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A History of the Irish Baptist Foreign Mission
(1924 – 1977)

Andrew Brian Reid B.Sc. B.D.

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Humanities – Institute of Theology
of Queen’s University, Belfast
for the degree of Master of Philosophy

15th September 1999
# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgements

iii

## Introduction: The Origin and Context of the IBFM

1

## Ch 1: Searching for a Policy (1924 - 1933)

8

- Where? 9
- Amongst Whom? 16
- Doing What? 23
- By Whom? 30
- Where? Revisited 37

## Ch 2: Missionary Protestantism in Peru and Argentina (1934 - 1946)

44

- Surviving the Depression 44
- The Effects of the War 49
- "Doubling the Roll of Missionaries" 53
- National Workers 59
- "The Establishment of Churches" 72

## Ch 3: The Second Wave and the Aymara Breakthrough (1947 - 1959)

83

- Crisis and Enlargement 83
- Change at the Home Base 85
- Withdrawal from Argentina 87
- New Beginnings in Puno 91
- The Situation Elsewhere 101
- Factors in the Growth of the Rural Aymara Churches 104
- The Iätze Clinic 117
- The Formation of the UEBCiSP 120
- The Missionaries, the Union and the Churches 125
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch 4: The Turbulent Sixties (1960 - 1967)</td>
<td>The Conflict and Three Possible Causes</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The After-Effects of the Crisis</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Developments in the Churches and the Union</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A “New Awakening” amongst the Aymara</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A “Most Difficult” year</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Causes of the Conflict</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Golden Opportunity Missed?</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Developments in Peru</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Into Europe</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Baptist Missions</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td></td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>Appendix 1: IBFM Officers</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix 2: IBFM Workers</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Baptist Missions gave me unrestricted access to all their archives and made a grant towards the expenses of the second year of the project. The current Missions Secretary, Pastor Derek Baxter, frequently helped me find resources, published and otherwise. Andrew Lovell, one of the missionaries in Peru, sent me a variety of helpful materials. The Secretary of the Baptist Union of Ireland (recently renamed the Association of Baptist Churches in Ireland), Pastor Billy Colville found time to set up a computer database so that I could catalogue the early (unsorted!) IBFM correspondence. Eventually this grew to contain 10,000 items and would have been unmanageable without his help. From the start all the staff at "117" made me very welcome. Those coffee breaks and prayer times kept me going - especially in the days I spent crawling around on my hands and knees in the dusty archives!

In the course of this research I had the opportunity to visit Peru for a second time in October 1998, accompanied by my parents and my wife. A number of serving missionaries went out of their way to help us. From the point of view of this thesis I need especially to thank Mrs Lourdes Brew who was primarily responsible for
setting up the interviews I had with older believers in the Baptist churches in Southern Peru. She took me to far-flung communities and served as interpreter when interviewees were more comfortable speaking Aymara. During our trip we also met Andrew Mitchell who, with his typical courtesy and helpfulness, directed me to a number of sources relevant to the period of General Velasco Alvarado's government which I would not have found otherwise.

I need to thank all the people who granted me interviews in Peru and in Ireland, whose names are listed in the Bibliography. I heard many happy hours of reminiscences but there were some for whom talking to me unavoidably triggered very painful memories. I am especially grateful to those for whom this was true. Although in a different category I also appreciated the opportunity of interviewing Dr. Samuel Escobar whilst he was in Belfast in 1998.

A number of people made other resources available to me. Brian Thompson (a former IBFM missionary) lent me his collection of clippings from magazine articles on the IBFM and EUSA. Rev. Blair Clark of Canadian Baptist Ministries very kindly sent me a copy of the book of essays produced to mark the centenary of Canadian Baptist missionary work in Bolivia, together with their video *Legacy of Daring*. I am grateful to Barclay Press, Newberg, Oregon for permission to reproduce Figure 8 from Quentin Nordyke's 1972 book *Animistic Aymaras and Church Growth*.

Pastor David Luke read most of the thesis in draft form. My work benefitted greatly from his perceptive comments (even if it did provide a target for his sharp wit!). Finally, the support of my wife Ruth has meant more than she can know. Her consideration of how to spur me on to good works (Hebrews 10:24) has been largely responsible for this thesis being completed on schedule.
Introduction: The Origin and Context of the IBFM

In 1924 Irish Baptists were a small, rather insular group of Nonconformists in an island just emerging from enormous political upheavals\(^1\). In many European countries the years after the end of the First World War were characterised by economic difficulties and social turmoil but there were additional problems in Ireland. Partition in 1921 was followed by riots in Northern Ireland and by full-scale civil war in the newly independent Republic in the South. Yet Irish Baptists seemed little concerned with events in the world outside their denomination. Doctrinal battles were given more space in the Irish Baptist Magazine than the Irish civil war\(^2\). The prospects of this Union of 43 small churches\(^3\) taking any meaningful interest in the peoples living in some of the most remote regions of South America seemed slim. Yet the missionary society they created in 1924 planted two associations of churches there which soon rivalled the size of the parent Union\(^4\). Furthermore, one of those associations became part of a wider movement of "ethnic re-vitalization"\(^5\) amongst a people group who number over a million in Bolivia and Peru\(^6\). The effort has been made to allow the primary sources themselves to dictate the structure and narrative of that story. What emerges is in some ways an ordinary tale involving very human individuals with their idiosyncrasies, weaknesses and failures, together with their virtues and strengths. But the quite remarkable consequences of their actions can only be

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\(^1\) In an address delivered to the Irish Baptist Historical Society in 1974 David Kingdon, then Principal of the Irish Baptist College, described Irish Baptist Theology as Developed in Isolation, Worked out in reaction to the Established Churches, Influenced by Brethrenism and Dispensationalism, and Distorted by the Political Situation (IB July 1974 pp6-9).


\(^3\) At the time the churches counted 3358 members IB July-August 1925 pp59-60.

\(^4\) The Baptist Union of Ireland (BUOI) itself continued to grow, reaching 88 churches with about 7,500 members in 1977 (R&S 1978) but growth in South America was far quicker.

\(^5\) The term is Stoll's (1990 p298).

\(^6\) Population figures quoted for the Aymaras vary considerably. Nordyke gives a total population of 1.8 Million with 300,000 of these in Peru (1972 pp xii and 147). Brown suggests at least 300,000 in Peru and twice that in Bolivia (1978 pp25-6) whereas Hamilton quotes government population figures of 500,000 Aymaras in Peru in 1960 (1962 p9 table 4). Despite these uncertainties it is clear they are a substantial ethnic block.
explained in terms of the interplay between these actors and their contexts and, for a believer, in terms of the grace and providence which brought the two together. In the chapters that follow much more will be said about the South American contexts in which the Irish Baptist Foreign Mission worked. At this point we need only to situate this missionary enterprise within the general context of the rapid growth of Protestantism in Latin America, and to say something about the origin and context of the new society in Ireland.

It has been calculated that in the twentieth century South Americans turned from Roman Catholicism to varieties of Protestantism at a rate higher than Northern Europeans did in the sixteenth century\(^7\), so this phenomenon has begun to attract the attention not only of church historians but also of sociologists\(^8\). There are different ways in which the bewildering variety of Protestant groups in Latin America have been characterised. One of the more helpful classifications is the typology outlined by Escobar\(^9\). First came the “transplanted Protestantism” of the European emigrants to Latin America in the nineteenth century, such as the German Lutherans in Brazil. By and large these groups retained a separate ethnic and linguistic identity and had no clear intention of evangelising beyond these limits. Secondly, there was “missionary Protestantism”. Within this broad category fall the groups deliberately planted, especially in the early twentieth century, by the mainline denominational missions and by the “Faith Missions”\(^10\). Lastly, there developed “Popular Protestantism”. Sometimes this is called

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\(^7\) Escobar 1994 p28 quoting various Roman Catholic studies, including F. Damen “Las sectas a avalancha o desafío?” in Cuarto Intermedio Num. 3 May 1987 p54.

\(^8\) E.g. note the title of David Stoll’s 1990 book “Is Latin America Turning Protestant?”

\(^9\) Escobar 1994 p12ff (following O. Costas Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America Amsterdam 1976 pp30-50). This typology is based on the history of any given group, its theological position and its ecclesiastical relationships.

\(^10\) Hudson Taylor’s China Inland Mission and many others thereafter were called “Faith Missions” (by others) because of their policy of never appealing for funds but instead relying on God by faith (Fiedler 1984 p11).
"Pentecostal Protestantism" as Pentecostal and Charismatic groups form the overwhelming majority within this category. They arose from mission initiatives by new Pentecostal denominations, especially in North America, or from Pentecostal movements within already established "mainline" denominations in South America. However, the designation "Popular" is to be preferred as it is the character rather than the origin or even the theology of these groups that is distinctive\(^\text{11}\). They tended to grow rapidly, appealed to the lower or marginalised social classes, and had leadership which was recognised not so much on the basis of academic qualification as by other more widely accessible credentials, often a particular experience of the Holy Spirit. Having established this broad classification we can anticipate later chapters by stating that the efforts of Irish Baptists sent to Argentina and Peru succeeded in establishing a number of Missionary-type Protestant churches (see chapter two of this thesis). Then a particular historical and cultural environment enabled transmission across an ethnic boundary in Peru. As a result a movement was triggered which quickly showed the characteristic signs of rapid growth and indigenous leadership of a Popular Protestant movement. That story is one of the main themes of chapters three and five.

If the context in South America was important it was no less so in Ireland, where the history of the IBFM begins. Two significant factors contributed to the creation of the Mission. The first is the context of the Fundamentalist controversies which spread across the Atlantic from North America to Britain in the 1920s\(^\text{12}\). The IBFM

\(^{11}\)In the 1994 article already cited Escobar follows Costas in calling this group "Pentecostal Protestantism" (p16). However, he immediately goes on to say that it could also be termed Popular for the reasons outlined in the main text. He has also specifically argued elsewhere against differentiating Pentecostals as a separate group as they consciously maintain links with other Popular Protestant groups (Escobar 1992 pp242-3).

\(^{12}\)It is not intended to give a blow-by-blow account of the particular controversy which led to the creation of the IBFM. For the BMS' perspective on the issues see Stanley 1992 pp377-381. The
was built on the foundation of the Irish Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society. In Ireland interest and financial support for the BMS at the beginning of the twentieth century grew steadily and two Irish Baptists were commissioned in 1911 and 1913, joining others already on the field. However, the publication of a book in 1918 by Rev. J.H. Shakespeare, the Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, re-awoke fears in Ireland which had been more-or-less dormant since the "Downgrade" controversy of 1887-8. At that time Irish concerns over the doctrinal ambiguity of British Baptists had been a major factor leading to the creation of the independent Baptist Union of Ireland. Now, a generation later, similar fears led Irish support for the BMS to fall away.

The Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of Ireland in May 1924 was recalled years later by Pastor Louis Deens as one of the three most memorable of the 55 consecutive Assemblies he had attended. The business session had to be


13 Created in 1865 (Thompson 1969-70 p18) although Irish financial support for the BMS can be documented as early as 1813 (ibid p17).

14 Thompson gives the following figures: 1905 £315; 1909 £624; 1915 £908; 1920 £1043 (1969-70 p18).

15 Mr Robert Haldane Carson Graham and Mr Ross Philips sailed for Congo in 1886. Graham served 37 years. Dr Haldane Gilmore went for a year to Congo in 1913. Mr W. E. French went to India in 1911 (Thompson 1969-70 pp18 and 25).


17 The publication of this book (in which Shakespeare advocated a Free Church Federation and even contemplated reunion with the Church of England under episcopal church government) created great controversy. In a parallel development the next year the "Bible League" demanded assurances from societies that no missionaries would be sent out "who deny or doubt that every writing of the Old and New Testaments is God-breathed" (quoted in Stanley 1992 p378). By early 1922 it became clear that the BMS was one of three societies refusing to give such assurances, on the grounds that it would infringe Evangelical liberty. The next year three missionaries resigned and a few churches re-directed their giving. The clearest way of illustrating where Irish Baptists stood is by listing examples of correspondence (much of it very friendly in tone) between them and some of the leading critics of the BMS. E.g. Rev Mountain to Pastor Hodgett (one of the first Chairmen of the IBFM) 19.9.25 (enclosed in Hodgett to Shields 8.2.26); Wright Hay (Secretary of the Bible League) to Gracey (the first IBFM Secretary) 30.7.30, H. Tydeman Chilvers (a Vice President of the BL) to Gracey 9.9.30, etc. Bebbington notes that four Irish Baptist pastors and two laymen were recruited for the Council of Rev Mountain's Baptist Bible Union (1990 p307).

18 IB July-August 1923 p65 reported that giving to BMS for the year to March 1923 was £822, down £217 on the previous year.

19 "Memorable Assemblies" recalled by L.E. Deens in IB July 1968 pp14-15. Deens attended his first Assembly in 1913 and had not missed any at the time of writing in 1968. He attended a few more before retiring in 1971. The creation of the IBFM is also highlighted as one of four significant "Assembly Initiatives" in a chapter with that title in Thompson's history of the BUOI (1995).
extended into a second day because of a "pretty fierce debate" over the report of a delegation sent to interview the BMS Secretaries. The delegation had found that there was no foundation for the accusations of theological liberalism amongst the BMS, but many would not accept this. Eventually it was felt that the only way to avoid an internal split amongst Irish Baptists was to decide, without pronouncing on the orthodoxy of the BMS, that the time had come to start their own missionary society. We shall encounter the legacy of these Fundamentalist controversies in chapter one as the IBFM struggled to articulate its policy and especially the place of medical work in relation to preaching.

Other missionary societies were created out of the divisions amongst British Baptists in the 1920s, e.g. the Bible Baptist Missionary Movement. However, neither this nor the Bible Missionary Trust set up by the Bible League survived very long. The reason that, by contrast, the IBFM was able not only to survive but to grow and expand is due to the second important dimension of its context.

Like the BUOI before it, the IBFM was conceived explicitly as an expression of Irish Baptist identity and initiative. It was not only doctrinal soundness but a new

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21 The preamble to the first minute book of the IBFM Committee states that at the May 1924 Assembly "there was great and general relief when it was found that the differences which had threatened to develop on this question were capable of adjustment". Six years later one missionary saw the situation the same way when he reminded the Committee that "the IBFM was started to avoid a split" (Hosford to Gracey 28.06.30, emphasis in the original) - however strange that might have sounded to W.Y. Fullerton or the other officers of the BMS!
22 Notwithstanding the extent of Fundamentalist influence, it would be incorrect to characterise the IBFM as a Fundamentalist mission per se. Fiedler helpfully points to "second-degree separation" (i.e. the demand for separation not only from error but also from those who refuse to take an exclusivist position) as "the main yardstick" by which to distinguish "Fundamentalists" from "Evangelicals" (1994 p29 end-note 20). On this issue the leaders of the IBFM took different positions. Pastor Hodgett and Pastor Gracey (IBFM Chairman and one of the Joint Secretaries respectively) would be described by Fiedler as "Evangelicals" whereas the other Joint Secretary, Pastor Shields, (who had less influence on the IBFM's subsequent history) took the exclusive position (cf. Gracey to Shields 4.4.24 and Hodgett to Gracey 10.3.24).
23 This was the name of the group set up to raise the support for Dr and Mrs D.T. Morgan, who had resigned from the BMS (E.Vine, Secretary of the BBMM, to Gracey 3.12.26). The BBMM soon ran into trouble. Its main missionary resigned for health reasons and because of further differences of opinion (Circular from E.Vine 1.10.27). It was wound up completely in 1932 (Daw to Gracey 8.9.32).
24 The BMT contributed £40 p.a. to the IBFM between 1930 and 1936. It was discontinued in 1937 (Graezy to Wright Hay 16.4.37).
sense of Irish Baptist responsibility and self-identity that was being expressed. Robert Arnold, the Treasurer of the Irish Auxiliary of the BMS, argued against the creation of the IBFM in 1924 because he did not take account of this factor. The interest, affection and financial support of Irish Baptists were captured by the prospect of having their own Mission, “our pioneers”, and “our missionaries”. This had a positive effect in ensuring from the start a close relationship between the churches and the IBFM Committee and workers. However, in time two negative effects surfaced. Firstly, the close link between the Mission and Irish Baptist self-identity made it very difficult for any authority to be shared with, or devolved to, anyone outside Ireland. We shall see in chapter three that strains developed on this point between the Committee and their workers in Argentina after the Second World War. Similarly, Irish Baptists had no clear agenda for the devolution and integration of the Mission work in Peru with the daughter Union of churches (chapter five). Secondly, whilst the workers commissioned from Ireland had certain typical strengths they also had characteristic Irish Baptist weaknesses, especially in the area of personal relationships. These surfaced in periodic fierce conflicts within the missionary body, especially in 1963 (chapter four). The Irish context specifies the beginning and the end for this study. In 1977 the decision was taken to merge the IBFM with the Irish Baptist Home Mission to form Baptist Missions. Seen from Peru and mainland Europe there was nothing particularly significant about that date in the ongoing work but from Ireland it provides a natural conclusion.

25The early stages of the discussions surrounding the creation both of the Irish Baptist Home Mission (in the 1880s) and of the IBFM (in the early 1920s) occurred at times of theological controversy and of political uncertainty. Thompson writes of the devolution of control over the Home Mission in 1888: “With that strange dislocation of ideas which seems to haunt Anglo-Irish relations, this was described as ‘granting denominational home-rule’ at a time when British Nonconformity and Nonconformists in Ireland were at odds on the hot issue of ‘Home Rule’ for Ireland” (1995 pp3-4).
26Memorable Assemblies” recalled by L.E.Deens in IB July 1968 pp14-15
27Annual Report 1929 in IB August 1930 p4 (of Bennett and Creighton), emphasis added.
Before proceeding, three limitations of this study must be acknowledged. Firstly, the lack of a detailed history of the Irish Baptist Home Mission in the twentieth century means that in this study the influence of the Home Mission on the Foreign Mission is almost certainly understated. The IBHM was not just the older sibling of the Foreign Mission, it was the core of the Baptist Union of Ireland\textsuperscript{29}. Many policy decisions made by the IBFM would be illuminated by reference to contemporary developments within the older Mission. Secondly, the author is only too conscious that he was unable to visit Argentina in the course of this research and that events there are under-represented, too. Finally, it must be understood that this is a history of the IBFM and not of the short-lived Association of Baptist Churches in Argentina, nor of the vigorous Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru. I made a number of attempts to contact officials of this Union whilst I was in Peru and also since, unfortunately to no avail. In any case, as Kessler wrote about the definitive history of Evangelicals in Peru, that story must be told by a Peruvian\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{29}One former BUOI Secretary states "It was the care of "the Home Mission Church" which gave the Baptist Union of Ireland its present shape and momentum." (Grant "The Home Mission Church" in Baptist Missions \textit{Celebrating 100 Years of what God has done through Baptists In Ireland} Belfast 1988). The previous Secretary writes that the "dominance of the [Home] Mission continued long after the Union was renamed and restructured" (Thompson 1995 p64).

\textsuperscript{30}Kessler 1980 p10
Chapter One: Searching for a Policy (1924 - 1933)

Once the dust had settled after the momentous decision of May 1924 to form the Irish Baptist Foreign Mission nothing much seemed to happen for over two years. In July 1926 Pastor Richard Hodgett, chairman of the Mission, wrote to the Secretary, Pastor Fred Gracey, "[o]ur people are getting restless at nothing being done".1 A constitution had been drawn up and a Committee formed but beyond this there was little tangible progress. The Committee's time had been spent revising the procedure for amending the constitution, pondering and refusing an invitation to integrate into the Evangelical Union of South America (EUSA) and volunteering to take deputation meetings on behalf of the new society.

However, one very significant decision had been made. The Committee had felt that "the unevangelised condition of the Indian tribes of South America constituted a call for prayerful consideration" and promptly decided that "the IBFM should, by the grace of God, plan to enter some part of the Amazon basin with a view to evangelizing the native tribes".2 This decision was made almost entirely divorced from any practical considerations. It was virtually a statement of principle and it defined two dimensions of the Mission's objective and aims. The geographical sphere for the IBFM's work would be South America and the ethnic groups they hoped to reach were the "native tribes" of the Amazon. This decision is entirely consistent with the influences behind the creation of the IBFM which were highlighted in the Introduction. The minute recording the decision adds as the sole justification that "South America being so largely a Roman Catholic country (sic) would commend its needs to us in our own experience of that power in our own land".3 Opposition to Roman Catholicism was a recurring feature of

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1 Hodgett to Gracey 29.7.26
2 Minutes IBFM Committee 22.04.25
3 Minutes IBFM Committee 22.04.25
Fundamentalist polemic as well as being a significant element of Irish Protestant identity⁴. In contrast to mainline Protestant missions⁵, including the BMS⁶, Irish Baptists had no qualms in regarding Roman Catholics as objects of mission. Views on two other issues were probably also implicit in the proposal: namely what type of work the Mission would undertake and who would act as their agents. The first ten years of the IBFM’s history are largely the account of how, by a process of trial and error, these four dimensions of the Mission’s policy were established, questioned and reformulated.

Where?

Having decided to initiate work in South America the Committee felt it to have been a “Divine co-incidence”⁷ when their chairman, Pastor Hodgett, met a Mr and Mrs George C. Oehring whilst on holiday in Carnlough in the summer of 1926. They had been working in South America since 1910. They had served originally with the Inland South America Missionary Union in Paraguay but since 1921 they had been working independently in Urubamba, Peru, supported largely “by a doctor friend in Glasgow”⁸. They were considering their future and responded warmly to the initial approaches made by the Committee.

Urubamba was a town of around 5000 inhabitants in the deep Convention Valley to the east of the Peruvian Andes. Two factors about its location seemed to the

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⁵ This was why the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 excluded Latin America. As a result the Faith Missions active in South America organised the Panama Congress in 1916 (Nelson and Kessler 1978 p41).
⁶ The BMS sent two delegations in 1908 and 1909 to investigate the possibility of mission in Latin America, but only among the tribal peoples “untouched by Roman Catholics” (Stanley 1992 p471). The question of the legitimacy of evangelizing Catholics was still a “live issue” for English Baptists in the 1950s (ibid. p472).
⁷ Annual Report for 1927, extant only in draft form, filed in Gracey’s Correspondence dated 31.12.27.
⁸ Minutes IBFM Committee 25.11.26
Figure 1: Map of South America showing the location of Urubamba

South America:
The Neglected Continent

Source: Inside Cover of IBFM Annual Report for 1930
Committee to make it suitable as "a base .. for mission work among savage tribes of the interior". Firstly, it was accessible from the coast as at the time it was the end of the railway being constructed from Cuzco in central Peru. Cuzco in turn was connected by rail via Juliaca on the shores of Lake Titicaca to Mollendo on the sea coast. Secondly, the Urubamba river flows past the town northwards along the valley floor eventually joining the Ucayali river. Since this is a tributary of the Amazon there seemed to be a viable route to the interior. So after spending the early months of 1927 in deputation the Oehrings sailed for Peru in July. They left behind the older two of their three children in boarding school in England. Before their departure they met G.Robert ("Bertie") Bennett, from the Londonderry Baptist church, who was studying at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, and encouraged him to apply to the Mission. After having completed a further course at the Missionary School of Medicine in London, Bennett sailed for Mollendo on the 30th August 1928. Exactly a year later he was followed by another young man: William I. ("Billy") Creighton from the Shankill Road Baptist church in Belfast.

Creighton and Bennett only spent a year together. The month after Creighton's departure the IBFM Committee received a proposal which re-opened the question of the geographical location of the Mission's work. Robert Sangster Hosford was an energetic and forceful banker, a former member of the Cork

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9 Minutes IBFM Committee 10.01.27
10 In the Annual Report for 1927 Bennett was called "the first volunteer from our own Irish churches". This suggests that the older workers adopted by Irish Baptists were not felt to be really "their" missionaries. In view of the context we have outlined in the Introduction this was probably significant. Later "waves" of missionaries in the history of IBFM were numbered counting Bennett and his contemporaries as the first missionaries. Thus those commissioned after the Second World War were the "Second Wave" and the 1960s brought the "Third Wave".
Baptist church who had been working in Rosario, Argentina, since 1899. During that time he had been instrumental in the formation of five Baptist churches in that city and was now the Honorary Pastor of the fifth of these churches. In 1928 Hosford attended the Baptist World Alliance meetings in Toronto and then travelled to Ireland for a holiday. Whilst there he met with the IBFM Committee and proposed that they become responsible for the fifth Baptist church in Rosario\(^{11}\). He would make over to them the trust deeds for the various church properties, valued at c. £3000\(^{12}\), if they would in turn undertake to finance a Superintendent for the work upon Mr Hosford’s retirement in a few year’s time\(^{13}\). This was a very generous offer but the Committee members hesitated to commit themselves fully as they realised they would be taking on a work which was not only located thousands of miles away from the Amazon basin but one which in character was equally far removed from the pioneer evangelism they had envisaged. Whilst they deliberated, Hosford, now back in Argentina, sent further proposals. By January 1930\(^{14}\) he had floated the idea of a chain of mission stations to link Rosario in the south with Urubamba in the north\(^{15}\). Feeling at a loss to evaluate this new idea the Committee decided to send Bennett from Urubamba to Rosario for six months to investigate the possibilities of integrating the two works. Bennett left in November 1929. Within two months of his arrival in Argentina he wrote that the two countries were as different as day and night\(^{16}\).

\(^{11}\)Responsibility for the pastoral support of the first four churches planted by Hosford (and ownership of their buildings) had already been passed to the Southern Baptist Convention.

\(^{12}\)Equivalent to around £120,000 today. Conversion to modern financial equivalents throughout this thesis is based on figures from “Global Financial Data: English Consumer Prices, 1264-1998” posted on the internet at globalfindata.com/tbukcpi.htm.

\(^{13}\)Minutes IBFM Committee 11.09.28

\(^{14}\)Hosford to Gracey 18.01.30. He may have made this suggestion some months earlier cf. Minutes IBFM Committee 11.09.29 - the correspondence referred to there is not extant.

\(^{15}\)Hosford’s vision of a chain of stations may have been influenced by similar plans of the Faith Missions in Africa (Fiedler 1994 pp73-78).

\(^{16}\)Bennett to Gracey 5.3.30
Peru and Argentina did have certain elements of shared history. Both were Spanish colonies until they gained their independence in the early nineteenth century. But where Argentina was one of the two bases from which the continent-wide revolt spread, Peru was the centre of Spanish colonial power. The Roman Catholic Church had arrived with the Spanish conquistadores and was closely allied with the colonial regime. But after a difficult transition it managed to re-establish a close association with the new social and political authorities in the independent republics. The earliest Protestants to migrate to the continent found that at the popular level the Catholic Church had a tremendous hold. Social life in the towns was dominated by religious “fiestas” which had often been designed to replace the traditional religious practices of the Indian peoples. This had facilitated the adoption of Catholicism. But in the eyes of Protestants (and some Catholics) it also left the Church with an enduring legacy of syncretism. Accordingly some Evangelical writers in the later nineteenth century portrayed South America as “The Neglected Continent” in terms of true Christianity. This assessment of the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America has been - and continues to be - very controversial. By the turn of the century the Roman Catholic clergy felt under attack from Protestantism as well as from the growing

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17 There are famous examples of contemporary Catholics during the colonial period who protested at the treatment of the indigenous peoples. However, it was particularly the new wave of Catholic missionaries to Latin America after the Second World War who were most concerned about the overall state of Catholicism as such. The title of Jacques Monast’s 1972 book “Los Indios Amares ¿Evangelizados o solo bautizados?” (The Aymara Indians - Evangelized or Just Baptised?) is frequently quoted in this context (e.g. Orta 1996 p80). However, the hostility to syncretism shown by that generation of workers seems to be giving way to more positive assessments of traditional Aymara religion in Catholic theologies of inculturation. This parallels certain lines of early Catholic missionary ideology (cf. Orta 1996 pp121-166, especially p161).

18 An article with this title in IB September 1930 seems to suggest that the designation was first used in a “Cyclopedia of Missions” by a Rev H. Newcombe (N.Y.1855). Lucy Guinness and E.C. Millard’s book “South America: The Neglected Continent” (N.Y.1894) was influential in establishing the continent as an Evangelical mission field (Fiedler 1994 p128). The title also became the name of the EUSA magazine for several years (Nelson and Kessler 1978 p42 footnote 6).

19 Latin America had been excluded from the terms of reference of the World Missionary Conference in 1910 in deference to Anglo-Catholic scruples about the legitimacy of evangelizing Catholics (see p9 footnote 5). The term “Evangélico” in Latin America is roughly synonymous with “Protestant” in English but in this thesis “Evangelical” will be used in its English sense of a subgroup of Protestantism with certain identifiable features, (see e.g. Bebbington 1989 pp1-19).
Liberal groups in politics who were agitating for reforms. Latourette documents how people "affected by the new currents of thought and movements for social justice tended to hold aloof from [the Catholic Church] and regard it as an obstacle to human betterment"\(^{20}\). In response the clergy fiercely opposed moves towards the granting of religious liberty, arguing that social stability and political unity were indissolubly linked to religious uniformity\(^{21}\). Even years after the passing of amendments to the republics' constitutions allowing freedom of conscience and worship (as happened in Peru in 1915) converts to other religions could still face great persecution. Examples of the difficulties faced by Evangelicals especially in more rural areas could be multiplied from the IBFM correspondence. They faced discrimination in employment, banishment from the family home, obstructions in securing marriage licenses and burial certificates as well as straightforward verbal or physical abuse\(^{22}\). Although incidents of this nature also happened in Argentina, Bennett concluded that the differences between Urubamba and Rosario were far greater than their similarities.

The city of Rosario, situated on the river Paraná was a natural port for transport to the north west of Argentina. In 1929 it was reported as having a population of over 400,000\(^{23}\) and it was growing rapidly. The early years of the century were ones of almost unbounded optimism as to the country's economic and political future\(^{24}\). In an effort to gather information Bennett took Osvaldo Avalos, a young Christian from the Rosario church, with him on a three-month exploratory evangelistic trip covering more than 1000 miles to the northern frontier of

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\(^{20}\) Latourette 1947 p171


\(^{22}\) Oehring to Shields 12.10.29 and 10.08.29; to Gracey 13.04.28; and 03.01.28.


\(^{24}\) Falcott 1996 p152f
Figure 2: Hosford’s Proposed Chain of Stations

Source: Cover of IBFM Annual Report for 1932
Argentina. They travelled along a railroad which was carrying an incredibly cosmopolitan traffic. The little town of Pinto made a particular impression on Bennett. It had about two thousand inhabitants and no Roman Catholic Church or priest as yet. He spoke to people there “who had never seen a New Testament or a Bible and did not know what they were”. Yet even in that small backwater he spoke to an Arab and an Italian, made friends with a businessman married to a Welsh woman and ate in a restaurant owned by a Turk (who carried a revolver stuck in his belt). The impression is of a population in a continual ferment of immigration and movement, open to new ideas in a way rural Peru might not be. Furthermore a high proportion of the population had had the benefit of at least a basic education. The main thrust of Bennett and Avalos’ work during their three-month trip was to give away 40,000 magazines or leaflets. There are only occasional references in the letters to meeting people who could not read (normally women). In contrast Creighton claimed, presumably in the estimate of the missionaries who had been longer in Peru than himself, that “in most cases” the Quechua Indians of Urubamba were illiterate. In the end it was two full years before Bennett made it back to Belfast to report to the Committee in person.

Amongst whom?

Long before that another of the dimensions of the mission’s strategy was under the spotlight. A major new influence on the Committee’s thinking came through their contact with other missionary societies trying to penetrate the interior of

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25 Figure 2 is a map taken from the cover of the Annual Report for 1932 showing Hosford’s proposed chain of stations along the railway. The towns marked by hollow circles had no Evangelical workers when Bennett passed through. Those on a direct line to Peru are also named.
26 Bennett to Shields 12.09.30; Bennett to Hosford 21.08.30; 24.08.30.
27 Creighton to Gracey 26.10.29
South America. In 1930 EUSA and the World Dominion Press, which was dedicated to trying to help missions co-ordinate their activities, jointly organised a conference in April. This specifically focused on Bananal, a 250-mile long island between two branches of the Araguaia river in Brazil, but it was intended to serve as a springboard for further cooperation. The IBFM was invited to attend as it had stated its intention of working amongst the native tribes of the Amazon. So Fred Gracey was present to hear a number of reports. A key paper was presented by Mr (later Sir) Kenneth Grubb who was seconded from the World Evangelization Crusade to the World Dominion Press. He had travelled extensively in South America in an attempt to get a global picture of the work being carried out by different missionary societies. When he had passed through Urubamba he had already told Bennett that he thought the day for Forest Indian work "was 15 years past" as their numbers were being drastically reduced by the inroads of civilization and by exposure to new diseases. He was able to back this up with statistics at the conference in 1930. This probably came as something of a shock when reported back to the IBFM Committee. Grubb further warned of the dangers of missionary societies being drawn by the romance and appeal of work among the Forest Indians only to collide with a "baffling wall of difficulties". He did believe pioneer work was needed in the lowland forest areas but any society committing themselves to this task must be aware of the enormous obstacles in their path. Upon hearing Gracey’s report of these contacts the IBFM Committee minuted their gratitude for the information they had gained “although containing

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28 Bennett to Gracey 21.11.28
29 N.b. Oehring’s stout resistance to Grubb’s figures in his letter to Gracey (4.2.30). Cf. also this statement in R. Speer’s article re-printed in IB June 1928 p70: “The great proportion of South American blood is not Latin but Indian”. This would have been understood in Irish Baptist circles at the time to mean “Forest Indian”.
30 Gracey’s report on South American Missionary Conference 12th March 1930.
some disturbing features on the difficulties of reaching the uncivilised Indians and the enormity of the work to be accomplished\textsuperscript{31}.

The Mission’s growing awareness of the nature of pioneer work amongst the Forest Indians can be traced in the IBFM’s publications. Bennett seemed to be stating the obvious when he wrote in March 1930 that “The Indians live in the Forest and they are not going to come to us”. Still it was apparently significant enough to be repeated not only in the monthly IBFM circular “To the Lord’s Remembrancers” but also in the denomination’s magazine\textsuperscript{32}. The Annual Report for 1930 stated that the objective of the Mission was “to reach the nomad Indians of the Amazonian lowlands”\textsuperscript{33}. This represented a major step forward in the Committee’s understanding. It is somewhat ironic that the first contact of an IBFM missionary with itinerant Indians occurred not in Peru but in Argentina. Seven weeks into their exploratory trek on the Argentinian railways Bennett and Avalos reached towns close to the border with Bolivia. They had heard that there was an area there where great numbers of Chiriguana Indians came to work on the large farms. However, Bennett wrote that when he went to investigate the weather was against him and, since the harvest was now gathered, the Indians would soon be moving off again\textsuperscript{34}.

Perhaps the decisive blow to the plan of reaching out to the Forest Indians came in 1931 when Billy Creighton was finally able to travel with Thomas Payne, an EUSA missionary, right down the Urubamba and Ucayali rivers as far as Iquitos. This was a 1,300 mile journey which involved enormous practical difficulties.

\textsuperscript{31} Minutes IBFM Committee 02.04.30
\textsuperscript{32} IB May 1930 p61
\textsuperscript{33} FMAR 1930 p2 (emphasis added)
\textsuperscript{34} Bennett to Hosford 9.10.30
Having left Urubamba on the 31st May Creighton did not return until the 18th November. After the initial brief train journey and three days on a mule the missionaries experienced a frustrating month-long wait. This was because there were no canoes and oarsmen capable of taking them through the first and most dangerous stage of their river journey. Just four days downstream were the infamous "Pongo de Manaique" rapids. An Indian messenger was sent by a tortuous overland route to summon canoes from below the rapids. Their subsequent slow progress up stream was the reason for the delay. When Creighton saw the location of the rapids he understood why the Indians called them the "Pongo", which means "door". He wrote that the break in the mountain chain was as sharp and abrupt as if an opening had been broken through an extremely thick wall to allow the river to pour through. Depending on the season, the flow of water often made the rapids completely impassable up or down. This natural obstacle is the single main reason why Urubamba could never be better than a "back door" to the Amazon.

Even if a new base was found beneath the rapids there were other difficulties to face. The approach would have to be upstream, from Brazil, rather than downstream, from Peru. Then there were the relatively minor irritants like the food (which on Creighton's journey consisted mainly of dried fish and unripe bananas), the different kinds of biting insects and the "splitting sun". There were also the health risks. They arrived at one mission station to find that the missionary's wife had been having difficulty in labour for the last two days. Creighton's companion Payne was able to render some assistance though the

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35Creighton to Shields 02.07.31
36Creighton to Shields 02.08.31
37Bennett 1979-80 p35
38Creighton to Shields 24.08.31

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child was lost\textsuperscript{39}. As they moved on the next day the experience caused Creighton to ponder the isolation of any missionaires sent into the heart of the Forest. He also found that the majority of the Indians he saw were not totally untouched by civilization. They lived and worked on large estates and "wear pants and shirts"\textsuperscript{40}. The problem was that the permission of the landlord would be needed to establish a mission among them. There were some "free" Indians but they were sometimes hostile and were scattered in tiny hamlets of ten or twelve families with days of empty river in between. Creighton could see that to survive in this environment he would need to learn "how to care for cows, pigs and fowl, grow yucca, maize.. a knowledge of these things is essential to the existence of the station"\textsuperscript{41}. Reflecting on the whole experience he wrote that he was disappointed in the numbers of Indians he had met. He was perplexed as to what the Mission’s policy should be because in comparison there were much greater numbers of Quechua Indians who were also much more accessible\textsuperscript{42}.

Having been a professional boxer at the age of nineteen\textsuperscript{43}, it is not surprising that Billy Creighton had a determined personality. Less predictable was his flair for language. (Bennett - whose own later correspondence includes letters in elegantly expressed Spanish - commented rather ruefully shortly after Creighton’s arrival in Peru that he thought the newcomer "dreams of verbs"\textsuperscript{44}). The diary Creighton kept on his seven week voyage out to Peru shows he was already getting language coaching from at least four different individuals whilst still aboard ship. Perhaps because he was confident of mastering Spanish he quickly began to wonder about trying to learn Quechua also. This was the

\textsuperscript{39}Creighton to Shields 08.09.31
\textsuperscript{40}Creighton to Shields 24.08.31
\textsuperscript{41}Creighton to Shields 24.08.31
\textsuperscript{42}Creighton to Shields 26.11.31
\textsuperscript{43}IB July-August 1929 p92
\textsuperscript{44}Bennett to Shields 30.11.29
language spoken by the highland descendants of the Incas who had ruled a large empire before the arrival of the Spaniards. It seems that the Oehrings only managed to contact the Spanish-speaking population in Urubamba because Bennett wrote to Gracey at the end of 1928 that “there is no need for interpreters here for I have not yet seen an Indian in our meeting room”\textsuperscript{45}. Things began to change a year later after the conversion of a Quechua-speaking “fraile” (friar). Now choruses could be written out in that language and a completely Quechua-speaking meeting started up. Oehring, the senior missionary, still had only small expectations of the numbers that might come “for Indians are shy in coming among others”\textsuperscript{46}. However, in his very next letter, three days later, he wrote excitedly that the “attendance was so good that many young folk had to seat themselves on the floor”\textsuperscript{47}. Three months later these meetings were still full\textsuperscript{48}. Oehring may have felt he had to defend these meetings to the Committee when he noted that the people “have good memories for this tongue and remember the hymns”.\textsuperscript{49} Certainly as late as May 1932 the Committee were still explicitly forbidding Creighton from learning Quechua. This was not because they could not see its value in reaching these “Sierra” (Mountain) Indians but because they were still unsure about which ethnic group should be the focus for the Mission. In any case work in the Cuzco area amongst the Quechuas was very definitely EUSA’s sphere of work\textsuperscript{50}.

The meeting the Committee had longed for with Bennett finally occurred on the 24th November 1931. Having personally seen both fields he was uniquely

\textsuperscript{45} Bennett to Gracey 21.11.28
\textsuperscript{46} Oehring to Shields 16.1.30
\textsuperscript{47} Oehring to Shields 19.1.30
\textsuperscript{48} Oehring to Shields 2.4.30
\textsuperscript{49} Oehring to Shields 19.1.30
\textsuperscript{50} McNairn of EUSA had outlined to Gracey the comity agreements reached following the Panama Congress of 1916. The North of Peru had been allocated to the Free Church of Scotland; the
qualified to help them evaluate the work so far and look for the way forward. The morning was spent listening to Bennett give a full report of his three years' experiences. Then "a cross fire of questions from all members ensued". It was illuminating for the Committee to hear the facts stated so clearly, not to say bluntly, e.g. "There are no Indians within 1000 miles of Rosario". Pastor Louis Deens, chairing the meeting, summarised four alternatives for the policy of the Mission. These were: 1) to concentrate on the Forest Indians; 2) the total abandonment of that policy and concentration upon the Quechuas and the (Spanish-speaking) Latin Americans; 3) to combine work among Forest Indians, Quechuas and Latins; 4) to concentrate on the Forest Indians and the Quechuas. Perhaps predictably the Committee decided for the safe third option of continuing more-or-less as before. The last option would have involved the rejection of the Rosario proposal. The second was so bald an admission of a U-turn that the Committee could not bring itself to accept it. However, the difficulties of even contacting the Forest Indians had become so patent that it was no longer realistic to perpetuate this as the declared sole aim of the Mission. The significance of this episode lies not so much in the outcome as in the fact that it was the first time these issues were being discussed openly.

It is interesting that even "Louis the Lucid", as Pastor Deens was affectionately known in the denomination, did not spell out a fifth possibility in that Committee meeting. Presumably it was not even worth suggesting that the Mission focus only on the Spanish-speaking population. The reluctance to relinquish the objective of reaching Indians shows that the IBFM intuitively shared the outlook of many Evangelicals of the day, especially those involved in the Faith Missions.

Centre to the Methodists and the CMA; and the South (which includes Cuzco) to EUSA (McNairn to Gracey 24.12.26).

Minutes IBFM Committee 24.11.31
For example, when George Allan was taking steps in 1907 towards the formation of a society to work in Bolivia, a friend had written from London that it should be named the Bolivian Indian Mission, and the New Zealand Council stated that it "would be very pleased if the work of the Mission could be directed mainly towards the evangelization of the Indians"52.

Doing what?

The reason for this was that the Indians were seen as the most deprived and needy sector of the population53. However, there is a great deal of confusion about the Indians and their needs in the IBFM's early publications. Sometimes they were called the "native tribes", at others the "redskin Indians"54 or even "the wild men of the jungle"55. It was some time before even the missionaries' letters clearly differentiated between the Forest Indians and the Quechuas living in the mountains. Thus Bennett shortly after his arrival in Peru quoted another missionary's description of the Quechua as: "dear, lovable, ignorant, picturesque, dirty people"56. This same quote was used in the second of two lantern lectures put together in 1928. There is an unmistakably paternalistic tone in the comments of this lecture written to accompany slides of the "poor, deluded Indians". In sharp contrast the other lecture written that same year is full of information on the geography, history and culture of Peru and is notably free of patronising adjectives. At the very least this shows that even amongst the

52Hudspith 1958 p35. Stoll documents that at one point 36.5 % of Faith Mission work was focused on 0.5 % of the South American population composed of indigenous peoples (1990 p16). The influence of the Faith Missions was strongly felt in Ireland at the close of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. In 1887 Samuel Bill sailed for Nigeria as the first missionary of the Qua Iboe Mission (which is based in Northern Ireland). In 1890 Irish Presbyterians began a "Jungle Tribes Mission" with a financial policy modelled on Faith Missions (Addley 1994 p260ff).

53The rationale of selecting mission fields where the inhabitants were relatively more "deprived of privileges and opportunities" (Bosch 1991 p255) is one of the enduring features of the Protestant missionary paradigm. Bosch traces it back to the influence of the Pietists.

54IB March 1927 p32
55IB July 1927 p79
56FMAR 1928 p5
Committee and Officers of the Mission - let alone its supporters - there were widely-varying levels of understanding of what needs there were in Peru.

Protestant missionaries have frequently defended their right to enter South America on the grounds of the ineffectiveness of Catholicism to transform society. Thus in 1913 Robert Speer, the veteran leader of the Student Volunteer Movement, wrote that "[t]he first test of religious conditions is to be found in the facts of social life. No land can be conceded to have a satisfactory religion where the moral conditions are as they have been shown to be in South America"\textsuperscript{57}. The IBFM used the same kind of apologetic and in so doing reported clear evidence of significant social and economic oppression. Both Forest Indians and the Quechuas often lived and worked on farms as serfs. Bennett commented that hostility from the landowners towards the missionaries was to be expected because they "know that if the Indians get any teaching, any enlightenment of any kind, free labour .. will come to an end"\textsuperscript{58}. The missionaries' letters regularly complain about the Government-appointed doctors. They often showed little interest in those unable to pay for treatment and even less if the ailment was infectious. At times abuses were also committed by clergy of the Roman Catholic church. Oehring reported the case of a priest who, having control over the sole source of drinkable water in the village of Maras, aroused enormous antagonism by charging the villagers for it\textsuperscript{59}. Such situations were often illegal but as Oehring commented, "laws exist .. to protect the Indians but no-one knows or respects the law\textsuperscript{60}.

