them materially as well as spiritually.

### C. Summary and Conclusion

Among the Indians of Guatemala, the evangelistic and educational phases of Missionary endeavor have been stressed more than the medical and agricultural. However, it is

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1. Cf. Rycroft, W.S.: On This Foundation, p. 164.



hoped that in the near future, the Institutes will incorporate health instruction in their curricula so that preventive measures will be spread among the Indians. At the same time it is hoped that a doctor will devote his or her life to aiding the peoples of neglected areas so that they will be able to live more useful lives.

As the Indian is primarily a man of the soil, it is hoped that improved methods of agriculture will also be incorporated into the Institutes' curricula along with practical experimentation so that the initiative of these people will be aroused and their living conditions bettered.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### A. The Subject Restated

For centuries the Ladino and the Indian have lived side by side, yet they have never understood each other. The Indian has persistently refused to allow himself to be incorporated into the Spanish culture. There has always been a racial animosity between these two groups that has made it extremely difficult to deal with both at the same time. This, together with the inability of the majority of Indians to understand ideas presented in the Spanish language and the inherent psychological differences between the two races, has caused missionary endeavor to be divided between the Ladinos and the Indians during the last twenty years. This study has been an attempt to trace the development of the Indian work from the beginning of the division up to the present time.

#### B. Extent of the Mission Work among the Indians of Guatemala

In order to understand the reasons for the existing racial animosity and other conditions which called for separate mission work among the Indians, it was necessary to make a study of the early Catholic Missions of the conquest period.

In these Missions it was found that the earliest priests were zealous for the conversion of the Indians, but their methods caused more harm than good. The later priests were concerned more with the Ladinos than with the Indians. Their religion was a degenerate form of Christianity which allowed pagan practices within the Church. Thus, the witch-doctors became the real spiritual leaders of the Indians and all constructive aid, spiritual and material, was neglected. The Indians were allowed to follow their ancient mode of life. This, together with the fact that they were not given a fair chance in the new life, caused the cleavage between the two races to broaden, until the Indian found it necessary to withdraw within himself as a protection against the oppression and injustice of the Ladino over-lords..

The Protestant Missionaries recognized this line of cleavage and have attempted to reach that inner Indian in order to draw him out to a fuller life. All the attempts to reach him through the Spanish language failed. Slowly at first, the Indian languages were used. The results encouraged further endeavors, but many difficulties had to be met before the missionaries were free to build up the new line of approach. Opposition from the jealous Ladino, the suspicious Indian, and the skeptical fellow-missionaries seemed like unsurmountable barriers. However, the growth of the Churches and the surprising new insight into the Gospel truths by the Indians kept the missionaries at their posts until the greatest barriers disappeared.

Realizing that the language approach was producing results where other attempts had failed, the missionaries set themselves about the task of creating a literature in the languages. Through this literature more Indians could be reached and the Word would be translated into concepts familiar to them. Thus, uneducated leaders would have authority behind their statements and help in leading their fellow-men beyond actual experiences. In this phase of the development, many problems had to be met as well. The unwritten languages had to be learned by patient listening and asking questions. As the languages were learned, the difficulties in writing them accurately with a distinct symbol for each distinct sound seemed appalling. Through a process of evolution the final alphabet was formed. Then the missionaries discovered that one village had one name for a certain object and another village used a different name for the same object, although the language was the same. This problem of localism made it necessary to have word lists with the literature so that unfamiliar words might not prove a barrier to understanding. In addition, the missionaries had to create expressions for unfamiliar Biblical concepts and educate the Indians in their meaning.

As the result of the literary efforts, two tribes have the New Testament in their own language, and two others expect to have the same privilege soon. One of these two is being printed now. Another result is the establishment of

Institutes to train men in the use of the literature.

Literature is of little value unless individuals are trained to read it. Because of the high per cent of illiteracy in Guatemala, the missionaries have organized a program of adult education whereby the rudiments of reading are taught in a ten day period. However, as these efforts can be little more than rudimentary, Institutes have been established. These are designed to train Indian men and women in using their native language as the means of transmitting the Gospel to their tribesmen. These workers are to be Christian lay leaders in their communities, with the ability to organize Sunday and day schools for religious instruction.

With the growth of Churches, literature, and education among the Indian tribes, it is felt that the next logical step is the formation of separate governing bodies for the Indian Churches. Such governing bodies would provide for integrated programs composed of the above elements. However, as the development of Indian work is so recent and there is too much controversy over the feasibility of the formation of such governing bodies, the suggestion has been rejected for the present.

### C. The Need for further Work

After surveying the development of the mission work up to the present time, it was noted that two fields

have been almost entirely neglected: the medical and agricultural. Each one of these fields offers real opportunities for extended missionary endeavor. The medical work has been touched upon by the clinics conducted in remote areas under the auspices of the Mission Hospital, but the surface has barely been touched. It was suggested that courses in personal hygiene, first aid, and child care be incorporated into the curriculum of the Institutes.

No attempts have been made to help the Indian in his agricultural life. As he is primarily a man of the soil, it was suggested that courses in agriculture be incorporated into the curricula of the Institutes and that these be coupled with practical work on the farms where experimentation might be carried on in a scientific fashion.

#### D. The New Awakening

Today the Indian is receiving more attention than at any time in the history of the country. After the years of neglect, the Government and the Missions are awakening to the great possibilities in this race of people. The Government is attempting to ameliorate the social and economic conditions, but is not particularly interested in the spiritual welfare. It wishes to impose the Spanish culture on the Indians so that there will be a unified culture in the country. It uses the Spanish language in seeking to lessen the barrier between the races.

On the other hand, the Missions are more interested in helping the Indian capitalize on his inherent qualities. They seek for ways in which the Gospel truths will become meaningful to the Indian in order that he may realize the fullest development of his personality. In studying the means of achieving this goal, the missionaries have come to the conclusion that the Indian must be met on his own ground. This can only be done through his own language, using the thought patterns familiar to him. In this way the Indian himself is helping to break down the racial barrier by making his distinct contribution to society.



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