\textsuperscript{57} South American Problems New York 1913 p145 (quoted in Escobar 1987 p33). Excerpts from this same book were also used in the IB magazine in June 1928 (p69).
\textsuperscript{58} Bennett to Gracey 18.04.30
\textsuperscript{59} Oehring to Shields 15.04.28
\textsuperscript{60} Oehring to Shields 16.10.29
Against this backdrop the IBFM expected that at least some of its workers would be involved in social ministries, especially in the area of health. The environment in Urubamba was calculated to arouse the Christian compassion of the missionaries. In the town the lack of proper sanitation and the presence of vermin combined to make epidemics of typhoid fever so frequent that Oehring referred laconically to the return of “the usual visitor”\(^ \text{61} \). This was a real threat even to those with access to proper medication. We read of the deaths of a respected doctor in Cuzco and also of one of the Urubamba church members who contracted the fever whilst attending another sick woman\(^ \text{62} \). Other diseases commonly encountered by the Oehrings included anthrax and diphtheria. Mrs Oehring was also in constant demand as a midwife. Peruvian law prevented anyone not accredited in the country from practising medicine when there was a government doctor in a town - but they never seemed to stay for long in Urubamba. In the long gaps in between official medical support the Committee seemed happy for the Oehrings to be occupied in medical work and commended their ministry “for body and soul”\(^ \text{63} \). Some contemporary evidence suggests that Irish Baptists generally approved of medical ministry being carried out alongside more direct evangelism. Towards the end of Lantern Lecture 2, mentioned above, this summary statement is made: “Degraded by the heartless traders, downtrodden by the priests, neglected by the Christian church, knowing nothing of the gospel of Christ which alone is able to regenerate and elevate them - such is the condition of the savages of Peru”. This statement - which is an unacknowledged quote from Geraldine Guinness' book on Peru\(^ \text{64} \) - accepts that

\(^ {61} \)Oehring to Gracey 26.06.30
\(^ {62} \)Oehring to Shields 12.07.30, 29.11.30. Further, the Committee minutes of 10.09.31 extend sympathy to the EUSA on the death of a Mr Thompson, one of their missionaries, also from typhoid fever.
\(^ {63} \)FMAR 1928 p3
\(^ {64} \)1909 p236. It may be significant that this statement closes Guinness' chapter on the exploitative rubber trade. Three years after the publication of her book massacres on the banks of the Putumayo river perpetrated by a company registered in London became a national British
there are twin aims to Christian mission: "regeneration" and "elevation". The writer of Lantern Lecture 1 similarly quotes with approval another statement to the effect that "The work of evangelization goes hand in hand with the material and social uplift of the Indian".

However, another strand of evidence shows that the Mission did not have unqualified enthusiasm for medical work. Oehring was careful to point out his efforts to avoid being seen as merely the dispenser of free medical care (hence his references to patients' attempts at grateful repayment such as "a nice duck" or "a leg of a sheep"). Creighton was evidently discouraged by the time he wrote that "for our medical attention they will come, but to come to meetings is a different thing". The contract the Mission drew up with its missionaries (first signed with Bennett on the 1st July 1928) is even clearer. After six articles which deal exclusively with the termination of contract the seventh and final article requires the missionary to throw himself heartily into the work of the mission. "The chief object of the Mission", it continues, "is the salvation of the souls of the people in and around Urubamba and, when opportunity arises, in the territories of Peruvian Amazonia; while therefore paying due attention to the medical and (or) educational needs of such persons as may come under his care the Missionary will do his utmost to lead them to a Fundamental and intelligent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and to a saving knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ".

scandal. Sir Roger Casement, a British civil servant sent to investigate, concluded that "the number of Indians killed ... during the course of 12 years in order to extort 4,000 tons of rubber cannot have been less than 30,000" (quoted in Tatford 1983 p347). This was probably a factor contributing to Irish Baptists' ready acceptance of Peru as a mission field ten years later. Cf. Tatford's comment on the impact in Brethren circles "who can say how many Christian workers were led to serve the Lord in Peru when they learned the conditions and the need?" (1983 p 339).

65Oehring to Gracey 19.01.28
66Creighton to Gracey 26.11.33
Under the influence of this “Fundamental” thinking the IBFM showed the common struggle to articulate the value and place of any work which was not preaching. Thus we read in the Annual Report for 1930: “Mr and Mrs Oehring spend a great deal of their time and strength in caring for the bodies of the folk around them”. But this was justified only because it led to “access to homes... and thus opportunities are afforded for a telling witness”. Again in 1931 the “steady plodding work” of the Oehrings “has been honoured by the salvation of souls” “care for their bodies has again and again proved a means of gaining their confidence”. Strongest of all is the statement in the 1928 Annual Report: “Our object, therefore, is not to educate the heathen, not merely to uplift the masses, but to preach Christ and him crucified”. Here by way of emphasis the antithesis has been made even clearer.

In defence of this prioritizing of preaching the IBFM records show two elements common in Fundamentalist thinking: an extremely pessimistic view of human society and a virtually boundless confidence in the preaching of the Bible. Re-examining Guinness’ statement quoted above shows that its real effect is to insist that not only regeneration but also socio-economic “elevation” is an effect of the gospel of Christ “alone”. Denials, like this one, of the power of educational or social reforms to effect fundamental change of themselves were common in the circles in which Irish Baptist leaders moved. They stand consciously opposed to the view of the social gospel where “[s]in became identified with ignorance and it was believed that knowledge and compassion would produce

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67 The only mitigating factor is that this was the first printed Annual Report and it consciously looked for the support of those unhappy with more doctrinally diverse societies. As such the statement is more a presentation of credentials than a reflection of the activities of the Oehrings.

68 Cf. these statements made by an American Bible Society agent in Bolivia in the late 19th Century: “Nothing can raise the Quechua but the Gospel”, “The only hope we entertain for the uplifting of these downtrodden people is the blessed Gospel” (Hudspith 1958 p25).
uplift as people rose to meet their potentials. They are particularly the perspective of the premillennial eschatology predominant in Evangelical circles in the early years of the century and whose features are clear in the IBFM records. For example, David Bebbington has found close links between "premillennial enthusiasm" and "evangelistic endeavour." Thus the preamble to the IBFM constitution explicitly appeals to "the approaching end of the age", second only to the Great Commission, as the rationale for the creation of the mission. And we find Gracey writing in the Irish Baptist Magazine for March 1927: "What if this latest missionary organization should be the means of evangelizing the last tribes to be reached before Jesus comes?"

Bebbington has also documented the association of premillennial eschatology with firm views on the inspiration and authority of Scripture. These latter issues were not only critical in the acrimonious theological controversies surrounding the formation of the IBFM. They had more positive implications as well. Here is the source of the remarkable confidence shown by IBFM missionaries even when facing enormous obstacles. When Bennett reached the border with Bolivia he had travelled 1000 miles north of his base in Argentina. He must have felt particularly distant from his roots and background. On the seven-week journey he and his companion had repeatedly met indifference and open hostility as well as curiosity and interest in their attempts to give away literature. Yet the hard days do not seem to have caused him to question the value of what he was doing. Focusing on the positive responses he rejoiced that "the Word finds an answer in

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69 Bosch 1991 p283. Note the recurrence of the spatial metaphor of "uplift".
70 Bebbington 1989 p193. See also Latourrette's comments on the causes of the "phenomenal growth" of Seventh Day Adventism worldwide (1947 p63).
71 Bebbington 1989 p190
the heart of man everywhere. We can take this Blessed Book anywhere for it has its counterpart in man - deep answers unto deep\(^{72}\).

In its later history the IBFM did have periods when in practice medical work co-existed easily with preaching. This was particularly true in the 1940s and 50s. But in the first period of the IBFM’s history its Irish Baptist supporters clearly expected the Mission to emphasize preaching. Thus it is noticeable that when the Rosario work, with its natural emphasis on preaching rather than social work, was adopted churches previously wary of supporting the IBFM began giving\(^{73}\). There is also a distinct difference between the viewpoints of the Oehrings (who were not Irish Baptists before being approached by the IBFM) and the younger missionaries sent out after them. The Committee rejoiced at hearing Creighton’s first letters. His “pioneering spirit” was described as a “wonderful stimulus” to them\(^{74}\). Whilst not explicit it seems likely that this stands in contrast to their response to Oehring’s frequent requests to purchase property in Urubamba for a hospital and a permanent headquarters for the mission. It is not altogether surprising that Bennett and Creighton did not feel there was a sympathy from the Oehrings for their desires to be pushing on towards the Forest\(^{75}\). There was a generation gap as well as differences in temperament and background. But if there was a lack of thoughtful and coherent policy in Belfast it was almost inevitable that, under the impact of the altitude and of the cultural isolation in Peru, different understandings of their goals would undermine morale amongst the missionaries.

\(^{72}\)Bennett to Shields 01.10.30
\(^{73}\)Limerick Baptist Church had not until then switched support from the BMS (Hamilton to Gracey 26.02.29).
\(^{74}\)Minutes IBFM Committee 19.02.30
\(^{75}\)Creighton to Shields 11.12.30
By whom?

If the Committee were unconsciously pushing all their missionaries to be itinerant preachers this would explain their initial uncertainty when a Miss Florence Manley applied to the Mission. Before considering her application the Committee felt the need to debate and minute their approval of “the principle of sending out lady workers to the field”\(^76\). In the event Miss Manley did not pass her medical examination. Two years later, in November 1929, the IBFM did take on a woman but she was not Irish. Hosford had been urging the Committee not only to consider its geographical field but also its policy on whom it employed. He had realised, though the Committee as yet had not, the immense advantages of "native" workers over expatriate missionaries. Obviously they did not need to spend time learning the language, adjusting to the culture and so on. However, there was a far more fundamental advantage. It is clear that Hosford had grasped the need for what later has come to be called the “contextualization”\(^77\) of the gospel: “I understand [Christ] as though he was born and reared in Cork. To the Argentinians and to the Indians it is just the same. We must become as native as we can in all things of thought and interpretation”\(^78\). Hosford argued that the IBFM should employ at least as many native workers as foreign missionaries not just to save funds but for the sake of the gospel itself. Relying solely on expatriate missionaries would make the message they carried sound foreign to South American ears.

Hosford's proposals demanded the availability of mature national believers but there was no shortage of able workers and leaders in Argentina. In the

\(^{76}\)Minutes IBFM Committee 26.10.27
\(^{77}\)If we follow Bosch’s terminology we should be more specific and say the “inculturation” of the gospel. He suggests that inculturation and liberation theology provide the two main models of contextualization (1991 pp420-432 and pp447-457).
\(^{78}\)Hosford to Gracey 04.02.30
Protestant church context, as much as in society at large, Rosario was a generation ahead of Urubamba. The glimpses we get through Hosford's letters and articles are of church life which is active, well organised, with good leadership. A vigorous work had been established in the city for at least two decades. In 1930 two hundred people packed the fifth church to capacity for special evangelistic meetings whilst fifty more stood listening outside. The appeal seemed to be to all ages of the community. In October Mrs Hosford wrote that in the same meeting a woman of over seventy and a young boy of fourteen were both baptised. A variety of means were being harnessed; Juan Varetto, the pastor of one of the other churches had a regular radio programme. The fifth church had a strong national leadership too. The church's Secretary, Sunday School Superintendent, Treasurer and Vice-Treasurer were all Argentinians. There was a Young People's Society as well as a Women's Society. It was the secretary of this last society that Mr Hosford brought to the IBFM Committee's attention in 1929. Doña Rosa de Bettin was described as "consecrated and gifted" and her reports show that the description was entirely accurate.

She was employed as a "Biblewoman" which was a designation in common use in the nineteenth century, especially in Asia. In practice she spent the majority of her time in personal distribution of Scripture portions and tracts, especially

In 1907 Hosford wrote in a circular appeal letter that there had been 22 conversions the previous year (Hosford to Griffiths 22.07.07). The Trustees of Arthington Fund Number 3 were evidently impressed enough with the work in Rosario for them to award Hosford £50 towards a new hall (Rev Lawson Forfeit to Hosford 03.06.07 and E.Little to Hosford 12.06.07, for background to the Arthington Fund see Stanley 1992 p381f). F.B.Meyer was also prepared to allow the Irishman to "use his name" as a reference (Meyer to Hosford 31.07.10 and 12.12.11).

Hosford to Gracey 21.05.30
Mrs Hosford to Shields 05.10.30
IB March 1929 p29
Bettin et al to IBFM Committee 22.10.30 and IB January 1929 p7
IB April 1929 p57

Rosa de Bettin shows many of the features of the Biblewomen highlighted by Tucker (1985 pp134-144). They engaged in a ministry of evangelism, literature distribution and teaching; had little formal training; received very low financial support - mainly coming from women's
among women. This was certainly not the soft option at the time. Latourette provides confirmation for the Oehrings' judgement in Urubamba that the women were the most fanatical adherents of the Roman Catholic church in South America.\textsuperscript{86} Doña Rosa (as she became known to Irish Baptists) had a number of qualities which made her particularly suitable for her work. She had a gift of turning every situation into an opportunity for the Gospel. Mrs Hosford relates how once in a doctor's waiting room she led a man to faith in Christ.\textsuperscript{87} She was certainly diligent in her duties - she reported that in April 1931 she had visited ninety homes having conversations with one hundred and sixty-five people. Her persistence shows when she talks about a young woman who "cost a lot of visiting"\textsuperscript{88} but who remained antagonistic until a crisis blew up in her engagement. Then she requested Doña Rosa's prayers and when that situation was resolved she began to attend the meetings regularly. That incident also highlights the straightforward faith with which this remarkable Biblewoman faced each situation. She prayed for a long-term unemployed man and records with satisfaction but no apparent surprise that he was offered a job two days later. She prayed against another man's allergic reaction and it ceased; against an elderly woman's insomnia and was told by her daughter that the old woman regularly slept through only one night each week - the night that Doña Rosa had called.\textsuperscript{89} This faith was clearly the source of her courage. When the husband of one of the women she was visiting threatened to give Doña Rosa "a real beating" if he caught her, the prayer request she submitted was for this couple and not for her own safety.\textsuperscript{90} When a worker as indomitable as this was also articulate and

\footnotesize{organizations; frequently encountered severe opposition; and their spirituality was held in very high regard - "they were women of prayer" (p144).}

\textsuperscript{86}Oehring to Shields 28.11.27. Cf. Latourette Vol 7 pi71. Also cf. Mrs Oehring to Mrs Shields 09.01.29.

\textsuperscript{87}Annual Report 1930 p11

\textsuperscript{88}de Bettin Report for August 1934

\textsuperscript{89}These three examples of answered prayer are in de Bettin Reports for July and October 1934.

\textsuperscript{90}de Bettin Report for December 1933
winsome it is no wonder that Mrs Hosford could only call her “just a God-given gift to the work”\textsuperscript{91}.

In common with many other Biblewomen Doña Rosa’s employment was closely linked to the establishment of a women’s organisation to support her\textsuperscript{92}. In 1928 the IBFM Committee nominated nineteen women to form a “Women’s Auxiliary” of the Mission. Four of the women: Mrs. Frizelle, Mrs. Gribbon, Mrs. McKelvey and Mrs. Porter were asked to act as an Executive Committee. They organised a public meeting, inviting a lady member of each Belfast church to attend. They then encouraged each delegate to try and form a branch of the auxiliary in their church. These branches existed mainly for prayer and for practical support of the Mission, e.g. by the making and selling of needlework goods. The first year for which figures are available, 1930, the W.A. raised over 10% of the IBFM’s total income. Some years, like 1933, the figure was 15%. By 1930 they were also taking it in turns to write to the Irish lady missionaries\textsuperscript{93} though they took a special interest in Doña Rosa. The first Secretary of the W.A. was Mrs. Gribbon who held this post for fifteen years. When she moved to England in 1943 the President, Mrs. McKelvey, said that “It was Mrs. Gribbon’s aim to have a branch of the W.A. in every church and she has largely succeeded”\textsuperscript{94}. The W.A. is one of the first examples where the IBFM affected its context and not just vice-versa. Gracey, the Mission Secretary, wrote as early as 1929 that “The Woman’s Auxiliary is proving, under God, a vital factor of spiritual power .. Wherever in a church a branch has been formed .. there has been a double blessing enjoyed - the Mission has been helped and the church to which each branch belongs has been

\textsuperscript{91}FMAR 1930 p11
\textsuperscript{92}Tucker 1985 p141
\textsuperscript{93}Helping Together: Fifty years of the W.A. 1928 - 1978 p6
\textsuperscript{94}Helping Together: Fifty years of the W.A. 1928 - 1978 p7
helped\textsuperscript{95}. In particular it was the women of the church who benefited. Some years later the W.A. Secretary commended the groups by quoting various branch reports, among them one which stated “many of our members who never before heard their own voices in public have been enabled to lead in prayer, in testimony and to lead the meeting”\textsuperscript{96}. We will find in the next chapter that on the field, too, the IBFM provided new openings into ministry for women.

The year after Doña Rosa was employed the first candidates were proposed to the IBFM as (male) national evangelists. In October 1929 two young ex-Dominican friars (or “frailes”) began attending the meetings in the Oehrings' house in Urubamba\textsuperscript{97}. They wrote that they had each spent five years in a monastery but were disappointed to find there only “more doubt as to your soul’s salvation”\textsuperscript{98}. They “returned to the world more unsettled than ever” and eventually ended up in Urubamba, one of them being employed as a railway clerk there. They found a new assurance of salvation through the message they heard from the IBFM missionaries. Oehring then began a series of regular requests that at least one, and preferably both, be employed by the Mission as evangelists. The IBFM Committee in Belfast dragged its feet in one meeting after another, unsure about the way ahead. Encouragement from McNairn of EUSA was needed together with Hosford’s vigorous lobbying before they decided to minute their conviction that “the next step in the development of the Mission should be the appointment of native evangelists” and proposed that both young men be sent for training, probably to Costa Rica\textsuperscript{99}. For personal reasons this never

\textsuperscript{95}FMAR 1929 p3 published in IB August 1930, quoted also in “Helping Together : 50 Years of the W.A.” p5
\textsuperscript{96}H+FMR 1945 pp18-19
\textsuperscript{97}Alberto Ronceros and Oscar Llamas.
\textsuperscript{98}IB December 1929 pp14-5 gives the (translated) stories of their conversion in their own words.
\textsuperscript{99}Minutes IBFM Committee 01.07.30
materialised but the stage had been set for the employment of another converted priest in Rosario.

Like most of the Catholic clergy in Latin America Don Jacinto Terán was an expatriate, originally from Spain. For fourteen years he had been a Franciscan priest and gained some renown in Madrid, being received by the Pope. In 1929 he had been converted through contact with Baptists in Buenos Aires. Hosford and Bennett were particularly impressed with his powerful preaching and his eloquence in writing tracts and booklets. When they wrote to the Committee asking for them to employ him as an evangelist they had known him for over a year and had twice had him preaching at a series of evangelistic meetings. What seemed to spur the Committee into action, though, was the fact that other groups were very interested in securing his services. The American Southern Baptists would have liked to employ him but at that time had no funds available to that end. EUSA had given him a three-month appointment but being Baptist in theology he would readily come under the IBFM at the completion of that period. Even so the Committee would only commit itself to a six-month appointment as the exact relationship of the Rosario work to the IBFM was yet to be finalised. Don Terán was three times re-appointed for short periods before being offered a permanent post in August 1933. What finally gave the Committee the confidence they so signally lacked was a "lengthy interchange" they had had only minutes beforehand with Hosford, who was on holiday in Ireland. This allowed them to reach some agreed conclusions on the future of the work in Rosario.

\[100\text{As an example Orta quotes figures showing that in 1956 only 29\% of the 495 priests in Bolivia were nationals. By 1968 there were 899 priests but only 22\% were nationals (1996 p79).}\
\[101\text{Hosford and Bennett to Gracey 04.04.31}\
\[102\text{Minutes IBFM Committee: 08.01.32; 23.05.32; 01.02.33; 29.08.33}\

Until that had been established not everyone was convinced that the IBFM should employ mainly native workers. Writing in 1930 before meeting Terán, Bennett saw both pros and cons to Hosford's proposals. In particular if the IBFM were to keep its stated objective of reaching the Forest Indians then surely a white-skinned, Spanish-speaking Argentinian was as much a foreigner to them as an Irishman would be. "If it is a case of an Irishman for Irishmen and a Latin American for Latin Americans then surely it follows that for the Indians we need the Indian". This left the question of who would win the first generation of converts amongst the Forest Indians. Certainly many of the Argentinian believers Bennett had met were qualified in their ability, enthusiasm and spirituality. But would they go to Peru? A few months later he was very impressed at the degree of missionary vision in Rosario. Whilst Bennett was traveling with Avalos Hosford kept the church informed and praying with a large map on the wall of the church with two little flags marking the current position of their pilgrims. Judging by the interest and earnestness in prayer shown, wrote Bennett, "the fifth church in Rosario is and will be a missionary church". This prophecy was borne out when the Rosario church voted in 1932 to give £20 annually towards the Peruvian work. However, even if Argentinians might be prepared to consider missionary work, the situation could well be different in Peru. Bennett pointed to the lack of interest shown by Spanish-speaking converts in reaching out to Quechuas or the more isolated Forest Indians, and related this to the attitudes which prevailed in society at large. "In Peru there is as much caste system as in India. even the youngsters in their petty quarrels call each other 'cholo' [half-breed] and 'indio'". From this he wondered whether there might not be a continuing need

103 Bennett to Gracey 05.03.30
104 FMAR 1930 p5
105 FMAR 1932 p7
106 Bennett to Gracey 05.03.30
for expatriate missionaries. Bennett here stumbled on an argument which has continuing relevance. In answer to those who called for a moratorium on foreign missions it has been argued that the worldwide church will never outgrow the need for cross-cultural expatriate missionaries because the church in every culture has its blind spots. It is not so much that mission to the two-thirds world should cease. What is required are further increases in "reverse missions" from the traditional "mission-fields" so that there is a genuinely cross-cultural partnership in mission from every culture to every culture\textsuperscript{107}.

Where? Revisited

The appointment of Stanley Reid, a chemist then studying at the BTI in Glasgow, did not cause the Committee nearly so much heart-searching as that of Terán. First hearing formally of his interest in February 1932 they immediately felt certain enough to make provisional arrangements for him to speak at the Annual Meeting in May (depending on his acceptance being recommended by the Executive). Having been Secretary of the Baptist Church in Lisburn he was well known to a number of the pastors on the IBFM Committee. By the end of July Reid was on the ship to Peru. He had only been in Urubamba for one week when Creighton and he began visiting the surrounding towns to hold evangelistic meetings in the open air. It was evident that they shared a keen appetite for pioneer evangelism.

The Oehrings came back to Ireland on furlough in September 1932 (the Committee agreeing to shorten their term of service from six years to five in view

\textsuperscript{107}"All theologies, including those in the West, need one another; they influence, challenge, enrich and invigorate each other. one way traffic from West to East and South, is superseded, first by bilateral and then by multilateral relationships" (Bosch 1991 p456). Bosch then quotes Paul Hiebert (Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin May - June 1985 pp12-18) to say the church is
of their sustained exposure to the high altitude, in line with the practice of EUSA). Bennett was due to go back to Argentina in October. All three missionaries attended the Committee meeting on 14th September 1932 at which a sub-committee tasked with investigating the future policy of the Mission reported back. The setting up of this think tank was one of a series of measures which contribute to a sense of the decks being cleared for a fresh start. The cumbersome Joint-Secretaryship would soon be abandoned. The Executive Committee began to function properly in 1932, the main Committee minuting its gratitude at the shortening of the agenda and the consequent highlighting of the main issues. The Executive showed its new capacity for more critical appraisal when in May 1932 the Mission was offered the possibility of taking over the work of a Mr Norman Lang in Brazil. There were some similarities to how the IBFM had acquired an interest in both Urubamba and Rosario, yet the response was now rather different. In reporting back the Executive made it clear that from the outset they had felt that they would need "some strong reason for believing that the Lord was directing our way toward North Brazil" rather than the opposite. They found none.

The policy sub-committee's report in September 1932 did not represent a total break with the past as it recommended continuing the work in both Peru and Argentina. However, it did place them into a new, more coherent strategy. It suggested that the Mission's overall objective of reaching the Forest Indians be

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108 Minutes IBFM Committee 21.09.33. Gracey became the Secretary. Pastor Shields' "great zeal for the Mission and the influence which he exercises among our churches because of the universal confidence felt in him" was to be used in the capacity of Deputation Secretary.

109 Minutes IBFM Committee 19.04.32. A permanent Executive Committee was first proposed in December 1928 but was rejected the next month. In September 1929 the Executive Officers were given powers to act. Their streamlining influence became noticeable when they began sifting correspondence immediately prior to the main Committee meeting from September 1931.

110 Minutes Policy Sub-Committee 14.06.32, emphasis added.
retained - but agreed that the approach should be mainly through converted natives rather than expatriate missionaries. In regard to the Argentinian work it took up a suggestion made by Hosford that the fifth church should be left alone to evangelise in Rosario. Any Argentinian work supported out of IBFM funds should be focused on pushing northwards along the line of Hosford’s proposed chain of stations. This was fully in accordance with Bennett’s wishes. He hoped to move to Pinto, the town he had visited where there was no Catholic church, and begin work there. The Oehrings were not as pleased with the recommendation which affected them as they wanted to perpetuate the work in Urubamba. The report proposed that “the Peruvian work .. should be, if possible, transferred to some town a) further removed from EUSA territory and b) more capable of being linked up with the work North from Rosario”. In practice this last clause rather negated the retention of the objective of reaching the Forest Indians, albeit through native agency. This is because the only direction further from EUSA territory and also more capable of being linked to Rosario is southwards along the railway - which is not the direction from Urubamba towards the Forest. The Oehrings might have been pardoned for thinking that the IBFM did not look the same to them now as when they had joined as the first workers in 1927.

It is also evident that on the Committee’s part there was some unease as to what should become of the Oehrings. When during their year of furlough some health issues arose these were seen as real but also providential grounds for the IBFM’s connection with them to end. The Committee made a quite generous financial offer to their missionaries to help set them up in business at home and felt that a difficult issue had been well resolved. It was not so perceived by the Oehrings who felt (and stated publicly) that they had been presented with an
ultimatum. The fact that relationships had been strained for a number of years contributed to the failure to part amicably. The key issue, though, was the same one as throughout these first ten years of the IBFM's history: the lack of clarity in thinking and communication about policy. To a certain extent this had to evolve through trial and error as the initial focus on the Forest Indians shows. However, the difficulty on which the relationship with these first missionaries ultimately founedered was clearly evident well before they were ever sent out. On the 10th January 1927 the minutes of the IBFM Committee reveal the Oehrings expressing their "strong opinion that, as the [Urubamba] station has been won by much labour during the past six years, it should be maintained". However, just before the Oehrings' introduction, the Secretary had read to the Committee correspondence he had had with McNairn of EUSA. Hearing of the impending return of the Oehrings to Urubamba (which was just a few miles down river from EUSA's large and established mission farm at Urco) he had enquired as to the IBFM's policy regarding future development. Gracey had stated in reply that his own understanding (which would need to be ratified by the Committee) was that the IBFM's objective was Amazonia and "in sending Mr and Mrs Oehring back to Urubamba, it is on the understanding that they are prepared to leave that station for pioneer work as the way opens"\textsuperscript{111}. The Committee had just confirmed that this was indeed its mind and instructed Gracey to write to McNairn accordingly (which he did after the meeting\textsuperscript{112}) when the Oehrings entered the room. It must be concluded that the failure to resolve this issue in 1927 led directly to the ongoing strains not only between the Committee and the Oehrings but also amongst the missionaries for the following six years. It was a direct source of the acrimony which surfaced in 1933. The reality was that on the issue of the ministry

\textsuperscript{111}McNairn to Gracey 24.12.26 and Gracey to McNairn 28.12.26
\textsuperscript{112}Gracey to McNairn 14.01.27
the IBFM expected of its missionaries there was not so much a change of policy in 1933 as an honest expression of underlying attitudes. The Oehrings raised support independently and returned to Urubamba in the spring of 1934. They nurtured a small church there until their retirement in the 1940s. They then passed this work over to the North American Baptist Mid-Missions who continue to work in the town to this day\textsuperscript{113}.

The IBFM had already accepted the need to broaden its source of workers to include native evangelists. It now showed that, in its search for opportunities for pioneer evangelistic preaching, it was prepared to change the two remaining dimensions of its original objective: its target ethnic group and its geographical location. According to the policy report the IBFM's new field had to satisfy two criteria. Firstly it had to be more accessible than the heart of the Amazonian Rain Forest. The second characteristic had not changed, it had to be somewhere where others were not working. This ambition had a long and noble pedigree. The Missionary Training Colony where Creighton studied was not alone in citing Romans 15:20 in its letterhead. The apostle Paul's drive to "preach the Gospel not where Christ was named lest I build on any man's foundation" is quoted regularly in the IBFM records\textsuperscript{114}. It was a widespread ideal. Rev. Brading of the Scripture Gift Mission, which regularly supplied the IBFM with substantial quantities of scriptures and tracts, urged Gracey to place workers where there were no other missionaries\textsuperscript{115}. The desire not only had Biblical precedent. The

\textsuperscript{113}Personal communication with Mr Robert Whatley, missionary in Urubamba. A direct line of continuity can be traced. When Mr Whatley arrived in Peru in the early 1960s a Miss Mabel Walker was an elderly missionary stationed in Urubamba. Miss Walker began her career in Peru in 1923 with EUSA and worked with them until at least 1935. Her name appears on a letter from the Oehrings appealing for funds for a church building sent to a Rev. Simpson in Scotland 23.6.38 (and which he passed on to the IBFM Committee). The header typed across the letter reads "Mid-Peruvian Mission" and at the foot the missionaries listed are "George and Sarah Oehring (Founders), Sarah D. Sloan (Nurse) and Mabel Walker (Teacher)".

\textsuperscript{114}Eg FMAR 1930 p2

\textsuperscript{115}Brading to Gracey 05.06.30
respecting of the principle of comity was likely to preserve good relations with other mission organisations.

From its beginning the IBFM had appreciated close contact with EUSA. The older Mission had made available to them even confidential documents such as their "Principles and Practices"\textsuperscript{116} and the IBFM had gratefully modelled its original bye-laws on them. In 1930 there had been considerable discussion on cooperation in training and evangelism between the two missions. However, when proposals sponsored by EUSA surfaced that autumn for the creation of a "National Evangelical Church of Peru" Irish Baptist enthusiasm for close integration cooled noticeably\textsuperscript{117}. The EUSA Secretary Stuart McNairn was prepared by 1933 to admit to Gracey that the refusal of the IBFM work to join this denomination was becoming something of a difficulty to them. Gracey reported to his Committee that EUSA "seem to think that the more remote we are from them the easier it will be for their work"\textsuperscript{118}. If the IBFM were still keen on Forest work the "Madre de Dios" region in the South East might still be a possibility. Otherwise McNairn pointed southwards to "the district of Tacna on the coast .. entirely without Evangelical testimony and .. a district which EUSA are not likely to occupy". After investigation by the missionaries on the field and some last minute negotiation with EUSA Creighton and Reid were cabled to relocate to Puno in the South on 17th April 1934. Irish Baptists have worked in the three southernmost Departments of Tacna, Moquegua and Puno ever since.

\textsuperscript{116} McNairn to Gracey 21.01.27

\textsuperscript{117} This was because although the constitution given to the "Iglesia Evangélica Peruana" by John Ritchie held to believer's baptism, in church government it was a mixture of different systems. In local congregations power rested with the elders in a way reminiscent of Brethren assemblies but churches were then organized into Presbyteries and Synods (cf. Kessler 1980 pp194-202). Neither of these features were popular with Irish Baptists who zealously championed congregational authority and complete autonomy of each local church.

\textsuperscript{118} Minutes IBFM Committee 21.09.33
By 1934 the IBFM's missionaries were located as follows. The Hosfords, Sra de Bettin and Don Terán were in Rosario, whilst Bennett was now in Pinto, three hundred miles further north in Argentina. Creighton and Reid were in Puno on the Peruvian shore of Lake Titicaca at an altitude of 12,000 feet. Without exception all the IBFM field staff were now evangelists. True, none of them had any possibilities of encountering "Forest Indians". In Argentina the population, whilst extremely cosmopolitan, was predominantly Spanish-speaking. In the Department of Puno there were Spanish and Quechua-speaking populations but the majority of the inhabitants were the Aymara Indians who lived in the "altiplano" (high plain) of southern Peru and Bolivia. This physical environment has been described by many observers as "one of the most difficult in the world"\textsuperscript{119}. The IBFM might have given up the romance of the unexplored Amazon but its new policy had finally matched the gifts and calling of its missionaries with enormous challenges and opportunities. The Annual Report for 1934 thanks Robert Arnold on the occasion of his resignation after ten years as IBFM Treasurer. In saying he served "all through the perplexing years of the foundation and formation of the Mission" it communicates an unmistakable sense of a new chapter begun in the life of the IBFM.

\textsuperscript{119}Brown 1978 p18
Chapter Two: Missionary Protestantism in Peru and Argentina (1934-46)

The IBFM Secretary, Fred Gracey, was a man of vision. During 1935 the Mission took on four new workers\(^1\). Yet he closed the Annual Report for that year by expressing the double hope of seeing in the near future “the honourable roll of our missionaries doubled” and, as a fruit of their work, “the establishment of churches” in both Peru and Argentina\(^2\). The achievement of this double objective over the next decade seems all the more remarkable against the background of the Great Depression and the Second World War.

Surviving the Depression

The economic depression in the wake of the Wall Street Crash brought an abrupt change of regime to both Peru and Argentina in 1930. Agustín Leguía, Peru’s first “civilian caudillo”, had been in power in Peru since 1919. He was overthrown by a military coup led by Colonel Luis Sánchez Cerro, who then stood for President in 1931. It is now “generally acknowledged”\(^3\) that his popular opponent Raúl Haya de la Torre, the founder of the Alianza Popular Revolucionario Americano (A.P.R.A.)\(^4\), was the winner of these elections. However, the military (who controlled the ballot boxes) declared Sánchez Cerro the victor. This cost him his life as he was assassinated by an “Aprista” in 1933. Nevertheless the military continued to manipulate electoral results during the 1930s. On the other hand a vigorous public works programme, together with the improving world financial situation, helped the

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\(^1\) Miss Kathleen McCord; Mr. William Harkins (the first graduate of the Irish Baptist College to join the IBFM); Sr Orlando Avalos and Sr Rodolfo Sambrano.

\(^2\) FMAR 1935 p7

\(^3\) Owens 1963 p54

\(^4\) From the 1930s on this party became the standard-bearer for the moderate left in Peru. Haya de la Torre was influenced by socialist theory and by the “indigenismo” movement, committed to improving the lot of the indigenous peoples of Latin America and integrating them into society. This meant the APRA were seen as the arch-enemy of those groups in Peruvian society who had most to lose from any change in the status quo, i.e. the landowners, the army and the Catholic Church.
Peruvian economy to recover. In 1939 the army relinquished power and Manuel Prado was elected President. The period of his government was a relatively stable and peaceful one.

In Argentina, too, there was a coup in 1930. But the regime overthrown was very different. In Peru Leguía's dictatorial rule had been coupled with economic prosperity. In Argentina Hipólito Irigoyen was the first President to be elected under universal (male) suffrage. However, by the time of his second term of office (beginning in 1928) he was virtually senile. So the government, whilst constitutional, was completely inept and corruption was rampant. This period discredited democratic government as an ideal in Argentina for many years. The initial stages of military rule were very similar to those in Peru with fraudulent elections but a successful financial recovery. However, the transition to civilian government in 1938 brought to power Ramón Castillo who was "a conservative of the most reactionary type" and he ruled only in the interest of the old landowner class. This alienated the growing industrial and working classes from the state and perpetuated civil unrest. In these circumstances the army intervened again in 1943. Although he remained initially in the background, time would reveal that the key individual in the junta was Juan Perón. In both Peru and Argentina this period was marked by a resurgence in the political influence of the Catholic Church. The military government in Argentina made religious instruction compulsory again in all national schools in December 1943 in order to secure the support of the Church. In Peru Prado's government passed a law in 1945 that prohibited non-Catholic

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5 Pendle 1965 p71
6 Castillo was initially Vice President to Roberto Ortiz, but the latter was soon forced through ill health to step down in Castillo's favour.
7 Pendle 1965 p81
8 Pendle 1965 p94
9 Close relations between the Catholic Church and the regime continued until about 1954 when its relationships with Juan Perón became increasingly strained.
groups from engaging in “propaganda” outside the premises of their churches.

The Mission was also affected by economic upheaval accompanying the Depression in Ireland. As Figure 3 shows, between 1930 and 1934 the total number of salaried workers remained quite stable at around six. From 1935 onwards there was a marked increase in the number of salaried workers until by 1940 there were more than fifteen. This set the expectations as to the optimum size of the Mission’s workforce for the next twenty years. Other features of the staff will be analysed later. What is significant here is that the expenditure in salaries began to grow sharply from 1935. This trend is clear in Figure 4. Up to 1935 the Mission’s expenditure oscillated around a figure of about £1,200 p.a. From then on the Mission’s commitments increased until by 1939 it was spending £2,000 p.a. and by 1945 over £3,500 p.a.10. These large increases are the more remarkable when seen against the background of the depression. In 1934 and 1935 the British economy was just recovering to pre-1930 levels. Unemployment was still high and income in the average Irish Baptist home remained low. This is one of the main factors explaining the growing gap throughout the thirties between the Mission’s income from donations and its expenditure.

The trend in donations to the IBFM on Figure 4 shows that between 1930 and 1934 there was already an average shortfall of just over £200 p.a. By 1938 the gap was almost £700 p.a. Not surprisingly appeals for more sacrificial giving are a regular feature of the annual reports for these years. The Mission was kept afloat throughout the decade by three separate large gifts. In 1935 they received over

10When adjusted for inflation the equivalent figures today would be a rise from around £61,000 to over £90,000 (the rise in the earlier period seems even greater because there was a sharp rise in inflation in the early years of the war). For the source of these calculations see p12, footnote 12.
Figure 3: IBFM Staff 1927 - 1977
£1,100 from the legacy of Mrs Hannah Porter who was one of the four women invited by the Committee to organise the Women’s Auxiliary of the Mission. Half of this money was set aside to provide the capital for beginning an Annuity Fund for the Missionaries. In 1936 the Mission received a further £1,000 gift from a contact of Gracey’s in England. This gift was specifically earmarked for “Forward Work” so it was not swallowed up into general expenditure. Instead it committed the Mission to initiate new work (it was generally used for the first year’s salary for a new worker). A Miss Washington made similar stipulations when she gave the Mission another £1,000 in 1939. She designated part of her gift as a float to avoid the Mission getting into debt because of the great variations in its monthly cash flow but the other £400 was to be used for two new works in Argentina. When it took generosity on this scale to fund the IBFM during the thirties the Committee might have been forgiven for fearing the worst in the war which began in 1939.

The Effects of the War

Seen from South America, the war appeared to be largely a northern-hemisphere affair. Argentina followed its own First World War precedent and remained neutral right until March 1945. It was thus the last South American republic to declare war on Germany and her allies. Peru’s ruling classes were more sympathetic to the United States of America and accordingly severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers in early 1942 in the wake of Pearl Harbour. However, the direct effects

11Over £50,000 in today’s money.
12Due to a number of difficulties, especially in the relationship with the Home Mission, this scheme did not start in practice until 1939.
13Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 21.4.36
14Examples included Sr Lanzotti (Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 19.6.36) and the Barróns (Executive 21.2.38). Nb the parallel (on a much smaller scale) with the stipulations of the Arthington Fund (Stanley 1992 pp381-2). That a gift with these conditions came from a contact of Gracey’s suggests that he personally was committed to expansion and growth.
15Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 9.1.40
16Many of the Argentinian military (including Perón) had trained in Germany and Italy and expected an Axis victory until late in the war.
of the war on South American countries were limited to increased demand for their exports and a shortage of consumer goods from the Northern hemisphere which stimulated their import-substitution industries.

Across the Atlantic the war brought to some Irish Baptists a strange juxtaposition of personal distress and financial prosperity. We can see this pattern in the experience of the new Mission treasurer. John Jeffrey Jr. soon showed himself to be by far the most able and thorough Treasurer the Mission had yet had. He sold leather goods and travel equipment from a shop in Belfast’s High Street. This meant that his business was at the centre of the area hit by the second large air raid on Belfast on the 4th May 1941. The shop was completely destroyed. He wrote to Gracey that there was “absolutely no salvage”. Far worse was to follow for the Jeffrey family in August 1942 when their son Jack was killed whilst on active service with the R.A.F.. Notwithstanding the very real sympathy felt and shared on such occasions the reality was that the work of the Mission was not greatly hindered by the war. Occasionally members missed Committee meetings because of the petrol shortage or because of Air Raid Warden duty. The blackout meant rescheduling some meetings to Saturday afternoons - or nights when there would be a full-moon! Rationing did have some effect. Stanley Reid found the five gallons of petrol he was allowed a month insufficient for him to fulfil his deputation programme by car. Because of the rationing of paper the Annual Report for 1941

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17 Appointed May 1940 (Minutes IBFM Executive 20.5.40).
18 Jeffrey to Gracey 10.5.41
19 Jeffrey to Gracey 24.8.42
20 Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 8.12.42 and General Committee 20.6.40 respectively.
21 E.g. the first gathering of the “Missionary Secretaries” from the churches (Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 18.10.39).
22 Portadown Baptist Church box-opening night on the 3rd December 1941 (the invitation to Gracey 24.11.41 specified there would be a full moon).
23 His brother Cyril working for the Home Mission in the Republic of Ireland was getting twenty-six gallons (Reid to Gracey 25.9.39; Gracey to Reid 30.10.39).
had to be restricted to twelve pages\textsuperscript{24} and the frequency of the circular reduced to a bi-monthly issue\textsuperscript{25}. But there was another side to the war. Before the bomb Jeffrey had commented that in the shop they were “busier than ever in our history”\textsuperscript{26}. There could be no doubt that some Irish Baptists were making money out of the war, and not only in Eire, which was remaining defiantly neutral. This was recognised in the Annual Report for 1940. It made a special appeal to those “whose incomes have been augmented by special war work”\textsuperscript{27} to give towards clearing the £500 deficit. There was a ready response and during the war the large gap between expenditure and regular income that had steadily widened through the 1930s was sharply reduced (see Figure 4).

On the field the biggest impact of the war on the IBFM’s activities was the resulting restriction in the movement of personnel, information and funds. The Reids were due to end their furlough in early 1940. Their return was delayed firstly by new wartime regulations imposed on the entrance of foreigners into the country by the Peruvian government\textsuperscript{28}. Further difficulties arose because of the disruption to sea travel from September 1940 when German submarines began sinking merchant shipping. In the end the Reids sailed in October. Stanley reported that in mid-Atlantic they had encountered a fierce storm causing them to be badly seasick. However, the captain of the ship had told them to be thankful because the storm made the U-boats’ “dastardly work” more difficult\textsuperscript{29}. The Annual Report for 1940 highlights this “venture of faith amid the perils of ocean travel in war conditions” and is confident that the “volume of believing prayer.. called forth .. in all our

\textsuperscript{24}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 25.5.42
\textsuperscript{25}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 20.5.40
\textsuperscript{26}Jeffrey to Gracey 7.3.41
\textsuperscript{27}FMAR 1940 p7
\textsuperscript{28}These delayed the Barrons for six months as well (Creighton to Bennett 6.1.41 and 16.6.41).
\textsuperscript{29}Reid to Gracey 11.11.40
churches" provided the "heavenly convoy" needed for the Reids to reach Peru safely in the middle of December. The war kept the now elderly Mr. Hosford (who had by then retired from banking) out of Argentina. Whilst in Ireland Hosford provided the Committee with a channel of communication to and from the Argentinian workers and he also engaged in vigorous deputation work. In addition his wife Ella wrote three booklets which got a wide circulation and raised a little income for the Mission. "One of the strange amenities of war conditions" was that air-mail letters became cheaper, presumably because of an increase in the number of flights across the Atlantic. Surface mail, on the other hand, was badly affected by the disruption to shipping. A further cause of delays was the need for letters to clear the censor's office. These difficulties in communication with their home base deepened the sense of isolation felt by the missionaries.

War conditions also affected the transmission of funds. Within two months of Britain entering the war Hosford was informed by the Bank of London and South America that any transactions involving monies leaving the country would henceforth have to be submitted in advance to the authorities for approval under the Defence (Finance) Regulations. Initially it seemed that the IBFM allowances would have to remain at pre-war levels for the duration. However, with time, a procedure evolved whereby the Mission could apply at six-monthly intervals for permission to increase the credits. The new treasurer also devised a system where the missionaries' allowances would deliberately include a small excess. They were

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30 FMAR 1940 p2
31 The booklets were "Doña Rosa de Bettín: Ceaseless Sower and Rejoicing Reaper" (18pp) published in 1942, "Raul Bettín: Railway Engineer and Gospel Pioneer" (16pp) in 1943 and "Bringing in the Sheaves in Argentina" (31pp), 1944.
32 Gracey to Creighton 13.12.39
33 McNairn to Gracey 12.9.40. This was particularly noticeable in post coming from pro-Axis Argentina. A copy of one of Pedro Dillula's letters dated 19.11.40 has typed across the top "Held by the German Censor and delivered 20.6.41"
34 Bank L&SA to Hosford 21.11.39
to draw this and bank it separately as an emergency fund. Difficulties of another sort arose because the missionaries' salaries in Peru were paid through the "Italian Bank". Once Italy entered the war the Bank constantly feared that British customers would withdraw their custom and so would not pay each month's allowance without repeated and time-consuming checks that the funds had indeed been transferred again. Their suspicion proved to be something of a self-fulfilling prophecy as the extra concern caused to their missionaries by the delays persuaded the IBFM to transfer their business elsewhere.

These war conditions took a heavy toll on the missionaries, especially the Creightons. By the end of hostilities they had been on the field nine years. More significant than the total length of time was the fact that the first five years were spent in the altiplano around Lake Titicaca. The persistent exposure to the effects of the altitude, together with the loneliness of the year and half when they were the only missionaries in the Sierra wore them out physically and mentally. The Creightons moved to the coastal area of Tacna in 1941 but this proved insufficient. In 1943, with no prospect of sailings from Peru to Europe, the Committee allowed them to leave for Argentina with the specific intention of getting a break. Against the dark backdrop of the Depression and the War it seems all the more remarkable to pass on to chronicle the steady development and growth of the Mission.

"Doubling the Roll of Missionaries"

In 1935, when Gracey expressed his hopes that the Mission staff would be doubled, there were nine salaried workers: six Irish missionaries and three native

35 Jeffrey to Creighton 9.4.42
36 Gracey to Jeffrey 18.10.40
37 H+FMR 1945 pp12-13
38 The Hosfords were honorary workers.
workers. Every year thereafter the number of workers increased until at the end of 1943 there was a brief period when the Mission employed eighteen people and was associated with a further three. But the make-up of the group of nine new workers was probably not what most supporters of the Mission would have anticipated.

All three of the new British and Irish missionaries were women\(^{39}\). The IBFM staff had already expanded previously through the marriage of its missionaries. Miss Helen Cook was in Peru with EUSA before she married Billy Creighton in 1933. Miss Kathleen McCord had been commissioned by the IBFM in January 1935 with the knowledge that she was Stanley Reid’s fiancee. They were married in Juliaca in July. Bertie Bennett also got married in 1935. His bride was Miss Irene Furniss, the daughter of Scottish Plymouth Brethren missionaries in Argentina. But the relationship between the Mission and Mrs. Bennett was not as straightforward as with Mrs. Creighton or Mrs. Reid. This was partly because Bertie had overlooked consulting the Committee beforehand, as the regulations of the Mission required. They decided to pass on their “hearty congratulations” but also to inform him that they could not raise his allowance to that of a married worker until his wife applied and was accepted as a member of the IBFM\(^{40}\). This was in accord with the Mission’s Bye-Laws which were built on the principle that both man and wife “are equally considered missionaries and the efficiency of their united labours will depend upon the clear call and fitness of each for work on the Mission field”\(^{41}\).

There was little doubt about the “fitness for work on the mission field” of someone who spoke Spanish fluently and had grown up in Argentina. Nevertheless their

\(^{39}\)Mrs. Harkins neé Forsyth, Mrs. Bennett neé Furniss and Nurse Sarah Dorothy (“Dottie”) Sloan. Mr. Leslie Scott sailed for Peru in September 1936 but he resigned in October 1938 on the grounds of ill health so he has not been counted in the increase in the number of workers.

\(^{40}\)Minutes IBFM General Committee 24.1.35

\(^{41}\)Bye Laws revised 1928 Clause 6 a)
request still caused something of a crisis. Mrs Bennett's Brethrenistic convictions made it difficult for her to see the need for signing a declaration of faith or for recognition by any organisation outside of her local assembly. Gracey found a way around the difficulty and averted Bennett's threatened resignation. The Mission continued to pay him the single missionary allowance plus an "extra grant" that almost made up the difference (but probably deliberately left a little shortfall as an incentive for his wife to join). It was not until 1939 that Mrs. Bennett was named as a missionary in the Annual Report. This came after a General Committee meeting held whilst the Bennetts were on furlough. There her "position as a non-missionary was sympathetically mentioned in the hope that she might see her way to apply for recognition" and presumably she acceded.

The question of whether wives of missionaries are themselves missionaries and members of the Mission might have seemed rather academic but there were practical implications. It affected who was responsible for the wives' fares when travelling home on furlough. Further, Gracey was also told of "the very great feeling of disappointment amongst W.M.A. members on finding out that [they] were not to have the joy of Mrs. Bennett's fellowship" during their furlough in 1938. Mrs. Bennett evidently did not feel under obligation to engage in deputation amongst the Irish churches. A more far-reaching situation began to develop in Peru in 1940. Angus, the Creightons' oldest son, turned six that year. As they cast about for options for his schooling, the Creightons felt that the best thing would be for Billy to remain in the Sierra but for Mrs. Creighton to take the family to Arequipa, over a

\[\text{References:}\]

42 Bennett to Gracey 4 5 35
43 Gracey to Bennett 16 2 35
44 Minutes IBFM General Committee 13 9 38
45 Women's Missionary Auxiliary (the informal name for the "Women's Auxiliary of the IBFM").
46 Gribbon to Gracey 15 11 38

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hundred miles away, where there was a EUSA School\textsuperscript{47}. When the Committee heard about this suggestion they could not agree. They informed the Creightons that they appreciated their difficulties but felt that this was "not purely a domestic problem"\textsuperscript{48}. Their reasons for turning down the Creighton's proposal give a clear illustration of the Committee's view on the role of their women missionaries.

On the one hand it was certainly not a case of keeping wives in the kitchen. Mrs. Creighton was not refused permission to move to Arequipa because Billy's work would suffer. The Committee could easily conceive of him taking on additional domestic help to cook meals etc. The main difficulty was that the proposed solution "would virtually mean Mrs. Creighton retiring from missionary work"\textsuperscript{49}. Although she had a growing family to care for, Helen Creighton had been conscious of the special difficulties of men attempting to contact Peruvian women so she had visited them in their homes and arranged meetings for them as circumstances (and their suspicions) permitted\textsuperscript{50}. It was these opportunities that the Committee were loathe to see her deprived of. On the other hand in the Mission there was clear role differentiation on the basis of gender. No woman would have preached if any suitable men were available, although in their absence it seems to have been thought appropriate. Thus we find Doña Rosa carefully explaining that, on attending a wake, and there "being no-one else" she had spoken to those present about the resurrection of the dead\textsuperscript{51}. We can see here the operation of what

\textsuperscript{47}Creighton to Gracey 20.5.40 and 10.6.40
\textsuperscript{48}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 30.7.40. The difficulty over Angus' education was not easily resolved. The Committee first wondered whether Angus could board with someone in Arequipa. It later asked all the missionaries with children for their views on the practicality of organising a boarding-home for them (Gracey to "All Missionaries" 13.10.42), although nothing came of this in the short term. Generally the IBFM missionaries in Argentina had more choices. Those in Peru largely were forced to send their children either back to Ireland or at least to Lima to board.
\textsuperscript{49}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 30.7.40
\textsuperscript{50}Helen Creighton circular to W.A. 1.10.34; Creighton to Gracey 5.11.41; H+FMR 1942 p15.
\textsuperscript{51}de Bettin report for July 1934
Fiedler calls the "historic compromise"\textsuperscript{52} made by Evangelicals. Whilst ministry opportunities for women at home remained restricted, on the mission field there was considerable liberty due to the relative scarcity of trained men\textsuperscript{53}.

The IBFM women adopted a wide variety of models. Mrs Bennett took no part in public ministry, seeing her role as providing a stable base for her family during the long periods when her husband was away from home. Mrs Creighton and Mrs Harkins had some limited involvement, organising meetings for women and children. Doña Rosa had quite a high profile in the towns where she worked as an evangelist and she spoke regularly at women's meetings in the churches. Kathleen Reid was a school teacher before joining the Mission. This enabled her, once her children were older, to play a very full part in the Mission's life. The Mission had no qualms reporting her not only taking children's and youth meetings but also speaking to the whole church when her husband Stanley was away elsewhere\textsuperscript{54}.

The Reids developed a pattern of sharing out the training sessions in "Bible Schools" run for the (male) national workers. For example in one such week Kathleen gave a series of four talks on "Egypt to Canaan" and Stanley wrote approvingly that she "spoke with liberty"\textsuperscript{55}.

\textsuperscript{52}1994 p297
\textsuperscript{53}The classic Biblical example advanced in defence of this compromise was Deborah, the principle derived being "When men fail God uses a woman". On the mission field men had failed because they had not gone in sufficient numbers in obedience to the Great Commission. Until they did arrive a woman could minister - though in practice "the successor of a successful woman is always a man" (Fiedler 1994 p300).
\textsuperscript{54}H+FMR 1951 p13
\textsuperscript{55}(Stanley) Reid to Forbes 8.11.50. Some later female missionaries had no hesitation in preaching in the Peruvian churches - although the cases reported in the magazine were normally when other arrangements had unexpectedly fallen through. This was the case with Dorothy Black (NFP in IB January 1965), and with Mary Sloan (IBMNT in IB August 1969) who nevertheless went out of her way to say 'it was my joy to take both services that Sunday'. Through both Black and Sloan's sermons people were converted. When on furlough the missionaries brought some change to Irish Baptist churches, too. E.g. Hunter wrote to Pastor Deens (5.1.68) that although fearful she accepted being "the sole speaker at the evening service" in Glengormley Baptist Church. This would gradually raise the question for some people of where the dividing line came between a missionary report introduced by a devotional talk on the one side and a sermon on mission with contemporary illustrations on the other.
Nurse Sarah Dorothy ("Dottie") Sloan worked to a different pattern again. The Mission enthusiastically welcomed the indirect approaches they received on her behalf in 1941. At the time the IBFM felt very under-staffed in southern Peru and her midwifery skills offered a new approach in trying to reach the Aymara Indians. She had originally been sent out from Antrim Road Baptist Church in Belfast to work with the Oehrings in Urubamba. For reasons unknown she had parted company with them which left her on her own in Peru and uncertain about her future. She responded positively to the IBFM's invitation and settled in Iłave in October 1941, in the process pioneering the Mission's move back into medical work. Nurse Sloan was a remarkable woman, large of girth and of heart. Her commitment to the people of Iłave was unquestionable, living simply amongst them for 26 years and even unofficially adopting several children. A generation of children in Iłave were brought into the world by her and attended her Sunday School, amongst them people who later went on to hold high positions. Nurse Sloan was also the first single Irish woman to join the IBFM opening the way for a series of others. The growing number of female workers was one of the arguments (together with the increasing role of the W.A.) used by Stanley Reid when he asked in 1940 for the appointment of a woman to the Executive Committee of the Mission. The matter was "deferred for further consideration" by both the Executive and the General Committee but eventually, five years later, women representing the W.A. were invited on to the General Committee.

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56 Nurse Sloan to Gracey 7.11.41  
57 Later missionaries with nursing, midwifery or medical qualifications included Sadie Mitchell, Mary Sloan, Lila Marks, Muriel Hunter, Peter Hughes, Elizabeth Hughes, Mavis Cooke and Rachel Ropp.  
58 This was a typically Aymara practice (cf. chapter 3 p109 and Nordyke 1972 p88) but it caused the Committee considerable unease for years (e.g. minutes Executive Committee 24.1.50, 8.8.50, 2.11.50, 1.3.51, General Committee 10.11.54, Executive 15.3.56, General Committee 21.3.56)  
59 E.g. the head of Puno Department Medical services in the 1960s (interview with Marks 27.7.99).  
60 E.g. Misses Doreen McFadden, Margaret Morrow, Lila Marks, Muriel Hunter, Moira Richmond, Molly Allen, Mavis Cooke, and Rachel Ropp.  
61 Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 29.3.40 and 25.4.40  
62 Minutes IBFM General Committee 20.6.40  
63 Women held significant responsibilities on the field. In particular amongst the next generation of women Mary Sloan acted as Field Secretary for long periods. This was not seen as the "top"
National Workers

Increasing numbers of women was not the only change in the Mission's workforce. Between 1935 and 1943 the IBFM appointed twice as many national workers as it sent out missionaries from Europe. This is particularly striking when compared with the trend thereafter. No new national workers were appointed after 1943 and by 1948 only one still worked with the Mission: Doña Rosa (see Chart 1). In contrast the number of British and Irish missionaries increased to fifteen by 1950 and remained virtually unchanged throughout that next decade. The total number of workers did not change much but their provenance did. So the late thirties and early forties stand out in the history of the IBFM because of the high proportion of national workers. In one sense, in appointing national workers, the IBFM was following a well-established trend that had been followed by many missions before it. That said, there is little evidence of much awareness in Ireland of the vigorous debate carried on throughout the nineteenth century on the merits and demerits of "native agency". On the other hand there were certain elements of this new development which were unique.

Approximately fourteen South Americans were employed at some point by the IBFM between 1934 and 1945. They can be sub-divided into three distinct groups. Firstly, there were Peruvians employed in different capacities. As the missionaries in Peru were now working in an area where Spanish, Quechua and

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64During this period the Mission began by referring to its South American workers as "native" workers but this was later changed to "national" workers see p69.
65For the BMS policy in India cf. Stanley 1992 pp148-156. Addley states the term "native agency" came into general use in the 1850s although Alexander Duff wrote promoting this ideal as early as the 1830s (1994 p81).
66It is difficult to give a precise figure because of the ad-hoc nature of the early arrangements. E.g., whilst Jacinto Terán was given a married man's allowance his wife never seems to have been considered part of the Mission whereas other wives generally were. The fourteen are as follows: Jacinto Terán; Rosa de Bettin; Orlando Avalos and wife Josefa ("Pepita"); Rodolfo Sambrano; Sr Lanzotti; Vicente Barrón and wife Joaquina; Pedro Dllula and wife María; Sr Arze; Sr Valladares; Alejandro Núñez; Genaro Gismondi. The honorary workers were Juan Simón and Raúl Bettin.
Aymara were all spoken it was likely that interpreters would be needed for some time. However, the Mission did not develop a pattern of employing interpreters or colporteurs like Sr Arze or Sr Valladares for significant lengths of time. The IBFM did employ two Peruvians, Alejandro Nuñez and Genaro Gismondi, as evangelists but by this time, for reasons to be explored below, the Mission had become less sure about its policy towards national workers and offered them only short-term contracts also. The second group of workers tended to stay with the Mission much longer. They were those like Doña Rosa and Pedro Dlula (pronounced "Julah") employed to do church-planting work in Argentina. Often discipled by Hosford, they tended to show his characteristic vigour and also his strategic thinking. Pedro Dlula was of Russian extraction and, according to Hosford, "a mystic like most of his race." Whatever this suggests about Dlula's personality or spirituality it certainly does not mean he was a passive recluse. He worked for three years in San Lorenzo before being transferred to San Cristóbal in 1941. One year later he had five Sunday schools operating in San Cristóbal with 100 children attending. This was in addition to two Sunday meetings for adults, a midweek Bible Study and a house meeting. His vision extended well beyond that one town. The previous summer he had sent out 500 copies of a first circular to the thirty-two towns of the province. After eighteen months the monthly circulars, with tracts enclosed, were being sent to 110 towns.

It could be argued that in employing these workers the IBFM was assuming a role that the Argentinian churches should have been doing for themselves. When

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67 Hosford to Gracey 6.5.40
68 These were all Argentinians except for the Spaniard Terán who had settled in Argentina (see chapter one p35).
69 Hosford 26.8.37
70 H+FMR 1942 p13
71 Dlula Report 31.1.42
72 Dlula Report 31.8.42
73 H+FMR 1942 p14
Gracey asked the EUSA Secretary for advice about insurance or pension schemes for national workers he replied that he was surprised that the IBFM should be considering this. EUSA did not by this stage employ national workers at all. The main reason for this was that in principle they believed it was the “privilege and responsibility of the local church... to support their own workers”\(^{74}\). Of course this was difficult financially so EUSA was prepared to make a subsidy on an annually decreasing scale. But this subsidy was made to the national church who then employed the worker. EUSA was only one of a number of missions who by the nineteen thirties and forties had decided firmly against the direct employment of national workers, especially those in pastoral positions\(^{75}\). Under the theological influence of Roland Allen’s writings and the financial squeeze of the depression they were determined to avoid dependence of the daughter church on the parent Mission. There was some danger of a culture of dependency developing in the Argentinian Baptist churches when the IBFM paid national workers over a long period of time. For example, there does not seem ever to have been any initiative taken by the Rosario church during the 30 years of Doña Rosa’s ministry towards shouldering any part of her salary. To be fair the workers themselves do not show the same tendency. For example, when plans were made for a Sr Lanzotti to go to Rafaela he seems to have been content to be partly financed through his wife’s midwifery work\(^{76}\). Raul Bettin, the son of the IBFM’s Biblewoman, planted two churches but never sought to join the Mission, being employed as a railway engineer\(^{77}\). That this was seen as the ideal is confirmed by letters from another

\(^{74}\)McNairn to Gracey 18.6.40

\(^{75}\)Hamilton (1962 p50) chronicles the EUSA’s change of policy whereby any national workers in their employment were prohibited from working with already established groups. The disruption accompanying the abrupt implementation of this policy damaged the churches and was one of the factors leading to Ritchie’s resignation.

\(^{76}\)Hosford to Gracey 12.11.35 and 20.3.37. The Rafaela work was short-lived (July 1936 - January 1938), being closed at the request of the Southern Baptist Convention who had a worker nearby. From the IBFM’s perspective one lasting result was the conversion of Pedro Dillula.

\(^{77}\)IBFM Booklet by E.E. Hosford Raul Bettin: Railway Engineer and Gospel Pioneer
worker. When the war looked like causing financial embarrassment he wrote that he did not "lose hope of one day becoming a financially self-supporting worker of the Mission"\(^{78}\). The key to this was probably again Hosford's example as an honorary missionary.

The third group of native workers were the Argentinians Orlando and Pepita Avalos, Rodolfo Sambrano and Vicente and Joaquina Barrón. They were all sent almost two thousand miles from Argentina as cross-cultural missionaries to Peru. Even in a collection of almost uniformly excellent workers the vision and sacrificial commitment of this last group stand out. When in 1935 Rodolfo Sambrano was asked to go to Peru for a year with Orlando Avalos they were young, single and rather inexperienced\(^{79}\). Their time in Peru showed them both to be gifted men. Sambrano turned out to be a very effective itinerant evangelist. After two years Reid could write that largely due to his work "we have evangelised the whole region of Tacna and Moquegua departments"\(^{80}\). Sambrano's visits to the remote Carumas valley show his persistence and determination. As he neared Carumas village on his first visit his mule was no longer able to carry him as well as his literature because of the lack of oxygen at 13,000 feet. So he walked the last section, arriving in the town at around nine in the evening. The governor told him that he had come to Carumas "in vain" as all the inhabitants there were very Catholic\(^{81}\). This was confirmed when Sambrano found that no-one would give him food or shelter for himself nor even for his beast. He later told Reid that that night was a great test of his faith. Yet the next morning he did not leave the town but began to call at the dwellings. By that second night he had secured food and

\(^{78}\)Avalos to Hosford 15.11.39
\(^{79}\)Although Avalos had accompanied Bennett on the first of his 1000-mile trips up the railway towards the Bolivian border in 1931.
\(^{80}\)Reid to Gracey 7.9 37
\(^{81}\)Reid to Gracey 25.8 36
lodgings and had found great interest in his literature and message. Before leaving the valley ten days later he visited four other hamlets at the specific request of some of the inhabitants and sold all his literature. Sambrano visited this remote valley four times, the round trips each taking up to two months. When he left Peru nine people in the valley had professed faith and eight of them were meeting to study the Bible and the literature sent monthly to them.

Avalos had a particular gift for discipling young people. Both he and Sambrano joined the Tacna football club. Years later Angel Murillo, a deacon in the First Baptist Church of Lima, still recalled how the friendship established through playing football was the first link in his conversion. Avalos also established a chess club on Saturday nights for the young people of the town. His pastoral gifts were also evident in the direct yet non-confrontational manner in which he got to the root of the problems being experienced by another IBFM worker, Scott, when Creighton had been unable to do so. It was Avalos who provided the drive and leadership for the erection of the first church building in both Tacna and in Juliaca. And it was also the Argentinian who sensed the need of the widely scattered Peruvian Baptist believers for something to create a sense of identity and belonging. He accordingly began the bi-monthly magazine "La Antorcha" (The Torch) and edited it for five years until it was superseded by "La Siembra y la Siega" (Sowing and Reaping) published by Bennett from Argentina. Vicente Barrón was another energetic worker. He and his wife Joaquina started work in San Cristóbal in Argentina in 1938. After one month's personal visitation they inaugurated a hall with forty

82 FMAR 1937 p10.
83 Reid to Gracey 30.10.36
84 Interview with Samuel Escobar (who was Murillo's pastor in Lima) 20.5.98. Once baptised, Murillo became the Secretary of the Tacna church before later moving to Lima (Reid to Gracey 21.4.37 and 10.5.38)
85 Avalos to Gracey 22.7.41
86 Creighton to Gracey 28.8.38
present inside and another forty listening outside. A fortnight later Barrón held a week's "mission" and saw nine people profess faith on one night. There were another three later that week, including two school teachers who immediately started to encourage children to attend the Sunday School. A further four converts were made at a second mission in September at which Hosford preached. No wonder Barrón wrote the following year that the work was "marching along as if it were on rails"\(^87\). Despite this and the fact that Joaquina Barrón suffered severely from rheumatism they agreed to go to Peru in 1941.

It was the IBFM's great privilege to have been associated with people of this calibre and to have provided the channel for the sending of some of the earliest South American Evangelical missionaries. From the Argentinians' point of view this was a development ahead of its time and a foretaste of things to come\(^88\). Sadly, the IBFM was unable to distinguish between these cross-cultural missionaries and any other form of "native agency". As a result these pioneers became embroiled in the IBFM's painful education in issues which many other Evangelical missions had faced the previous century.

The first crisis involving one of the native workers arose in 1935. From the perspective of the Committee Jacinto Terán suddenly resigned and accepted a call to a pastorate. In August he would have completed four years working with the Mission. The specific trigger for Terán's resignation was a proposed re-location

\(^{87}\)Barrón to Hosford 19.6.39
\(^{88}\)In 1993 Samuel Escobar wrote that "denominations such as the Baptists, Methodists and the Assemblies of God in countries such as Brazil and Argentina have been sending missionaries to other Latin American countries, Africa and Europe for over 40 years" (Escobar 1993 p131). The examples of Avalos and Sambrano go back almost a further 20 years - though admittedly the initiative was not denominational, coming rather from the IBFM and in particular from Hosford.
from Rosario to Rafaela, a town about one hundred miles north. Hosford told the Committee that it was Terán who suggested the move away from Rosario but the Spaniard saw it rather differently. He told a EUSA worker that “the reason he left [the IBFM] was that Hosford wanted him to go . North . and he did not feel any call to do so”. His resignation letter says that his position had become untenable because Hosford suspected him of creating factions within the Rosario church.

Hosford’s elaborate disclaimers to the contrary seem rather to support Terán’s account than disprove it. But what is significant about the incident is the equanimity with which the news was received in Ireland. Gracey wrote that it was “regrettable” but it was also “gratifying that the Lord makes no mistakes”. Gracey wrote in a rather different tone when problems developed between Hosford and Harkins. Terán’s resentment and the Secretary’s unusual complacency both had their roots in the difference in status that the IBFM accorded its native workers and its missionaries.

A reporting system adopted by the Committee at around this time shows they were developing a very hierarchical view of the Mission’s organisation. At the top were the Committee. Then came the Irish missionaries (at three levels: field superintendents, senior missionaries and junior missionaries). Only then came all the “native evangelists” - whether interpreters, colporteurs, full-time pastor-evangelists working in their own country like Pedro Dllula, or cross-cultural missionaries like Avalos working thousands of miles away from home. The rigid

89Hosford to Gracey 8.3.35
90McNairn to Gracey 29.10.35
91Terán to Hosford 31.3.35. Copy attached to: Terán to Gracey 9.5.35.
92Hosford to Gracey 8.3.35
93Gracey to Hosford 17.6.35
94Gracey to Hosford 10.1.39
95Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 12.10.38. Missionaries and native evangelists were to report monthly to the missionary in charge of a station. This senior missionary would file reports quarterly with the field superintendent who would forward them to the Committee. Colporteurs or interpreters
subordination of the native workers to the Irish missionaries also surfaced in the Committee's initial uncertainty as to whether they should be allowed to participate in Field Conferences\textsuperscript{96}. However, the clearest possible difference was in their respective salaries. After a series of ad-hoc arrangements the basic allowance for a married national worker in both Argentina and Peru was eventually set at somewhat over half of that for an Irish missionary in the same country\textsuperscript{97}, but this was not the whole story. As Hosford pointed out, the Irish missionaries also got their rent paid separately\textsuperscript{98}. He might also have added that they got a furniture allowance on moving house which the nationals did not. Perhaps strangest of all the allowance per national child was only half that added for every Irish child\textsuperscript{99}!

These disparities are all the harder to justify when it is appreciated that the salary was not intended to cover travel costs of furlough. These expenses were, of course, far higher for the Irish missionaries but they were paid separately.

These matters were brought out into the open when Avalos, now married, was sent a second time to Peru from Argentina in July 1938. In an extraordinary mistake the Mission Treasurer of the time muddled up Argentinian and Peruvian currencies which resulted in Avalos receiving a (slightly) higher allowance than the Mission had intended. This "grave mistake"\textsuperscript{100} was only discovered late in 1939. A graver mistake was made in how this was handled. Avalos' salary was summarily reduced. Taken together with the fact that the Mission paid a lower allowance in Peru than in Argentina the combined effect was that Avalos was suddenly reduced to about 60 % of what he had received eighteen months previously whilst working

\textsuperscript{96}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 31.3.38
\textsuperscript{97}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 21.2.38
\textsuperscript{98}Hosford to Gracey 2.12.38
\textsuperscript{99}Gracey to Jeffrey 10.6.42
\textsuperscript{100}Gracey to Creighton 8.12.39
in Rosario. Not surprisingly he did not take this well, forcefully disputing claims that the cost of living was lower in Peru than Argentina. As in Terán's case there is little sense of urgency as Gracey wrote to consult the different Irish missionaries (though he already had Creighton's recommendation that Avalos should continue to receive what he had previously\textsuperscript{101}). Sadly it was Stanley Reid's return from furlough in Ireland that precipitated the crisis. His questions about how Avalos spent his allowance led the Argentinian to believe that the home Committee had been prejudiced against him and he tendered his resignation\textsuperscript{102}. Thankfully this galvanised the Committee into action and a compromise was reached. Avalos agreed to see out his five-year oral contract and the Mission re-instated his original allowance\textsuperscript{103}.

In evaluating the convoluted financial details of this sorry episode we might first of all feel sympathy for the Committee. Gracey repeatedly defended them on the grounds that they were acting on the basis of information from the field that firstly, the cost of living was lower in Peru than Argentina, and secondly, that the IBFM was paying wages comparable with other employers in Peru. The first assertion is very difficult to evaluate in the absence of detailed data. Avalos certainly could produce lists of goods more expensive to buy in Peru\textsuperscript{104}. It was true that when setting allowances the IBFM had inquired about the salaries paid by other employers. However, there was a certain financial naiveté in this. Avalos pointed out that workers in Peru did not at the time have the political or economic power to

\textsuperscript{101} Creighton to Gracey 19.2.40
\textsuperscript{102} Avalos to Creighton included in Creighton to Gracey 17.2.41. It is only fair to point out that Reid had also made some suggestions in the national workers' favour to the Committee (Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 20.5.40).
\textsuperscript{103} Gracey to Avalos 16.6.41
\textsuperscript{104} Avalos to Hosford 2.6.40. Incidental supporting evidence may be found in the fact that some of the Irish missionaries in Peru (but not those in Argentina) mentioned at around this time that they were finding it difficult to make ends meet (e.g. Nurse Sloan to Gracey 21.10.42).
strike for better pay\textsuperscript{105}. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the specific arguments, it is hard to escape the impression that the real issues were not so much money and wages as esteem and respect. This is certainly how they were perceived from the field. The Mission made no distinction whatever between national workers active in their own country and those who had travelled thousands of miles to serve in a cross-cultural capacity and this was bound to cause resentment. In his resignation letter Avalos wrote that “In Peru I am [still] considered a National Worker. That is an error - in the Argentine it was correct”\textsuperscript{106}. Several years earlier Creighton had written that “Stanley [Reid] is inclined to under-rate the Argentinian workers. Avalos is a fellow-missionary here and should be classed as such”\textsuperscript{107}.

During the war a number of changes were made and the financial circumstances of the national workers were gradually improved. They were given an allowance for rent, a one-off furniture allowance, the Barróns were given special help with Joaquina’s medical bills, and the basic allowance was raised when exchange controls permitted\textsuperscript{108}. The rigid authority structure of the Mission had already been challenged when Stanley Reid refused to acknowledge Creighton as his Superintendent\textsuperscript{109}. This led to the abolishing of the “Superintendency” on each field\textsuperscript{110}. With the difficulties between Avalos and Reid the hierarchy was further dismantled. The Argentinian workers were henceforth to be “on their own responsibility under Sr Avalos who would report to the Secretary”\textsuperscript{111}. The

\textsuperscript{105}Avalos to Hosford 2.6.40. In his chapter on Social Conditions in Peru, Owens points to a further factor depressing pay levels: the large benefits employers in Peru have historically been required to provide for their permanent staff. The effect of this was to reinforce the low basic wages of all workers, permanent or otherwise. This mechanism was already operating in 1940 (McNairn to Gracey 18.6.40).

\textsuperscript{106}Avalos to Creighton included in Creighton to Gracey 17.2.41

\textsuperscript{107}Creighton to Gracey 7.10.38 Nb also Reid’s clash with Barrón (Barrón to Bennett 30.10.42).

\textsuperscript{108}Gracey to Jeffrey 8.11.40; Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 29.3.40; Gracey to Jeffrey 25.5.42.

\textsuperscript{109}Reid to Creighton 14.11.38

\textsuperscript{110}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 11.4.40

\textsuperscript{111}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 3.12.41
Committee even became sensitive to designations, wondering whether they would prefer to be called "Native" or "National" workers. By the time the Annual Report for 1942 was written the Mission was listing its "Missionaries: Irish and South American".

If there was one person more than any other responsible for these changes it was Hosford. From at least 1930 he had been consistently pressing for the Mission policy to be "a few Irish missionaries and many native workers". Thus we find him under the title "The Minor Prophets" arguing in the Irish Baptist Magazine for May 1940 that the national workers are equal if not superior to expatriate missionaries. They can "reach and influence" their own people "more easily than we foreigners can". Further, in unsettled times, who is to say how long the door may remain open for Irish missionaries to enter Peru and Argentina? Hosford's enforced stay in Ireland throughout the war did much to raise the profile of the South American workers. However, his self-appointed advocacy of their interests proved, in the long run, something of a mixed blessing. When a man of such forceful personality incessantly presses people to move in a certain direction the short-term results achieved may sometimes be more than compensated by an equal and opposite reaction in the future. There is evidence that growing weariness with Hosford's constant harassment was forging links of sympathy amongst those most exposed to it. More importantly, a feeling was spreading that Hosford's championing of the Argentinians' cause was not unrelated to the fact that he had a very

112 Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 29.3.40
113 IB May 1940 p3
114 Cf. the "characteristic growls" in Gracey to Forbes 11.11.40 with the "passage of arms" associated with the visits of "our mutual friend" in Forbes to Gracey 8.11.40 and 16.11.40 and with the "volcanic influence" in Jeffrey to Bennett 22.12.42.
substantial influence over them - a feeling which his increasing tendency to refer to "me and my boys from Rosario" did nothing to ameliorate\(^{115}\).

By November 1943 Gracey was writing to Bennett that the Committee wanted "to secure in the near future Peruvian men for Peruvian work.. but wanted to make clear .. that we are not prepared to consider the appointment at present of more workers in the Argentine"\(^{116}\). The key catalyst in the changed outlook of the Committee had been a nine-page letter from Bertie Bennett in late 1942. Clearly, standing in for Hosford as the senior missionary in Rosario had not been easy. He was all too aware of the flow of correspondence back and forth between Hosford and the workers whom Bennett was meant to be supervising. But Bennett did far more than just complain about Hosford’s interference, he gave a thorough-going rebuttal of the “few Irish missionaries, many national workers” policy. Amongst the points he made were that endless repetition of this slogan would discourage new applications from prospective Irish missionaries. This, he felt, would be detrimental to the work because, “whatever else they lack, they have a background which the people here have not; doctrine and a kind of spiritual intuition, the heritage of generations of Gospel preaching”\(^{117}\). Potential workers from South America did not have the same training. More fundamentally the employment of national workers should be a development following on from growth of national churches. It was not really the business of the IBFM except possibly as a “temporary measure”. This letter was (perhaps to Bennett’s surprise) “received with complete understanding”\(^{118}\) and pondered at a number of Committee meetings. One member pointed out that, in contrast to earlier years, it had been a while since the last

\(^{115}\)E.g. Hosford to Gracey 24.10.41 and 5.11.41.
\(^{116}\)Gracey to Bennett 3.11.43
\(^{117}\)Bennett to Gracey 9.9.42
\(^{118}\)Jeffrey to Bennett 22.12.42
application\textsuperscript{119}. Evidently, Bennett had touched on an emotive fear when he warned of the IBFM staff (and hence the Mission’s ethos) becoming less Irish and more South American\textsuperscript{120}. By the time the Annual Report for 1944 was written the Mission was stressing the "matter of reinforcements and the necessary training of our young people as Missionary candidates"\textsuperscript{121}. The change of direction was ensured when the IBFM established the Missionary Training School in Belfast in 1946 and subsequently appointed Bennett as Organising Secretary upon Gracey’s retirement in 1948.

The most substantial argument deployed by EUSA and other missions (and hinted at by Bennett) against the employment of national workers by foreign missions was that this produced dependence in national churches. As we have seen there were the first signs of this in Argentina. But, it is not at all clear that this argument is applicable to the sending of Argentinian workers to Peru. On the contrary, it could be argued that, far from being detrimental to the churches, the IBFM’s involvement in the recruitment and commissioning of Argentinian cross-cultural missionaries was ahead of its time and likely to stimulate missionary concern. However, it must be admitted that this intriguing chapter in the IBFM’s history began and ended not because of enlightened mission strategy but for more pragmatic reasons. Between 1934 and 1945 the IBFM took on comparatively high numbers of South Americans for the same reason that the proportion of women increased: because there was a shortage of Irish men. The IBFM ceased employing them out of fears that their increasing numbers would affect the character and identity of the Mission and because, with the end of the war, the supply of (male) Irish missionaries was once

\textsuperscript{119}Minutes IBFM General Committee 25.2.43
\textsuperscript{120}N.b. the resurgence of one of the key motivations (highlighted in the Introduction) behind the creation of the Mission: the sense of Irish Baptists owning and operating their own society.
\textsuperscript{121}H+FMR 1944 p1, emphasis added.
more renewed. But by that point they had played a key role in the establishing of
the first churches planted by the IBFM.

“The Establishment of Churches”

Stanley Reid and the Creightons relocated Southwards from Urubamba during
1934. The Creightons settled in Puno, on the shores of Lake Titicaca. It was the
largest town and the capital of the most populous province of Peru at the time. The
1896 census had counted half a million inhabitants, fifteen thousand in the town
itself. Reid moved on to Juliaca, twenty miles away, which was smaller but had
an important railway junction. Within a few months Bennett and his new wife had
also entered a new town in Argentina. In January 1935 they moved to Añatuya in
the province of Santiago del Estero, 350 miles north of Rosario. (It made a better
base than Pinto where Bennett had originally settled as, like Juliaca, it was also a
railway junction). Later that year Orlando Avalos and Rodolfo Sambrano were sent
from Argentina to Tacna, the main town in the southern coastal area of Peru, close
to the border with Chile. After a journey “which reads like a chapter in the Acts of
the Apostles” they arrived in September 1935. The fourth of July 1937, less than
two years later, was described by the General Committee as “an important date in
the development of our Mission”. On that day the first converts won by IBFM
workers since leaving Urubamba were baptised. Sr Tapia and Sr Altuna were,
together with two of the IBFM missionaries, constituted as the tiny embryonic
Baptist church in Tacna and for the first time took part together in a (Protestant)
communion service. The formation of the Añatuya church came hard on the

122 According to Guía Lascano Atlas sent by Creighton to Gracey 28.10.31.
123 Figure 5 shows the location of the main towns in Southern Peru mentioned in the text. The towns
in Argentina where churches were planted are mostly amongst those shown in Figure 2.
124 FMAR 1935 p7
125 Minutes IBFM General Committee 14.9.37
126 Stanley and Kathleen Reid — they moved from Juliaca to Tacna in November 1936. The IBFM
workers tried to avoid prolonged exposure to the altitude if possible.
127 Reid to Gracey 7.7.37
Figure 5: Map of South Peru
heels of Tacna in November 1937\textsuperscript{128}. Both had taken less than two years to get to that stage. Things happened more slowly in Juliaca. It took four years' work there before the church was constituted in June 1938\textsuperscript{129}. Puno was much slower again. The first baptisms there did not occur until October 1942\textsuperscript{130}, more than eight years after the work was started. It is striking that the churches in these four towns developed in exactly the opposite order to that in which they were occupied. In 1945 two more churches were constituted in Argentina. One of these was in San Lorenzo, eight miles from Rosario. It was really a daughter of the Fifth Baptist Church in that city, though IBFM workers staffed the work. The other church was in San Cristóbal, about half way to Añatuya. Work had begun in both towns in 1938 when Vicente and Joaquina Barrón were sent to San Cristóbal and Pedro Dllula was stationed in San Lorenzo. The reason that seven years elapsed before the groups of baptised believers were constituted as autonomous churches was that the workers had decided to wait for Hosford's return from Ireland (and the war lasted a lot longer than was expected).

The variety in the rate of the initial responses to the missionaries invites investigation. But the obvious differences tend to obscure what are perhaps the more remarkable similarities. These churches were planted in three vastly different environments by largely the same approach. It might be difficult to envisage three more dis-similar contexts than the barren Peruvian coast, the altiplano around Lake Titicaca and towns in the Argentinian interior. Geographically they were remote from each other - even the journey from Tacna to Puno was still described in 1934 as taking "six days on horseback across a great deal of desert" or two full days by

\textsuperscript{128}The date of the formation of the church is variously given as 28 November and 7 December in FMAR 1937, pages 5 and 1 respectively.
\textsuperscript{129}Creighton to Gracey 13.6.38
\textsuperscript{130}Reid to Gracey 16.10.42
motor vehicle. The cultural contrasts separating cosmopolitan Argentina and reactionary Puno were even greater. Yet the same pattern is repeated each time the IBFM entered a new area. The workers showed a dual focus on the town where they were residing and on the surrounding towns and villages. Thus the Annual Reports for 1935 and 1936 record with approval that Bennett, based in Añatuya, was also engaged in "vigorous colportage" work in towns roundabout. In Peru the missionary resident in Juliaca also visited towns on the north side of the Lake. Perhaps the pattern is most clearly visible in the work done by the Argentinians Orlando Avalos and Rodolfo Sambrano. Whilst Avalos and later Stanley Reid worked mainly in Tacna town, Sambrano travelled around all the villages of the Departments of Moquegua and Tacna. That this pattern was not accidental is shown by the monthly report form in Argentina. It included sections on the number of visits made and on the attendances at various meetings but also one requiring details of "Visits to other towns". So to the question why any church growth at all was experienced in these very different environments, the first answer to be given is simply that the IBFM planned for it. They divested themselves of the medical work at Urubamba because it became evident that it was not directed towards planting churches. Now the pattern adopted in each area was specifically designed towards the making of new contacts and the creation of fledgling churches.

Reid to Gracey 26.3.34 and 16.11.34

Whilst this pattern could be found in a number of Missions it is likely that the greatest influence on the IBFM was the policy developed during the nineteenth century by the Baptist Irish Society, the forerunner of the IBHM. In this regard the imaginative leadership of Charles James Middleditch (Secretary 1857-64) seems to have set a new trend. Because of the great social changes in Ireland due to the Great Famine and also the 1859 Revival he led the BIS to concentrate on the principal towns, the churches there becoming the centre from which the gospel was to be preached in the surrounding area (Thompson "Sharing the burden and the blessing" in Baptist Missions, Celebrating 100 years of what God has done through Baptists in Ireland, Belfast 1988). In the early period some churches had 12 out-stations. Even in 1937 there were still 29 out-stations to 59 churches (McManus and Thompson "Evangelism" in Baptist Missions, ibid).
Secondly, the distribution of Evangelical literature proved to be a most powerful tool in all the IBFM fields. The missionaries were offering literature at a time when there was a widespread desire to read. When Ritchie, the agent for the Bible Society, entered Peru in 1906 he soon "became convinced that despite the high illiteracy the way to evangelise the country was through the printed page". He had observed that when anyone bought a book they frequently stood in the street and read it aloud whilst others gathered around. Even when muleteers were waiting for food to be prepared one would go to the wall of the house, commonly plastered with old newspapers, and begin reading aloud. Wherever the missionaries were able to sell Bibles and New Testaments or give away Gospels, tracts and booklets, the impact was profound upon people for whom this literature and its message were completely new. In Añatuya a woman was converted reading in bed at 11:30 p.m. In an isolated village in the mountains above Tacna some young men gathered to read and discuss the gospel one of them had bought from an IBFM colporteur. Even when a visiting friar had it burnt he was not deterred. He ran away and eventually made his way to an Evangelical meeting in Tacna town. There, three years after the initial contact, he bought a complete Bible and hymn book and took tracts with him back to his village. This growing interest in reading neatly matched the IBFM missionaries' confidence in the power of Evangelical literature. Back in Argentina Bennett commented that one of the things that gave him most assurance about two recent converts (one a young girl, one a man working in the railroad-shunting yard) is that they both had an evident appetite for reading the Scriptures on their own. The IBFM workers were sure that once people started to read the Bible they would be affected by its message.

133 Hamilton 1962 p41
134 Harkins to Gracey 8.11.38
135 Avalos to Simón 11.10.39
136 Bennett to Gracey 1.10.36
A third key to the growth of these nascent Baptist churches was the vitality and spirituality of their members. There was little nominalism. A number of factors would have contributed to this. The hostile attitude of the general population meant that only those truly committed were prepared to identify themselves with the Evangelicals. But the key reasons were theological. The demand for a changed life has always been one of the distinctives of Evangelicalism - to the extent that Bebington makes this "conversionism" one of its four defining features. Samuel Escobar makes essentially the same point in reverse. In Latin America it is only Protestantism which "creates a different environment in which people really change". Thus it is no surprise to find that evidence of moral change was a prerequisite for baptism into membership. Stanley Reid defended his decision to baptise initially only two out of the three converts in Tacna on the grounds that the other one had to "straighten out some things" and Reid wanted a "pure church".

The issues that would have needed to be "straightened out" often included financial impropriety, marital irregularities and the abuse (or even sale) of alcohol or coca. Any such list is bound to be conditioned by both the converts' culture and that of the missionaries. The particular taboos probably typify these churches in this early phase as "missionary Protestantism" rather than a truly indigenous movement. Nevertheless there can be no gainsaying that many people found a new moral power at work in their lives through the message they heard from the missionaries. Marriages were celebrated and other relationships ended. A notorious drunkard in Tacna was now to be found poring over his Bible as he

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137 Bebington 1989 p5f
138 Interview with the author 20.5.98, commenting on why he chose two Protestant case studies for his 1998 article on "Mission from the Margins to the Margins".
139 Reid to Gracey 7.7.37 and 10.3.37
140 In an article in "La Antorcha" magazine for September 1939 Creighton quotes in Spanish from a covenant of the Baptist churches. In it believers promise to "avoid gossip, slander and excessive anger" (as well as the issues mentioned above) and to "be zealous in efforts to extend the kingdom of our Saviour".
141 See the Introduction, p2
142 Bennett to Gracey 6.10.36; Barrón to Hosford 24.5.39
waited for customers in his shop\textsuperscript{143}. A prostitute in Moquegua "having given her heart to the Lord" died in hospital where her testimony is said to be "without doubt a great thing"\textsuperscript{144}. Along with this moral change went a joyful energy. Bebbington has suggested that the activism characteristic of Evangelicals can be traced to their doctrine of assurance\textsuperscript{145}: once a Christian believes that his own salvation is assured he is set free from self-absorption to think of others. In this the message of the Baptist missionaries was clearly distinct not just from Catholic doctrine but also from that taught by the Seventh Day Adventists\textsuperscript{146}. So the factors that contributed to the emergence of the earliest churches included the strategic vision driving the Mission's endeavours, the impact of literature and the dynamism of the first converts - itself due, at least in part, to Evangelical theology. However, these were common to each of the mission's efforts, so the question arises as to why there should have been rapid progress in some areas whereas others took much longer.

There seems to have been a noticeable difference in response between the two countries. When the Barróns were destined for Peru Bennett warned them "not to expect the same response that we find everywhere in Argentina"\textsuperscript{147}. The hardest place of all was Puno which was described as "stony ground"\textsuperscript{148}. Reid pointed out in 1936 that Puno was the residence of the Catholic bishop, that there was a

\textsuperscript{143}Reid to Gracey 21.4.37
\textsuperscript{144}Barrón in H+FMR 1944 p15
\textsuperscript{145}Bebbington 1989 pp42-43
\textsuperscript{146}As will be seen below the Adventists had been working in the area since 1910 and were well established. Their doctrinal stance, however, is ambiguous. Kessler believes the original missionary, Stahl, to have been thoroughly Evangelical although only in contrast to his contemporary fellow Adventists (1980 pp 227 and 402). This judgement is echoed by Lovell (1991 p15) and Escobar (interview with the author). A generation after Stahl's initial work the average Adventist in the Puno department had a very legalistic understanding of Christianity. Creighton was prepared to acknowledge the good Adventists had done in placing the Bible in the hands of thousands and in their medical and educational work (Creighton to Gracey 8.10.34 and 18.10.34 respectively). But he characterised a typical conversation with an Adventist as "I tried to get him from Law to Grace and to security in Christ ... he was a keeper of Sabbath but did not seem to know Christ as Saviour" (Creighton to Gracey 1.5.34). Many other similar examples could be given.
\textsuperscript{147}Bennett to Creighton 16.2.41
\textsuperscript{148}FMAR Report 1938 p4
hospital there run by the Little Sisters of the Poor and that there was a fourth chapel in construction. Not surprisingly it was a stronghold of Catholic fervour. The IBFM workers found opposition or competition to every move they made. The Bishop tried to get their landlord to refuse permission for meetings. Attendance at Sunday School was hit by the rival attraction of football and a merry-go-round organised between mass and catechism by the Salesian Friars. Similarly, Reid began visiting the inmates of the local prison in 1934, but not long afterwards Creighton found it almost impossible to get in because the Franciscan friars now said mass there.

Nevertheless, Catholic opposition was not the biggest barrier to the missionaries' work. There is a revealing comment in one of Reid's letters in 1942 when he mentions in passing that Serruto, a carpenter, "is the only one in the meetings in Puno who understands Aymara well." It seems likely that the Baptist groups emerging in the towns were drawn largely from the Spanish-speaking population. It took some time for the IBFM missionaries to reflect on the fact that, whilst Spanish was used in the towns and Quechua was spoken in the area from Juliaca northwards, the overwhelming majority of the population in the area they now claimed as their field spoke Aymara. Even when the missionaries did make efforts to learn Aymara they found it difficult and "[i]n the history of the IBFM no missionary ever mastered Aymara." But they could not overlook so large a

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149Reid to Gracey 28.1.35
150Creighton to Gracey 30.4.35
151Creighton to Gracey 24.8.34 and 14.7.37
152Reid to Gracey 16.10.42
153The northern boundary between the IBFM field and EUSA's seems never to have been officially agreed. Creighton's proposal (initially rejected by the EUSA field conference though they were apparently overruled by McNairn, the EUSA Secretary in London) was that the IBFM territory should be the Departments of Moquegua, Tacna and the following provinces of Puno Department: Chucuito, Puno, San Román, Lampa and Huancané. Creighton to Gracey 26.12.33; McNairn to Gracey 13.4.34.
154Reid to Gracey 26.5.42
155Thompson 1995 p134
people group. When Pastor Gracey visited Argentina and Peru in December 1937\textsuperscript{156} he was particularly moved by the sight of the densely-populated plain centred on Ilave. This vision of “the teeming thousands of Aymaras to the south of [Lake] Titicaca. was to shape the mission policy for years to come”\textsuperscript{157}.

The IBFM had a model to work from as the Seventh Day Adventists had established a strong work amongst the Aymaras\textsuperscript{158}. Their first missionaries, the Stahls, had moved into the area in 1910 in response to an invitation to set up schools. They set up clusters of schools and congregations and by 1930 the Adventists could claim a baptised membership of over 4000\textsuperscript{159}. There seem to have been three keys to the Adventists’ success. Firstly, a lasting impact was made in the early period when the Stahls lived in an Aymara home until their own house was built\textsuperscript{160}. Secondly, they met the needs felt and expressed by the people before also passing on their message. Thirdly, they worked to avoid a culture of dependence: the Aymaras were required to build their own schoolrooms and find the salary for the teacher. This meant that they had a sense of ownership and identification with the work.

The IBFM missionaries did learn from the Adventists’ experience. In 1937 Leslie Scott was stationed at Ilave, the town in the centre of the plain to the South of the Lake. He tried hard to identify with the Indians, commenting that some people had found it funny to see him “dressed as a Peruvian cattle-dealer” and eating with the Aymaras - but that they thought of him as one of their own\textsuperscript{161}. Scott’s example was

\textsuperscript{156}This visit was undertaken at his own expense. There would be no further field visit by a Committee member from Ireland until 1955 when Pastor Joshua Thompson spent two months in Peru.
\textsuperscript{157}Thompson 1995 p133
\textsuperscript{158}On the Adventists’ work see Kessler 1980 pp223-240 and Escobar 1995-96.
\textsuperscript{159}Hamilton 1962 p47
\textsuperscript{160}Interview with Dr Samuel Escobar 20.5.98
\textsuperscript{161}Scott to Gracey 29.3.38 and 8.9.38
the exception rather than the rule, but it would be easy to be overly critical of the early IBFM missionaries. The price to be paid in living exactly like the Aymaras was high indeed. The example of Scott (who had to resign on health grounds after only two years in Peru) suggests that adopting a fully Indian lifestyle could only further increase the toll taken by the altitude on the missionaries' physical and mental health. The Reids lost their six-month old daughter Daphne in December 1945\(^{162}\). The Barróns lost one of their twins at birth\(^{163}\) and Joaquina's rheumatism prevented her from being able to live in the Sierra at all. It seemed that there was always one of the Creightons' five children who was ill whilst neither of the parents had robust health either\(^{164}\). It is an open question whether the missionaries could have sustained a truly Indian lifestyle for any length of time. Nurse "Dottie" Sloan's quarter century of service in llave perhaps came the closest in this regard. In any case there were a variety of ways to show genuine care. Scott had come to the conviction early on that only if the Mission met the Aymaras' strongly felt desire for school teachers would they get the opportunity to speak of spiritual needs. Accordingly in 1938 primary schools\(^{165}\) were set up in four hamlets on the llave plain\(^{166}\) but the experiment did not last long. Revealingly, the missionaries wrote that it collapsed because they had not stuck closely enough to the Adventist method of "requiring all fees to be in hand before commencing"\(^{167}\).

By the end of the Second World War Gracey's vision outlined a decade earlier had been realised, but this had only raised new questions as to the future direction of the IBFM. The Mission staff had expanded substantially, but not as expected. Irish

\(^{162}\)Kathleen Reid to Miss Haggan 21.3.46
\(^{163}\)Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 26.1.43
\(^{164}\)Avalos to Bennett 9.9.41
\(^{165}\)In this the IBFM could also look for precedents to the 90 schools started in Ireland by the Baptist Irish Society in the nineteenth century, cf. McMullan 1970-71 and Oakley 1970-71.
\(^{166}\)At Chejuyo, Capalla, Camecache and Rosacani (Creighton to Gracey 27.4.38 and 9.8.38). Sr Valladares was the teacher at Camecache.
\(^{167}\)Creighton to Gracey 7.10.40
Baptists had certainly not intended the IBFM to be a joint Irish-Argentinian endeavour. Churches had been planted in both Argentina and Peru, but progress was very uneven. It was only gradually becoming clear that the missionaries were succeeding (if slowly) only where Spanish was the dominant language, but were making little headway amongst the main ethnic group in Southern Peru, the Aymaras. In Argentina the churches were “missionary” in the sense that they were vigorous in developing daughter churches and in cooperating with the sending of workers to Peru. In Peru the congregations could be labelled “missionary Protestant” churches for the less encouraging reason that they all still owed their existence to foreign initiative. At the close of this period there was little sign that a new and substantially different chapter in the history of the IBFM was about to begin.
Chapter Three: The Second Wave and

the Aymara Breakthrough (1947 - 1959)

Crisis and Enlargement

The accumulated problems associated with the war years were not quickly overcome. In the austerity of post-war Britain restrictions on financial transfers abroad remained until at least 1950. The IBFM's badly pressed missionaries, the Creightons and the Harkins, did not get back to Ireland until 1946. Billy Harkins had been on the field for ten and a half years, the Creightons for nine and a half - much of which had been spent in the Peruvian altitudes. The cumulative effect was too much for Helen Creighton and she was never to return to Peru. The Bennetts were next to arrive in Ireland, in March 1947. Nurse Sloan was also expected back for her first furlough in early 1947. She had been in Peru for nine years, six of them under the auspices of the IBFM. Clearing this backlog in overdue missionary furloughs meant a dearth of workers on the field in 1947. In Argentina the IBFM had only their honorary missionaries, the Hosfords, and the national workers Dlulua, Doña Rosa and Barrón (who had moved back to Añatuya from Peru). It was worse in Peru for, apart from Nurse Sloan, the only missionaries in the country were the Reids. But the fact that so many missionaries were back in Ireland at the same time provided an unprecedented opportunity for the Committee to confer with them about the future. There were also a number of candidates eager to leave for Peru once passages could be secured. Thus the Annual Report is not one of unmitigated gloom. Gracey wrote that the Committee believed that 1947 would "yet prove to have been a year of crisis leading on to enlargement."

1 Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 6.7.50
2 In the Irish Baptist Magazine the Mission Secretary had to explain that the Government-appointed Passenger Committee was allotting the Mission no berths as the Priority Passenger lists were so full (NB in IB February 1946 p8).
3 H+FMR p15
In July 1947 suddenly four two berths became available and the first graduates of the Missionary Training School, Billy McManus and Sam Sloan, left for Peru. The MTS was the product of the concern which had developed in Ireland about the balance between the numbers of national workers and Irish missionaries. At the time the Irish Baptist College in Dublin was out of favour with many of the churches. Yet most of those who went “across the water” to train ended up joining interdenominational missions. Then there was the further issue of finance. The MTS was conceived as a low-cost college particularly (though not exclusively) for the training of missionary candidates for the IBFM. The new Union building at 3 Fitzwilliam Street had sufficient room for the accommodation of a few students and for class rooms and so the MTS opened its doors in September 1946. It worked quite successfully for the first two or three years until the backlog of IBFM candidates delayed by the war had been cleared. Thereafter the School could not attract enough students to be viable, especially once Belfast Bible College became interdenominational. It was shut in 1952, having served its purpose.

Billy McManus and Sam Sloan were followed to the field in October 1948 by Sarah (“Sadie”) Cushley, McManus’ fiancée; by Hugh Mitchell and his fiancée Sadie Porter in February 1949; by John McVicker in January 1950 and by his fiancée Mary McMullan in December 1950. Seven missionaries were sent out in less than four years. The intervening periods would almost certainly have been even shorter if passages could have been secured. These missionaries had a number of things in common. They were of much the same age and they all studied at the MTS, the

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4 McManus had just eight days’ notice of sailing (McManus 1947 pp1-2).
5 Sam Sloan is no relation to Nurse S.D.B. (“Dottie”) Sloan. To prevent confusion Sam’s wife will always be referred to simply as Mary Sloan though she too was a registered nurse and certified midwife.
first six studying together for a year. (Though Mary McMullan only began her studies after McManus and Sloan had left she still overlapped with the other four in their second year). Sloan and McVicker were also related, though each of them came separately to the conclusion that God was calling them to South America.

Further, the seven came from only three churches. McManus, Cushley and Mitchell were all members of the large Baptist church in Great Victoria Street, Belfast. Perhaps more remarkably three of these missionaries - Sloan, McVicker and McMullan - came from the small Baptist church at Dunseverick, on the north coast of Northern Ireland. When Sam Sloan married Mary Gribbon in 1953 after his first term of service she was not unknown to the other missionaries either as she was from the Great Victoria St. Church and her mother had been the Secretary of the Women's Auxiliary. Thus in retrospect there is some justification in regarding the commissioning of McManus and Sloan in 1947 as the start of a "second wave" of Irish missionaries. The coherence of this group was a powerful unifying factor in their early years in Peru. McVicker many years later felt that it had been good for them to have been together in the MTS before going out because it meant they "knew each other's ways". However, in the light of the later problems in the sixties, the question arises as to how easy it was for later missionaries to break into this circle.

Change at the Home Base

It was not only amongst the Field staff that there were changes. Fred Gracey had felt and stated for a number of years that the time was past when the Secretary to

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6 Interview with Sam and Mary Sloan and John McVicker 11.9.98
7 It is intriguing to speculate about what part the interest of these three church members in the IBFM played in the process of reconciliation between their church and the Baptist Union of Ireland which culminated in the church rejoining the Union in 1945 (Thompson 1995 p41). This may be another example where the Mission has had an effect on the churches which gave it birth.
8 Cf. comments on the numbering of the "waves" of missionaries in chapter 1 page 11 footnote 10.
9 Interview with Sam and Mary Sloan and John McVicker 11.9.98
the Mission could also be a pastor serving in a location as remote to the majority of Irish Baptists as Cork. He asked in 1945\textsuperscript{10} that definite consideration be given to his replacement. Various temporary arrangements were made before Gracey was finally able in May 1948 to hand over his responsibilities as Mission Secretary. This was an important transition in its own right as he had been in office since the inception of the Mission twenty-four years previously. Once the earliest missionaries, the Oehrings, had retired and Urubamba had been left behind, his Secretaryship was one of the few remaining direct links with those very early days.

At the Business Session of the 1948 Annual Assembly the churches expressed their gratitude for the "inestimable value" to them of his "missionary enthusiasm", "expert guidance" and "painstaking attention" to the details of administration.

Bennett took over from Gracey, being appointed "Organising Secretary" but this was only a short-term arrangement as he wanted to return to Argentina. Accordingly the Secretary's duties were taken up in 1950 by the newly-appointed Assistant Secretary to the Baptist Union of Ireland, Pastor Joshua Thompson. The Union Secretary, Pastor Frank Forbes, suffered a heart-attack shortly afterwards and Joshua Thompson was his natural replacement. However, Thompson kept on his role as Mission Secretary also and continued to exercise this function until 1963. So, after a few years of flux, the home end of the Mission regained its stability. The Executive Committee met at very frequent intervals. The circular "to the Lord's Remembrancers" was replaced in 1946 by a monthly "News Bulletin" in the Irish Baptist Magazine. This introduced the missionaries to a much wider circle of readers. The finances of the Mission were in a healthy state. Furthermore, the Women's Auxiliary began to play an ever increasing role. Two particular projects owed a lot to their involvement. The first was the Missionary Training School,

\textsuperscript{10}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 4.7.45
already described. The second was firstly the rental and later the purchase of a house for the boarding of the missionaries’ children. This was a WA project from start to finish. The raising of the funds, the furnishing and decorating of the house and the employing of a suitable Warden all were carried out under the supervision of the WA Committee.

Withdrawal from Argentina

During the war the IBFM Committee had reached an agreement with Hosford that once he returned to Argentina he should directly administer all the work in Santa Fe Province (which effectively meant all the IBFM-linked work minus Añatuya). The Committee would make him a total grant of 500 pesos monthly on the understanding that the financial arrangements would be “reviewed from time to time as experience may show to be necessary”\(^\text{11}\). He would then be completely free to allocate this sum as best he saw fit. (At the time Doña Rosa and Dllula’s allowances were $120 and $225 respectively). During 1945 and 1946 encouraging reports were received in Belfast. Hosford was back at the helm in Rosario. The two daughter congregations of San Lorenzo and San Cristóbal were constituted as autonomous churches\(^\text{12}\). In San Cristóbal a new building was almost complete\(^\text{13}\). In addition Hosford had been thinking about how the churches should relate to each other once he was no longer there. The simplest option would have been for them to join the Federation of churches planted by the Southern Baptist Convention. However, Hosford was very suspicious of their centralised administration. So at his instigation the churches linked to the IBFM took the first moves towards uniting in an independent “Baptist Cooperative Association” (whose Spanish initials were

\(^{11}\)Minutes IBFM General Committee 17.10.44
\(^{12}\)Two further churches were constituted in Tostado in 1947 and in Barrio Belgran (a suburb of Rosario) in 1949. Raúl Bettin (who had informal links with the Mission through his mother and was named as an “honorary worker” of the IBFM) also founded a church in Juncal in 1945.
\(^{13}\)H+FMR 1946 pp9-10
ABC). Notwithstanding these developments there were increasingly polarised views amongst Irish Baptists about the Argentine work. These surfaced in the two full-day conferences held in 1947\textsuperscript{14} by the Executive Committee with the missionaries on furlough. Because of the difficult relationship with Hosford some were for the immediate, permanent evacuation of all IBFM staff. At the other end of the spectrum Harkins and Bennett were understandably reluctant to abandon the field of their labours. They argued for continuing work in Argentina either focused on the existing church in Añatuya, or else in completely new areas. A subcommittee appointed to formulate a statement of policy recommended that “the work in Argentina be entirely carried on by the Rosario church under our Superintendent [i.e. Hosford] and that Mr Harkins be invited to go to Peru”\textsuperscript{15}. This meant winding down direct IBFM work in Argentina. The Committee envisaged that the ABC would assume responsibility for the existing work. They thus expected Dllula, Doña Rosa, and Barrón to continue the work in which they were already engaged. The difference was that they would now be employed by the ABC which would receive a grant from the IBFM towards their salary. This seemed quite a good solution, allowing the Argentinian churches to make their own decisions but providing at least some of the resources needed. Unfortunately, this plan was overtaken by events. Hosford became seriously ill in 1947, paralysing developments in the relationship between the ABC and the Mission. His death in early 1948 was bound to weaken the link between Argentina and Ireland.

Before the Harkins were ready to leave for Peru the Mission was suddenly confronted with the resignation of both Dllula and Barrón. This was the other

\textsuperscript{14}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 18.4.47 and 21.4.47. The missionaries present were Bennett, both the Harkins and both the Creightons. The officers of the WA were also included.

\textsuperscript{15}Minutes IBFM Executive Sub-Committee 30.5.47 and 2.6.47 (The location of the Bennetts was left in abeyance until nearer the time of their return to the field).
reason Gracey characterised 1947 as a year of "crisis". The Committee felt they had been presented with a "fait accompli" and had no option but to accept both resignations\textsuperscript{16}. However, the resignations should have been foreseen for they were caused by almost entirely financial reasons. Very soon after his return to Argentina in 1945 Hosford began to protest that the agreed budget was inadequate. Then Dllula appealed to the Committee for help in 1946 as his expenses were overrunning his allowance. They granted him help on a one-off basis but told him that any increase in his allowance had to come from Hosford\textsuperscript{17}. A year later Dllula was in debt again\textsuperscript{18}. The Committee again voted one-off help but underlined that there would be no increases. As 1947 progressed both of the other workers in Argentina (Doña Rosa and Barrón) also appealed for financial help in increasingly urgent terms. Both were referred to Hosford\textsuperscript{19}.

The Committee were aware of steep price increases in South America. An article in the News Bulletin for July 1947 specifically mentioned the "totally unanticipated rises in the cost of living in both Peru and Argentina". Kathleen Reid wrote from Peru in September that "prices are soaring every day, there is no control whatever". She particularly mentioned the prices of sheets and potatoes and said soap was "almost unobtainable, it goes to the highest bidder at three times its value\textsuperscript{20}". In Argentina by early 1948 Doña Rosa reported that "things are costing three and four times more than four years ago\textsuperscript{21}". Viewed in this light the disparities in the allowances set for the period beginning in December 1947 are quite startling. The Reids' personal allowance was increased from 410 soles to 560, a rise of 37%.

\textsuperscript{16}Minutes IBFM Executive Sub-Committee 4.12.47 and 12.2.48
\textsuperscript{17}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 25.4.46
\textsuperscript{18}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 3.7.47
\textsuperscript{19}Minutes IBFM Executive Sub-Committee 3.11.47 and 10.12.47
\textsuperscript{20}NB in IB September 1947 p8
\textsuperscript{21}NB in IB May 1948 p9. This anecdotal evidence is supported by both Owens on Peru (1963 p56) and Pendle on Argentina (1965 p125).
(when expenses were included the rise was 46%). For a single missionary in Peru the rise was even greater at 60%. However, the allowances and expenses for all three workers in Argentina were not increased at all. With such steep inflation it does not seem surprising that within three months both Dllula and Barrón resigned from the Mission and entered business to support their families. Neither desired to leave Christian ministry and both continued to pastor their congregations in an honorary capacity22. If challenged the Committee would have protested that they had no intention of forcing these workers out of full-time Christian service. (They did, rather belatedly, increase Doña Rosa’s allowance by 40% the following summer). They would have blamed the difficulties in communication caused by Hosford’s illness. But their refusal to countenance any increases in allowances to their hard-pressed workers until all the details concerning the ABC were sorted out carried a message of its own. Now “interest in the Irish churches focused on Peru”23.

It was only a matter of time until the decisions made in 1947 led to withdrawal from Argentina. The Harkins returned to Añatuya in April 1948, staying there until the end of 1954. Although the first years were difficult the church grew and some notable conversions were reported. The Bennetts returned to Argentina in 1950 to find an extremely severe housing shortage. Unable to find accommodation anywhere near Rosario they settled in Santiago del Estero where Mrs Bennett’s parents had worked. Bertie Bennett travelled widely taking evangelistic meetings but a lot of his time in the years before they left the field in 1957 was also spent effecting the transfer of Mission properties into Argentinian hands. This proved complicated as the churches had suddenly dissolved the ABC and joined the

22 Minutes IBFM Executive Sub-Committee 4.12.47 and 12.2.48
23 Thompson 1995 p139
Evangelical Baptist Federation (sponsored by the Southern Baptists) out of fear that Perón's government would not recognise the smaller body. This left the IBFM properties in legal limbo - half way through the process of transfer to a body which had now dissolved itself - but eventually this imbroglio was settled. The last IBFM links with Argentina were lost in 1959 with the deaths of both Mrs Hosford and Doña Rosa. Robert Hosford's legacy lives on in five Baptist churches in Rosario. The IBFM involvement was fruitful too, as churches planted in Añatuya, Barrio Belgrano, San Lorenzo, San Cristóbal and Tostado attest. Further, Sambrano, Avalos, Barrón and Dllula went on to be recognised as notable leaders amongst Argentinian Evangelicals. The IBFM could take satisfaction in having had a part in the formation of these men and Hosford could be proud of "his boys from Rosario".

New Beginnings in Puno

By mid-1947 Stanley Reid's health was breaking. He had been six and a half years in Puno without a break from the altitude except for brief holidays. It became clear that he would not be able to remain in the altiplano long enough to supervise the two new missionaries McManus and Sloan in their probationary period. The Committee thus decided to ask Billy Creighton whether he would return to Peru without his wife "for a short term". The Creightons considered this and responded positively as long as financial arrangements could be made for Mrs Creighton and the children in Belfast. The "short term" eventually became two years and nine months, from January 1948 to September 1950. This substantial sacrifice made by the Creighton family enabled Billy to play a crucial role in the beginning of a new phase in IBFM work in Peru. As the two new recruits worked at acquiring Spanish,

24IBFM Report to the Council of the Baptist Union of Ireland 30.1.58
25At least one of these, the Añatuya church, was still going strong and celebrated its 50th Anniversary in 1987. I am grateful to Mrs Sylvia Rogers (nee Bennett) for showing me a cutting from the local Argentinian press which covered this event.
26Minutes of IBFM Executive Committee 19.2.47
the third "bachelor" organised them in intensive colportage and book-selling around the markets and fairs of the altiplano. This exposed them from the start to the crowds of Aymaras coming into the towns from distant hamlets in the mountains and plains.

The new missionaries arrived at a time when there were the first signs of a new response in the altiplano. Since the formation of the church in Puno in 1942 there had been some small encouragements but 1946 marked a change of tempo. At the end of that year Stanley Reid reported that one of the regular weekly meetings in Puno was now held in Aymara\(^27\). This, it may be recalled, was quite a contrast to the situation hitherto\(^28\). The speaker was a young man called Mario Cutimbo later said by McManus to be as "fluent in Aymara as he is eloquent in Spanish"\(^29\). It does not seem coincidental that it was the year this articulate, educated, Aymara-speaker is first mentioned in the reports that marked something of a breakthrough in Puno with eight professions of faith, though only two of these can be definitely identified as Aymara-speakers\(^30\). Cutimbo's help was probably also one of the factors which led to twelve professions of faith in Chinchera in March 1946. Reid had held meetings in this small town a few miles outside Puno for five years but there had not been much response until then. The linguistic background of the people attending is shown by his report that the introduction of an Aymara hymn book was "meeting a real need"\(^31\). Cutimbo began studying at Cuzco University in 1948 so his contribution to the work from then on was limited. However, by that

\(^{27}\)H+FMR 1946 p8
\(^{28}\)See chapter 2 p79.
\(^{29}\)NB in IB May 1948 p10
\(^{30}\)NB in IB December 1946 p8. One was Lelia Cutimbo, Mario's younger sister, the other Sofia Serruto (probably the daughter of the Aymara-speaking carpenter mentioned in the previous chapter p79). Of the others two were of Italian background (Spanish-speaking), one was Stanley Reid's son Paul (though he was not named) leaving three whose linguistic background is unknown: Sr Sardon, 16 year old Clotilde Cruz and another not named.
\(^{31}\)Reid to Gracey 30.12.44. In March 1943 it was still only a "hope" (Reid to Gracey 9.3.43).
stage the missionaries had made contact with two other men who would have a lasting impact amongst the Aymara people.

Valentin Cruz was a leather worker who made footballs, jackets and boots just up the street from the church in Puno. McManus remembers being taken on a “cold call” to his shop by Reid to invite him to the meetings. He attended a few times and was converted just before Reid left the altitudes for Tacna in December 1947. Cruz was from Paque-paque just outside Juli. This was almost 100 km south-east from Puno along the shore-line of the lake. It was right in the middle of the Chucuito sub-province of the Department — exactly the area the missionaries wanted to move towards (Figure 6 shows most of the places in Chucuito mentioned below). There was soon evidence of genuine change in Cruz’s life. In June 1948 he married the woman he lived with and the following month Stanley Reid baptised him. Right from the start he showed enormous zeal to win others for Christ. Through his witnessing firstly his cousins and then his brothers were converted. He then invited the missionaries to visit Paque-paque. As Reid had now moved away and Creighton had not yet arrived, McManus and Sloan had to take Cutimbo with them to do most of the speaking. They were all thrilled with the weekend they spent in Paque-paque. Over 100 people attended some of the meetings. On Sunday night they had to show the Lantern Lecture twice because Cruz’s house simply could not accommodate everyone. He had done his best to ensure that the programme appealed to as wide a group as possible by even including a football match on the Sunday afternoon which McManus as guest of honour was to kick-off.

32 Interview with William and Sarah McManus 18.9.98
33 NB in IB December 1948 p9
34 NB in IB March 1948 p8
35 He was able to accompany them as this occurred in January in the middle of his summer holidays.
36 Interview with William and Sarah McManus 18.9.98
Figure 6: Map of "Yunguyo District"

Approx Scale 25 km

Source: IB Magazine February 1959
Cruz was evidently an exceptional leader. He had served seven years in the army, only two of which were as a conscript. Part of this time he worked as a clerk in the Commandant's office. He was an avid reader and this now stood him in good stead. Creighton noticed that he had read Pilgrim's Progress and that he was using illustrations from it in his speaking. Not only did he have a sharp mind and entrepreneurial drive but he was also a good speaker. Sam Sloan commented in passing one month that "as usual" Cruz had been with them the previous Sunday in the open-air and "for two hours held the interest of a crowd of almost 200 Indians." He went on to say that Cruz had been taken ill that night and was diagnosed to have TB. Sloan carefully nursed him back to health and their relationship was cemented during those months. Once Cruz regained his health he moved back to Paque-paque. Three more believers were baptised in 1952 and a little church fellowship was constituted. At the same time Cruz was appointed an elder so that he was recognised as the leader in the absence of any missionary. There were more baptisms the following year. The church continued to grow and by 1956 they had constructed their own building. They outgrew it very quickly and replaced it by a bigger and "beautifully finished" building in 1958.

Back in 1947 another key contact was made who was quite different in personality and gifting to Cruz. Stanley Reid had known Faustino Cotrado for some years. He lived in Corpa, only a few miles away from Paque-paque, and had been employed in the past by the Seventh Day Adventists. Then they had had a parting of the ways and for some time he had been referring to himself as an "evangelista" and not as an adventist. Once Reid assured himself on certain points he asked

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37NB in IB December 1948 p9
38NB in IB December 1949 p8
39H+FMR 1958 p7
40Handwritten note by Joshua Thompson on Executive Committee interview with McManus 29.1.54
41NB in IB May 1947 p9
Cotrado to do colportage work for the IBFM, especially in the Santa Rosa mountain range "two days tramp" away from where he lived. Cotrado readily agreed. There followed a decade of what can only be called explosive growth.

Reid made several visits to Corpa itself over the next few months. As well as Cotrado there was another Evangelical there, a man called Bustinza from the Tacna church whose wife was from Corpa. By Reid's third visit he found a little group of 15. They had spent two full days clearing one and a half miles of track so that the missionary could drive right up to them. With that start this group did not look back. The Annual Report for 1948 gave the average attendance as 50. Once Hugh Mitchell arrived on the field in March 1949 and settled in Ilave he became the missionary most closely involved with Corpa as he lived only about 40 km away. In 1951 he baptised the first six members of the Corpa church. But it was 1953 which was the real breakthrough year. Mitchell baptised 26 people (on two different occasions). The church continued to go from strength to strength. There were further baptisms every year from 1955 to 1958 (three in 1955 then two, six and five respectively). There was growth in vision also. One member of the church not only started a Sunday School in Corpa but also a second one in another area. Giving by the congregation also meant that they were able to erect their own building to seat 70 people in 1958.

Cotrado's influence was at least as great in other areas. He was very persistent in patient colportage around remote districts. It took two years of visiting Huapaca

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42NB in IB July 1955 p4; NB in IB October 1956 p12; H+FMR 1957 p8; and H+FMR 1958 p6
43NB in IB November 1954 p9
44Figure 7 shows schematically the development of the earliest Peruvian Aymara Baptist churches.
Notes: 1) Groups are placed against the year when they are first mentioned in IBFM reports, often they were in existence some years before this.
2) Lines are intended to show origins of one group from another rather than precise chronology.

Before 1957 the group meeting at Yunguyo was mainly composed of the Yanapata church (whose own building had been destroyed).

Figure 7: Development of the Earliest Aymara Baptist Churches in Peru (1947-1959)
well into the wilds off the main road before he felt in 1954 that the group there were ready for a visit from Sloan. When Cotrado took him there the Irishman was surprised to find that they had already built a church complete with pulpit and even Bible pictures on the walls. A number of believers were ready for baptism in this village and also in Taraputo, five kilometres further away from the Lake. Accordingly he returned on the 19th of September, celebrated a wedding and then went to the river to baptise eight people from Huapaca and nine from Taraputo. The church in Huapaca was formed that same day and all those baptised from both centres celebrated the Lord’s Table. No wonder Sloan described it as “a busy day”.

The Taraputo church was constituted on Sloan’s next visit and proved, if anything, even more vigorous. Sloan was impressed by the way that the believers brought pencils and paper to take notes in the meetings. One of their members, Gerardo Cáceres, was concerned for relatives of his in Pisacoma. This hamlet was so remote that it took Sloan five and a half hours to cover the 120 kilometres from Yunguyo when he eventually made his first visit in 1957. He had to cross sixteen rivers on the way. By this stage the group there had been meeting for two years. Though no missionary had ever been there believers from Tarapoto, including Cáceres, had been visiting regularly. They had won converts and then encouraged them to meet together on Sundays. By the time Sloan arrived in 1957 some of the new converts from Pisacoma were themselves organising meetings every other Sunday in a yet-more-inaccessible place called Picchu. In turn it took some individuals from this group less than a year to begin planting yet another. By 1958

45NB in IB August 1954 p9
46NB in IB November 1954 p9
47NB in IB October 1954 p9
48NB in IB August 1957 p9
they were meeting with a group of "interested friends" in Jayuma\textsuperscript{49} about ten kilometres away. That same year Caceres also began work in Huñanaqueri. A church of ten baptised members with their own building was constituted there in 1959\textsuperscript{50}. Again and again this pattern was repeated. An individual was contacted by one of the Peruvian workers like Cotrado. Over time they were converted. They then witnessed to members of their immediate family. A group sprung up and even before a missionary could visit they had already branched out to the next place starting the cycle again.

Further to the north-east a similar chain development took place along the edge of Lake Titicaca. Yunguyo is the main Peruvian town in this area, lying about one mile from the Bolivian border that cuts across the Copacabana peninsula. In 1948 Creighton, McManus, Sloan and Cruz attended the large fair held for two days in August every year. They preached in Spanish and in Aymara, used "flannelgraph" to illustrate Bible stories, played Aymara records on a gramophone and made record literature sales. Creighton reported that the two days had seemed like one long open-air meeting with 40-50 people around them most of each day\textsuperscript{51}. He felt that never had he experienced so much "liberty" in witnessing and preaching though he had been at many fairs over the years\textsuperscript{52}. The most significant outcome was that contacts were made with people interested in visits from the missionaries. One of these families, the Mamanis\textsuperscript{53}, were from Yanapata. They were already Evangelical believers and had been praying for some time that God would send someone to teach and help them in their area. Yanapata is on the shore of Huinaimarca lagoon, an arm of Lake Titicaca. It is a strikingly beautiful spot

\textsuperscript{49}H+FMR 1958 p7
\textsuperscript{50}H+FMR 1958 p7 and R&S 1959 p27
\textsuperscript{51}H+FMR 1948 p12
\textsuperscript{52}NB October 1948 IB p9
\textsuperscript{53}Sam Sloan "La Historia de los Bautistas en el Sur del Peru" [n.d.]
overlooking the water towards the snow-capped Bolivian Andes. Its location also meant that the Mamanis’ first contact with the Gospel had quite naturally come from Bolivia. Their young daughter had crossed over to La Paz to work as a household servant and whilst there she had been converted. She had then returned to Yanapata, won over her parents and together they had witnessed to others. As a consequence there were some individuals interested in their own locality and also in another village further along the edge of the Lagoon. Accordingly when the missionaries together with Cruz first visited Yanapata during 1949 they reported “believers from Copani also present”. In 1950 Sloan got the Field Council of missionaries to agree to him moving to Yunguyo for six months, six months which were to become “twenty-odd years”. Sam (and later Mary) Sloan’s loving identification with the Aymara Indians is one of the keys to the extraordinary fruitfulness of their ministry in Peru. But the evangelistic impetus clearly came from the Aymaras themselves.

Copani provides yet another example of this. The leader who emerged, Francisco Condori, not only became a “tower of strength” to the congregation there. He also, like Cruz, Cotrado and Caceres became very influential in the planting of new groups. The Copani church was formed with the baptism of 11 members in 1951. By then they had almost completed their own building. In the same report we read that witness had commenced in the new centre of Molino as a result of people attending the meetings in Copani. In 1953 the first four baptisms took place in

54NB in IB November 1948 p9
55NB in IB October 1949 p8
56The Field Council was created in 1948 to provide some coordination between the growing number of missionaries and had some limited authority to act. Mostly it made recommendations to the Committee who then made the decisions.
57Minutes IBFM Field Council 23.2.50
58Interview with Sam and Mary Sloan and John McVicker 11.9.98
59H+FMR 1953 p16
60H+FMR 1951 p16
Molino and a church fellowship was established under the care of Condori and others from Copani. The same year new works opened nearby in Takapesi and Choko and these were cared for by the believers in Copani. Attendances at services in Copani now reached 100. In 1955 Villacolla was added to the other "outstations" of Copani. Within another year Takapesi and Villacolla had erected their own buildings and leaders were emerging in both centres. By 1959 a map published alongside a report in the Irish Baptist showed twelve centres in the "Yunguyo district" where groups were meeting on Sundays, with an aggregate congregation of 225 - 250. When three other churches outside this district are included, rural Aymara congregations made up 15 of the 22 IBFM-linked churches. None of the four churches in existence in 1947 was Aymara speaking.

The Situation Elsewhere

The other centres were not showing the same growth. Ilave and Yunguyo are both in the province of Chucuito, too. Yet in both cases it took a relatively long time for a church to be established in the town itself - even though missionaries were based there. Nurse Sloan moved into Ilave in 1942 but it was not until eight years later, after Hugh and Sadie Mitchell settled there too, that a church was formed. Even then growth continued to be much slower than in the rural districts. There was a similar pattern in Yunguyo. Sam Sloan moved into the town in 1950, but it was not until 1957 that he could report that "finally" a church fellowship had been formed with the baptism of some believers. On the other hand Yunguyo and Ilave were

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61 H+FMR 1954 p15
62 Villacolla is one of the names showing the most variation in spelling in IBFM reports, due to transliteration from Aymara. The naming of Silvestre Condori as leader enabled former missionary Andrew Lovell to identify it with the location marked "Huillacolla" on the map.
63 This is reproduced from IB February 1959 p9 as Figure 6 (p94). N.b. that on the map Molino is not underlined, perhaps suggesting that the fellowship there had ceased to meet at that point.
64 NB in IB August 1950 p11 and November 1950 p9. Some individuals had earlier been baptised elsewhere, e.g. the girl who worked for Nurse Sloan was baptised in Puno (H+FMR 1942 p8).
65 H+FMR 1957 p10
important centres for the groups of new believers in the area roundabout. So we find that in 1952 Mitchell began a Bible Study in Ilave specifically for converts from outlying districts. Similarly, the believers from Yanapata walked into Yunguyo to meet for a number of years as their church building was repeatedly destroyed by hostile neighbours. But there was an associated drawback to this. The high proportion of country folk in the meetings reinforced the reluctance of the better educated Spanish-speaking population from attending because of racial prejudice.

Another pattern emerges when we examine the three towns in the highlands outside Chucuito province where the IBFM had churches, Puno, Tarata and Juliaca. All three of these groups struggled against the predominant migration pattern towards the larger cities of Lima, Arequipa and Cuzco. For example by 1953 20 people had been baptised in Puno but there were still only seven members in the church. Some individuals had lost interest or had been disciplined but most of them had simply moved away. The first three baptisms in Tarata took place in 1954. One of those baptised, Orestes Rios, was the judge's assistant in the town and has been the key leader there ever since. At one point he

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66R&S 1952 p8
67NB in IB April 1949 pp8-9 and H+FMR 1955 p14
68Interview with Lourdes Brew 04.10.98. Hamilton, following the Church Growth school, would see in this an example of his first principle "Churches made up of the people of one homogenous unit grow better (i.e. growth is more rapid and healthier) than those made up of people of several" (1962 p116).
69Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 29.11.56 (interview with McVicker). Jaime Davila (himself from Puno) confirmed this in interview with the author in Lima in 1998. He complained that it is often asserted that Baptist work in Peru began in the capital whereas three of the nine foundation members of the oldest Baptist church in Lima were converted earlier in the south. Garcia (1991 p36) lists these nine members of the "Ebenezer" church founded in 1951 in Miraflores, Lima. Amongst them is Yolanda Murazzi who was from Puno (NB in IB October 1946). The other two referred to by Davila are named by Garcia as Pastor and Mrs Antonio "Gamarra". This seems to be a misprint for Antonio Guevara who, pace Kessler, was not from Argentina (1980 p311f). He trained in Buenos Aires (Creighton to Gracey 11.6.43) but was from Tacna, being converted through Avalos (Reid to Gracey 25.6.38). He was friendly with Angel Murillo and, like him, moved to Lima (Avalos report in Creighton to Gracey 9.9.40). Guevara also played a key role in planting the "First Baptist Church" of Lima of which Murillo was a founding member (Garcia 1991 p36).
70This number was given by McManus when interviewed by the Executive Committee on 29.1.54.
turned down an offer of promotion because it would involve leaving Tarata and there was no-one else to pastor the church. This led to him being dismissed even from his existing job. Several very difficult years for the family followed before Ríos was re-instated\textsuperscript{71}. Despite commitment of this calibre the group in Tarata remained small. The very existence of the church in Juliaca was in serious doubt at several points. The witness was maintained there by the Bravo family and there was one brighter period between 1948 and 1954 when their daughter Amanda went through Bible College in Lima and then worked as an evangelist. However, when she had to move away the church went into slow decline.

Peruvian believers also played a key role in Tacna, especially after Barrón returned to Argentina at the end of 1946. It was largely one of the church members, Humberto Guísa, who kept the group together until Reid moved there in 1952. During the next years this church grew rather better than Juliaca or Puno. In 1953 Reid complained about the "miserable" attendance of 25 in comparison to the large numbers then being attracted by a special Adventist campaign\textsuperscript{72}. In contrast by 1955 he reported that they were then disappointed if the attendance fell below 50\textsuperscript{73}. By 1959 Sunday morning meetings sometimes attracted 70. One reason for this was the energy with which the converts witnessed, in particular a furniture maker called Vicente Valle. He encouraged some of the people who worked for him to come to the meetings and they then had been converted. Valle had even got himself arrested for giving a handbill to the priest who regarded this as a "lack of respect"\textsuperscript{74}. But in this the believers were no different to others in the highlands. One factor which did differentiate Tacna from the previous three centres was that

\textsuperscript{71}Information from interview with Orestes Ríos in Tarata 11.10.98 and earlier conversations with his daughter Ruth in Belfast.
\textsuperscript{72}NB in IB December 1953 IB p7
\textsuperscript{73}H+FMR 1954 p14, NB in IB April 1955 p8
\textsuperscript{74}NB in IB September 1956 p9, NB in IB October 1956 p12, NB in IB May 1959 p7
in this case the net trend in migration helped rather than hindered. This became especially significant in the sixties so we shall return to this in the next chapter.

Surveying the six urban centres where the IBFM worked in Peru (Ilave, Yunguyo, Puno, Tarata, Juliaca and Tacna) it becomes immediately apparent that none of these churches was growing as rapidly as the rural congregations in Chucuito. Despite committed national leadership five out of the six struggled to make any headway at all. The exception was Tacna - which highlights how significant a role migration played in the life of these churches. Even Tacna was not comparable to the Chucuito groups. Daughter churches were not being planted spontaneously by the believers, nor did the missionaries report people coming to them to request visits. In the previous chapter we saw that in the period up to 1946 the missionaries struggled to win converts in the altiplano. They found it especially difficult to bridge the linguistic gap to reach the Aymaras. After 1947 whilst the Spanish-speaking churches continued to win a slow, steady trickle of converts, it was amongst the rural Aymara communities that the rapid growth was being seen. So we turn next to the factors behind this new, accelerated response amongst them.

Factors in the Growth of the Rural Aymara Churches

There is some evidence that the missionaries occasionally worried that the rapid growth of the Chucuito groups was not soundly based. During 1959 John McVicker worked from Yunguyo during Sam Sloan's furlough. He was concerned that, although two years previously a group of 40 had been reported in Pisacoma, he now heard that only 10 were meeting\textsuperscript{75}. He wondered whether some people in the initial group had come only for the food packets. These had been distributed to

\textsuperscript{75}NB in IB March 1959 p10
relieve the famine caused by two years of severe drought\textsuperscript{76}. However, the presence of some "rice Christians" in those particular years would not account for the growth in the years before and after the famine when no food was distributed. Nor could this explain why converts in different centres were prepared to remain faithful through severe persecution. The destruction of the Yanapata church building on at least two occasions has already been mentioned\textsuperscript{77}. The author has personally spoken with Christians from different communities who were beaten, had their houses burnt and their livestock stolen - all because of their faith. Forty years after the event one man's eyes still filled with tears as he recalled his helplessness to provide any shelter for his heavily-pregnant wife. When their house was burnt down she had to give birth in the open air. No amount of occasional food packets could motivate people to endure this sort of treatment. Nor could it enable them to forgive the perpetrators\textsuperscript{78}.

The reality lies deeper. These converts believed they had found something valuable enough to suffer for. Quentin Nordyke lays out elements of the typical world view of an Animistic Aymara. The Christian creator God presented by the Catholic priests had been added to an array of other spiritual beings, good and evil. However, the Aymaras perceived him as "a remote unpredictable deity from whom [they had] learned to expect few rewards"\textsuperscript{79}. The innumerable legions of spirits associated with places, animals, and the weather - as well as many kinds of evil demons - were assumed to have a much more direct impact on the events of

\textsuperscript{76}The drought was severe enough to be mentioned in Owens (1963 p61). Gifts towards relief efforts were sent from the National Evangelical Council of Peru (Minutes IBFM Field Council 23.4.57), from Ireland (Thompson to Sam Sloan 14.6.57) and from the Southern Baptist Convention (Thompson to Sloan 4.12.57).

\textsuperscript{77}NB in IB April 1949 pp8-9. Also H+FMR 1955 p14.

\textsuperscript{78}Interviews with Fidel Alvarez 15.10.98, Timoteo Alvarez 3.10.98 and Roberto Loma 15.10.98. Sr Loma added that most of the people who had burnt down his house were today Evangelical believers - and some of them were present in the meeting the day of the interview!

daily life. Fear of death and of the spirits of the departed was acute. These anxieties manifested themselves in alcoholism and a high incidence of intra-community hostilities. The precarious hold the Aymara [had] on his physical survival and the anxieties he experienced in social relationships as well as the continual possibility of malevolent treatment from the spiritual beings all made the message of freedom from fear through the victory of Christ an extremely attractive and liberating one.

Three factors all contributed to the credibility of the new message in the eyes of the Aymaras. The experience of answers to personal intercessory prayer was particularly powerful in this regard. Before the arrival of Evangelical missionaries the Aymaras were familiar with two models of prayer. The liturgical recitations taught by the Catholic priest raised little expectation of specific answers. Aymara traditional magicians composed prayers spontaneously for a given occasion rather than rely on fixed incantations or spells. However, these prayers still tended to be non-specific. Numerous interviewees in Peru testified to the author of the impact on them of having specific, spontaneous prayers answered. We may be reminded here of the impact of Doña Rosa's prayers in the very different environment of Rosario in Argentina. Another mechanism was a result of the Aymara worldview which did not divide the secular world from the sacred nor

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80 One group of Catholic catechists and pastoral workers in Bolivia stated in 1990 "the Aymara religion consists in filling us with fear" (quoted in Orta 1996 p244) - this was in criticism of approaches based on theologies of inculturation which were more positive towards traditional Aymara religion.

81 Chapter 11 "Resultant Personality Patterns" of Nordyke's 1972 book works out detailed proposals on the inter-relationships of anxiety, alcoholism, and conflict.

82 Nordyke 1972 p42

83 The Transformation of Simon by Mary Sloan gives a classic portrait of an Animist finding joy and freedom from fear of death through the message of the Gospel.

84 Nordyke ibid. p66

85 Interview with Roberto Loma 15.10.98, with Orestes Rios 11.10.98 and four examples in interview with Valentin Sucso 15.10.98 alone.

86 Chapter 1 pp31-33
religion from medicine. Many of the needs that drove the Aymaras to seek help would have been health-related. Often the first contact a family might have with the missionaries was through the engaging of a midwife to deliver a child or when a sick person came into town looking for care. In 1957 Mary Sloan reported that the "recently formed fellowship in Yunguyo is composed largely of those whose first introduction to the Gospel was through an illness." When the missionaries were able through medicine and/or prayer to bring relief to these pressing felt needs it must have powerfully commended their message to the Aymaras. Escobar suggests that one of the keys to the growth of the Adventist and Methodist works in Peru earlier in the century was the lack of tension in the exercise of evangelistic ministry alongside the relief of material and social need. In this period of IBFM work both ministries were carried on harmoniously side-by-side. Closely related to this medical care but a separate factor in itself was the way this care was given. Today believers around Yunguyo still remember how Sam and Mary Sloan sat on the ground, at one with the humblest of people. When Cushley arrived in Ilave in October 1948 she was shocked at the conditions in which Nurse Sloan lived (conditions which she was to share until she married McManus). Creighton was there to meet her and apologised saying it was a "terrible start" to her missionary career. There can be no doubt that the choice to live that sacrificial lifestyle spoke volumes. This was true in areas other than Chucuito, too - for example one mother remembers the impact of Kathleen Reid sending her son to the same primary school in Puno as the Peruvian children. But the greater the social distance being

87 Nordyke 1972 p57
88 The importance of the midwifery work done by the IBFM missionaries should not be underestimated. After a quarter century of service Mary Sloan estimated that 12% of Aymara peasant women died in childbirth. Further, 25% of all women reported having lost their first child during delivery (Brown 1978 pp68-69, emphasis added).
89 H+FMR 1957 p11
90 Escobar 1995-96 p18
91 This stands in contrast to the earlier period cf. chapter 1 pp26-27.
92 Interview with William and Sarah McManus 18.9.98
bridged the more powerful was the effect of the missionaries' identification with the people. To mix with the mestizo population in the towns was one thing but to treat the Aymaras with dignity was much rarer and perhaps therefore the impact was greatest in Chucuito.

For most of the new converts their first exposure to Evangelicalism was not through foreigners. Because many of the churches were begun in remote areas with a minimum of missionary involvement they took on an indigenous character from the start. The introduction of a hymn-book in Aymara was very popular although it was merely the translation of Spanish hymns (which in not a few cases were themselves translations of English hymns!). A truly indigenous Aymara hymn-book would not appear for another decade but the older book was at least a start. There is also some evidence that the rural churches adapted their practice to their local situation. The IBFM missionaries commented on the “interesting feature” of the Corpa church in that they held one of their weekly meetings on Wednesday mornings. Evidently they did not get that idea from the missionaries. In developments like these the missionaries' Baptist ecclesiology led them to encourage each congregation to take its own decisions and regulate its own life. After 1950 there was increasing use made of itinerant national evangelists most of whom were from the Chucuito province. This gave a much more authentically Aymara “feel” to the churches. This is a sufficiently important development for us to return to it later in the chapter. Perhaps the most obvious expression of the strength of indigenous initiative was in the erection of church buildings. Some examples have already been given where, before the missionaries ever arrived, a place of worship had already been constructed. These were truly indigenous in design, normally made of adobe mud bricks. The roofs were either thatched or, if

\[93\text{H+FMR 1954 p15}\]
funds allowed, corrugated metal. From the missionaries' reports it appears there were at least eight church buildings erected in the Chucuito province in the fifties (in Copani in 1951; in Yanapata in 1952 and again in 1959 because of the destruction of the earlier building; Huapaca 1954; Tarapoto 1956; Paque-paque 1956 - enlarged in 1958; and Corpa 1958). A careful search reveals no evidence whatsoever of any Irish funds being used towards the construction of any of these buildings.94

Once the Gospel was expressed in truly Aymara churches then there were features of their rural culture which facilitated the transmission of the message. Nordyke documents the "vast web" of relationships together with "the constant shifting of people" in Aymara communities.95 Family ties were the strongest relationship but even here there was movement. For example a bride usually moved from her father's household onto her father-in-law's land. Adoption or loan of children was also common because of the importance of having the optimum number of children - neither too few to help with agricultural tasks nor too many to feed.96 Then there was "an important and formalized mutual aid system" called aini. Typically a young man would go to help with the sowing, reaping, roofing or other work for another person in the community. These days of work were carefully noted and then repaid in kind when he needed help. Finally, seasonal or temporary migration was a feature of life in the altiplano. The harshness of the climate and terrain often forced members of a family to seek supplementary incomes. This

94 For example in 1951 and 1952 Sam Sloan was in contact with two groups building: Copani and Yanapata. Yet there is no mention of any mission funds for this end in the full correspondence between Sloan and both the Mission Secretary Joshua Thompson and the Mission Treasurer John Jeffrey Jnr; nor in any of Sloan's monthly financial reports (all of which are extant for these years); nor in the Treasurer's ledger; nor in the minutes of either the Field Council or the Committees in Ireland.

95 Nordyke 1972 p93 and p88 respectively.

96 E.g. Gavino Cama was "loaned" as a child in this way (interview with the author, October 1998).

97 Nordyke 1972 p92
might well bring them into contact with the Gospel in the towns and yet because the family homestead was often retained so was the channel for the Gospel to penetrate their home community. The mestizo culture in the towns of the altiplano or at the coast did not provide the same means of extension for the Gospel.

To summarise the factors outlined so far, the anxiety experienced by animistic Aymaras would have made the message of the Gospel very attractive - as long as it was credible. The experiences of answered prayer, of medical care and of treatment with dignity all would have commended the message to them. Because the message was carried into remote areas by the Aymaras themselves the churches planted were authentically indigenous. Finally, the very social fabric of the Aymara world then facilitated the spread of the Gospel from one community to the next. However, none of these mechanisms was particularly new in the 40s. In chapter two it was noted that the Adventists had been exercising an effective educational ministry in the Department of Puno since 1910. They contributed to a rising standard of education which meant that a greater number of Aymaras understood Spanish. Out of this larger pool of bilingual people certain key individuals like Cutimbo, Cruz and Cotrado were converted through the IBFM misionaries and it was largely they who carried the message to their kinsmen. But this is still insufficient to explain the timing of the breakthrough into the Aymara world because the IBFM had earlier employed at least two interpreters: Arze (from June 1937 to January 1939) and Valladares (from late 1940 to March 1943).

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98 Chapter 2 p80
99 The Peruvian government introduced an education reform programme for the Sierra in 1945. This (possibly influenced by the Adventists) adopted a model of "central schools" which in turn were surrounded by up to twenty "nuclear schools". Gifted pupils in the central schools helped transmit the knowledge they had gained to the surrounding nuclear schools. Between 1947 and 1958 the number of schools increased from 176 to 2838 and the number of scholars from 14,000 to 226,000 (Owens 1963 pp93-4). The IBFM Field Council (meeting 11-12.3.52) minuted that "the UNESCO programme in conjunction with the Peruvian government has now reached the Yunguyo district and several schools have been established". Accordingly they decided to take no further action towards establishing day schools.
In the late forties the IBFM was only one of a number of different Protestant missions which made a connection with a movement in the Aymara world. Across Lake Titicaca the Bolivian Indian Mission\(^{100}\) for the first time found numbers of Aymaras approaching their missionaries in this same period\(^{101}\). Other missions had similar experiences. The graph labelled Figure 8 is reproduced from Nordyke. It shows the growth in membership of four Protestant denominations working amongst the Aymaras in Bolivia. All three groups which had work in this period: the Adventists, the Iglesia Nacional Evangélica los Amigos (Friends) and the Bolivian Holiness Mission show an acceleration in growth in the mid to late forties. Nordyke comments that the fact that different denominations experienced this new growth at the same time shows that the cause lies not so much with the methodology of any one group as with an increasing receptivity amongst the Aymara\(^{102}\).

Brown argues that from the 1940s four factors came together to produce cultural change amongst the Peruvian Aymara on a scale not seen for centuries. To the longer term reduction in land available per capita were added for the first time large scale construction of roads connecting the altiplano with the coast\(^{103}\), the rapid growth of money-based markets instead of traditional barter and the expansion of job opportunities at the coast\(^{104}\). In Bolivia there were significant political

\(^{100}\) Later the Andes Evangelical Mission and later still merged with S.I.M.

\(^{101}\) It is important to grasp that although the area inhabited by the Aymara people is divided by the political frontier between Peru and Bolivia it is culturally and linguistically one unit. There are, of course, local variations but for Peruvian Aymaras in this period what was happening amongst Bolivian Aymaras was at least as significant to them as events amongst the Spanish-speaking political elite in Lima.

\(^{102}\) Nordyke 1972 p136

\(^{103}\) We can trace the very beginnings of motorized transport in this area in the IBFM correspondence. In March 1934 there was no road between Tacna and Puno, the journey was still "six days on horseback across a great deal of desert" (Reid to Gracey 26.3.34) but by the end of the year a vehicle had managed the journey, taking two full days (Reid to Gracey 16.11.34). By 1936 six lorry owners were carrying on trade between the towns (Reid to Gracey 24.6.36) and two years later Ilave was beginning to develop because of the growing Puno-Tacna traffic (Creighton to Gracey 7.2.38).

\(^{104}\) Brown 1978 p4 and pp136-147
Figure 8: Membership Growth of Bolivian Aymara Churches

Source: Nordyke 1972 "Figure 6"
developments. Margarita Hudspith in writing the history of the B.I.M. highlights the significance of the First National Indian Congress held in La Paz in May 1945. This Congress was convened by the Bolivian government at the instigation of the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario). This party emerged from the profound disillusionment left by the disastrous Chaco War (1932-35) in which Bolivia was heavily defeated by Paraguay. Great questions had been raised over the country's treatment of its own Indian soldiers. The MNR's contacts with the Bolivian miners' unions after the war gradually led it to take on policies orientated towards organized labour and the Indian peasantry. Accordingly 1000 "caciques", or peasant leaders, were brought together for three days in La Paz to hear Aymara and Quechua-speaking government officials "declaring the need to end the exploitation of centuries and integrate the Indians into national society as free men". Hudspith traces a number of later contacts back to an incident which occurred at the congress in 1945. In La Paz 150-200 Indians were quartered in one dormitory. The leader asked if there were any Evangelicals present and there were three who identified themselves as such. They were then asked to explain their beliefs to the others and they did so for that full day. As a result, as these delegates returned to their far-flung communities, requests for visits by missionaries began to be received by both the B.I.M. and by the Canadian Baptists based in La Paz.

It seems evident then that the growing tide of social change and political self-expression is the single most important factor in the timing of the Evangelical breakthrough into the Aymara world. Stoll examines a case where Evangelicals

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105 Though Hudspith dates the Congress in 1946 (1958 p112).
106 Klein 1969 p379. This Congress was of crucial symbolic significance as it anticipated the radical agrarian reform carried out by the MNR in 1953. This decreed the expropriation of the enormous "hacienda" farms, dividing them amongst the peasant tenants.
107 Hudspith 1958 pp112-116
made rapid gains amongst the Quechua population in Ecuador in the 1960s and
notes features which parallel the Aymara context of the late 40s and especially the
50s. "At the time the Quichua (sic) were breaking away from the landlords, opening
up to developmentalism and searching for new ways to organise themselves, here
was a new form of organization in which they could speak their own language and
run their own affairs". He calls the ensuing phenomenon, in which Evangelicals
were caught up, an "ethnic re-vitalization movement".

Before moving on we pause to consider two questions, the inter-relationship of the
socio-economic and religious dimensions of the movement amongst the Aymaras
and, secondly, the degree to which the IBFM missionaries were aware of these
issues. In the Ecuadorian case already mentioned Stoll suggests that the budding
churches were "carried on the back of a Quichua independence movement". By
contrast Escobar writes that in Bolivia "growth of Evangelical churches was at the
root of the phenomenon of social emergence of the Aymaras. The contrast
between the two metaphors reflects two different views of the relationship between
socio-economic forces on the one hand and religious affiliation on the other.

In this first period the overall numbers of converts to Protestantism were insufficient
as a proportion of the total Aymara population to be the main cause of social
change amongst them. However, if we take into account that growth amongst all
Protestant groups continued throughout the next decades, then the following
mechanisms can be suggested that support those who, like Escobar, are prepared

106 1990 p275
107 1990 p298
108 1990 p275 (emphasis added)
110 1997 p115 (emphasis added)
112 The examples given relate to converts in the IBFM-linked groups but they are intended as
illustrations of trends involving a variety of Protestant groups including the Adventists, INELA
(Quakers), Bolivian Baptists, Bolivian Indian Mission, Assemblies of God and others. Nordyke
to allow a greater significance to religious factors\textsuperscript{113}. The obstacles the Aymaras were struggling to overcome included internal factors like the fear and fatalism characteristic of an animistic worldview and external forces like hostility from the established elites. Within the Aymara communities the Baptist converts' freedom from multiple anxieties cut the root of alcoholism and reduced personal hostilities allowing new constructive relationships to be forged in the family and in the community\textsuperscript{114}. Formal IBFM involvement with literacy programmes came years later\textsuperscript{115} but there was a clear informal urge towards acquiring literacy for and through Bible reading\textsuperscript{116}. Becoming literate gave converts much greater confidence in facing the outside world\textsuperscript{117}. Instead of fatalism Evangelicals were “creating a new personality with a novel sense of self and responsibility, capable of being converted into initiative”\textsuperscript{118}. The Aymara Baptist churches were a “popular” movement in that leadership was not restricted to those with formal academic qualifications. Men like Cruz and Cáceres travelled widely and their horizons were extended. The creation of a Union of Baptist Churches - to which we shall come shortly - gave them and others experience of a project which transcended local villages. The ensuing relationships with Spanish-speaking believers also provided a new source of help
for Aymara converts when they encountered problems with the authorities\textsuperscript{119}. In the light of these and other factors it would seem that Martin and Escobar are correct to insist that the new faith was a dynamic force not only being moulded by but also acting on the wider social context\textsuperscript{120}.

The second question was the degree to which the IBFM missionaries were aware of the social context, its influence on the timing of their breakthrough into the Aymara communities and the effects that the growing churches had on their context. Here what Escobar wrote about another group captures exactly the atmosphere of the IBFM records and I cannot do better than quote his words at some length.

"Missionaries did not always perceive how their activities fit within the larger frame of the history of the country in which they worked and of the larger imperial spheres of influence within which these countries were developing. The correspondence and records of the missionaries set their action within the frame of a theological conflict between light and darkness and of an ecclesiological conflict between a dying Christendom and a living faith. For the same reason they do not always perceive the larger significance of their limited but successful efforts in evangelism, church planting, and service to the social needs of marginalised peoples. The growth of Evangelical churches was also part of the slow but steady emergence of new social actors that left behind their passive role as victims of the socioeconomic system\textsuperscript{121}."

\textsuperscript{119}The traditional way in which the Aymara had dealt with the problems of mestizo regulations and paperwork (for marriage, baptism, burial, travel, trading in the markets, etc) was to establish "compadrazco" relationships with mestizos in the towns. In return for free labour the mestizo compadre agreed to intervene to help the Aymara peasant if he ran into trouble with the town authorities (Brown 1978 pp111-113).

\textsuperscript{120}[A] new faith is able to implant new disciplines, re-order priorities, counter corruption and destructive machismo" (Martin 1990 p284, quoted in Escobar 1992 p251).

\textsuperscript{121}Escobar 1997 p113
Unawareness of these trends left the IBFM vulnerable to social changes which might radically alter the churches' relationship to the wider Aymara or Peruvian context.

The Ilave Clinic

We turn next to two very different developments, the Ilave Clinic project and the formation of a Union of Churches in Peru. The first mention of the Ilave Clinic in the Committee minutes comes in the day conferences held with the missionaries in 1947 where "the need for a simple clinic of two or three beds only" was discussed\textsuperscript{122}. That such an idea should even be considered shows how the theological atmosphere in Ireland was moving away from the Fundamentalist acrimony of the earlier period\textsuperscript{123}. By early 1948 Nurse Sloan reported to the Committee that an official in the town of Ilave had promised to make ground available if the Mission would construct a Clinic. She thought that perhaps six beds would be needed\textsuperscript{124}. The Committee gave its approval in principle but what gave the project a real boost was Gracey's retirement. Wanting to commemorate his contribution to the IBFM the Committee decided to name the Clinic after him. Expectations then rose rapidly. They now calmly discussed Nurse Sloan's revised proposal of two general wards of six beds each, six private rooms, two bathrooms, kitchen and wash-house as well as a store-room and houses for the missionaries\textsuperscript{125}. The double emotive appeal of the need of the Indians and the memorial to Gracey ensured that Irish Baptists gave generously, almost regardless of the details of the project. By the end of the year £1,879 had been received. This

\textsuperscript{122}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 4.7.47
\textsuperscript{123}Bosch 1991 pp402-8 chronicles the developments in conservative Evangelical thinking towards integrating the "two mandates" (the one spiritual, the other social).
\textsuperscript{124}Minutes IBFM Executive and General Committees 28.4.48
\textsuperscript{125}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 8.9.48
was a considerable sum coming on top of a record £4,000\textsuperscript{126} in subscriptions and made 1948 an exceptional year as far as income (see Figure 9). However, this money almost became an embarrassment to the IBFM over the following years as one obstacle after another was encountered to the implementation of the scheme. In the first years the British Treasury would not permit the IBFM to transfer such large sums abroad. Then difficulties were encountered in the purchase of the properties, though eventually extensive grounds (100m by 100m) were acquired on a prime site in the heart of Ilave town\textsuperscript{127}. The most serious difficulty however was the lack of a doctor. Year after year the Committee appealed in vain for a doctor\textsuperscript{128}. (The legal requirement to "revalidate" their degree in Peru was one considerable obstacle discouraging some). In Ilave resentment gradually replaced the initial good-will because the townspeople felt that the Mission had not lived up to its promises. At least some of the missionaries felt that the properties should be sold or even given back to the town\textsuperscript{129}. After interminable discussions both by the Field Council and the Committee in Belfast it was decided in 1957 that "a mobile clinic be adopted by the Mission as an acceptable and definite alternative to the Ilave Clinic, such a mobile clinic to be purchased, equipped and commissioned only when a Doctor is forthcoming"\textsuperscript{130}. Dr Peter Hughes finally arrived in November 1968. For eighteen months he ran a small clinic in the town and drove out to the surrounding hamlets in a ministry which was very popular amongst the villagers. However, years before he arrived the Peruvian government had opened a basic

\textsuperscript{126}The equivalent figures today would be: £40,000 and £84,000.

\textsuperscript{127}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 27.9.50

\textsuperscript{128}This is probably the only time the Committee ever launched a major IBFM initiative rather than facilitating an individual to pursue their vision as happened with the Oehrings in 1926 and with Hosford in 1928. The memory of the negative experience with the Ilave project probably was one factor which led the IBFM to revert strongly to its earlier model by the time new initiatives were being considered in the late 60s, see chapter 5 p203.

\textsuperscript{129}A handwritten note by Joshua Thompson on an interview with the Mitchells (probably at Executive Committee 17.6.54) mentions that the deeds of one of the purchased properties stated that if no clinic buildings were erected it would then revert to the first owner at the original price.

\textsuperscript{130}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 10.6.57
“medical post” right next door to the IBFM site in Ilave, so even when implemented this scheme did not find universal approval, and it had an ignominious end\textsuperscript{131}.

The lessons to be learned from the Ilave project seem almost too obvious to be enumerated. There is a sharp contrast between the unrealised institutional prestige expected from the proposed Clinic and the unheralded but extremely effective work carried on in homes and villages by the IBFM nurses and midwives. Yet the expectation of heavy expenditure once the Clinic was inaugurated made the Mission reluctant to commit funds elsewhere. During this period the IBFM accumulated growing cash reserves not only because of the Ilave Fund but also because income regularly exceeded expenditure (see Figure 9). Yet when Sam Sloan told the Committee he wanted to buy a "pickup" truck they refused him not only the funds but even permission to appeal to the churches\textsuperscript{132}. Friends at home raised the money for him privately\textsuperscript{133} and the vehicle turned out to be an excellent investment. It allowed Sam to visit otherwise inaccessible groups in the country but it also enabled his wife Mary to get to some of her patients. In other words it facilitated the ministry to the very needs that the much more expensive Ilave Clinic was intended to meet. Thankfully there were other new initiatives which were wiser in the years covered by this chapter.

**The formation of the UEBCiSP**

In July 1950 delegates from the four constituted churches in Tacna, Juliaca, Puno and Ilave and from the congregation at Paque-paque formed the “Unión de Iglesias Evangélicas Bautistas en el Sur del Perú” (Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru, henceforth the Union or UEBCiSP). Two factors had convinced the

\textsuperscript{131} See chapter 5 p177
\textsuperscript{132} Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 30.10.52
\textsuperscript{133} Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 14.5.53
missionaries that the time was right for this step. The first was simply the growing number of congregations\textsuperscript{134}. It was only natural to consider how these churches should inter-relate. The second factor was that the number of potential national evangelists was also increasing. Cotrado was already engaged in colportage work. Cruz was helping the missionaries regularly in preaching at the fairs and in speaking around the emerging churches. But there was an obvious need for a better mechanism than for the Mission to get involved again in the direct employment of nationals. Thus the first mention of the possibility of a Union in the minutes of the Field Council was paired with a proposal to the Committee in Ireland for financial support of such a Union to the end of employing national workers\textsuperscript{135}. The original Constitution seems to have been adapted by Creighton and McManus from that of another Baptist Union in the North of Peru\textsuperscript{136}. Sr Luis Bravo of the Juliaca church was elected as the first President, Sr Nuñez de la Torre Treasurer\textsuperscript{137} and McManus became Secretary. The Union Council was formed of these three officers with four others\textsuperscript{138}. This Council suddenly provided a forum where missionaries met as equals with Peruvian believers to discuss the future of the work in the region. This was underlined in 1952 when all three Officers of the Union were Peruvians. Sra Sanchez de Murazzi from the Puno church was elected Secretary and joined Bravo and Nuñez de la Torre.

The Annual Convention was normally held for three days around National Independence Day (28th July). These meetings were eagerly anticipated. They

\textsuperscript{134}In addition to those named there were also groups meeting in Corpa, Yanapata, Copani and Kasani.

\textsuperscript{135}Minutes IBFM Field Council 22.11.49

\textsuperscript{136}Minutes of IBFM Executive Committee Interview with McManus 29.1.54. Draft versions of the Constitution were sent back and forth to and from Ireland but it is unclear whether any of the extant drafts became the Constitution adopted.

\textsuperscript{137}He was the Treasurer of the Juliaca church, a relatively wealthy landowner and a generous giver.

\textsuperscript{138}Murazzi and Bravo 26.11.52. Two of the seven could be women. The new Constitution adopted in 1962 gives a Council of seven elected members and three IBFM missionaries (for as long as the Mission provided financial support).
provided the opportunity for concentrated teaching and for the exercise of the believers' gifts and abilities. Each night different churches were in charge of the meetings and these frequently included musical items which were very popular. Further these Conventions allowed believers belonging to small isolated churches to have fellowship with other believers from miles away. In this respect these meetings provided a "functional substitute"\(^{130}\) for the seasonal fiestas in the traditional Aymara calendar. The system of hosting of the Convention by one church one year and then everyone going elsewhere the next year can be seen as "a good adaptation of the ancient principle of a\(\text{ini}\)"\(^{140}\). The business sessions were also an important boost to the process of indigenization of the work. Now delegates from the churches met not only to receive from others but to make decisions themselves. This underlined the sense that the churches did not belong to the missionaries but to the converts. It was at the Annual Conventions that churches were formally received into the Union, the Council having approved their written application earlier in the year. It is sometimes difficult to reconstruct with precision the exact years of accession of particular churches from the extant IBFM records\(^{141}\). Nevertheless what is absolutely clear is that there was rapid numerical growth (see Figure 10). The Union began in 1950 with four churches and one congregation. By 1955 there were 12 churches in the Union together with a number of congregations. By 1962 this had grown to 20 churches and eight congregations\(^{142}\).

In its first year of existence the UEBCISP offered employment to three workers. Faustino Cotrado was already engaged in the colportage work which he would

\(^{130}\)Nordyke 1972 p141  
\(^{140}\)Nordyke ibid. p142  
\(^{141}\)N.b. as highlighted in the Introduction it proved impossible whilst in Peru to contact officers of the UEBCISP. The analysis offered here can therefore only be of a tentative nature.  
\(^{142}\)FMN in IB Dec 1962
Figure 10: Growth of the UEBCiSP 1950 - 1977
carry out with such effectiveness through until 1959. Amanda Bravo was another effective worker in the two years she was employed by the Union. In Juliaca she built up the different meetings of the church, visited assiduously and made valuable contacts with the female prisoners in the town jail. Both in that town and elsewhere she organised children's meetings in the day and spoke to adults at night. The Juliaca church had virtually died before her return so many years later she counted it as the first of six that God used her to plant. The year Amanda was forced to leave Juliaca the Union began a policy of paying half the fees for some students to attend the Sicuani Bible Institute (run by EUSA almost 200 miles away) in exchange for an agreement that they would work for two years when they finished. Between 1954 and 1956 (when the Institute was closed) five young men took advantage of this. In 1958 three of them were still working for the Union alongside Cotrado. Juan Humiri was a quiet but persistent colporteur from Tacna. Rufino Chicuyo had become the leader at Paque-paque, probably when Cruz moved back to Puno. Juan Mandamientos was from the extremely high altitudes of Chichillapi. That year the Union also took on Gerardo Cáceres who, as we have seen, was showing promise as an itinerant evangelist in the Huapaca / Taraputo area. The minutes of the Union Council show strategic thinking in the careful location of the five men in different areas. These workers multiplied the centres that could be covered and accelerated the indigenization of the work. Further they

143 The other two, Tomás Cruz and Ruperto Villegas, remained in the Union's employment for less than a year, both resigning in February 1951 (McManus to Forbes 7.3.51).
144 The date she began is unclear. The minutes of the Field Council held 10.4.53 refer to her having concluded her probationary year which would indicate not later than April 1952. She had resigned by April 1954.
145 NB in IB May 1953 p8
146 E.g. in Puno (NB in IB May 1951 p8). Of all the female workers Bravo was the one who took the most public role in ministry - although she worked for the UEBCISP, not the IBFM.
147 Interview with the author in Arequipa 1.10.98
148 Reported in the Minutes of the IBFM Field Council 2.8.54
149 Insert in Irish Baptist June 1955
150 Leaflet by Kathleen Reid God calls an Aymara Indian to serve him on the shores of Lake Titicaca.
151 R&S 1952 p25
152 Minutes of Council of UEBCISP 29.7.58 (Courtesy Copy sent to Ireland)
did it on allowances which "all recognised were not adequate". This was confirmed to me by Gerardo Cáceres. He said, however, that they served happily knowing that the Union had limited financial resources. It would have been much more difficult for this situation to have been accepted if these workers had been directly employed by a foreign (and comparatively wealthy) mission.

The Missionaries, the Union and the Churches

Certain questions arise about how the missionaries viewed their relationship to the national workers and to the new Union. It was the missionaries who originally suggested to the Committee in Ireland that they provide a subsidy for the employment of the national workers. Yet once the Committee agreed the missionaries showed a marked reluctance to pass on funds to the Union. In Ireland it was quickly noted that one of the reasons given by people for not accepting the offer of Union employment or for leaving service prematurely was that the allowance was insufficient. The Committee accordingly requested in 1953 that the missionaries ask the Union Council to raise allowances, and granted £100 towards this. The missionaries acknowledged receipt of the money but decided it would not be wise to mention this yet to the Union as "it might have a detrimental effect on giving by the local churches". Three years later the Committee heard that the Union was considering employing Rufino Chicuyo on completion of his studies. They urged the (missionaries') Field Council to "press for adequate remuneration" for him. Although they heard the Committee's suggestion of a monthly allowance of $400 per month, the Union decided on the lower figure of

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153Minutes IBFM Field Council 10.4.53
154One example is Ruperto Villegas (McManus to Forbes 7.3.51). Another is Yolanda Murazzi who felt the $200/month she was offered to be insufficient for her to repay her father for his supporting her through the Seminary (McVicker to Thompson 4.5.53).
155Reported in the minutes of IBFM Executive Committee 10.9.53; cf. also a similar decision in the minutes of Field Council 26.10.54
156Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 17.5.56
$350. This was reported back to the next meeting of the Field Council by the IBFM representatives on the Union Council. They then unblushingly voted with the other missionaries to hold back that year's subsidy "until it was needed". It seems impossible that if the Union had known that these funds had arrived it would not have had an influence on the level at which they set Chicuyo's allowance. These examples show that the missionaries treated the Union Council as very much a junior partner. The missionaries also assumed in the early years that they had authority over the national workers. Thus one of them wrote: "I sent [Humiri] to visit both Moquegua and Llo". To be fair by 1958 the location of the five national workers in different areas was clearly done by the Union Council rather than by the missionaries. Equality of status was a pattern of thinking that had to be learned.

There are also some questions as to the specific form the Union was given. Because it was created by Irish Baptists it is unsurprising that it was similar in structure to the Baptist Union of Ireland with completely autonomous local churches. Because it was created by missionaries rather than pastors it is perhaps also unsurprising that the UEBCiSP's constitution explicitly defined it to be an evangelistic and missionary agency. The English translation of the draft Constitution gives three main aims of the Union: to maintain communion among associated churches; to promote evangelism; and to help missionary enterprises in agreement with the principles of the Union. The Spanish Statutes adopted in 1962 when the Union gained legal status give an even greater prominence to evangelism. Preaching the Gospel was then elevated to the first aim of the Union. The second was to maintain Christian worship which was explained to mean "the

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157 Minutes IBFM Field Council 31.7.56
158NB in IB March 1957 p11
159Note that no copy of the Spanish constitution definitely adopted in 1950 is extant in Belfast. When the English translation of the draft Constitution is in agreement with the second Spanish constitution of 1962 it is a reasonable assumption that they reflect the first Spanish constitution.
stimulation of fellowship, co-operation and missionary spirit amongst the churches\textsuperscript{160}. The last two aims were to engage in charitable work and to maintain such institutions as were necessary to carry out the other aims. There was a notable lack of any provision for the training of pastors or for their support. The only paid workers envisaged were itinerant evangelists\textsuperscript{161}.

Two particular charges can be laid at the door of the missionaries as regards the creation of the Union. Firstly, they imported a denominational structure from a completely alien cultural context. But secondly, in doing so they showed a remarkable ignorance of their own background and history. The Baptist Union of Ireland was indeed an association of completely autonomous churches. But this was only possible because other structures already existed (in the form of the Irish Baptist Home Mission) which provided support to small, new or struggling churches towards the financial support of pastors\textsuperscript{162}. The fifth rule of the IBHM regulated “grants to churches, pastors, evangelists and agents” and there were a variety of levels of assistance that could be given to new or struggling churches. In Ireland the creation of the IBHM preceded that of the BUOI and there could be no doubt that the Union was built on the Home Mission and not vice-versa\textsuperscript{163}. The missionaries put the cart before the horse when they created an association of

\textsuperscript{160}Reglamento Interno Título 1, Artículo 2o (my translation).
\textsuperscript{161}Reglamento Interno Título V, Capítulo 1, Artículo 44o, (my translation) cf. article 2 of the English draft of 1950.
\textsuperscript{162}Chapter 1 showed that relationships between the IBFM and EUSA were strained when John Ritchie organized the churches of the Iglesia Evangélica Peruana into presbyteries and synods, even though he also passed on a commitment to believer’s baptism. Irish Baptists seem to have paid little attention to his motivation which was that he believed that without some supporting structure “independent churches outside major centres of population could not prosper in Peru” (Kessler 1980 p182 footnote 24, my translation).
\textsuperscript{163}In Ireland the forerunner of the IBHM, the “Irish Mission”, was formed in 1814 when there were only five Baptist churches (Oakley 1970-71 p55). The Union was created in 1895, built on the foundation of the Irish Baptist Association. Whilst this had existed in the eighteenth century it had completely lapsed by 1821 and was not revived until 1862 (Thompson 1995 pp3-6, 57-8 and 64).
autonomous churches first before any consideration of where a pastorate for these churches would come from. Initially the missionaries seem to have assumed that they would provide whatever pastoral functions the nascent churches required. However, over time the UEBCiSP churches have shown the effects of a lack of trained national pastors. It seems that the national evangelists never baptised converts. That was a job reserved for the missionary. Even more surprising is the practice of the churches with regard to the other ordinance, the Lord's Supper. Traditionally Irish Baptist churches have practised an "open table", i.e. one not restricted to baptised members only. By contrast the practice amongst the churches of the UEBCiSP has been of a "closed table". It is not clear where the source of this policy lies. It may have originated simply with Reid's precedent in the establishment of the Tacna church when he delayed the first celebration of communion until the day of the baptism of the first converts. Certainly the following pattern is encountered repeatedly in the records: the Peruvian evangelist visited and preached and converts were won. Then after some time a visit by a missionary was arranged and he baptised the converts and celebrated communion with them. The problem that arises is that these churches tended to associate the celebration of communion with the person of the missionary rather than with the event of the first baptisms. In traditional Aymara society magico-religious rites were carried out by

164 By contrast one of the three "Objects" of the BUOI was the "promotion of measures for educating young men suitable for the work of the ministry" (Handbook containing the Revised Rules and Constitution of all Organisations under the Control of the Baptist Union of Ireland as adopted at the Annual Assembly of the Union on May 29th 1929, V - Objects of the Union p4). The other two objects were 1) To promote fellowship among all the Baptist Churches in Ireland and 2) To afford opportunity for conference, for joint action on questions affecting the welfare of the Churches and co-operation of the Churches in the advancement of our distinctive principles in Ireland.

165 See the article by Pastor McNabb in IB November 1956 p3, cf. the articles by Pastors Boggs and Kerr in IB November 1962 pp10-11. The most recent example given there of an Irish Baptist Church practising Close Communion was Carrickfergus at the turn of the century.

166 In the case of the administration of the ordinances there is no doubt that the missionary was a "he".
the appropriate practitioner, the magician. The Catholic rites of mass and baptism seemed similar, being carried out only by the priest. Sadly, it seems this same view was transferred onto the IBFM missionary. Even in 1998 the church where Cáceres (one of the Union evangelists for many years) is a member do not celebrate communion. On being asked why not the response was that "there was no-one worthy enough"167. The two ordinances have been used as examples only because they are easily documented areas of church life, not because they are the only areas of weakness.

So the verdict on the birth of the UEBCiSP is a mixed one. The fact of its creation was an undeniable and significant step forward. At the popular level the annual conventions were eagerly anticipated and the ministry of the itinerant evangelists greatly appreciated. Humble peasants were now involved in making decisions which affected not only their own villages but communities great distances away. They could be elected to office and be entrusted with significant budgets. These developments were part of the reason the establishment of Baptist churches was so closely allied with the wider trends in the Aymara world. However, the lack of clear provision for the future pastoring of the churches, the somewhat paternalistic attitude towards the Union itself on the part of the missionaries, and their lack of virtually any reflection on their relation to Peruvian society did not augur well for the longer-term future.

Overall the IBFM work looked very different in 1959 than it had in 1946. The Mission had withdrawn from Argentina, leaving a number of strong churches behind. A second wave of missionaries had been commissioned as the first generation began to retire. In Peru the slow hard grind of winning individual

167 Interview with the author 14.10.98 on the road from Huapaca to Puno.
Spanish-speaking converts in the towns had been overtaken by a period of rapid growth in the rural Aymara villages of the altiplano. In this process a transition was made from a "missionary Protestantism" to truly popular, indigenous churches. A Union of Churches had come into being and was playing an increasing role in the direction of the work. At home too the IBFM's affairs were in new and secure hands. The financial situation was healthy and the Mission enjoyed greater esteem among the churches than ever before. Still today Irish Baptists instinctively regard this period as one of the high points in the history of the Mission.
Chapter Four: The Turbulent Sixties (1960-67)

In Peru, as in most of Latin America, the 1960s were a time of great social change and of political turmoil. The Presidential elections of 1962 in Peru produced no overall winner. The votes were split three ways between a right-wing candidate, a relatively unknown populist called Belaúnde and Haya de la Torre, the leader and founder of the APRA. Out of fear that Haya might emerge from the political negotiations as President the army intervened (as it had done for identical reasons thirty years before)\(^1\). It announced that it was annulling the elections and called new ones for 1963. These were won by Belaúnde. It was his lot to preside over a period of increasing civil strife. There was a sharp increase in the number of attacks by peasants on large landholdings like the sugar plantations. In the highlands of central Peru these attacks began to take the more sustained form of a Marxist insurrection under Hugo Blanco, which can be seen as a forerunner of the “Sendero Luminoso” (Shining Path) movement of the 1980s\(^2\). Belaúnde was forced to send in the army to quell the disturbances. Keen quotes one source who says that between 1963 and 1966 8,000 peasants were killed, 3,500 taken prisoner, 19,000 forced to abandon their homes and 14,000 hectares of land were burned\(^3\).

Political unrest could only encourage the mass migration from rural areas into the cities which had already begun due to the expansion of the population and which was encouraged by the development of the transport network. In the south of Peru migration led to rapid growth of the towns in the coastal desert like Tacna and Ilo. In 1952 Reid reported Tacna’s population as 14,000 and growing\(^4\). By 1963 Hunter

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\(^1\) See chapter 2 p44.
\(^2\) E.g. this seems to be Gonzalez Manrique’s view in chapter 4.5.2 of his 1989 book.
\(^3\) Keen 1996 p397. This area lay to the north of where the IBFM workers were located. There was some unrest in the South also, stimulated by the ongoing effects of the Bolivian radical agrarian reform of 1952, but the situation there does not seem to have been as serious as in Central Peru.
\(^4\) Minutes of IBFM General Committee 5.3.52
called Tacna "a quite modern town of about 30,000 inhabitants". Four years later McVicker quoted a figure of 40,000. The migration trend from the highlands towards the coast was given a strong boost by the development of the massive copper mines at Toquepala not far from Moquegua. Exploitation of these reserves (reputed at the time to be possibly in the top ten largest in the world) began in earnest in 1960. By then up to 10,000 labourers had already been working for 4 years constructing a new railway line, a smelting plant and a new port at Ilo. Once construction ceased the number of workers dropped but the Mining Corporation remained one of the most important employers in South Peru. In the letters from Reid and McVicker we get glimpses of the atmosphere in the miners' camp. Large amounts of Communist literature were circulating - some of it coming from Cuba. The Company immediately dismissed any worker heard talking about Communism, but on the quiet the men were collecting signatures to prove that there was a widespread desire for Union representation. There had already been violent clashes over a strike by 3,000 workers in 1957 which ended with the police firing live ammunition and killing two workers.

In the country as a whole there was growing anti-foreign (and especially anti-American) feeling. The International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company, became a cause célèbre. For years there had been vigorous lobbying across the political spectrum for the nationalization of the oil

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5 1963 FMAR p7
6 1966 R&S p21
7 Macquigg's book on Baptist Camps includes a photograph of a headline in a Peruvian newspaper in 1959 which made this claim (Macquigg 1993 p26).
8 IBFM NB in IB June 1958 quotes a figure of 9,600.
9 IBFM NB in IB October 1956
10 IBFM NB in IB October 1960. Keen writes that "miners were traditionally one of the most organized and most class-conscious groups of workers in South America" (1996 p564)
11 Reid to Thompson 7.10.60
12 Reid to Thompson 8.11.57
13 Now the Exxon Corporation.
industry. Belaúnde had included amongst his election pledges a promise to settle this issue once and for all within 90 days of taking office but he was unable to keep this promise. Worse, when he eventually reached an agreement with the IPC it was universally denounced in Peru as being far too lenient. The scandal was heightened by the "loss" of the page of the contract which specified the price of compensation to the North American company\textsuperscript{14}. This "Pact of Talara" lost the government its remaining credibility. The strength of anti-foreign feeling did not go unnoticed by the IBFM workers, especially when it involved missionaries. In Central Peru a bomb was thrown at the house of a worker with a Swiss Mission which ran a farm, a school, a dispensary and an orphanage. Painted on the wall of the house was "No queremos esta clase de ayuda" ("We don't want this kind of help")\textsuperscript{15}. Despite these upheavals in the social and political environment the IBFM was more preoccupied in the 1960s by problems within.

In late 1959 the IBFM employed only nine missionaries. There had not been so few since the War - and at that time they had been supplemented by up to nine directly employed national workers. It had been 25 years since the total number of IBFM workers was less than ten. Their numbers had reduced sharply since 1956. Doña Rosa and Mrs Hosford had both died. The Bennetts and the Harkins had retired. The McManuses had been forced to retire early because of the ill-health of their son. Unfortunately some new missionaries recently commissioned had to withdraw from the IBFM staff, too. Brian and Margaret Thompson had to return to Ireland after only a few years as their son was born with a congenital heart condition. The IBFM lost another new missionary, Doreen McFadden, through marriage - just as

\textsuperscript{14}Keen 1996 p397

\textsuperscript{15}NFP in IB August 1965. Lila Marks recalls people shouting "Yankee go home!" after her in the streets in Puno. Also she generally encountered a hostile reaction in the private wards of the Puno hospital where she worked as a nurse until the patients discovered that she was not American (interview with the author 27.7.99).
they had gained three in the thirties in the same way. Not surprisingly the missionaries who remained began to feel the strain. In 1959 John McVicker had trouble with his blood pressure and so had to leave the high altitudes. He and his wife Mary transferred to Moquegua in the coastal desert to take over the fledgling work there from the Thompsons. A year later when the Mitchells went on furlough there was no missionary to replace them in Puno.

Against this backdrop the sailing of John and Regina Lloyd for Peru in March 1961 was a happy and welcome occasion. They seemed to be the start of a "third wave" of missionaries. The Lloyds were followed within six months by Robert and Joan Hamilton and Miss Elizabeth ("Lila") Marks. Further reinforcements were sent in January 1963: Stanley and Dorothy Black and Miss Muriel Hunter. Eight missionaries were commissioned in less than two years. This was an even more concentrated surge in the missionaries' numbers than had occurred in 1947-50. There were more to come: Ken and Eva Needham in 1965, and the following year a long-awaited Mission Doctor: Peter Hughes, together with his wife Betty.

Unfortunately the IBFM never managed to integrate these missionaries fully. Instead of gradually assuming the leadership of the work as the older missionaries retired, all twelve of these "third wave" missionaries returned to Ireland before the end of the missionary career of the Sloans and the Mitchells. Most of them had left even before the McVickers retired in 1968. Sadly, although health and other circumstances played a part, one of the main causes of these losses was conflict on the field. In the IBFM records for this period there is comparatively little information on the state of the Baptist churches and even less on what was

16Thompson 1995 p142. Cf. comments on the numbering of the "waves" of missionaries in chapter 1 p11 footnote 10.
happening in Peruvian society at large. This shows the extent to which they are dominated by the internal conflict. It also illustrates what was perhaps the most significant impact of this crisis, the intensification of the already existing tendency for the IBFM missionaries to be obsessed with events within the Mission rather than observing the crucial happenings outside. That said, we turn to the course and causes of the conflict.

The Conflict and Three Possible Causes

The main milestones in the development of the conflict during 1962 and 1963 were the meetings of the Field Council. This body brought the missionaries together three times a year to discuss Mission business. In July 1963 the missionaries were due to meet together immediately after the Union Convention but they did not get that far. During the Business Session at the Convention, a national worker who worked under Mitchell’s supervision was accused of unethical practices in connection with his colportage work and the Union received his resignation. A particularly angry confrontation between Mitchell and Hamilton followed and this proved to be the last straw. Instead of attending Field Council, six of the new missionaries: John and Gina Lloyd, Bertie and Joan Hamilton, Lila Marks and Muriel Hunter, tendered their resignation “en masse” in a letter to Joshua Thompson dated 29th July 1963. They gave as their reason the “spiritual condition” of the missionary staff, their “lack of unity” and the general unwillingness to “recognise sin”. In the letter they stated that they still believed that God had called them to Peru and specifically that they had “no intention of returning to Ireland” citing both the “great need” and wide open “doors of opportunity” as reasons for staying. The letter made no specific demands but by acting in concert these missionaries evidently intended to force the Mission to take action. Lloyd wrote a few days later: “you, Pastor Thompson, as Secretary of the Mission, are the only
person who is in a position to rectify things on the field, and your presence is
needed as soon as it is humanly possible for you to travel to Peru"17. Faced with a
de facto split in the Mission the Council of the Baptist Union of Ireland had little
alternative but to make Thompson available to visit Peru. He and the Mission
Treasurer, John McCullough, duly flew out at the end of September for an
intensive round of interviews and meetings with all the missionaries.

It should be noted that not all the missionaries were identified with one or other of
the camps emerging in the dispute. Although Stanley Black knew the Lloyds and
the Hamiltons from their time at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow, he and his
wife Dorothy tried to remain neutral - although this led to their being accused by
some of the other "newcomers" of siding with the older missionaries. Not all the
experienced missionaries were directly involved either. A letter which contained a
list of criticisms of the older workers also bemoaned the fact that "the one man
from whom one could seek advice and council is unfortunately at home at this time
and that is of course John McVicker18". It is not coincidental that the crucial
confrontations occurred when both McVicker and Reid were in Ireland. In
personality McVicker was less confrontational than some of his fellow-missionaries.
Reid could certainly be inflammatory but, because he had his own disagreements
with some of the other older missionaries, the two camps were less distinctly drawn
when the Field Council met under his leadership.

17 Lloyd to Thompson 8.8.63
18 Hunter to Thompson 8.8.63
Thompson and McCullough organized eight days of intensive ministry of the Word and prayer and exhaustively mediated in the many different strained relationships. As a result of these meetings they were able to convince the six to withdraw their collective resignation, although they agreed that any of the individuals were at liberty to reinstate their resignation and that the date of their notice would be taken as the date of the original letter. When they reflected on the course of action to be taken they recommended to the Committee in Ireland that the Field Council be suspended for a year and administration on the field vested in Reid and McVicker once the latter arrived back from Ireland (until that time Mary Sloan was to deputise). This was designed to “give a breathing space and to minimise friction which had been aggravated by the form and function of the Field Council.” All the missionaries were to accept these proposals in writing. After some hesitations Marks and Hunter did accede to this, as did all the older workers. However, perhaps to the Committee’s surprise, the Lloyds and the Hamiltons never did. Eventually their connection with the Mission ended in March 1964. The two couples claimed they were effectively being fired. The Committee’s view was that it was merely accepting their resignations first written the previous summer. By an overwhelming majority the Assembly of the Baptist Union of Ireland held in May ratified the actions of the Council and of the Mission Committee.

When trying to evaluate the causes of this sad episode the first thing that becomes clear is that the circumstances of the missionaries in 1962 and 1963 tended to magnify and escalate any disagreements into open conflict. The initial period of settling in and language acquisition is commonly frustrating for missionaries recently arrived on the field, partly because the “older missionaries are busy but

19 Primary Report on Field Problems presented to the General Purposes Committee by the Mission Secretary and Treasurer following their visit to the Field September 24 - October 10 1963" p3
20 Thompson handwritten notes for address to Assembly May 1964. The extent to which inadequacies
new missionaries are jobless and speechless\textsuperscript{21}. But a variety of factors made it particularly difficult for the new missionaries to settle in. Gina Lloyd had two complicated pregnancies\textsuperscript{22} in their first two years in Peru. This in turn kept the question of the Lloyds' ultimate location in the air for an unusually long time. Once Gina was pregnant, medical opinion was against her travelling to the altitude of Puno (where the Field Council had planned to send them on completion of their language study\textsuperscript{23}). So, in a change of plans, they moved instead to Tacna. But a series of medical blunders caused them to hurry back to Lima for the delivery of Gina's second child. Lila Marks' location was also affected by her health as her asthma reacted badly to Lima's humid climate. In contrast to the Lloyds, the effect for her was a hastened departure from Lima to Puno. The Hamiltons had to move several times too. In their case it was "mainly caused through the premature end of the carefully-planned arrangements for language study in Lima\textsuperscript{24}. As a result the Hamiltons were sent for a few months to Tacna and then transferred to Puno to look for a sphere of service in the Sierra\textsuperscript{25}. One side effect of the forced reconsideration of future locations was a concentration of missionaries in certain locations, especially in Puno. In early 1963 there were seven missionaries in Puno\textsuperscript{26}. In this environment of forced interaction and frustrating uncertainties it is not surprising that there should have been occasional frictions and misunderstandings. If these were the only problems the situation should have naturally improved as the workers entered new spheres of service. The rapid


\textsuperscript{22}It was thought the first baby might need a blood transfusion, though this was not in the end required (Lloyd to Thompson 8.5.62). The second birth was a breach delivery (Lloyd to Thompson 13.5.63).

\textsuperscript{23}Minutes IBFM Field Council 11.4.61 and 31.7.61

\textsuperscript{24}NB in IB October 1962 p10. Arrangements had been made for Wycliffe Bible Translators to include them in their language training for their own new staff. For internal reasons Wycliffe had to retract their offer.

\textsuperscript{25}The Lloyds and the Hamiltons could not be allocated permanently to Tacna because this location was needed for either the Reids or the McVickers, neither of whom could spend any length of time at high altitude.

\textsuperscript{26}Hugh and Sadie Mitchell, Robert and Joan Hamilton, Lila Marks, and Stanley and Dorothy Black.
deterioration rather than improvement in relations shows that the causes of the growing conflict lay deeper than merely difficult circumstances.

Contemporary explanations of the crisis emphasized one or more of three classes of problems. Firstly, it could not be a coincidence that difficulties had arisen soon after the arrival of new missionaries. All six of the signatories to the letter were "newcomers" to the field. The "generation gap" between the older workers and this third wave of missionaries must have been a contributing factor. Secondly, the IBFM was in the middle of an administrative re-organisation. It seemed obvious to think that this had had an influence. A third class of problems had to do with personal relationships.

Joshua Thompson mentioned all three issues in a pastoral circular letter he wrote on the 21st June 1963 in a (failed) attempt to forestall the crisis. The main thrust of the letter addressed the "difficulties and problems.. caused by the process of incorporating 'the newcomers' to the Field into the pattern of the work." On the one hand, he wrote, the established missionaries had to accept that "with the coming of fresh blood on to the Staff changes are inevitable". These changes should not be resisted but welcomed because these new missionaries would enable the Mission to expand its area of activities. More importantly the newcomers had been given to the Mission by the Lord "in answer to prayer on our part and obedience to Him on theirs. They have therefore an inalienable right to be fitted into the framework of Mission activities. And if the framework is too rigid then it must be altered". On the other hand the newcomers had "a clear duty to adapt themselves with patience and grace to the pattern and demands of the work". Due weight had to be given to "established practices which have grown out of past experience, and which cannot be set aside unless it is shown that they have outlived their usefulness and until we
have something better to put in their place”.

In July 1963 seven out of the eight “newcomers” were between 25 and 29 years old. There was a distinct gap between them and the other missionaries not only in physical age but in their perception of each other: Mary Sloan even referred generically to the six missionaries who had resigned as “the young people”. In this regard it is unfortunate that the missionaries who had been commissioned in the 1950s, like the Thompsons, were unable to stay on the field as they might have been able to bridge the gap somewhat. Where the two generations differed most was in their expectations. This can be illustrated in a variety of contexts. The younger missionaries had much higher expectations of home and family life. For example when John Lloyd had to choose at one point between spending some weeks alone in Puno investigating options for future work or else returning to Lima to be with his pregnant wife he felt it was his “responsibility” to be with Gina. Stanley Reid was sharply critical of this decision at the time and again later, writing that John “went rushing back to Lima” because of “some little fall [Gina] had had”. In the midst of a dispute 30 years earlier Reid had written to Creighton: “I have always put the Mission first - then my wife and family”. He had not told Creighton that Kathleen was pregnant because he did not want this to influence their location and because, he said, “I wanted to prove to you that I could carry on the work with my wife dangerously sick in hospital .. [and] when Paul was born I did carry on the work without dropping a single meeting”. Whether or not this was the

27John Lloyd was 28, Gina 26, Robert Hamilton 27, Joan 25, Lila Marks 31, Muriel Hunter 27, Stanley and Dorothy Black 29 and 25 respectively.

28In the interview with Joshua Thompson and John McCullough in Tacna on October 1 1963 Sadie Mitchell volunteered the information that she was going through the menopause.

29Mary Sloan to Thompson 18.11.63

30Lloyd to Thompson 6.2.62

31Lloyd to Thompson 9.2.62

32Reid to Thompson 19.9.63

33Reid to Creighton 14.11.38
model Kathleen Reid would have preferred it was certainly not the way the younger couples expected to live.

Another example emerged from the Field Council's decision that the Lloyds should move to Yunguyo to live alongside the Sloans for nine months and then take over from them there. In some correspondence between the couples about living arrangements the Lloyds stated that they felt it was not a good idea for both couples to share one property. Mary Sloan did not see why they should have a problem and wrote plainly about the conditions they should expect in Yunguyo. For example, there was "no water except in the street and lavatory facilities are nil - we use a box covered with oilcloth and a five gallon drum below. This we empty into a special hole on the property." The Lloyds' reservations must have been due at least in part to the tensions between the couples (the letters were written only weeks after Thompson and McCullough's trip). But from the older missionaries' letters it seems that they thought that the living conditions played a part - and resented this. It probably seemed to them that the younger couple were rejecting as beneath them a house that it had taken the Sloans a lot of work - and sacrifice - to make their home.

The two generations also thought differently on issues affecting their ministry. This may be partly because the new recruits had been more exposed to missiological thinking during their training. Virtually all of them criticised a lack of overall

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34Gina Lloyd to Mary Sloan 5.11.63
35Mary Sloan to Gina Lloyd 13.11.63
36E.g. Reid to Deens 13.12.63
37Out of the eight newcomers on the field in 1963 seven had attended the interdenominational Bible Training Institute in Glasgow: John and Gina Lloyd, Bertie and Joan Hamilton, Lila Marks, Muriel Hunter and Stanley Black. Dorothy Black was the exception - and even she had done a correspondence course from BTI. The missiological input came mainly through informal means like missionary magazines and personal conversations with staff members who had missionary experience (interview with Muriel Hunter 14.5.99). This was still more than the second wave of missionaries had been exposed to at the MTS.
strategy or focus in the activities of the older missionaries\textsuperscript{38}. Some of the younger missionaries also placed a far higher priority on language proficiency. In part this was because they were gifted in this area. Lloyd, for example, was recognised by both the younger and older missionaries as the “linguist of the Mission”\textsuperscript{39}. But it was not just a question of ability. From the start the Lloys and Hunter wrote about the importance of “going the second mile”\textsuperscript{40} and learning Aymara also\textsuperscript{41}. In stark contrast the Field Council (now composed almost entirely of the older generation of missionaries) complained bitterly when it heard in 1968 that a candidate for the IBFM had been turned down by the Committee “on the grounds of a possible inability to learn the [Spanish] language”\textsuperscript{42}. There is a discernible difference in attitudes towards the national workers. Hunter quoted Humiri sympathising with some of the newcomers at the fraught Union Convention in 1963 “because he too had suffered at the hands of Don Hugo [Mitchell]”\textsuperscript{43}. Reid, too, was criticised by the younger missionaries for being harsh towards the national workers\textsuperscript{44}. There were further disagreements about how to evaluate the churches (with the newcomers generally much more negative) and how to relate to other Evangelical missionaries like the Friends (with the newcomers generally more positive about co-operation or comity agreements\textsuperscript{45}).

\textsuperscript{38}ln a section on new charismatic missions in the 1980s Stoll comments that missionaries from small, strongly independent, missions were “more likely to act out the fundamentalist imperatives of their home body and less likely to be influenced by missiology” (1990 p156). N.b. also the link found in chapter 1 between the lack of a commonly agreed policy and the acrimony which surfaced with the Oehrings.

\textsuperscript{39}Hunter to Thompson 16.4.63. Cf. Reid’s very positive assessment in a letter to Deens 28.11.63.

\textsuperscript{40}IBFM NB in IB November 1961

\textsuperscript{41}Hunter did get a few beginners’ classes and procured an Aymara grammar before she completed her service with the IBFM.

\textsuperscript{42}Emergency Field Meeting 29-30.7.68

\textsuperscript{43}Hunter to Thompson 8.8.63

\textsuperscript{44}The Lloys criticised Reid on this score in their interview with Joshua Thompson and John McCullough in Tacna on September 26 1963.

\textsuperscript{45}E.g. the Blacks had a “controversy” with Mitchell over his “persistence in entering territory already occupied by another Evangelical mission” (Black to Field Executive 6.12.65).
These undeniable differences were made more acute by the tenacity with which each side held to their views. One factor in this was almost certainly what Marjory Foyle calls "over-compensatory rigidity." This is a classic coping mechanism for those fatigued by stress and manifests itself in an inability to face change or to break out of a routine once it is set. The older missionaries had been exposed for years to the strains induced by isolation and by the altitudes. The effects of living at 12,000 feet on a missionary's physical and mental health should not be underestimated. The only missionary in the history of the IBFM who was exposed to the altitude for an extended period and did not eventually succumb seems to have been Nurse Dottie Sloan. At the time of the conflicts at least one of the older missionaries was living on the edge of a nervous breakdown and it was extremely difficult for any of them to face change. But since all the new missionaries had arrived close together none of them had yet had personal experience of the wearying effect of the altitude and they could not empathise with the older missionaries.

In Joshua Thompson's pastoral letter a second issue was mentioned, if more briefly. On behalf of the Committee he acknowledged the difficulties stemming from "inadequate administrative machinery" and asked for patience as these were being addressed. By 1962 the burden on the Secretary of the BUOI had increased to unreasonable proportions. IBFM correspondence and business had particularly increased with the growth in the number of workers. The Field Council of missionaries met regularly but had no authority to act without referral to the.

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46 Foyle 1987 p113
47 The list of missionaries who had to leave the altitude would include Bertie Bennett, Stanley Reid, Helen Creighton, Leslie Scott, Billy McManus, John McVicker, Hugh and Sadie Mitchell, Sam Sloan, Andrew Lovell. Some of these missionaries succumbed much more quickly than others.
48 Joshua Thompson to "All Missionaries" 21.6.63
49 In that year he was responsible for at least 74 committee meetings (of which 25 were Mission Committees). He also attended a further 28 committee meetings (BUOI Reorganisation Sub-Committee Report and Recommendations to Union Council 25.10.62).
Committee in Ireland. Their reports regularly included over 20 items. Inevitably these could not all be dealt with at the next Committee and substantial delays ensued. As a result of problems like these the Council of the Baptist Union of Ireland set up a sub-committee whose proposals on re-organisation were accepted in full in October 1962. Two recommendations in particular affected the IBFM. Pastor Louis Deens was appointed Associate Secretary to the Union. His responsibilities included Home and Foreign Mission business. Further, the IBFM Executive Committee was abolished and the number of Committee meetings reduced to ten in the year.

The reduction in the number of Committee meetings in Ireland required authority to be delegated but the Field Council had become unwieldy because of the increased number of missionaries. In the autumn of 1962 (the year before the problems on the field erupted into the open) the IBFM Treasurer John McCullough and Dr Burrows, the Mission's Medical Advisor, visited Peru. At a Field Council meeting attended by McCullough and Burrows, the missionaries unanimously agreed in principle to the creation of a new Field Executive. But at later meetings they argued fiercely over the role and power of the new body. The Committee intended the Field Executive to have authority to act and the Field Council to become consultative in nature. Once this became clear Lloyd stated bluntly to the other missionaries that he felt "that there are not four or five members of the Field Council who could form a Field Executive to which he could give his full confidence and support".

The main problem was that these discussions were taking place in an environment

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50 E.g. Thompson to “All Missionaries” 11.1.62 or 14.12.62.
51 Minutes IBFM Field Council 21-22.3.63
of suspicion and mistrust among the missionaries. In particular the newer missionaries assumed (wrongly) that the Committee would nominate an Executive composed exclusively of the older staff. Hamilton was quoted as saying that "If a Field Executive is appointed we shall be sent here, there and yonder without having a say in it". Unfortunately events on the field had already got out of control before the Committee's appointments to the first Executive became known. In fact these were to be: Reid, McVicker, (Mary) Sloan, Lloyd and Hamilton. Not knowing this, to the new missionaries the establishment of an authoritative Field Executive looked like just another attempt by the older missionaries to prevent them being given any power. They had some grounds for such suspicions.

Back in 1959 the Committee had sharply corrected the (older) missionaries over their attempt to restrict membership and voting powers on the Field Council to male missionaries who had completed two years on the field and to single ladies who were in charge of work in some centre. This device had neatly excluded Brian and Margaret Thompson from decision-making but included a representative of every older couple and also included Nurse Dottie Sloan. The Committee insisted that this practice was a "violation of the rules" which allowed all missionaries to attend meetings from their arrival on the field and allowed them to vote after one year's probation. Yet when the Lloyds arrived in Peru in 1961 there was still an evident reluctance to invite newcomers to Field Council meetings. Eventually John Lloyd attended his first meeting in December but the invitation was only extended to him after correspondence between Lloyd, Pastor Thompson and Mary Sloan who was Field Secretary at the time. Before this she had been restrained by other

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52Reported by Stanley Black in interview with Joshua Thompson and John McCullough in Tacna on September 27 1963
53Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 6.6 63
54Minutes IBFM Field Council 11-12.8.59
55Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 9.9.59

145
missionaries, most probably Reid. Seen in this light the Executive being discussed in 1962 and 1963 looked suspiciously like a new device for concentrating power, just as the new missionaries were beginning to qualify to vote in the Field Council. Nor were these the only power struggles. Once the crisis blew up Reid admitted in a letter to Deens that he had been engaged in a sustained campaign to strengthen the Field Council’s powers in an attempt to control Mitchell’s activities. This in turn explains the vehemence with which Mitchell protested about these measures to the Committee. These intrigues also lend weight to the protest from the younger missionaries that “the coming of the newcomers has exaggerated a problem that already existed but has not been the root cause of it.”

We can now perhaps appreciate why the proposals made by Thompson and McCullough for the interim administration got a cool response from the six missionaries. The suspending of the Field Council for a year and its replacement by two senior missionaries suited Reid right down to the ground. It would enable him to exercise more authority not just over the new missionaries but over Mitchell, too. But to the younger missionaries this was an imposed two-man Field Executive. As mentioned above McVicker might have been acceptable to them. But until McVicker’s return to the field Reid was to be joined by Mary Sloan. Whilst neither of these missionaries were implicated in the worst of the arguments in 1963 they

56Lloyd to Thompson 22.9.61, Thompson to Mary Sloan 9.11.61, Mary Sloan to Thompson 11.12.61. “About asking John Lloyd to F. Mtgs. I personally suggested this be done at the April meetings but no-one had a chance to continue discussion on the matter as the idea was ‘pooh-poohed’ from one source... now you know why I suggested John write direct to you. I’m afraid ‘the opposition’ does not agree with the action I took”
57Reid to Deens 19.9.63. For example attendance at Council meetings was made mandatory (for non-probationers!), missionaries had to give notice to the Field Secretary before leaving their post and any financial reports or claims for expenses had to submitted via the Field Council (Minutes IBFM Field Council 10-11.11.60 and 11-12.4.61).
58Minutes IBFM General Committee 11.1.61 and Executive Committee 25.5.61
59Lloyd to Thompson 22.3.63
were nevertheless clearly identified as being on "the other side" to the six who had resigned. It probably felt to the Lloyds and the Hamiltons that the Committee had sided against them. This was not the case - as shown by the requirement that all the missionaries (not just the newcomers) give written assent to the interim arrangement. Cooler heads might have realised that Nurse Sloan, the Mitchells and Sam Sloan were also signing away their votes on Field Council for a year and that the choice of Reid and Sloan as administrators was a genuine attempt to pick people respected by both sides. However, the ferocity and bitterness with which Lloyd attacked Thompson himself as soon as the delegation left Peru shows that at least in his case a point of no return had already been passed.

When it seemed that the problems stemmed from administrative inefficiencies then the IBFM Executive Committee was right to be "not unduly pessimistic" about the prospects of the Thompson / McCullough trip. However, once back they reported that the "major part" of the problems were "issues arising out of personal differences between individual missionaries". These were likely to prove more difficult to resolve, especially as "all the evidence pointed plainly to a common spirit of dissension, self-justification and (in some cases) of self-assertion". The missionaries agreed that relationship issues were the most significant - although they all blamed someone other than themselves.

60lt seems the younger missionaries expected the delegation would publiccly censure the older staff. When this did not happen they concluded that Thompson and McCullough had arrived biased against them. This is not true. They went with the explicit authorisation to fire any missionary on the spot - specifically including senior missionaries - if they determined there was one person who was the single major cause of the problems (personal communication from Pastor Joshua Thompson).

61E.g. Lloyd to Deens 30.11.63 accuses Thompson of weakness, deceit, manipulation and bias. It also attacks the home Committee, the Blacks, the Sloans and the Mitchells.

62Report and Recommendation from the Foreign Mission Executive Committee to a Special Meeting of the General Purposes Committee on August 28 1963. Primary Report on Field Problems presented to the General Purposes Committee by the Mission Secretary and Treasurer following their visit to the Field September 24 - October 10 1963 p1

63Primary Report.." p2

64E.g. Reid to Deens 14.3.64 and Gina Lloyd to Thompson 26.6.63.
No useful purpose would be served by giving details of this third class of problems - the personal conflicts and animosities. The incidents already described are included only in so far as they illustrate the other difficulties. The reality is that personal conflicts are not uncommon on the mission field. One factor that undoubtedly contributed to the clashes was the strong individualism of the missionaries. The background of the IBFM workers included four influences which all heightened this tendency. Firstly, it has long been a standard Catholic criticism that, in practice, the Protestant doctrines of the perspicuity of Scripture and the priesthood of all believers lead to excessive subjectivism and individualism. Secondly, Irish Baptists understood the doctrine of the autonomy of each local church to mean that a pastor was accountable only to the local congregation he served. When this conviction was carried onto the mission field the implications were even stronger. When a missionary arrived in a new area there was no church for him or her to be accountable to. Even when a church was planted IBFM missionaries were explicitly forbidden from serving as pastors so, in effect, they were accountable to no-one except a very distant Mission Secretary in Belfast. Another traditional Baptist principle - that of liberty of conscience - should have helped the missionaries to be gracious to each other. Sadly, this doctrine has not been as strongly upheld amongst Irish Baptists as it might have been. Thirdly, the

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66 More recently some Protestant writers have begun to echo these concerns. Bosch highlights the emphasis on “personal experience” and the “subjective dimension of salvation” as one of five characteristics which distinguish the missionary paradigm of the Protestant Reformation from the Catholic one. He also suggests that one of the others, the “rediscovery of the priesthood of all believers”, whilst having a necessary and positive side also “carried within itself the seeds of schism” (Bosch 1991 pp241-3). When the influences of the Enlightenment were brought to bear the result was “rampant individualism” (ibid. p273).

67 In an address delivered to the Irish Baptist Historical Society in 1974 David Kingdon, then the Principal of the Irish Baptist College, described one of the characteristics of Irish Baptist Theology as “Evangelical individualism” (IB July 1974 pp6-9).

68 1963 was the second time in the IBFM’s history when attempts to devolve power from Belfast to the Field were frustrated by the refusals of the missionaries to become accountable to each other. In 1938 Reid wrote a resignation letter rather than accept Creighton as his Superintendent in Peru (Reid to Creighton 14.11.38). At the same time in Argentina Hosford refused to supervise Harkins because of difficulties between them (Hosford to Gracey 19.10.38).
Northern Irish background of most of the missionaries is one which prizes standing up for one's beliefs more highly than skills in reaching accommodation or compromise. In an address to be given at the 1990 May Assembly Mitchell intended thanking the Committee on his retirement though he had not "always seen eye to eye on every issue" with them. For that to have happened, he wrote, would have needed "the blood of some other nation to be running in our veins".

Fourthly, these workers were pioneer missionaries. Many of the IBFM team - like Reid, Nurse Sloan, Mitchell, the Sloans, Lloyd and Hamilton - were strong individuals, but their situations required them to be so! The IBFM is not the first mission to find that the workers who are best at opening up new territory and persevering through difficulties are not the strongest in the area of personal relationships - and the IBFM had recruited pioneers. In fact, it could be argued that, apart from being a member of a Baptist church, virtually the only other essential requirement for applying was precisely a strong temperament. In interviews and references the main characteristic the Committee looked for was a "strong sense of call". The resultant team of Irish, Baptist, Protestant, pioneer missionaries were inevitably strong individualists.

Because this was so it was incumbent on them to do all in their power to prevent friction as open conflict between them might well prove difficult to cure. Here the missionaries must be judged wanting. There seems to have been a real lack of

69 15 out of 17 missionaries in 1963 were from Northern Ireland.

70 Macquigg 1993 p96. Another example in a very different context is provided by C.S. Lewis (who was from Belfast). George Sayer writes in the preface to the second edition of his biography that Lewis "loved an argument and could get heated in the midst of one - perhaps something more common in Ireland than in England" (Jack: A Life of C.S. Lewis London 2nd edition 1997 pxiii).

71 Cf. Addley’s comment on the personality of Irish Presbyterian missionaries: "The inner force of personal convictions and determination which enables the solitary pioneer to carry on and overcome against all odds often has, as its other side, an inability to see things from another person’s point of view. The virtues which enable such people to face the foes without also unfortunately become the vices which have a tendency to create foes within" (1994 pp318-9).

72 The Committee turned down at least five full applications between 1960 and 1964, mostly either because the candidates themselves or their home church did not give clear enough evidence on this point.
commitment to a team vision or corporate approach. Each missionary largely did as he or she saw fit - and criticised others who did differently as they also saw fit. In addition, when the Field Council met there seems to have been little attention given or time spent in prayer and spiritual ministry. If the missionaries did not take adequate preventive measures they certainly did not handle conflict well once it arose. Perhaps the saddest point made in Thompson and McCullough's Primary Report was that "the missionaries seemed to have had no idea how (nor even the desire) to face the problems inherent in their relationships with one another and the few attempts to do so only worsened the situation." The reality was that no visit by a third party could solve problems if the people involved were unwilling to be reconciled. Perhaps some of the newcomers were unwilling to forgive if the Committee did not publicly censure some of the older missionaries. Perhaps repentance in a number of hearts on both sides did not go deep enough. Perhaps things had simply been allowed to go on too long and relationships were damaged beyond repair. These problems are not ultimately to do with generation gaps or with administrative structures. In the final analysis the team of missionaries must together bear the blame for their inability to resolve their own differences.

The After-Effects of the Crisis

The immediate effect on the field was a new staff shortage. The team was reduced by four with the loss of the Lloyds and the Hamiltons in 1964. A year later Lila Marks resigned for health and personal reasons. Muriel Hunter completed her first term in December 1967. The loneliness of her situation led her to decide against

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73 It would not be until the 1980s that Irish Baptist missionaries in Peru would explicitly commit themselves to a "team approach". Even then this involved only some of the staff and was not entirely successful.

74 Cf. Hunter to Thompson 8.8.63. There were exceptions such as in 1960 when the missionaries listened together to tapes from the Keswick Convention (NB in IB January 1961 p11).

75 Primary Report on Field Problems presented to the General Purposes Committee by the Mission Secretary and Treasurer following their visit to the Field September 24 - October 10 1963" p2
returning for a further period of service. Clearly other factors were involved for both these women but if their experience had been a happier one perhaps these other issues could have been overcome. In 1967 the Mission suffered another blow when the Blacks resigned in April. Stanley had been offered a job as an engineer with a mining company and continued to be involved in evangelism and church work in a voluntary capacity. Sadly the Blacks had experienced more conflict towards the end of 1965 which (as we will see below) suggested dangerous trends in mission-national relationships. The recurrence of this sort of incident suggests that some of the lessons of 1963 had not been learnt by the missionary staff. The Blacks rejoined the IBFM for a further four years between 1970 - 1974 but by the time they left relationships had become difficult again\textsuperscript{76}. One enduring effect of the personnel losses was that the remaining missionaries were constantly overworked and thus had little time to reflect on mission policy.

The Committee in Ireland tried hard to implement changes. Before the end of 1963 they had already decided that the medical examination of candidates should include a psychological assessment. In 1964 the rules governing the recommendation of candidates by their home churches were also changed. Instead of certifying only "its conviction that the candidate is called of God" churches would henceforth be asked for their opinion as to "the suitability of the candidate"\textsuperscript{77}. This implicitly recognised that a certainty of divine calling is not the only quality required in a missionary. IBFM literature began to include articles with a new emphasis. E.g. the Irish Baptist Magazine reprinted an article by D.E.Hoste of the China Inland Mission\textsuperscript{78} arguing that the "Truest Measure" of "Spiritual

\textsuperscript{76}By 1974 the Blacks adopted a number of the criticisms made by their contemporaries ten years earlier, especially the charge of a lack of consistent strategy or policy governing the actions of the older workers.

\textsuperscript{77}Minutes IBFM Committee 20.11.64

\textsuperscript{78}Renamed the Overseas Missionary Fellowship after its expulsion from China by the Communist government.
Blessing on a missionary was not their apparent success but "the maintenance of right relationships". When R.E. Thompson joined the Committee in 1967 he brought a wealth of missionary experience with him. A new quarterly IBFM magazine carried articles by him on subjects like "Missionary Casualties - Their Cause and Cure". Publications like these were part of a sustained attempt by the Committee to educate potential recruits and also to recapture whatever support might have been lost in 1963. The IBFM's finances made encouraging reading as they did not show any lasting ill-effects of the crisis.

The situation was not so positive in Peru. It has already become apparent that some of the local believers witnessed the clashes in 1963 and 1964. There can be no doubt that this undermined the moral authority of the missionaries. Several of the longest-established local churches also got involved in the affair when the possibility was aired of Lloyd and Hamilton working with them on an independent basis. These arrangements did not materialise but bad precedents were being set for the national believers for the handling of future conflict. This was taken a stage further by an incident at the Union Convention in 1965. The Blacks had been working in the Yunguyo area whilst the Sloans were on furlough. During that year the Committee and the Field Council wondered whether the Sloans would consider re-locating to Juliaca to develop work on the other side of Lake Titicaca.

79 FMN in IB March 1964
80 This member of Great Victoria St Baptist Church served 30 years with the China Inland Mission. He then began an organization in North America which specialized in Internships as a training method for developing effective missionary candidates. The IBFM adopted this system, starting with Molly Allen and Moira Richmond.
82 The Tacna church considered issuing a call to Lloyd but his insistence on a unanimous decision together with a clear-eyed assessment of the financial implications meant this did not materialise (interview with Humberto Guisa in Tacna 5.10.98). The Paque-paque church got as far as offering Bertie Hamilton 30% of their offerings and the use of a house (Mary Sloan to Deens 26.5.64).
83 Black to Field Executive 6.12.65 shows that a year later there were evidently still difficulties with the churches in Juliaca, Puno and Paque-paque.
84 The account of the incident that follows is from Black to Deens 9.11.65.
This was a large request as the Sloans had built themselves a house in Yunguyo. Nevertheless they agreed, albeit without enthusiasm - as later became evident. At the delayed Convention held in November, delegates from four churches in the Yunguyo area asked for the Sloans to return to their region - creating a very awkward situation for the Blacks. Mitchell quickly replied to the delegates that their request could not be granted as the Committee and the Field Executive had decided to move the Sloans and they had agreed. At this Sloan stood and publicly contradicted him saying that they had never accepted the decision "with all goodwill". Mitchell replied that Sloan should not let this discussion continue in public as "it does not concern the Union here". Then came a significant intervention from the chairman, Valentin Cruz. He interrupted to state that "it did concern the Union as no Committee had any right to send a missionary where he was not wanted". When the first major crisis between the Mission and the Union occurred in 1973 it mainly involved three churches - Puno, Paque-paque and Alto Parco. The first two of these had been involved at least indirectly in the earlier difficulties. Further, one of the key leaders in the crisis of 1973 was Cruz, who chaired the meeting just described. It would be naïve to think that these events were completely unconnected.

Developments in the Churches and the Union

The internal conflict and its consequences sapped much of the energies of the IBFM staff but that does not mean that there was no growth in the work in this decade. During the 1960s the Tacna church grew steadily both through conversion and through transfer of members from the highlands. At the start of the decade

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85The Convention was delayed because of political unrest in July.
86Black to Deens 9.11.65
87Migrants to urban centres have been identified as one of the social groups in South America most receptive to Evangelicalism. The attractions of conversion included putting "households on a more stable basis by overcoming male addiction to alcohol, reigning in male sexual license and
around 70 people attended the All Age Sunday School, 40 of these being adults. That number climbed steadily until by early 1967 McVicker reported attendances of 108, 64 of which were adults. He added that there was an imminent need for larger premises or a second story for the building. There were other kinds of progress, too. Reid reported in 1960 that the Tacna church was well organised giving the example of the previous Sunday when two of the church members, Humberto Guïsa and Roberto Mamani, had presided at the Lord's Supper. In 1962 the church appointed two elders and four deacons. By the end of the decade the church also had its own honorary pastor, Juan Humiri. The Mission's annual report described the church as "sufficiently strong and well organized to be entrusted with full responsibility for the administration of its own affairs in the future" which, it added, was "a great step forward".

The background of many of these new converts and church members can be identified. In the annual report for 1960 Reid commented that the "Aymara Indian meeting commenced in November appears to be meeting a deep need". The initiative for starting this meeting came from some Aymara-speaking believers who had moved down from the Yanapata area to Tacna. Though a number were attending the church on Sunday morning they did not understand much of the Spanish service. Gavino Cama was one of the few in the Aymara group in Tacna...
who could read and he was therefore chosen as the leader. Kathleen Reid helped him organise a Sunday afternoon meeting by playing the organ and speaking occasionally by interpretation. Initially about 20 people attended. Under the direction of Cama the numbers attending grew rapidly along lines of kinship until there were as many at the Aymara meeting as at the Spanish services. In 1968 a man from Tarata called Juan Canqui agreed to work eight to ten days a month for the Tacna church visiting Aymara-speaking believers. When a number of these contacts requested baptism it was Canqui who counselled them. This Sunday afternoon meeting became the seedbed in the 1970s for satellite Aymara-speaking churches around Tacna. First a group of the believers from the San Martin area of Tacna suggested starting meetings in their area and this became the “Gethsemane” church. Later this was followed by the “Nativity” church and a series of others. As these cottage-based groups developed the need for the central Aymara meeting lessened. Accordingly the (original) “Good Shepherd” Tacna church reverted to Spanish services only.

The 1960s brought other new developments in the coastal area. Churches were constituted in Illo in 1960, in Toquepala in 1962 and in Moquegua in 1963. The emergence of the Illo church was not due to IBFM missionaries but rather to the presence of believers drawn from two very different backgrounds. Benigno Condori from llave moved to the port looking for work and shared his faith with others. Then the little fellowship was helped by some North American Evangelicals who

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95 Author's interview with Sr Gavino Cama October 1998.
961961 R&S p19
97Minutes IBFM Executive Committee interview with Reid 7.6.62
98IBMNT in IB July 1968
100The McManuses were the only workers ever stationed there and they only lived there for a year from February 1952.
101NB in IB April 1958
worked for the Mining Company. The constituting of a church in Moquegua marked a real advance in that town. The initial group there had faltered when Barrón had returned to Argentina in 1946. Eight years later a new beginning was made when an Evangelical policeman, Sr Miranda, moved to Moquegua from Arequipa. After Miranda left Brian and Margaret Thompson moved to Moquegua in 1958 and began children's meetings. The McVickers, who took over from them, also found children and teenagers easier to attract than adults. In late 1962 McVicker bought a hall for use as a church\textsuperscript{102} and a few weeks later baptised the first two young men\textsuperscript{103}. The McVickers were followed by the Mitchells and then by the Reids. It continued to be slow work though some progress was seen throughout the decade. One factor holding back progress was that the IBFM was meeting increased competition\textsuperscript{104}. Mormons and especially Jehovah's Witnesses were increasingly active in Tacna\textsuperscript{105}, Moquegua\textsuperscript{106} and Ilo\textsuperscript{107}.

In contrast to events at the coast there seems to have been something of a slump in the fortunes of the little Baptist groups in the highlands in the early 1960s. Some problems were specific to one group such as the family feud that erupted in Chichillapi\textsuperscript{108}. Other problems recurred in a number of locations such as when a leader of the group "backslid" in one way or another - frequently involving either drunkenness or sexual immorality\textsuperscript{109}. There were some examples of doctrinal problems. The major setback in this regard came later in the decade when Cotrado, one of the Union colporteurs, was won over to the Jehovah's Witnesses.

\textsuperscript{102}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 13.12.62
\textsuperscript{103}FMAR 1962 pp5-6
\textsuperscript{104}Stoll writes "[A]s Protestants introduced the dissenting church into Latin America their heels were dogged by still other dissenters" (1990 pp102-103).
\textsuperscript{105}NB in IB March 1961
\textsuperscript{106}FMAR 1960 p9
\textsuperscript{107}R&S 1961 p19
\textsuperscript{108}Hamiltons interview with Joshua Thompson and John McCullough in Tacna on September 27 1963
\textsuperscript{109}This affected the congregations in Villacolla and Huapaca.
He now served them as energetically as he had previously worked for the UEBCiSP. Soon the "last faithful family" in Corpa followed him\textsuperscript{110}. A number of little groups simply disappear from the records without any reason being given\textsuperscript{111}. The missionaries' reports on other centres included comments such as "slow spiritual growth"\textsuperscript{112}, "no development"\textsuperscript{113}, "struggling"\textsuperscript{114} or "in the doldrums"\textsuperscript{115}. The early 1960s were difficult for the peasant farmers with years of drought alternating with years when floods near Lake Titicaca destroyed crops\textsuperscript{116}. It seems likely that the resultant hardship forced many peasants to seek short-term employment elsewhere and this affected the vitality of the churches in the Sierra.

By contrast the Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru took an important step forward in 1962 when it gained legal recognition, which meant it could now hold property. This achievement was largely the work of Orestes Rios in Tarata. However, although the missionaries were involved in erecting buildings on at least four properties in the 60s and in the acquisition of another\textsuperscript{117}, none of these was placed in the Union's name. They saw no need to activate the Union's new (but dormant) Board of Trustees in relation to church properties, to institutional buildings like the llave Clinic and the Mejia house nor with other properties like the houses where the missionaries lived.

The missionaries' policy as regards church property is confusing throughout the

\textsuperscript{110}Hughes to Deens 4.3.69

\textsuperscript{111}Examples include Kasani near Yunguyo, Bilacota and Cuipa-cuipa near Chichillapi, Jayuna and Testaco near Tarapoto, and Choko and Colacota near Copani.

\textsuperscript{112}Sloan in R&S 1961 p20 on Huapaca and Tarapoto.

\textsuperscript{113}Sloan in FMAR p7 on Pisacoma and Picchu.

\textsuperscript{114}Sloan to Thompson 29.12.59 on Takapesi and Villacolla.

\textsuperscript{115}Mitchell in R&S 1961 p21 on Corpa.

\textsuperscript{116}Brown describes the effects of some of these years (1978 pp22-23). Nordyke also mentions how the government inaugurated road-building programmes on the llave plain to relieve the hardship caused by flooding in 1962 and 63 (1972 p114).

\textsuperscript{117}The buildings were for 1) the church in Avda El Sol, Puno; 2) the Clinic in llave; 3) the Sloan's residence and the Yunguyo church and 4) a holiday house in Mejia at the coast. The other property was for the Moquegua church.
entire history of the IBFM. The data can be gathered in a series of observations. Firstly, the rural churches, who received no financial help at all\textsuperscript{118}, were frequently also the most vigorous. Secondly, the only rural group to be provided with a building (Chinchera in 1942) never developed into a church\textsuperscript{119}. IBFM policy was generally not to use Mission funds for church buildings but Juliaca received some help at a very early stage\textsuperscript{120}. Four other churches (Illave\textsuperscript{121}, Moquegua, Yunguyo\textsuperscript{122}, and Puno\textsuperscript{123}) did not have to finance their own building either, although none of the funds came from the IBFM. The third observation is that these five churches varied greatly in vitality. Juliaca, Yunguyo and Moquegua were all rather weak. Fourthly, the growth of the Puno and Illave churches was not inhibited\textsuperscript{124} by the provision of a building but there were other negative side-effects as both properties later became points of contention\textsuperscript{125}. Fifthly, the one urban church that raised its own funds, Tacna\textsuperscript{126}, was also by far the healthiest. From these five observations three tentative conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the provision of a building was certainly

\textsuperscript{118}See chapter 3 pp108-9.
\textsuperscript{119}McManus stated in interview with IBFM Executive Committee 29.1.54 "Reid began work there and admits today his methods were wrong. In effect he negotiated for a site on which to build an Evangelical hall and when it was built he invited people to attend his meetings... the lesson to be learned from Chinchera is not to build for the native but rather that they should build a place themselves"
\textsuperscript{120}Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 21.10.42, IBFM Field Council 20.11.50, IBFM Executive Committee 8.1.51.
\textsuperscript{121}Illave church in the early years met on the Clinic grounds owned by the Mission. They were given part of this ground in 1973.
\textsuperscript{122}The Moquegua and Yunguyo properties were bought with funds raised privately by the McVickers and the Sloans respectively (Minutes of IBFM Executive Committee 13.12.62).
\textsuperscript{123}The church building erected by Mitchell in Avda El Sol, Puno in 1961-2 is a clear example of non-IBFM funds being used. Mitchell's article "Harvest of the Years" (in The Tie Vol. 3 Num. 2 April-June 1967) mentions a gift from America of $1,000. He also received gifts in kind, e.g. 100 tons of pebbles from the Rail company (Minutes of UBC/SP Council in Puno 1.11.61).
\textsuperscript{124}A few years later the Puno church had its own deacons, treasurer and pastor. Average attendance on Sundays was 40 but on special occasions the building was full. The pastor baptised converts, the Lord's supper was celebrated monthly and the church exercised compassionate but firm discipline (interview with Mrs Moira Dorman 8.9.99). The Illave church also grew strongly in the late 1960s (see pp159-60 and chapter 5 pp172-4).
\textsuperscript{125}For the controversy over the Puno building see chapter 5 pp180-81. In Illave problems arose between the church and their pastor some time after that property had been handed over by the IBFM. There were similar problems in Yunguyo.
\textsuperscript{126}Under Avalos' leadership in 1941 they raised funds in just 82 days to buy a hall (Avalos' monthly report in Creighton to Gracey 19.3.41, also excerpts from "Antorcha" 1.5.41). The Committee was unhappy that an appeal had been launched without consulting them (Minutes IBFM Executive Committee 26.5.41 and 11.6.41). This underlines the fact that the project was not initiated, funded or supervised from Ireland. Humberto Guisa remembers the believers working on the site and Avalos painting a brick-work effect onto the walls (interview with the author 5.10.98).
not sufficient to ensure growth. Secondly, receiving help towards a building may have inhibited the growth of some churches, although other factors (like migration) were more significant. Thirdly, where properties were financed locally they were likely to be simpler and cheaper and thus less of a stimulus to greed and strife.  

By the middle of the decade the picture in the Sierra was looking brighter again. A wave of new groups was planted in 1963 and 1964. Even when six groups which did not survive more than a couple of years are excluded, seven new congregations were started in those two years. Accari, Sanquera, Toquina, Chatuma, Tocaraya, Chimpu and Isani are all in the Chucuito sub-province. It seems likely that they owed a great deal to the efforts of the new Union evangelist who (like Cáceres and Condori before him) was also from this area. Sebastián Pari was the son-in-law of Francisco Condori and was the recognised leader of the church in Desaguadero on the Bolivian border. There were two other areas where a number of new Baptist groups were planted in the mid 60s. Hunter and Marks were the first IBFM workers sent to Moho on the northern coastline of Lake Titicaca and the Blacks followed them. However, the numerous little groups (mainly Quechua-speaking) springing up in this area were very affected by seasonal migration. The other area was the plains around llave. The key here was another young national evangelist. Before he offered for service with the Union in November 1965 Fidel Alvarez was a cook for the Maryknoll priests in Juli. Nurse Sloan described him as a “real live Christian bubbling over with zest to serve the...

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127 This mirrors the experience of the Southern Baptist Convention in Peru. They changed their policy from donating funds for buildings to providing loans. The churches which received loans are today healthier than those given properties. They also retain better relationships with the parent Mission as the churches given properties frequently found they were also inheriting the expensive upkeep of properties which were much larger than they would otherwise have constructed (Interview with Sr Herbert Garcia, the first national pastor with the SBC, in Lima 25.10.98).

128 McVicker in interview with the author 11.9.98 stated that Sebastian Pari did not work for the Union in an official capacity but that is clearly contradicted by the FMAR 1963 p3 which states that “in the course of the year 2 extra national workers, Sebastián Pari and Faustino Cotrado were taken on by the Union bringing the number of workers to 5”. This was Cotrado’s second term of service.
Lord\textsuperscript{129}. Her evidence for this included the fact that he cycled 20 miles every Sunday morning to speak to a group who were meeting out on the llave plains, stayed overnight and cycled back at dawn on Monday to get back to his workplace. In their disappointment at losing their cook (and possibly also wanting to prevent another evangelist being employed by the Protestants) the Maryknoll priests offered him a higher salary than he could get as an evangelist but he still happily entered his new work. Alvarez's evangelism was one of the reasons why the work centred on llave suddenly began to develop. At around the same time an Aymara meeting started there for the first time. What facilitated this was the return to llave of Benigno Condori\textsuperscript{130}. We have already noted that his witness was one of the factors in the development of the church in llo. Now the Aymara meeting he helped lead in llave began to draw people from the surrounding area in the same way as the Sunday afternoon meeting in Tacna or the longer established one in Yunguyo on Sunday morning. Within a few years there were 47 people at the llave meetings\textsuperscript{131}.

The cases mentioned show that the fortunes of any congregation were closely tied up with the quality of its leadership. A later study by Southern Baptists in Guatemala found that congregations whose leaders had no formal training were unlikely to extend beyond the family network and that they tended to level off at 20 to 30 people\textsuperscript{132}. Training of the indigenous leaders was the obvious next step in the IBFM's work. Before this there had been some efforts made in this direction such as bringing the national evangelists together for prayer and instruction\textsuperscript{133} but these efforts were infrequent enough that years later Cáceres did not remember them as

\textsuperscript{129}NFP in IB December 1965 p14
\textsuperscript{130}NFP in IB May 1965
\textsuperscript{131}Mitchell to Deens 6.7.68
\textsuperscript{132}Stoll 1990 p126
\textsuperscript{133}E.g. the minutes of IBFM Field Council 18.4.67 show Sloan and Needham planned a retreat for the national workers for the second half of August that year.

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a feature of his years of service. In 1967 Ken Needham organized the first real attempt at sustained Bible training. The rather grandly named "Instituto Teológico Bautista" opened in December with five students in Ilave on the grounds ultimately intended for the Clinic. The programme was conceived as a two year residential course. Each year there were to be two terms of three months each. This was designed to let students return to their villages for sowing and harvest times. Whilst in Ilave the students were sent out on Saturday mornings to visit the congregations in the area. Sadly, the project had to be shelved after the first three-month term because of Eva's sudden bereavement and the Needham's subsequent resignation from the Mission.

Arguably attempts towards raising the biblical knowledge of congregations as a whole were even more important because of the danger posed by the sects and the loss of church leaders through migration. The Southern Baptist pattern of All Age Sunday School was a new concept to most Irish Baptists although IBFM missionaries had already adopted it in Tacna. Ilo and Toquepala also had All Age Sunday Schools through direct contact with North American Baptists and Mitchell introduced the pattern to the Puno church in 1968. An event which mobilised more congregations was the "Evangelism in Depth" (EVID) Campaign of 1967. This programme, conceived by the Latin America Mission, ran throughout the 1960s in one after another of the South American Republics. Reflecting on why Communists, the Jehovah's Witnesses and Pentecostals were all achieving higher growth rates than the "faith missions", the Director of LAM concluded that it was

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134Author's interview with Gerardo Cáceres 14.10.98.
135Stanley notes that BMS missionaries in Brazil in the same period were influenced by Southern Baptists in forming a strategy for the "the education of the many" rather than the "setting apart of the few" (1992 p478).
136In the 1960s the Irish Baptist Sunday School Union hosted conferences in Ireland promoting the idea (IB November 1964 p2) but it ultimately failed to convince many Irish Baptist churches to adopt the model.
137IBMNT in IB September 1968
because they “mobilised their entire membership to bring new members into the movement”\textsuperscript{138} rather than relying on the efforts of a professional leader. Evangelism in Depth was planned as a nation-wide year-long campaign which started by training church leaders. They then taught a course on basic Christian doctrine and on evangelism techniques to their church members who were sent out to visit their neighbours. This was followed by an intensive series of evangelistic meetings in each location which ended with a parade by all the Evangelical churches. The climax was a high-profile campaign in the capital city. In Peru 15,000 “decisions for Christ” were reported, though after some time not much impact on local Evangelical church membership could be seen\textsuperscript{139}. This generally held true in the towns of Southern Peru also. The major impact there came from the parades which gave Evangelicals a new confidence that they were no longer a tiny minority that could be persecuted or ignored. But some of the rural Baptist churches were completely revitalised by the programme of teaching and the emphasis on each member getting involved. Huilacanqui was so remote Sloan thought a helicopter would have been a better means of transport\textsuperscript{140}. Here Mary Sloan found a 15-year old lad who was blind from measles yet who knew all 18 Bible texts of the training manual word-perfect. He had been taught by his younger brother of eight or nine who also knew them all word-perfect\textsuperscript{141}. Such enthusiasm was infectious. For churches in the Sierra that had been established for some time EVID provided a new vehicle for indigenous communal initiative and there were lasting consequences. The church at Pisacoma was a notable example. Sloan reported that the work had been “at a very low ebb” but a month after the campaign had concluded he saw a complete change\textsuperscript{142}. Attendance was up from

\textsuperscript{138}Stoll 1990 p119
\textsuperscript{139}Stoll ibid. p120
\textsuperscript{140}NFP in IB August 1966
\textsuperscript{141}“The Grey Lady and I go Travelling” by Mary Sloan in The Tie Vol 3 Num 2 April-June 1967 pp9-10
\textsuperscript{142}Sloan circular letter 1.11.67
six or seven to over 30. The believers were visiting their friends and neighbours and soon they had established two daughter congregations. A year later 18 new converts were baptised and Sloan wrote that the older believers wept tears of joy as they celebrated the Lord's Supper together.143

Mitchell provided the main impetus behind another new development at the coast in 1968144. Some years previously he helped with a EUSA camp at the beach at Mejia and had been impressed with the potential for work among young people. But the experience of the IBFM "pilot camp for selected young people"145 held in Ilo in March 1968 might have been enough to have deterred some. Mitchell wrote that on the opening day they thought they would have to cancel the camp because the boys were so rough. "The ringleader left the camp without our knowledge and got into trouble in the town. He broke into a house, stole some money, got drunk and was arrested and put in prison"146. However, that incident had a "sobering effect" on the boys and six of them made professions of faith during the camp147. On reflection the Mitchells felt they had been "amply rewarded" for their efforts so the "new experiment"148 was there to stay. Over the years the camps for young people and families became a powerful pre-evangelistic witness and met a social need. Years later it was claimed that no-one under the age of 30 in Moquegua had failed to hear the Gospel because that whole generation had been to the camps in Ilo149.

The sixties brought profound social change to Ireland as much as Peru. If there were developments amongst Peruvian Baptists so too amongst Irish Baptists. In

143IBMNT in IB November 1968
144For the camps see Macquigg's 1993 book "Baptist Camps, Peru. 25 years of evangelism".
145Minutes IBFM Field Council 14-16.11.67
146IBMNT in IB October 1968
147Macquigg 1993 p24
148R&S 1968 p8
149Author's interview with Espejo family in Moquegua October 1998
July 1966 a Second Report on Re-organisation was adopted by the BUOI Council. The Irish Baptist College had relocated from Dublin to Belfast two years previously and needed new staff. To meet this need Mr Norman Shields was appointed as College Secretary as well as Home Mission Secretary. Pastor Louis Deens continued on a part-time basis as Secretary to the IBFM. He had been one of those appointed onto the very first Committee in 1924 so he provided the Mission with real continuity as well as gracious insight. In 1966 the missionaries and the Committee reached agreement on outstanding issues of Field Administration (the delayed Field Executive had been in operation for about a year). So by 1967 it seemed that after years of turmoil the situation of the Mission, both externally and internally, was becoming more stable. The reality was that more major change lay just ahead.
Chapter Five: New Challenges (1968 - 1977)

In just under a year between October 1968 and September 1969 three events of very different kinds together defined a watershed in the history of the IBFM. One was an internal personnel matter: Stanley and Kathleen Reid's departure from Peru in April 1969. Nurse Sloan had retired the previous year so the Reids' return marked the final withdrawal of the first generation of IBFM missionaries. The second event was the Committee's adoption of the report of a sub-committee on future Mission policy in September 1969. This was the key step of a process which had begun in 1966 and which would gradually lead to major change in the Mission during the 1970s. The minutes of the sub-committee's discussions show they were prepared to be radical and unconstrained by the IBFM's previous history. At their first meeting they drew a firm line under the Mission's past involvement in day schools in Peru due to the much greater provision of State education. Other issues raised in the discussions included: whether the Mission should concentrate on the work amongst the rural Aymara communities (as the response seemed to be better than in the Spanish-speaking cities); what the causes were of "the formidable list of casualties" amongst the missionary staff; and whether there was a place for short-term workers. The most radical question posed was whether Irish Baptists were sufficiently strong numerically and financially to work the "distant field" of Peru "as it should be worked" and would it not be more realistic to seek some "alternative or additional" field much nearer Ireland. On this point the final report adopted by the full Committee in 1969 recommended exploring the

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1 The Bennetts, Creightons, Reids and the Harkins formed the first missionary generation in the sense of being the first to start their careers with the IBFM, and Nurse Sloan was of a similar age to them. They were of course junior to those earliest workers adopted by the IBFM like the Oehrings, Hosfords and Doña Rosa de Bettin. Cf. comments on the numbering of the "waves" of missionaries in chapter 1 p11 footnote 10.

2 Minutes IBFM Sub-Committee on Mission Policy 19.9.66

3 Report of IBFM Sub-Committee on Mission Policy, presented 21.6.68

4 This suggestion arose in interviews the Mission Officers had with the Blacks 6.11.68 and 13.11.68.

5 Report of IBFM Sub-Committee on Mission Policy, presented 21.6.68
possibility of sending missionaries into Europe. This was a major new challenge as the IBFM had not entered a new field for 40 years (the last had been Argentina in 1929). As with past policy changes it took a number of years for this substantial shift to materialise fully so I will return at the end of this chapter to follow that development. The last of the three events defining a watershed in the Mission's history was the seizure of power in Peru on the 3rd October 1968 by a group of "Military Radicals" led by General Velasco Alvarado. Although the consequences for the IBFM work were indirect and appeared only gradually they were profound and the Mission struggled to come to terms with the challenge they represented.

The Peruvian Social and Political Context 1968 - 1973

The military government, especially in its first period from 1968 to 1973, introduced social and political changes to Peru "with greater speed and vigour than any civilian reformist regime in Latin American history". Three of the government's measures had a particular impact on Southern Peru. Firstly, within days of taking power, the military decisively settled the issue that had bedevilled civilian administrations for years. The army occupied the International Petroleum Company's oil field installations, decreed their expropriation, and offered compensation only if the company repaid a (far greater) sum of the profits made from the oil field over the years. In effect the new regime defied the United States of America - and won enormous international, as well as domestic, prestige in doing so. Despite this and its sustained "anti-imperialist" rhetoric, it still managed to persuade the American government to sanction a 10-million dollar investment in new copper mines at Cuajone, not far from Toquepala. It was inevitable that this

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6 E.g. the decision in 1947 to wind down operations in Argentina was not fully implemented until 1959 with the death of Doña Rosa de Bettin, cf. chapter 3 pp90-91.
7 The term comes from the title of George Philip's book published in 1978.
8 Keen 1996 p389. Gonzalez Manrique says: "From then on nothing would ever be exactly the same again" (1989 p69, my translation).
(initially surprisingly painless) nationalization of the IPC should be seen as a signal that Peruvians had come of age, that the day of foreign domination was over.

Secondly, on the "Day of the Indian" in June 1969 the government published its Agrarian Reform Law. In the Sierra some limited initiatives towards land reform had already been taken under Belaúnde. These were now extended. The large sugar plantations at the coast were expropriated and handed over to new co-operatives composed of the tenant farmers. To give some indication of the need for these measures Benton notes that before this 1,200 land owners owned 60% of the cultivated land of Peru, whereas 668,000 small proprietors owned only 5.8% and "most of the rest of the inhabitants were landless labourers". Further, one of the sugar estates (German-owned) was larger than Belgium. Philip states that the content of the law was comparatively moderate (as it allowed the landholders to retain some land and to be compensated for the rest) but the tone of the speech in which the law was announced was impassioned and radical, as the following excerpt from Velasco's speech shows:

"Today, the day of the Indian, the day of the peasant, the Revolutionary Government is making the best of all possible tributes to him by giving the whole nation a law which will end forever the unjust social order".

Philip comments that "peasant expectations were greatly aroused both by the passage of the law and by the tone of the speech". Other Government decrees had similar effects, e.g. the "Officialization" of the Quechua language, which made it a compulsory school subject even in the middle-class suburbs of Lima.

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9 Benton 1970 p9
10 Benton 1970 p10
11 Quoted in Philip 1978 p120
12 Philip 1978 p120
13 Philip 1978 p136
However, the measure that most shocked contemporary observers inside and outside of the country was the third: the Industrial Law issued in September 1970. One of its articles reserved all “basic” industries for the state. Under this provision the government eventually nationalised a wide variety of industries\(^4\). But the most controversial aspect of the law was the provision that in each industry workers’ syndicates would be set up, given a share of the profits which would eventually climb to 50%, and with it also the power to veto management proposals. A further measure affecting workers especially was the setting up of the “Sindicato Nacional de Movilización Social” (National Syndicate for Social Mobilization) or SINAMOS in July 1971. In the absence of political parties, which had been banned, this ambiguous organization had the dual aims of raising worker and peasant support for the government and of controlling and channelling their aspirations for change into concrete public works schemes such as building roads.

It will now be clear how wide-ranging were the changes to Peruvian society during these years and to what extent the hopes of the urban working classes, the peasant farmers and of the Quechua and Aymara-speaking communities were raised. These government measures had the cumulative effect of leading the population to expect that soon all foreign interests would be controlled by Peruvians, all land would be in the hands of peasant farmers and that workers would have a decisive say in the running of all enterprises. Indeed, it can be argued that the growing gap between the expectations raised by the regime’s rhetoric and its ability to meet them was one of the factors that ultimately led to its downfall\(^5\). Most analyses date the crucial turning point in 1973. The government

\(^{4}\text{Keen lists the telephone, rail, airline, cement, chemical, paper, fishmeal, cotton, and part of the mining industries. The government also imposed limitations on private or foreign ownership in areas such as banking or exports (1996 p400f).}\)

\(^{5}\text{Philip 1978 p117, although many other factors need to be borne in mind, not least the world-wide economic depression following the Oil Crisis of 1973.}\)
was forced to introduce austerity measures because of its growing economic difficulties and the year became characterised by strikes, riots and the looting of SINAMOS offices. These were stimulated by the sense of a power vacuum that ensued when Velasco became ill that same year. Although he recovered Velasco was ousted by another coup in 1975 led by General Morales who intensified the move towards more conservative policies already under way. With this background in mind it does not seem entirely coincidental that 1973 brought a crisis in what had been a period of energetic and hopeful development of the work of the Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru, especially amongst and by the Aymaras.

"A new awakening" amongst the Aymara

The last chapter documented the vigorous development of the churches already happening in the early 1960s. Two years after Evangelism in Depth another campaign of a similar nature was organised called the "Campaign of the Americas". This was an explicitly Baptist effort covering the length of America, North and South, in five years. Like the earlier campaign, the climax in each area was a public march by hundreds of believers singing hymns. However, some changes were visible since the marches two years previously. The new church in Alto-Parco, only constituted in the early 1960s, had formed its own brass band trained by a music teacher. This band immediately became very popular, leading not only the march in its own area but also those in Itrave and in Yunguyo towns. Soon other churches were starting up their own groups, e.g. in Yanapata. It is interesting that the Alto-Parco church seems to have given the lead in this area

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16 Worsening economic conditions and social unrest finally forced the military to accede in 1980 to demands for a return to democratic government.
17 IBMNT in IB December 1969
18 IBMNT in IB January 1970
19 Their band is mentioned as taking part at a celebration of the 25th anniversary of Sam Sloan's
because it was one of the numerous churches planted with minimal input from the missionaries. A love for music and singing is a marked feature of Aymara culture\textsuperscript{20} so this seems a clear example of indigenous initiative\textsuperscript{21}.

One stimulus to the development of indigenous hymnody came from across the Bolivian border. Some of the speakers for both Evangelism in Depth and the Campaign for the Americas were Bolivian Baptists\textsuperscript{22}. In between the two campaigns the Annual Convention of the (Peruvian) Union was held in Paque-Paque in April 1969. The main preacher invited was Pastor Justino Quispe who at the time was President of the Bolivian Baptist Union\textsuperscript{23}. He brought with him an Aymara choir who made a big impact both on the missionaries and on the assembled church delegates\textsuperscript{24}. A choir from La Paz was back - 100 strong - three years later for the 1972 Convention in Desaguadero, on the border\textsuperscript{25}. Part of the reason the Bolivians had such an impact was that they sang from hymnbooks in which new compositions were set to the Aymara pentatonic musical scale. They brought other Aymara literature with them\textsuperscript{26} produced by the "Comisión de Literatura y Alfabetización Aymara" (the Aymara Literature and Literacy
Commission, or CALA, sponsored by Wycliffe Bible Translators.27 The Bolivian Baptists did much to disseminate this literature, especially through the radio broadcasts (in Aymara as well as Spanish) from their "Southern Cross" station in La Paz. In 1970 a group came across to Yunguyo specifically to publicise these programmes and to make contact with Peruvian listeners. The Irish Baptist Magazine records that 300 people tried to squeeze into the little Baptist church to hear them.28 These contacts eventually led to the holding of yearly three-day conventions under the auspices of a "Junta Internacional Bautista Peru-Bolivia" (International Baptist Board).29 I will return later to the significance of the closeness of the relationship between Peruvian and Bolivian Baptists.

In this period the effects of the IBFM personnel losses in the 1960s continued to be felt. There was one year when the Mitchells were the only Irish missionaries in Peru and the total missionary staff was composed of only three couples.30 However, the Annual Report for 1969 commented that "[d]espite the sadly depleted staff unusual blessing has been enjoyed."31 Apart from the results of the Campaign of the Americas around Yunguyo the other evidence given in the report to support this statement was the sudden acceleration of the work in the plains around llave. Once established in llave, Dr Peter Hughes found the opportunities virtually endless. There were constant demands for his particular combination of medical skill and Christian teaching. 1969 seems especially remarkable for the number of groups that surface in Hughes' reports already meeting on Sundays and wanting

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27 See appreciative comments in Sloan 1996-97 p52, reinforced in interview with the author 11.9.98.
28 IBMNT in IB July 1970
29 A detailed programme for the Convention of 1976 is extant but these meetings may have begun a few years earlier. Mary Sloan states in her article that these meetings began while she and Sam were still based in Yunguyo rather than llave, i.e. before 1974 (1996-97 p53). These meetings appear to be still going strong. Nacho quotes attendances of "about 4,000" (1997 p64). Interestingly cross-border meetings of Aymara Catholics seem to have developed in the 1970s also (Orta 1996 p596).
30The year was 1970.
31R&S 1969 p6
visits from the missionary. This is a pattern already noted in connection with the Sloans' work around Yunguyo. Around llave that process seems to have happened in an even more compressed time scale. One possible explanation would stress the inter-relationship between Dr Hughes' medical and evangelistic work. There was a ready response to Hughes "mobile clinic" as he drove out into the plains. Long queues also formed outside the llave Clinic on the days when he held surgeries in the town itself. But there are two arguments against regarding the medical work as the most significant factor in the emergence of these groups. Firstly, Nordyke documents a trend of disillusionment with projects of modernity in the llave plains in the late 60s. This was caused by the failure of a number of government programmes to deliver the prosperity promised when they were launched. Hughes' work is evidently something of an exception to this trend but Nordyke's observations should make us cautious about assuming that the medical help was the primary attraction for the Aymara villagers. Secondly, and more fundamentally, the growth amongst the Baptist groups in the plains began before Hughes' arrival and whilst it did accelerate during the 18 months he was there, they continued to flourish after his departure.

This suggests that the key to their emergence lies rather in the fruitful partnership established between Hughes (and later Stanley Black) and the evangelist Jose Pari. It was not modern projects carried out by outsiders for their benefit that the

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32 Dr Hughes' work was one of the two last medical projects undertaken by IBFM missionaries. Lila Marks worked in the Puno hospital for two years in the 60s in a very natural integration with the government's medical programme. Hughes' services were appreciated by his patients but as we shall see below there were other problems brewing in llave.

33 This is the basis on which Nordyke explains a slowing in response encountered by Friends missionaries, together with increasing reversions to the longer-established Adventists. He suggests the general disillusionment spilt over into perceptions of the new missionaries also (1972 pp157-8).

34 In interview with the author, Dr Hughes reflected that his musical ability in playing the accordion was probably appreciated as much as his medical skill (interview with Dr Peter and Mrs Betty Hughes 17.8.99).

35 The Hughes initially expected to be absent for two years from June 1970 whilst he continued his medical studies in Ireland. However, their return to the field was delayed because of the health of their younger son and even when they did go back in 1974 they were relocated to Tacna.
villagers found attractive so much as seeing one of their own who was "getting on". Pari was one of Ken Needham's students for the one term that the Bible Institute in llave functioned in 1967. He was appointed as an evangelist by the Union at their Easter Convention in 1968 and though small in physical stature proved to be a fiery preacher. He soon had a reputation as an energetic worker and as something of an entrepreneur. He became the pastor of the new llave church. With the combined leadership of Hughes and Pari this church developed by leaps and bounds. When in 1968 Hugh Mitchell reported the re-commencement (after the Needhams' departure) of meetings for adults in llave he gave the attendance as 47 and said: "the young man Jose Pari is doing a fine job". By early 1969 Hughes reported an attendance of 70, with 40 "staying for communion". During the course of the year a young people's group, Sunday School, and women's meeting were started in quick succession. Soon there were meetings every night of the week either in the church hall or in believers' homes. By 1970 llave was one of the liveliest of all the IBFM centres. The church under Pari's leadership was extending its building, as sometimes there were 200 there on Sunday morning. That year the Union Convention was held there and a member of the church was elected Union Secretary. Between 1969 and 1973 there were at least 72 baptisms, though these may have included people from outlying groups. There is some evidence that the attendances at the Sunday services in llave town peaked and began to decline during 1972 as Black gave the figure of 60-80 adults in that year's annual report. But one reason for this was the formation of the new churches out on the

36 Black to Lyttle 18.9.72
37 Mitchell to Deens 6.7.68
38 IBMNT in IB March 1969
39 IBMNT in IB February 1969, Hughes to Deens 4.3.69 and 18.3.69
40 Hughes to Deens 4.3.69
41 IBMNT in IB May and June 1970
42 These are the ones witnessed by missionaries and reported - there may have been more (Hughes to Deens 18.3.69, 29.4.69; IBMNT in IB February 1970, May 1970, and February 1972; R&S 1971, 1972 and 1973).
43 R&S 1972 p15
plains meaning converts from these centres no longer walked into town on Sundays. Pari reported to the Committee in 1971 that he had planted ten churches in four years and listed 13 congregations that he visited weekly.

Overall the UEBCISP experienced very rapid numerical growth. In a paper presented to a Conference of Baptist workers in Lima in 1990, Andrew Lovell dates a new stage in the history of the Union from 1967. He labels the period between 1953 and 1966 one of consolidation with an average of two churches affiliating every year. He then states that 1967-1985 was characterised by expansion with an average of almost six churches a year joining the Union. However, the growth rate was not uniform within these two periods. Closer examination of the records (including some not available to Lovell) shows that the really explosive growth happened between 1968 and 1972. In those four years the number of groups affiliated with the Union doubled from 34 to 70, a remarkable expansion by any reckoning. After 1973 the spurt of growth gradually slowed again, as had happened in the earlier period. This trend is most easily seen when growth is expressed as a percentage of the groups already affiliated to the Union, as in Figure 11. There continued to be growth after 1973 but it took place at a slower rate.

The rapid multiplication of groups in the early 1970s raised the need for some kind of regional organization. In a mimeographed “Bulletin” issued by the Union in 1973

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44Lovell 1991 p17
45IBMNT in IB June 1968 stated the Union was formed of 34 churches and congregations, 27 of which were in the Yunguyo area. The IBMNT in IB May 1972 reported that 70 churches were represented at the Annual Convention.
46See Figure 10 p123.
47Figure 11 has been extended to 1990 to place the growth of the 1960s and 70s in the proper perspective. From the graph it can be seen that rather than two very different periods of “Consolidation” and “Expansion” as suggested by Lovell, the history of the UEBCISP is better described as two very similar cycles (1950-67 and 1968-1990) both composed of rapid expansion followed by slower growth as the initial surge dissipates.
Percentage Change in Number of Churches Affiliated to UEBCiSP

Figure 11: Percentage Growth of the UEBCiSP 1950 - 1990
an article covers the “Zonal Convention” hosted by the first church in Tacapisi. Over 1000 people from 16 churches attended and committees for music, hospitality, women’s work and “press and progress” were elected. The President of the Union wrote that he hoped that soon all the churches would be organised in zones like this. When Fidel Alvarez was interviewed years later he was particularly proud to have been involved with the beginnings of the “zona” in his area. At the time of this interview, I noted that this seemed to represent more than just administrative progress to him. Orta in his thesis outlines the organization of Catholic parishes in Bolivia into “zonas” with Biblical names like “Gethsemane” and “Bethlehem” and points out that the resulting “nested hierarchy” mirrors aspects of Aymara social structure. It seems the introduction of the “zonas” into the Peruvian Union represented further indigenization of the work as well as indicating numerical growth.

The missionaries sensed this new vigour amongst the churches. In 1970 Mitchell wrote: “[t]here is a very definite desire to push forward in the work in the different churches”, although he added, “I don’t know what to put it down to.” Two years later Black commented: “[t]here is a new awakening among these people. They want to learn to read, to write, to understand scripture, to run and govern their own churches, to sing and to read music.” This sounds very like a new parallel - expressed within the context of Baptist church life - to the Aymara people’s desires for development and progress in the economic, social and political spheres.

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48Boletín Informativo Num 3° p8
49Boletín Informativo Num 3° p8
50Orta 1996 p219. He was told frequently that for the Aymara communities the significance of the “zonas” was not only better organization but also reduced friction and conflict (pp304-310). It is interesting that the Aymara Baptist churches in Tacna include ones called “Getsemani” and “Natividad”.
51BMNT in IB April 1970
52BMNT in IB June 1972
earlier chapter noted similar parallels in the late 1940s\textsuperscript{53}.

A "most difficult" year

The difference was that by 1973 the political context had changed. Ilave provides a good example of how the national situation informed local attitudes and actions. Under the new regime the oft-reiterated threats to expropriate the clinic site finally materialised when a SINAMOS study into the best location for a new market for the town concluded that 50\% of the IBFM site should be expropriated, compensation to be paid over a period of 22 years. The missionaries decided to recommend to the Committee that the land should be donated as it was "in the interests of the work and witness of the Mission to accept gracefully the inevitable"\textsuperscript{54}. The Committee responded promptly that they "welcomed and approved" this proposal\textsuperscript{55} but they were overtaken by events. The next entry in the Field Council minute book records that "the main purpose of the meeting was to consider the situation created by the precipitate action of the townspeople of Ilave on the 1st of May 1973 when some 500 people knocked down the walls surrounding half the Mission property although it had been agreed by Mr Black and .. the town councillors to open up the door so that the mayor could perform the symbolic act signifying that the property in question was being taken over\textsuperscript{56}". Mary Sloan later recalled that at one point the Blacks returned home to find the townspeople had painted on the Mission gates "Yankee go home"\textsuperscript{57}. It is clear that some now saw the IBFM missionaries as both landowners and foreign "imperialists".

Despite this atmosphere the missionaries seem to have been taken by surprise

\textsuperscript{53}Chapter 3 pp111-116
\textsuperscript{54}Minutes IBFM Field Council 13.3.73
\textsuperscript{55}Hand-written note by Joshua Thompson on minutes of IBFM Committee 20.4.73
\textsuperscript{56}Minutes of IBFM Field Council 9.5.73
\textsuperscript{57}Sloan 1996-97 p54
when a crisis developed that year in their relationship with the Council of the UEBCiSP. The situation became serious enough for the IBFM Annual Report to begin: "The year 1973 will always be regarded as one of the most difficult in the history of our Mission"\textsuperscript{58}. The missionaries' shock on discovering strongly nationalistic aspirations within the Union of Churches suggests that they had naively expected the believers to be unaffected by the powerful currents in Peruvian society. Yet their reaction is one commonly found in mission history. Seven years before the crisis R.E.Thompson had written in the IBFM magazine that nationalism was one of the common causes of missionary frustration "especially when expressed by national believers. It was expected from 'outside' not from 'inside'"\textsuperscript{59}. And it was very definitely "insiders" who led the opposition to the IBFM missionaries. The President of the Union that year was Oswaldo Cruz, one of the very earliest Aymara converts. The Vice-President was Rufino Checuyo, who had worked as an evangelist for the Union for a number of years in the late 1950s. But it was the involvement of Oswaldo's brother Valentin - with whom Sam Sloan had had such a close relationship - that most shocked and hurt the missionaries.

During 1972 a subcommittee of the Council drafted new statutes for the Union\textsuperscript{60}. The Council then called an Extraordinary Assembly for the 16th December 1972 to approve the new Constitution which contained a number of significant changes. The quorum for the General Assembly to amend the Constitution was lowered from 75% to 40\%\textsuperscript{61}. The number of full Council members was reduced from seven to

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{58}R&S 1973 p13
  \item \textsuperscript{59}"Missionary Casualties - Their Cause and Cure" by R.E.Thompson in "The Tie" Vol. 2 Num 4 October - December 1966 pp9-11
  \item \textsuperscript{60}Minutes Field Council 28.12.72
  \item \textsuperscript{61}Article 26
\end{itemize}
five and they were given the right to some degree to "supervise the functioning" of member churches including their organization, administration and finances. But "the article which .. caused considerable concern to the Field Council" was article 28 which stated that henceforth the Union would nominate two delegates to the Field Council of Irish Baptist missionaries to ensure co-ordination of decisions and smoother running of the Union. This was a demand for an equal, reciprocal relationship as the new Constitution still allowed the missionaries to nominate three additional representatives to the Union's Council as they had done heretofore.

There was considerable confusion surrounding the calling of the Extraordinary Assembly and it seems the coastal churches did not get their notices in time to attend. All present at the meeting agreed that 40% of the churches were represented but not 75%, although they differed as to whether this was sufficient for a quorum. The Council argued on the basis of the new constitution and of current practice in Peru that 40% was sufficient. The missionaries disagreed on the basis of the existing statutes. They further said that any changes to the make-up of the (missionary) Field Council would require the agreement of the Committee in

62 Article 27
63 Article 36, my translation.
64 Years later Guisa and Rios separately told me that these changes were modelled on the constitution of a co-operative "sindicato" (interviews with the author 5.10.98 and 11.10.98 respectively). Trade union organisations were used as models for the organisation of the peasant co-operatives created by the Velasco regime. I will return later to the significance of this model being used.
66 In interview Mary Sloan claimed that the UEBGISP "wasn't a missionary-directed Union" because there were only a few Mission representatives on the Council (interview with the author 11.9.98). But whilst there were three positions on Council reserved for IBFM missionaries there was nothing to prevent them also standing for election to the other seven seats on the Council. Kathleen Reid was elected in this way in 1960 along with Guzman, Curimanya, Serruto, Guisa, Mandamientos and Bravo (Sloan to Thompson 5.8.60). However, the minutes of the Council meeting in Tacna on 8.11.60 show that Bravo was not present but no apology is registered. Instead the list of ten "members present" now includes not four but five missionaries. Kathleen Reid was joined by Stanley Reid, Sam Sloan, Mary Sloan and Nurse Dottie Sloan. Presumably Bravo's absence was supplied by the fifth missionary, perhaps because they had easier access to transport. Examples like this show that the missionaries exerted if not control then very strong influence on the Council.
67 In "Boletín Informativo Num. 3" (p3) the President wrote that 28 churches and 4 non-affiliated groups unanimously passed the new statutes. 70 churches were represented at the Convention in 1972.
Ireland. But they did give an undertaking for the future. The Field Council minutes which reflected on these events state that at this Assembly "it was pointed out that the missionaries are not opposed to having Peruvians share in their deliberations but that we believed that we had first to put our own house in order and then be free to INVITE Union members as and when we needed to consult with them concerning the work of the Lord through the Union". This was a limited promise in that any invitation would only be as and when the missionaries decided they needed to consult, but there was a clear implicit commitment that there would be such shared deliberations. This was not enough and the Assembly went ahead and approved the new Constitution.

This led to a stand-off between the Council and the missionaries as the latter refused to recognise the legality of these proceedings. As time went on the accusations from both sides became steadily more bitter. The missionaries withdrew their representatives from the Council who responded by threatening legal action and appealing over the heads of the missionaries to the General Secretary of the BUOI, Joshua Thompson, to come out to Peru. As it happened the IBFM had already planned a visit to Peru in July 1973 by two Committee members, the Chairman Pastor G. F. Blayney, and Mr William Hunter, who had previously worked as a teacher in Lima. They were accordingly empowered to meet the Union Council. In the meeting which took place on 19th July the Council presented a list of no less than 28 separate complaints against the missionaries. When those arising from misunderstandings are set aside, most of the rest are to do with power over monies and properties. In particular the Council made much of the fact that although the Union Constitution of 1962 made provision for a Board of Trustees to handle property this had never been activated. Properties had been

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68Minutes IBFM Field Council 28.12.72 (emphasis by capitalization in the original).
acquired during the 1960s such as in Puno but these were not in the Union's name nor even in that of the local church\textsuperscript{69}.

The Council then handed over a statement which became known as the "Two Ways" document because it outlined the only two alternatives acceptable to the Council. The first involved a complete end to any co-operation. In this case the Council demanded that the Mission must completely abandon the whole area in which the Union was active. The rationale provided for this was "just as when Mr Robert Hamilton was expelled for presuming to work better than the elders he went to a place far away"\textsuperscript{70}. This statement is significant for two reasons. Though somewhat simplistic in its understanding of what happened between the missionaries ten years previously it nevertheless shows how enduring was their legacy as regards the (mis)handling of conflict. Secondly, the implicit parallel it draws with the situation of 1973 suggests that the Council were deliberately casting themselves as "the elders"\textsuperscript{71} in relation to the missionaries with all the resonances this would have in Aymara culture with its reverence for both tradition and for seniority. This document (and the list of 28 grievances) are signed not only by the President Oswaldo Cruz and the other officers of the Union. The signatures also include those of Valentin Cruz (Oswaldo's brother) and of Jose Luis Bravo. Both these men had moved away from the area some time previously but had evidently come back to lend their considerable prestige to the current Council. Cruz was converted in late 1947. As such he could genuinely claim to have been involved in Baptist circles in Peru longer than any of the missionaries with the sole

\textsuperscript{69}In fact this property built by Mitchell was registered in his name together with that of Sam Sloan and of Sra de Murazzi a Puno church member who had since emigrated to Costa Rica.

\textsuperscript{70}My translation.

\textsuperscript{71}The Committee were given a text where "por querer trabajar mejor que los antiguos" was translated "for presuming to work better than the older missionaries" (emphasis added). This is obviously the primary referent but this translation raises the question in what way that incident provides a precedent for 1973. Retaining the deliberate ambiguity of "the elders" immediately establishes why the Council appealed to this precedent, as outlined in the main text.
exception of Sam Sloan who had just arrived in Peru at the time of Cruz's conversion. Bravo went much further back than that. He was converted no later than April 1937 and probably some time before this as by then he was requesting baptism. He had been in Peruvian Baptist circles at least 46 years - very nearly twice as long as the longest-serving missionary. Bravo was the very first President of the Union in 1950. Like Bravo, Valentín Cruz had been both Secretary and President of the Union (in 1965 and 1969 respectively). That men of such enormous prestige and influence within the Union were prepared to demand the complete withdrawal of all IBFM missionaries shows how far events had moved. The second of the “Two Ways” was not much less radical than the first. It insisted that the Union have the last word in every decision; that all funds entering and all properties acquired in Peru be in the name of the Union and that Irish Baptists commit themselves to underwrite 75% of the Union’s future budget. It finally (and fatally as far as any negotiation on the basis of this document was concerned) also demanded that to avoid any reprisals the entire missionary staff be replaced. This document is so extreme in tone that it does not read as a realistic proposal for a resolution (as it purported to be). At best it was an opening gambit in an attempt to drive a hard bargain, at worst a deliberate attempt to ensure no agreement was possible and to force the IBFM to withdraw completely.

Over the next few months the Committee deliberated and drew up a list of six possible responses to the situation and sent these to the Field Council for their opinion. Three of the six involved abandoning South Peru either temporarily,
permanently or as part of relocation to another area of Peru if co-operation agreements could be made with other Baptist missions. The missionaries felt these options were premature and hoped they would not be necessary at all. The remaining three were as follows: a) "to integrate the work of the Mission with that of the Union so that the missionaries would operate under the control of the Concilio"; b) "to work with those churches presently in the Union which favour the missionaries as against the present Concilio (recognising that this may unhappily lead to the disruption of the Union and perhaps to dissension in individual local churches)"; and c) "to negotiate with the Union of Churches and attempt to reconcile the differences". The missionaries' reply to the first of these (integration with the Union) was "Decidedly not". Of the other options, they recognised that they were operating under the second but wanted ultimately to negotiate.

Before this determination was put to the test events again overtook them when the Council presented legal charges against the missionaries. The situation was particularly serious because President Cruz also included a formal accusation that the missionaries were spies for foreign powers. In the context of the revolutionary government of the day this could easily have ensued in the missionaries' expulsion from the country. Presumably he hoped that their goods and properties might then pass by default to the Union. No defence can be presented of these actions. They not only flew in the face of apostolic prohibitions against lawsuits against other Christians but also, it seems, involved gross misrepresentation of the truth. It is by no means incredible that missionaries should be open to debriefing by their government's intelligence services but Cruz was forced by the court to acknowledge that he could not adduce any evidence whatsoever to support his

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76 1 Corinthians 6:1
77 Stoll (1990 p14) quotes examples from Christianity Today (October 10 1975 pp62-64) where mission societies had acknowledged that their workers had been debriefed by the CIA.
allegation that any IBFM missionaries had acted as spies. The judge threw out the case and bound over all parties to work together on threat of imprisonment\textsuperscript{78}. The loss of face for Cruz and the other members of the Council proved fatal to their cause. In a new Extraordinary Assembly convened on 19th January 1974 the churches decided to retain the older Constitution rather than the revised one. Further, a new Council was elected which included Rubén Bustinza and Humberto Guísa (both from the Tacna church) as President and Secretary respectively, Ríos from Tarata as Vice-President, and Sra Alejandrina de Espejo (from Moquegua) as Treasurer. All of these people were very favourable to the missionaries.

Shortly afterwards three churches left the Union: Puno, Paque-Paque and Alto-Parco. With them went a number of groups who had not yet affiliated formally with the Union. In this schism the Union lost two of its five founder members. The third church, Alto-Parco, was one of the most vigorous in indigenizing Christianity into Aymara culture. The importance of the loss to the Union should not be underestimated, nor should the degree of animosity and ill-will generated. Some time later these churches developed informal links with the “Bible Baptists”. Thankfully there are later reports of substantial growth amongst them as well as within the circles of the IBFM and Union work\textsuperscript{79}. It is even better to hear of the first beginnings of co-operation between the breakaway Puno church and the Moquegua church (close to the missionaries) in re-initiating evangelism in the Carumas valley in the 1990s. There was also a rapprochement between Valentín Cruz on the one side and Mitchell and Sloan on the other\textsuperscript{80}, but it took many years for this to come about. The ferocity of this conflict and the still unhealed schism to

\textsuperscript{78}See "Acta Conciliatoria entre la Union de Iglesias Evangélicas Bautistas en el Sur de Peru y La Asociación Bautista del Sur del Peru" 27.11.73 and "Acta de Garantías" del Prefecto del Departamento de Puno 5.12.73.

\textsuperscript{79}Lovell 1991 p18

\textsuperscript{80}Personal communication from Andrew Lovell. Also repeated to me by Andrew Mitchell in Peru.
which it gave rise force us to consider its causes.

The Causes of the Conflict

The missionaries tended to blame this conflict, and others like it which have subsequently followed, on the moral failure of individual Peruvian leaders. There are two objections to seeing this as a fundamental cause. Firstly, the reality is that there always is moral failure in national leaders (as well as in missionaries) but this does not always lead to institutional struggles between the two groups. Secondly, the very fact of this type of explanation (or accusation) is one characteristic of a pattern encountered repeatedly when tensions arise between missions and national Christians over the latter's nationalistic aspirations81. This strongly suggests that the first, crucial cause for the conflict in 1973 was the political context. Consider the following excerpt from the manifesto issued the day after the coup in October 1968:

"Powerful economic forces -both national and foreign with Peruvian support-being motivated by overwhelming greed, retain political and economic power and frustrate the popular desire for basic structural reforms... our resources have been compromised under conditions of notorious disadvantage to the country in such a way as to bring about its dependence upon economic power, affront our sovereignty and indefinitely postpone every change that would make it possible for us to overcome our present condition of underdevelopment"82

81 E.g. in Stoll's chapter on problems encountered by WorldVision in Ecuador (1990 p302) he covers: 1) divisions between churches and the mission-founded denomination; 2) accusations by the missionaries of moral failings in national leaders and of their refusal to accept discipline; 3) further accusations of mishandling of funds - "a combination of administrative ignorance, culturally-approved sharing of resources with kin, and theft" (ibid. p290); 4) from the nationals' side, accusations of "domination" by the missionaries; 5) anti-imperialist rhetoric; and 6) involvement of the national leaders in electoral politics. Irish Baptist leaders and missionaries will recognise every element in that list from experiences in Peru.

82 Coup manifesto issued the day after taking power (quoted in Philip 1978 p77)
Replace “economic forces” by “church forces” and “country” by “Union of Churches” and this statement would immediately become a manifesto for the sort of measures undertaken by the Council in 1973\textsuperscript{83}. The similarities in the events in the political world and amongst the Baptist churches are not coincidental. In the mimeographed bulletin issued by the Council Cruz rehearsed his first address as newly-elected President at the Convention of 1972. He recalled that he had given notice of making some changes to the administration of the Union to enable further development and progress “in parallel with” (en parangón con) the Revolutionary Government of President General Juan Velasco Alvarado\textsuperscript{84}.

Because of this political context anything which identified the IBFM work with the “enemies of the Revolution” should have been seen as a very grave liability. Land and properties held in the name of foreigners were an obvious example. It is unfortunate that 1968 was the year when the Mission invested most into buildings in Peru\textsuperscript{85}. One of these was a holiday home next door to the house jointly used until then by EUSA and IBFM missionaries in Mejia. The other two buildings were on the Ilave site. Realising the vulnerability of foreign-owned properties under the new regime EUSA put pressure on the IBFM to get the Mejia building transferred to a body with legal standing in the country. The UEBCiSP could have acted in this way\textsuperscript{86}. However, the missionaries on the field opposed this as it would mean Peruvians could use these facilities also\textsuperscript{87}. Instead, the IBFM managed to get legal recognition itself in 1972 (after years of trying) as the “Asociación Bautista del Sur

\textsuperscript{83}Pastor Blayney wrote after his visit to Peru: “In a country with such an outlook some church leaders will almost inevitably come to hold the views of the political leaders” (IBMNT in IB October 1973).
\textsuperscript{84}Boletín Informativo Num. 3* p5
\textsuperscript{85}The Annual Report recorded that the three buildings erected cost over £8,000 (R&S 1968 p8). The equivalent figure today is around £80,000.
\textsuperscript{86}When consulted in Ireland neither Reid nor McVicker saw any objection to this (Minutes IBFM Committee 21.11.69).
\textsuperscript{87}EUSA missionaries apparently shared this view (Minutes of IBFM Field Council 28.6.69).
del Peru. If the Council were aware of the conclusion of this process (which is uncertain) it could not but confirm them in their thinking that the IBFM would never hand over any properties. Mitchell showed this was not the case by taking the first legal steps in 1973 towards signing over the Avenida El Sol building to the Puno church, but this should have been done much earlier. The reluctance of some of the missionaries is clear when the Ilave church renewed their request for a part of the remaining IBFM grounds there. When the Field Council voted on the issue it agreed to give them half the remaining land (one quarter of the original) only by a majority of five to three.

Secondly, the missionaries were ambivalent about some aspects of the growing indigenization of the Union of Churches. At one level they were delighted to see progress towards expressions of Aymara culture, e.g. in hymnody. However, in the organisation of the local churches and of the Union they (and the Spanish-speaking churches) resisted trends that to the Aymara believers may have seemed to stem from the same root. The restructured statutes proposed by the Union Council were resisted by men like Guiśa because they were modelled on an industrial "sindicato" and were less democratic in his eyes than the original constitution. He feared that if the numbers of Council members were reduced it would be too easy for the President and Vice-President to control the Union. This concern cannot be dismissed lightly - especially when the contemplated new Constitution allowed the Council to "supervise" the finances of individual churches.

88Minutes IBFM Field Council 7.11.72
89Originally made in 1969.
90Minutes IBFM Field Council 25.7.73
91Cf. Bosch's statement on changes in the second half of the nineteenth century in how missionaries related to local cultures: "[I]ndigenization was official missionary policy in virtually every Protestant mission organization, even if it was usually taken for granted that it was the missionaries, not the members of the young churches, who would determine the limits of indigenization" (1991 p295).
92Interview with the author 5.10.98. The revised Council was to have only five full members and thus a quorum of three (although to this had to be added the three IBFM representatives).
This to many Baptists, both Irish and Peruvian, was and is anathema. Painted in their worst light these moves seem straightforward manoeuvrings for power. But this does not explain why substantial numbers of the Baptist churches could be persuaded, at least initially, to disregard the advice of the missionaries and go along with these changes. Orta illustrates that when, from 1952 onwards, Aymara communities in Bolivia encountered “sindicatos” they found them inherently attractive as a model because they mirrored aspects of their traditional social structure. Two features in particular are relevant here: the rotation of positions of authority and a “braiding” or symmetry where any given group (in this case the Council) is made up of two subgroups and the two top positions are occupied in alternate years by members of these subgroups. The post of Vice-President of the UEBCISP was created in the second Constitution of 1962. This certainly gave a certain duality to the leadership of the Union. A change in the Council structure from ten members led by one person (as was the situation until 1961) to eight led by two (as contemplated by the revised statutes of 1973) does make it more closely resemble a range of different Aymara structures surveyed by Orta. Whether this is significant or not the 1972-73 Council were finding other ways of giving a very Aymara “feel” to the Union. The problem was that “Aymaracising” the Union tended to alienate the urban churches unless some way was found of reflecting the multi-ethnic make-up of the Union in its administrative structures.

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93 These concerns about accountability may be one reason that in other Peruvian denominations also, e.g. in the “Iglesia Evangélica Peruana”, foreign missionaries have not shared national enthusiasm over the value of the “sindicato” as a model for church leadership (Kessler 1980 p245).
94 This is Orta’s term (1996 p328ff). Zulawski also notes this dualistic structure: “each kingdom as well as each village or settlement was composed of two moieties or parcialidades” (1996 p249).
95 If the three IBFM representatives are included.
96 Orta 1996 pp312-4
97 The Council were not above switching proceedings into Aymara at critical stages in an effort to keep in the dark the Spanish-speaking delegates who tended to be sympathetic to the missionaries (interview with Humberto Guisa 5.10.98).
98 This is an example of Hamilton’s fifth principle for more rapid and healthy church growth: “Administration is most effective when it recognises sociological structure and works within it” (1962 p116).
The missionaries had no problem with the rotation of positions of authority in the Union but saw this feature of Aymara social life as an obstacle to progress when implemented in the local churches. Adopting a rotating model reduced financial burdens as no one member of the church had to neglect his land to tend to church affairs for more than a year at a time. But from the missionaries' perspective an annual change of pastor impeded the development of a trained and competent national leadership for the churches. Roman Catholic missionaries in Bolivia experienced similar frustrations to the IBFM when catechists for faith groups were appointed by the communities as part of the ladder of rotating socio-religious positions. Just how far back the rotating model dates is elusive - Seed's article on caste and class structure seems to imply that it was part of the Andean cultures before the conquest, whereas Orta suggests that the key period was when the effects of the reforms introduced by the Bourbon monarchy in the eighteenth century began to be felt. In any case the key is to realise that during the colonial period the only alternative to this model was hereditary, unfettered power in the hands of authorities who systematically abused the Indians under their control. Thus the idea that no-one should hold a position of authority in perpetuity but that it should rotate around the group of eligible persons was deeply identified in the Aymara's minds with limiting the abuse of power. It has been suggested that it became their local analogue of equality and democracy. Orta points out that a tension is introduced in Aymara culture when foreign missionaries stress that

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99Personal conversation with Pastor Derek Baxter, current Missions Secretary. Note also how foreign the model was to Orestes Ríos (who is Spanish-speaking) when he suggested that it came from the churches imitating the Council - a suggestion that is very unconvincing (interview with the author 11.10.98).

100Orta 1996 pp96, 251 and 271

101Seed 1996 p8

102Orta 1996 p26

103It seems that as the financial difficulties of the Habsburg dynasty grew they were prepared to sell to the highest bidder the rights to positions ranging from village aldermen right up to the very highest posts in the colonial administration, the "audiencias" (MacLachlan 1996 pp2-6).

104Orta 1996 p316 quoting from Albo, Xavier y equipo CIPLA "Dinámica en la estructura intercomunitaria de Jesús de Machaqa" in América Indígena Vol. XXXII Num. 3 p782ff.
church leaders should have formal training as well as a personal conviction of divine vocation and also congregational approval. If, as is the case with Baptists, congregational authority in the election of leaders is considered non-negotiable then a rotational model of leadership may be an unavoidable corollary.

Missionary distrust of these features of Aymara social structure contrasts with the much fuller integration achieved in the labour syndicate movement. This suggests that the IBFM missionaries' relative position to the mainstream of Aymara development was different in 1973 to what it had been in 1947. It was sufficient for the missionaries to stand still, maintaining the attitudes they had always had, for this change in perception to occur because the Aymara cultural context had continued to evolve. In the earlier generation the Aymara found the missionaries' message attractive because it seemed to address the needs they felt most keenly. These included the paralysis induced by fatalism, illiteracy and the lack of non-exploitative relationships with the Spanish-speaking population. The missionaries were unaware of why their message was welcomed, nor did they grasp the need to show that it also addressed the problems and aspirations of the new generation. In a thesis written in 1978 Brown shows that by the 1970s the benefits of literacy, freedom from fatalism and "compadrazco"-type relationships with the Spanish-speaking population were available to the Aymara from other (non-Evangelical) sources. Conversely, new social needs had arisen. For example, as the Aymara moved away from solely agriculture-based income, men became the main breadwinners and their wives lost their traditional equal status in the family. Another problem was the loss of communal trust due to the breakdown in ayňi

105Orta 1996 pp247-253
106Brown's thesis shows that whilst some Aymara communities with limited contact with the towns continued to live much as they had done for decades, others had changed significantly over the past 25/30 years. For these particular changes see pp193-5 and 173. Compare chapter 3 pp114-116 where these same benefits appear as fruits of involvement with the IBFM-linked groups.
relationships. Baptists were not addressing these needs directly. The IBFM missionaries did not realise the extent of the changes because in many of the more rural communities they still received the enthusiastic welcomes typical twenty years previously. This was because large differences had developed between the social conditions in the more isolated villages and those in the towns linked to the main roads. As the most aggressive Aymara communities developed socially, economically and politically the missionaries appeared to them to be increasingly conservative and to have little to offer them.

Orta reminds us that missionaries often reflect home concerns. Discussing the attitudes of North American Catholic missionaries in Bolivia in the 1960s he states that "there are important connections between the radicalization of altiplano pastoral work and the emerging civil rights movement in the US". There is little evidence to assess to what extent the IBFM missionaries' concerns about the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland might have negatively influenced their views of social protest in Peru, but they definitely shared the fear of "Communism" which was widespread amongst Evangelicals in the 1950s and 1960s. This was probably reinforced by the IBFM missionaries' close links to high-ranking employees of the Mining Corporation in Toquepala. Some of these Americans, including the Chief Engineer and the General Manager of Railroads, were Evangelicals. The latter became a close friend of Mitchell's, whilst the former was "instrumental in setting up official links between the Company and the running of

107 Brown 1978 pp181-186
108 In the urban Baptist churches a similar stasis is discernible in this same period. Younger members of the urban churches who emigrated to Lima thought the IBFM missionaries were "unable to understand the social changes that were taking place" and reported that the churches were no longer growing (author's interview with Samuel Escobar 20.5.98).
109 Orta 1996 p88
110 E.g. McVicker (NB in IB October 1960), Reid (FMAR 1962 p6), Nurse Sloan to Deens 18.9.64.
The camps'. There are no grounds for doubting the genuine generosity of these managers. At the same time their actions also provided the Corporation (which had the same foreign owners as the notorious International Petroleum Company) with valuable good publicity. They may also have heightened the IBFM missionaries' distrust of those who stood for radical social change.

The third factor contributing to the conflict in 1973 was the growing awareness amongst UEBCiSP leaders that other Missions had gone much further in handing over leadership to nationals than the IBFM had. I have already highlighted the impact Bolivian Baptists were having on their Peruvian counterparts. This is especially significant because in their relations with the Canadian missionaries who had pioneered the work in Bolivia they were much further along the road of "devolution" than the Peruvian Union was. Donald Fraser surveys the main milestones in this process. The first Canadian Baptist missionary settled in Bolivia in 1898. In 1936 the Bolivian Baptist Union (BBU) was formed by six congregations. Crucially, at first the missionaries "declined membership and vote so as not to influence unduly the new fledgling organisation". When they did join in 1949 it was at the invitation of the Union when at the same time pastors of the churches were given a vote also. The next phase of devolution accelerated in the 1960s. In 1967 the Missionary Conference (equivalent to the IBFM Field Council) met for the last time. From then on missionaries were members of the BBU and all decisions, including the location of missionaries, were made by the appropriate

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111Macquigg 1993 pp27-8. This assistance included bulldozing the site, building a beach, supplying drinking water and wood fuel, storing equipment during the year and helping to erect the marquee.
112Fraser 1997 p40
113Fraser 1997 p40
114Fraser 1997 p41. Note the contrast to the UEBCiSP. The Peruvians could probably not have done without some missionary assistance at first but as shown earlier (e.g. p179 footnote 66) the Irish missionaries exerted strong influence over the Council.
115Fraser 1997 p46
Board of the BBU\textsuperscript{116}. By 1971 all properties in Bolivia owned by Canadian Baptists were handed over, including the Southern Cross Radio Station in La Paz, the Seminary in Cochabamba, Reekie College in Oruro, church buildings in a number of cities and houses for pastors (in which missionaries had previously lived)\textsuperscript{117}. It must have had a tremendous impact on Peruvian Baptists to discover that their brothers from churches just a few miles away from them had been entrusted with so much. Perhaps it is no wonder that they began to have questions about the properties in llave, Puno and elsewhere.

Fourthly, it was not self-evident to Irish Baptists that their mission work should ultimately be integrated with the Peruvian Union of Churches\textsuperscript{118}. In the immediate hostility of the crisis it is understandable that Pastor Blayney argued against this aim in the Irish Baptist magazine when he returned from Peru\textsuperscript{119}. Norman Shields was the IBHM Secretary, had experience of missionary work in Nigeria and lectured on Mission in the Irish Baptist College. Yet he too had raised some arguments against full integration of missions with national churches in an article a few years previously\textsuperscript{120}. For many Protestant missions the decisive event which led them to re-consider their relationship with national churches was the Communist

\textsuperscript{116}In this period the Oregon Friends (Quaker) mission also reached a final agreement with the national denomination they had planted in Bolivia, the Iglesia Nacional Evangélica Los Amigos (INELA). The agreement signed in 1963-64 covered the terms under which further foreign missionaries would work (Nordyke 1972 p140). As noted above the Friends entered Peru in 1961 and worked in the llave plains, their congregations being interspersed with Baptist groups.

\textsuperscript{117}Fraser 1997 p47 footnote 40

\textsuperscript{118}This is irrespective of what form such integration would take. Hesselgrave (1980 Figure 53 p417) outlines several different options, e.g. 1) the Mission becomes one department of the national Denomination; 2) the Mission merges with the highest governing body of the Denomination, in the IBFM's case the Council of the UEBCISP; 3) a Committee is drawn from both Denomination and Mission (which retains a separate existence) to jointly supervise the placing of the missionaries etc.

\textsuperscript{119}IBMNT in IB October 1973

\textsuperscript{120}These were: 1) the danger of confusing the ministries proper to missionaries with those of local churches; 2) that lonely missionaries need the sympathetic support of others of the same race; 3) the possibility of losing the essential sense of involvement at the home end if the only contribution became limited to recruiting and funding ("Pastoral Care of Missionaries - part 2" in IB March 1970 pp5-7). The first two points would be overcome if a clear agreement were drawn up between the Mission and the national churches which included the missionaries' role in future and which made provision for the missionaries to meet for fellowship though not for decision-making. The third point might well be seen as a natural progression as the national churches reach full maturity.
victory in China in 1949. Profound soul-searching amongst “mainline”, ecumenical
Protestants ensued. Then the 1960s brought independence to the African
colonies in rapid succession. The tide of nationalism there led some of the Faith
Missions also to “rethink their own mission”. Yet nationalism was insufficient on
its own to cause a change of relationship with the national church unless the
Mission in question was open to that possibility. Stanley highlights a four-fold
“motive power” which led the BMS to devolve power to the indigenous church in
India some years earlier. The rise in Indian nationalism was one factor. Others
were financial constraints, the pressure exerted by the International Missionary
Council especially after its meetings in Jerusalem in 1928 and in Tambaram in
1938 and importantly, the long-standing policy of the BMS Committee. Since the
1850s this had been moving in the direction of indigenization and devolution. In the
IBFM’s case none of these three factors had the same influence. There were no
financial issues as the subsidy to the UEBCiSP was never substantial. Irish
Baptists were hostile to the ecumenical missionary movement, and they evidently
did not have a clear policy of devolution, much less integration. The IBFM probably
had an additional handicap. Having been specifically created as an expression of
Irish Baptist independence and identity it was doubly difficult to conceive of
handing over control of any part of the Mission’s activities to anyone else. So
when nationalism was encountered in the Peruvian churches it was perceived as a
force to be resisted.

121 David Paton’s book “Christian Missions and the Judgement of God” written in 1953 “interpreted the
Communist take-over in China as an act of divine judgement upon the Western churches for their
cultural imperialism and their reluctance to grant autonomy to the mission-founded churches”
(Stanley 1990 p15).
122 Pritchard (1973 p104) on the situation in Congo in 1960. She continues saying that the
missionaries found “there was ample grace to enable them humbly to take up their new role as
ordinary church members with no special vote in councils”. A final agreement with the national
denomination was signed by the RBMU in 1971 (ibid. p110) and by integrating into that body the
RBMU voluntarily “relinquished its own identity as a Mission” within Congo (ibid. p121).
123Stanley 1992 pp283-4
124 Cf. comments in the Introduction pp5-6 and in chapter 2 p71.
125 The material in this chapter shows that nationalist aspirations could have been seen much more
positively as evidence of the degree to which the churches planted were truly indigenous.
This was unfortunate as in some respects the IBFM had advantages over the Canadians. It took only 17 years of work in South Peru before a Union of five churches was formed in 1950 - it had taken the Canadians 38 years to get that far. Further, Irish Baptists did not get involved in paying national pastors. Where Missions have done this it has often complicated the process of handing over responsibility to nationals. The Canadians found this themselves in 1966 when a plan to pass financial responsibility for pastoral support to Bolivians was wildly denounced as a "white massacre"\textsuperscript{126} by one of the national pastors. So why were the Canadians successful in maintaining good relationships despite tense periods as change was implemented? The answer highlights a fifth factor in the IBFM problems. Both Fraser and Veizaga (who assess the Canadian legacy from the Bolivian perspective) stress that the Canadian devolution process was driven by the missionaries on the field, not by the Board in Toronto. Veizaga gives an example dating back to the 1920s, before the creation of the BBU, when the missionaries wanted to include some of the Bolivians in their Missionary Conference deliberations. The Board responded that "[i]t is not our custom in India to admit into membership in the Missionary Conference the native workers"\textsuperscript{127}. Nevertheless, by 1931 the missionaries had asked the Bolivians to appoint a Minute Secretary for the sessions in Spanish. These first steps were the outworking of the missionaries' vision of full equality between expatriate and national workers. It was this vision that enabled later transfers of responsibility to happen "without trauma or bitterness"\textsuperscript{128}.

\textsuperscript{126}Fraser 1997 p45. The Southern Baptists in Peru faced similar difficulties (Garcia 1990 p39).
\textsuperscript{127}Quoted in Veizaga 1997 p97.
\textsuperscript{128}Veizaga 1997 p97. The Canadian workers were also more progressive in this regard than some other missionaries in Bolivia e.g. the Methodists and the Bolivian Indian Mission, later called the Andes Evangelical Mission (Fraser 1997 p43 footnote 24).
Irish Baptist experience was sadly different because of their inattention to the socio-political context which created a growing gap between their activities and the mainstream of Aymara aspirations. In addition, the contrast between their stance and that of other Missions highlighted the lack of a clear commitment by the IBFM to devolution and integration. Finally, and perhaps in the final analysis most importantly of all, the missionaries did not ensure that all their Peruvian brothers and sisters felt treated as equals.

A Golden Opportunity Missed?

The Annual Report for 1973 states that "the Lord used trying circumstances to teach our missionaries and the Home Committee many valuable lessons"\(^{129}\). However, it is not clear what lessons the missionaries felt they had learned. In the midst of the crisis an undertaking was given which has never been kept. To this day Peruvians are not part of the deliberations of the IBFM missionaries' Field Council. It is true that any steps towards devolution - never mind integration with the Union - would have been very difficult with a Council as hostile as that headed by Cruz in 1972 and 1973. However, in the aftermath of the crisis the Union elected a very pro-missionary Council. Over the next few years the Union was led by men like Ríos, Guísa (Vice-President and Secretary respectively in 1974), and Alvarez (President in 1977). These men went out of their way to express their gratitude for the work of the missionaries and to distance themselves from the attitudes of the 1973 Council\(^{130}\). There was a golden opportunity to press on with the process of devolution and integration whilst these men were in positions of influence. This would have demonstrated good faith on the part of the Mission and openly rewarded the maintenance of good relations. Instead the missionaries' lack

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\(^{129}\)R&S 1973 p13

\(^{130}\)See e.g. Alvarez to IBFM Committee 24.2.74 or Guísa to IBFM Committee 11.1.75.
of action on this front allowed their opponents to argue that without confrontation no progress would ever be made. The reality was that the relationships between the Mission and the Peruvian Union had not been finally dealt with in 1974. Problems had only been postponed and were guaranteed to recur in the future. Even though open conflict did not recur until the 1980s the window of opportunity probably closed in 1978 when Enrique Checuyo (the brother of Rufino who was Vice-President in 1973) was elected President of the Union and a second brother became Treasurer. From the perspective of 1999 it has to be concluded that the missionaries did not learn the right lessons from 1973. Instead, as in 1963, once those seen as the trouble-makers were silenced little change was implemented. Today all official links between Baptist Missions and the Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru have been severed for some years as the result of an escalating series of conflicts. And it is not altogether surprising to read that the Bolivian Baptist Union has been invited to initiate missionary work in Southern Peru, presumably by the very Union that grew out of Irish Baptist missionary endeavour.

Other Developments in Peru

There were some positive developments in Peru in the last five years before the IBFM’s merger with the Home Mission. Two new missionaries arrived in South Peru

131 Lovell to Lyttle 27.3.78
132 Perversely, the precedent of 1973 became the stock argument of the older missionaries against any moves proposed towards devolving authority to Peruvians (interview with Mr Desmond and Mrs Mavis Creelman 2.9.99). The missionaries’ fears are understandable because they felt betrayed by Valentín Cruz and the others. But as an argument this is irrational because the difficulties with Cruz did not follow a devolution of powers by the missionaries but rather a persistent refusal to countenance change.
133 Unofficially, as often in similar cases, the situation is not nearly so clear-cut. At different times some of these churches have had informal links with individual missionaries. Since these problems became acute Irish Baptist missionaries have also planted a number of new churches which are not as yet linked to any Union or Association.
134 Veizaga 1997 p91
during 1972: Mary ("Moira") Richmond and Andrew Lovell\textsuperscript{135}. That same year Mavis Cooke arrived in Lima and followed them to Puno in 1973. Because of the crisis the departure of Miss Rachel Ropp for Peru was delayed until February 1974. She was a member of Mulhouse Baptist Church in France and, like Richmond, Lovell and Cooke before her, had studied at the Irish Baptist College in Belfast. Ropp's application to the IBFM was one side effect of the Mission's move into Europe. Once the crisis with the Peruvian Union was left behind the energies of these new missionaries were released into a variety of ministries. Richmond had particular gifts for teaching and soon was training church members to run children's programmes. She also, together with Cooke, re-initiated fruitful prison and hospital visitation in Puno. However, Lovell was the most innovative. His vision was to develop what was initially called "Seminary Extension" work, later known as Theological Education by Extension (TEE).

The story of the emergence in Guatemala in 1963 of this innovative approach to the formation of church leaders especially associated with the names of F. Ross Kinsler, James Emery and Ralph D. Winter is widely known in Protestant mission circles and so will not be rehearsed at length here. Suffice it to say that a 1962 study of a quarter century of work by the Presbyterian Seminary in that country showed that out of 200 graduates only ten were functioning as pastors\textsuperscript{136}. The key problems with the traditional residential seminary were that on the one hand financial, family and community commitments prevented the access of the older, often married, men who were the informal leaders in the congregations. On the other hand the young single men who did come were "professionalized into the middle class creating a gap between themselves and the majority of their

\textsuperscript{135}Molly Allen was also commissioned with Richmond. However, ill-health forced her to return to Ireland after only six months in Puno.

\textsuperscript{136}Mulholland 1976 p79
brethren". The approach resulting from the "Guatemala experiment" was "decentralized, culturally diverse" and academically "multi-level".

Lovell applied these ideas to the area around Yunguyo in Peru. His announcement that the first courses would begin in July 1974 was eagerly welcomed by the churches in the area. The zonas "after lapsing for a while" now came into their own with this concrete project to organise. The plan was that students met with the teacher on a weekly basis and then took away their workbooks to study before coming back again to discuss the material in the group. Three groups were organised to study the first three-month course on basic doctrine. Two were in Yunguyo, with a combined enrollment of over 70. In the Second Takapisi church a further 30 enrolled from six out of the ten churches in the zona. The level of interest is shown by the fact that, even though Lovell was unable to commence the course himself because he caught hepatitis, everyone still wanted it to go ahead. Alvarez, one of the former Union evangelists, taught the first weeks, doing a capable job. Looking back Lovell was able to report that, out of a total enrollment of 105, 87 students completed this first course. For the second term he adapted a course written by the Friends Mission on the first half of the Gospel of Mark, as well as offering the first course to those who had not yet taken it. 43 students went on to the second course whilst another 70 enrolled for the first course. By the third term in late 1975 there was even greater interest: 15 centres were organised with a total enrollment of over 160. Throughout these three periods the graduation rate for each course was consistently over 80%. But perhaps the most encouraging

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137 Stoll 1990 p126
138 Mulholland 1976 p81
139 Lovell's Annual Report for 1974
140 Lovell to Lyttle 17.7.74
141 This and the other statistics here come from Lovell's Annual Report for 1975 (attached to Lovell to Lyttle 10.3.76) which gave a table comparing the first three terms.
feature was that the number of national leaders who could teach the first course had grown from two to five. This was just as well as Lovell had a second spell of illness, typhoid fever this time. Training leaders to teach the courses proved to be one of two bottlenecks. The other was producing the materials needed. Lovell had the help firstly of Richmond and later of Ropp in the actual reproduction of the books but the burden of the research and/or writing fell on him. After the third term the programme had to be temporarily suspended because Lovell was otherwise occupied, marrying Rachel Ropp in December 1975. They then took four months to go to Cochabamba in Bolivia to study Aymara before going on furlough. Whilst in Bolivia they met missionaries working with CALA. Later that year they came over to Peru to field-test newly translated parts of the Aymara Old Testament and to conduct literacy training\(^{142}\). This development further contributed to the sense of ongoing progress in the IBFM work.

So our study of the Peruvian field of the IBFM concludes at a point when the prospects seemed bright. The Aymara course taken by the Lovells was the first ever to have been attempted by an IBFM missionary\(^{143}\). Pam Brown was seconded from the Strict Baptist Mission in 1977 and Desmond Creelman was appointed by the Committee in September that same year. In Peru the Spanish-speaking churches were developing steadily. The Aymara churches in the Sierra and in the suburbs of Tacna were multiplying rapidly and the Lovells' TEE work held great promise for their future leadership. And - for the moment - the shadow over the question of the Mission's relationship to the Peruvian Union had lifted.

\(^{142}\)Lovell to Lyttle 3.9.76
\(^{143}\)Previously Muriel Hunter had shown the most interest when she procured a grammar book and had a few lessons (chapter 4 p142 footnote 41). Mavis Cooke also did a course in Aymara in 1977.
Into Europe

When the IBFM turned its attention to Europe it was mirroring the re-orientation of the foreign policy of the British government and the changing patterns of British trade. The Irish Baptist magazine for January 1973 drew these parallels when it spoke of the “missionary dimension” of the entry into the European Economic Community by Britain and the Republic of Ireland. The factors leading to this re-orientation in the political and economic fields (e.g. the decline of Britain as a colonial power and the lower costs associated with geographical proximity) also had an impact on the Mission - the opening of a new field was mooted partly because the Peruvian field was so distant and so costly to maintain. However, there were other factors too. In the changing church climate of the 1960s Irish Baptists had begun to feel the need for wider contacts with other groups but remained profoundly opposed to what was becoming known as the Ecumenical Movement. In 1966 the General Secretary of the BUOI, Joshua Thompson, together with that year’s President, attended a Conference in Mulhouse, France, sponsored by the International Baptist Fellowship. These were Baptist groups who had met some years previously at an International Council of Christian Churches and who now wanted to create a formal organisation as a rival to the Baptist World Alliance. To the disappointment of American Fundamentalist delegates this did not meet with the approval of a number of the European Baptists present in Mulhouse. Instead an informal “movement” emerged in 1967: the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Europe (FEBE). This association brought together the Strict Baptists, Irish Baptists and the Association of French-speaking Baptist Churches. Like the IBFM the French-Speaking Association was formed in 1967. The IBFM in IB January 1973

Thompson reported from Mulhouse in 1966 that the European groups did not evidence the same “exclusive, separatist” attitude as the North American delegations (1995 p149).

Thompson 1995 p150, quoting a statement by a temporary liaison committee set up at Mulhouse.

originally called the European Baptist Fellowship it changed its name to avoid confusion with the
the Fundamentalist controversies of the 1920s. A half-dozen churches had refused to join the French Baptist Union because of its breadth of theological views whereupon their sponsoring mission, the Northern Baptist Convention, refused them financial support. This led to Pastor Emile Guedj becoming a regular visitor to Ireland raising funds for these French Baptists\textsuperscript{148}. The Strict Baptists of England were not so well known to Irish Baptists. Contacts with them had increased with the appointment of David Kingdon as Principal of the Irish Baptist College in Belfast in 1963. The College began to attract Calvinistic Baptists from England and elsewhere like Lovell from Wales, Ropp and Wurtz from France, and Martinez from Spain. Not all the reservations about a future in close harness with some of the strongly separatist churches in the associations linked to FEBE were allayed\textsuperscript{149} but these contacts, especially with Pastor Berge of “La Bonne Nouvelle” church in Brussels, provided the context for developments in the next few years.

At the beginning of this chapter the review of IBFM policy which had been ongoing on an intermittent basis since 1966 was mentioned. In December 1969 the Committee commissioned two delegations\textsuperscript{150}. One was to go and meet with Pastor Berge. As the Committee had heard that Stanley Reid planned to visit his son in Spain they also asked him to gather as much information as possible and report back to them. This he did at length\textsuperscript{151}, recommending it as a good field for the IBFM and making specific suggestions as to possible groups which might make


\textsuperscript{149}The IBFM Sub-Committee on Europe minuted that it did not want to be forced into choosing between working with the French Baptist Union and the Association, especially as Billy Clarke, an Irish Baptist originally from the Great Victoria Street Church, was pastor of the FBU church in Marseille (minutes 17.9.71). Also, Stanley Reid in his report on his long trip to Spain in 1970 said that he “could not conscientiously recommend any link” with the pastor he met of the Association of Independent Baptist Churches of Spain, but he did not give his reasons in print.

\textsuperscript{150}Minutes of IBFM Committee 19.12.69

\textsuperscript{151}According to his report (which ran to 6,000 words!), Reid visited 32 cities and towns in every part of the country except the North-west.
possible partners\textsuperscript{152}. The report back from Berge was also positive. Accordingly a proposal was brought to the Union Assembly in 1971 to approve in principle the sending of workers into Europe\textsuperscript{153}. Though this was passed the Mission proceeded cautiously, seeing its role as facilitating those who had a vision for moving forward. There are parallels here to how it had begun work in Urubamba by adopting the Oehrings and had entered Argentina by incorporating Hosford and his vision\textsuperscript{154}.

Because of this caution the first concrete steps by Irish Baptists towards work in Europe were not taken by the IBFM. In early 1970 the Home Mission appointed Gordon Dalzell as a Student Worker. His responsibilities mainly revolved around the University campuses in Ireland but one of his first activities was to plan a short trip by students to Brussels, Mons and Paris\textsuperscript{155}. Student teams in the summer or at Easter soon became an annual fixture. Willy Patterson, a member of Coleraine Baptist Church, was on one of the early teams and made arrangements to return to Brussels for a year's study in the Free University there. Pastor Berge was delighted that Patterson was giving the little Baptist church the entrance they "so sorely needed" to the University\textsuperscript{156}. Patterson started a Bible Study for students at the University which ran for three years\textsuperscript{157}. However, it is noticeable that the prayer support and interest in Patterson's work was raised by neither the IBHM nor the IBFM committees but by Dalzell. Indeed, the IBFM seemed unsure whether work such as that undertaken by Patterson was within their remit at all until the Home

\textsuperscript{152}Though impressed with the openness of the Brethren assemblies and the organization of the Southern Baptists he recommended that the IBFM consult the Federation of Independent Evangelical Churches of Spain (FIEIDE), a sister body to the FIEC of England. The 13 congregations of the Spanish Gospel Mission belonged to this group. However, the influence of the Strict Baptists led the IBFM towards the Independent (strongly exclusive) Baptists.

\textsuperscript{153}This was followed a year later by authorisation to proceed with the appointment of workers.

\textsuperscript{154}Cf. the negative experience associated with the llave Clinic where the Committee had launched a new initiative before they knew if any doctor would offer (chapter 3 p118 footnote 128).

\textsuperscript{155}IBMNT in IB August 1970 and article "Irish Baptist Students visit Brussels" in IB October 1970 pp12-13.

\textsuperscript{156}Berge to IBFM Committee 24.8.71

\textsuperscript{157}IBMNT in IB October 1974
Mission assured them that it certainly was not in theirs. With this encouragement the IBFM welcomed an approach from Raymond Pollock in 1972 to work under their auspices doing the same work as Patterson had done. Thus two of the features of the policy review of 1969 came to fruition as Pollock became the first IBFM worker appointed for work in Europe as well as the first short-term worker, being appointed initially for one academic year.

Pollock built on Patterson's beginnings. He sold Christian literature at a book-table in the University, gave out invitations to evangelistic lectures and made more contacts, including some with Muslim students. The autumn of 1973 saw a further step forward. Pollock was re-appointed for a further year and the Committee also appointed Valerie Greer on a four-year contract to do secretarial work for Pastor Berge. He reported that Greer carried out her secretarial work efficiently and also found time to make contacts of her own and play a full part in what had now become a team of four Irish and several other student workers. The increased numbers on the team allowed them to take on other responsibilities such as young people's work in the Brussels church. In 1974 Audrey Buchanan took over from Pollock - but the IBFM was not sure of the way forward.

The Mission Secretary wrote to Berge in 1974 that some members of the Committee questioned the permanent value of short-term work so the time had come for a "good hard look at the Student Team". Berge's reply, pointing to three recent baptisms all fruit of the team's contacts, no doubt helped. Better yet.

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158 Minutes of IBFM Committee 26.5.72 and IBHM Committee 2.6.72
159 IBMNT in IB March 1973
160 Dalzell helped to raise funds for those who were not members of Irish Baptist Churches and therefore could not apply to go on to the IBFM payroll.
161 IBMNT in IB October 1974
162 Lyttle to Berge 14.10.74
163 Berge to Lyttle 18.10.74
were the discussions at a joint “Baptist Consultation” held soon afterwards when an agreed four-stage strategy was drawn up for the Brussels teams. The first stage was the two-week teams in the summer. Secondly came the year teams. Even though they could not follow up their own contacts continuity was preserved as long as someone else took their place the following year. A third stage to aim at was a two-year team composed of those with theological training, the final goal being that from these teams would emerge full-time longer-term workers. In 1976 the IBFM commitment to Brussels reached a high point with three workers. Greer, in her last year, was joined by Elizabeth Cameron and by Philip Johnson. Johnson had already spent a year in Brussels and had joined the church there. At Berge’s recommendation he was given a three-year contract. Whilst the four stages were never fully implemented this project involved the IBFM in a new way of engaging in mission. Unlike the situation in Peru where the IBFM was working in an area where there had previously been virtually no Evangelical witness, now policy could only be set in partnership with other Missions and with existing churches.

This had tremendous advantages - the IBFM was benefitting from the experience and contacts of those who had worked for considerable periods in the fields it was entering. It also brought new challenges in ensuring good communication with the other partners. In this the regular, informal “Consultation” was very important. A new problem was that internal disagreements within any one of the groups represented could create difficulties for others. This seems to have occurred in the case of Pablo and Eve Martinez. They both came to study at IBC and applied to the Mission with a view to working in Spain. The Committee decided to allow them to do their one-year training placement in France, where Eve was from. However, discussions about their future location in Spain became very protracted as the

164Baptist Consultation in Paris 20-22.11.74 (Joshua Thompson represented Irish Baptists, Frank
IBFM, Pastor Berge and the Martinezs were not the only ones involved. The Secretary of the Association of Independent Baptist Churches in Spain and the pastors of each of the three churches mentioned as possible bases all had different views as well. As the Martinezs, too, had definite ideas the possibilities for friction were substantial. To the increasing frustration of the Committee the Martinez’ stay in France was prolonged to two years. They finally moved to Valencia in Spain in July 1976 but their position seemed somewhat precarious. The IBFM’s longest-lasting work in Europe has proved in retrospect to be neither in Belgium nor in Spain but in France. At its very last meeting before merging with the Home Mission the IBFM Committee appointed Eddie Totten for work in Villefranche in France in fellowship with the church there. Totten had already studied for three years at the Bible College in Lamorlaye and had also worked with Operation Mobilization for a year before approaching the IBFM. Over 20 years later, Irish Baptists remain firmly committed to work in France.

Baptist Missions

During the seventies there were several important changes in personnel in Ireland. In 1971 Pastor Deens retired as Mission Secretary. After some interim arrangements Pastor William Lyttle was appointed in September 1973. Three years later Pastor Joshua Thompson resigned as Secretary of the BUOI to take up a pastorate. Deens and Thompson’s insight and wealth of experience would not easily be replaced. 1977 brought significant administrative change. There was widespread agreement in the Baptist churches in Ireland that the time had come for the IBFM to be merged with the IBHM. The early stages of the work in

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Ellis the Strict Baptist Mission and Berge the French Association).

Incidentally this decision finally answered a challenge thrown out by Hosford forty years earlier: “When will Irish Baptists come to having just ONE mission to the whole world? The Home Mission and the Foreign Mission should be verged (sic) into one great task of love undivided in sympathies and supporters” (Hosford to Gracey 24.8.35). In this as in much else Hosford was prophetic.
Figure 12: IBFM Income and Expenditure 1960 - 1977
Brussels show how there were increasing possibilities either of the Missions overlapping or conversely of neither taking responsibility for a new initiative. There was some uncertainty amongst IBFM Committee members about the soundness of their financial position. John McCullough had resigned as Treasurer in 1974 after 16 years in the post and a replacement had not yet been found. Expenditure heavily outran income in 1974 and again in 1976. This meant that, when deposit accounts were taken into account, 1977 was the first year since 1952 when the IBFM's opening balance was not greater than the previous year's expenditure.

The Home Mission too had some financial concerns. On the credit side the IBFM brought to the merger its established work in Peru, the new opportunities in Europe which were attracting the attention of the younger generation of Irish Baptists, and also its links with the Women's Auxiliary. Apart from raising finance the WA continued to play a very important role in organising practical support for the missionaries in prayer and letter rotas, and in presenting a female perspective on issues at Committee. The Home Mission brought with it its long history, its links to the churches that had been planted through its workers' efforts, the special position it was perceived to have at the very heart of the Union and its more recent links with student groups. Both Missions would benefit from joint administration by Secretary Lyttle and from an end to "a certain element of competition" for the churches' support. The end of the IBFM was only a new beginning.

166 The strong inflation following the Oil Crisis of 1973 was probably one the main factors in this.
167 During the 1960s the IBFM often had a cash balance sufficient to meet three years' expenditure. Between 1960 and 1973 expenditure exceeded income on only three occasions, cf. Figure 12.
168 Thompson remarks on the early years of the century: "The Mission was more important to Irish Baptists than the Union" (1995 p58) and characterises the relationship as one of "dominance" of the Union by the Mission (1995 p64). Another former Union Secretary states: "It was the care of 'the Home Mission Church' which gave the Baptist Union of Ireland its present shape and momentum" (Grant "The Home Mission Church" in Baptist Missions Celebrating 100 Years of What God has done through Baptists in Ireland 1988).
169 Thompson 1995 p145
Conclusion

In the Introduction the importance of context in understanding the causes and repercussions of the actions of individuals was highlighted. This has been a recurring note throughout this history of the IBFM. The very origin of the Mission cannot be understood except against the twin backdrop of the Fundamentalist controversies and of the (Northern) Irish political uncertainties of the 1920s. Irish Baptist and Fundamentalist views of Roman Catholicism perfectly coincided. Here lay the main attractiveness of South America as a mission field for the new IBFM Committee (see chapter one). The IBFM struggled for years with another legacy of its Fundamentalist background: the difficulty in integrating any work which was not preaching. The second chapter followed the establishment of the first churches in Argentina and Peru. These undeniably fell into the category of "missionary Protestantism" as they owed their origin and, to a certain extent, their character to foreign initiative. One reason why the application of methods which would not have been out of place in the Irish Baptist Home Mission was successful in South America was the rising level of literacy. Two other factors affected the rate at which the IBFM missionaries succeeded in any given location. The first of these was the degree to which the Roman Catholic Church was actively present and/or hostile. Far more important was the proportion of the population who were Spanish-speaking as the IBFM had not yet succeeded in bridging the cultural gap to the Aymaras. That changed from 1947 on (chapter three). From the point of view of the IBFM the arrival of new missionaries seemed to explain the timing of the breakthrough, but a number of Evangelical missions had similar experiences. The reception of the Evangelical message by the Aymaras was facilitated by the changes in their culture brought about by the Chaco War and subsequent political events in Bolivia, and by major new road building programmes and market forces in Peru. Over the next decades these forces continue to act and the adoption of
Evangelicalism by increasing numbers of Aymaras re-inforced these trends of cultural change. The IBFM, however, continued to operate much as it had done years previously. By the 60s the aspirations of the Aymara people had become much more radical, fanned by the successful incarnation of socialism via the "indigenismo" movement. Chapter five explored how these aspirations, together with the political atmosphere created by the measures and the rhetoric of the Revolutionary Government of General Velasco Alvarado, stimulated growing disenchantment with the IBFM amongst some Aymara converts. To these factors has to be added the IBFM's reluctance to move towards integration with the national churches due to the fact that the Mission was conceived as an expression of Irish Baptist identity. One of the features of that identity is a strong individualism and this contributed to repeated instances of conflict amongst the staff, as outlined in chapter four.

Attention to context provides the perspective necessary to tell the story of these events, but it does more than this. It enables, even invites, assessment of this missionary enterprise. This must be tentative and provisional, recognising that in today's "pluriverse of missiology"¹ any attempt at evaluation reveals as much about the assessor as it does about the project under scrutiny. With this proviso I begin with the positive dimensions of the IBFM's legacy. Firstly, familiarity with the geographical environment in which these missionaries worked can only lead to admiration for the simple fact that they went where few others wanted to go². Creighton sailed 1,000s of miles and braved dangerous rapids in an open canoe, Bennett spent months on the Argentinian railways and Avalos and Sambrano crossed the Andes. The motives for these early journeys may well have included

² Interview with Samuel Escobar 20.5.98
the drive to explore unknown territories due to the influence of the Enlightenment. But this could not have motivated the missionaries to settle down for years in the dreariest of locations. Nurse “Dottie” Sloan in Ilave, the Mitchells in Puno, Sam and Mary Sloan in Yunguyo and many others made their homes amongst the people, adopting the humblest of lifestyles and accepting privations and hardship. They experienced isolation and loneliness. Their health and sometimes that of their children was broken by the inexorable wear of the altitudes. The commitment of Hugh and Sadie Mitchell ultimately cost them their lives when they were killed in a road accident in 1989. These sacrifices were not driven by naive or romantic ideas of missionary work. In this thesis I have not been uncritical of the missionaries, but their dedication, sacrificial love and straightforward faith in God are unquestionable. Secondly, many of the new Catholic missionaries to South America after the Second World War were as critical of the traditional Roman Catholicism they found there as were contemporary Protestants. This perspective makes it possible to understand and appreciate that through the message and the lives of the IBFM missionaries many South Americans encountered a new power at work. As Argentinians and Peruvians read the Bible they experienced a new immediacy in relationship to God. Moral transformation was frequently the result, change which persisted joyfully through years of hardship and sometimes of persecution. Thirdly, the IBFM made a distinctive contribution in the 1930s in the sending of Orlando and Josefa Avalos, Rodolfo Sambrano, and of Vicente and Joaquina Barrón from Argentina to Peru. This was a development ahead of its time and had tremendous consequences in the spiritual experience and ministry of these people. It cannot be said that the IBFM engaged well in this experiment in cross-cultural partnership in mission, for it did not. This intriguing episode came about solely because of the fruitful integration of another Irishman (Hosford) into

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3 Cf. Bosch 1991 pp264 and 279-80
the context of growing Evangelicalism in Argentina. Nevertheless, that it happened at all stands on the credit side of the IBFM's ledger. Fourthly, through the IBFM's workers a Union of Evangelical Aymara churches came into being which shows many signs of indigenous initiative. These churches fulfil the classical formula of self-support, governance and propagation. They also are thoroughly inculturated and worship in their own language using Aymara hymns and their own pentatonic music. To a certain extent the IBFM encouraged the emergence of leadership for these churches, albeit in an itinerating model. Fifthly, these churches and believers, together with many others on the Bolivian side of the border, had an impact on their culture. They contributed to changes already occurring, such as the lessening of fatalistic attitudes and a re-orientation away from isolation and towards integration with the rest of their countrymen. "Development" can no longer be seen as an unmixed blessing and many today will deplore the loss of traditional culture. Certainly, the loss of communal inter-relationship through "ayni" and the deteriorations in the status of women do not seem to be improvements. New relationships within Evangelical churches may partly compensate for these trends. Other changes such as improvements in health and nutrition and reductions in infanticide surely can be welcomed. When, as for Evangelical Aymaras, one of the motors of change is a new freedom from multiple anxieties and fears, then surely this, too, is good. The sixth positive feature of the IBFM's history is its impact on Irish Baptists themselves, especially women. In South America the IBFM opened up avenues of ministry to them. In Ireland, through the WA, it gave women a new channel through which their voice (literally) and their organisational skills could be expressed. Finally, as the IBFM moved into Europe in the early seventies it provided a new environment for Irish Baptists to learn new models for engaging in mission, and even for self-evaluation, in partnership with others.

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4 Brown documents these different dimensions of change in one highland village (1978 pp177-186).
The preceding chapters have made it clear, however, that not everything can be applauded. Firstly, although the Fundamentalist legacy created deep tensions within the Mission staff its greatest effects were not felt by the missionaries nor even by their first converts. Rather it is the second and subsequent generations of Baptists in some of the urban churches in Peru who reap the consequences. As they grow up they find that their churches have nothing to say to the world in which they study and work. The narrowness of the range of the issues the Gospel is thought to affect, and the unwillingness to engage in any projects of social service to the community, reinforces the migratory trend removing future leaders from urban churches in the South. Irish Baptist churches largely have left the excesses of Fundamentalism behind, but because this worldview was introduced with the Gospel in Peru it may be more difficult for churches there to overcome. Secondly, the form of denominational organisation bequeathed by the missionaries to the churches in Peru left a lot to be desired. For most intents and purposes it is now defunct amongst the Spanish-speaking congregations. The missionaries imported structures drawn from a completely different cultural context, and even then they showed a lack of awareness of their own history. In effect they formed a replica of the Baptist Union of Ireland before they had created the equivalent of the Irish Baptist Home Mission. The implication of this is that there was no mechanism for the support of pastors. Other missions before them had been aware of the dangers of creating a denomination of completely autonomous churches without adequate pastoral support, but not the IBFM. Thirdly, the Irish Baptist identity of the Mission's work, personnel and properties was non-negotiable. Due to the insular nature of Irish Baptist life there were few wider contacts to encourage change. Any

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5 Brown (1978 pp211-216)
6 Interview with Samuel Escobar 20.5.98
7 Cf. chapter 3 pp127-8, especially footnotes 163 and 164.
8 E.g. the IEP.
9 I am not forgetting the national workers of the thirties and forties, but as their numbers rose so too did the unease in Ireland.
time this Irish Baptist identity of the Mission was threatened or challenged problems arose. Hence the struggles around Hosford (who after a lifetime in Argentina no longer thought like a typical Irish Baptist) and the Argentinian workers after the Second World War. Hence too the unwillingness of the missionaries to devolve control over institutional properties in Peru, for example in Ilave, even when the government of the day ceaselessly vented anti-imperialist rhetoric. This is also why the missionaries could not even conceive that the day must surely come when, if they were to remain in Peru, then Peruvians must decide where they should work and what they should do. Finally, there are the distressingly frequent internal conflicts. The Oehrings vs the Committee, Reid vs Creighton, Reid vs Avalos, Hosford vs Bennett and vs Harkins, Reid vs Mitchell, the Resignation of the Six in 1963, the list goes on and on. As one retired missionary put it: "relationships in the Mission have never been what they should be". The missionaries were true Irish Baptists in this sense. But there can be no complacency here. This is a disturbing reflection not only on the missionaries but also on the Christian communities from which they are drawn. It is also, for a believer, evidence that if anything positive was achieved, if any spiritual life was transmitted to South Americans and any change brought about then only divine grace is to be credited.
List of Figures

Figure 1: Map of South America Showing the Location of Urubamba 10
Figure 2: Hosford's Proposed Chain of Stations 15
Figure 3: IBFM Staff 1927 – 1977 47
Figure 4: IBFM Income and Expenditure 1930 – 1946 48
Figure 5: Map of South Peru 73
Figure 6: Map of "Yunguyo District" 94
Figure 7: Extension of the Earliest Aymara Baptist Churches in Peru 97
Figure 8: Membership Growth of Bolivian Aymara Churches 112
Figure 9: IBFM Income and Expenditure 1947 – 1959 119
Figure 10: Growth of the UEBCiSP 1950 – 1977 123
Figure 11: Percentage Growth of the UEBCiSP 1950 – 1990 175
Figure 12: IBFM Income and Expenditure 1960 – 1977 207
Abbreviations

ABC  Asociación Bautista Cooperadora (Baptist Cooperative Association)

APRA  Alianza Popular Revolucionario Americano
      (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance)

BBMM  Bible Baptist Missionary Movement

BBU  Bolivian Baptist Union

BL  Bible League

BMS  Baptist Missionary Society

BMT  Bible Missionary Trust

BTI  Bible Training Institute

BUOI  Baptist Union of Ireland

BWA  Baptist World Alliance

CALA  Comisión de Alfabetización y Literatura Aymara
      (Aymara Literacy and Literature Committee)

CMA  Christian and Missionary Alliance

EUSA  Evangelical Union of South America

EVID  Evangelism in Depth

FEBE  Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Europe

FMN  Foreign Mission News
      (in the Irish Baptist Magazine, from 1962 to 1964)

FMAR  Foreign Mission Annual Report

H+FMR  Home and Foreign Mission Report (i.e. the combined Annual
      Reports of the IBHM and IBFM)

IB  Irish Baptist Magazine

IEP  Iglesia Evangélica Peruana (Peruvian Evangelical Church)

IBFM  Irish Baptist Foreign Mission

IBHM  Irish Baptist Home Mission
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>IBHSJ</td>
<td>Irish Baptist Historical Society Journal</td>
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<td>IBMNT</td>
<td>Irish Baptist Missions News Tie</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(in the Irish Baptist Magazine, from 1968)</td>
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<td>LAM</td>
<td>Latin American Mission</td>
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<td>MTS</td>
<td>Missionary Training School</td>
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<td>NFP</td>
<td>News from Peru (in the Irish Baptist Magazine, from 1965 to 1967)</td>
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<tr>
<td>R&amp;S</td>
<td>The Baptist Union of Ireland &quot;Reports and Statistics&quot;</td>
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<td>RBMU</td>
<td>Regions Beyond Missionary Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBC</td>
<td>Southern Baptist Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td>TEE</td>
<td>Theological Education by Extension</td>
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<tr>
<td>UEBCiSP</td>
<td>Union of Evangelical Baptist Churches in South Peru</td>
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<tr>
<td>WA</td>
<td>Women's Auxiliary (of the IBFM)</td>
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<td>WCC</td>
<td>World Council of Churches</td>
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21 different Spanish tracts, generally 4pp

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McManus, W. *From Ireland to Peru: The Journey of Missionaries Wm McManus and Saml Sloan July 19 to Sept 4 1947* (24pp) 1947

Reid, K. *God calls an Aymara Indian to serve Him on the shores of Lake Titicaca* (4pp) 1956

Reid, S. *Are you happy?* (12pp evangelistic) 1940

" *Pasatiempos Provechosos para Creyentes Jovenes* (36pp of quizzes etc for young people) 1952

Sloan, M. *Twenty-Four Hours in Peru* (4pp) n.d. [written in 1955]

" *The Transformation of Simon* (5pp) n.d. [written in 1958]

Sloan, S. *La Historia de los Bautistas en el Sur de Peru (Recuerdos del misionero Samuel Sloan)*

Terán, J. *Dialogos Sobre la Presencia de Dios* (70pp) 1931

" *Curso Primero de las Escuelas Dominicales* (70pp combined lesson plans and catechism for use in Sunday Schools) n.d.

No author *To Interest You in the Indians of Ilave of South Peru* (6pp and 5 photographs) 1948

" *News of the Proposed "Gracey Clinic and Shields Training Centre"* (4pp, 2 photographs, 3 sketches) n.d. [written c. 1950]

" *Hostel for Missionaries' Children* (4pp with 2 photographs) 1950

" *Yolanda of Puno : A Youthful Ambassador for Christ, the Story of her Inspihng Faithfulness* (4pp, 2 photographs) n.d. [written 1952]

" *Origin and Aims of the IBFM* (4pp) n.d. [written in 1954]

" *Working Together: 50 Years of the Women's Auxiliary 1928 - 1978* (16pp)
3. Transcripts of Interviews conducted by the author with:

Retired / Former missionaries:

(maiden names are given where women served as single missionaries and have subsequently married)

Mr Desmond and Mrs Mavis Creelman (nee Cooke),
Mrs Mary ("Moira") Dorman (nee Richmond),
Mr Robert and Mrs Joan Hamilton, Mrs Muriel Peden (nee Hunter),
Mr Andrew and Mrs Rachel Lovell (nee Ropp), Mrs Regina Lloyd,
Dr Peter and Mrs Elizabeth ("Betty") Hughes,
Mrs A. Elizabeth ("Lila") Gilpin (nee Marks),
Mr William ("Billy") and Mrs Sarah ("Sadie") McManus,
Mr John McVicker, Mr Samuel and Mrs Mary Sloan;

Serving missionary:

Mrs Lourdes Brew;

Believers from Baptist churches in South Peru:

Sr Fidel Alvarez, Sr Timoteo Alvarez,
Sra Amanda Bravo vda. de Montoya, Sr Gerardo Cáceres,
Sres Gavino Cama, the Espejo family, Sr Humberto Guïsa,
Sr Enrique Illachura, Sr Roberto Loma, Sr Calixto Palle,
Srta Glicerio Paredes, Sr Orestes and Sra Berta Rios,
Sr Bernardo Rodriguez, Sr Valentín Sucso,
Sr Vicente Valle;

and with Sr Jaime Davila, Dr Samuel Escobar, Sres Herbert and Elena Garcia,
Mr William Hunter and Mrs Sylvia Rogers (nee Bennett).

All the above resources are stored in the archives of the Irish Baptist Historical Society of the Association of Baptist Churches in Ireland, 117 Lisburn Rd, Belfast and are available for examination upon request.
4. Published Sources: Books and Articles


Baptist Missions 1988. Celebrating 100 Years of what God has done through Baptists in Ireland Belfast


1998. "Mission from the Margins to the Margins: Two Case Studies from Latin America" in *Missiology* Vol. XXVI Num. 1 pp87-95


Foyle, M.F. 1987. *Honourably Wounded: Stress among Christian Workers* Bromley (Kent)


Gonzalez Manrique, L.E. 1989. La Encrucijada Peruana: Antecedentes Históricos de la Crisis Nacional Madrid


Hamilton, K.E. 1962. Church Growth in the High Andes Lucknow


Kessler, J.B.A. 1980. *Historia de la Evangelización en el Perú* Lima (This is the translation and update of part of *A Study of the Older Protestant Missions and Churches in Peru and Chile* Goes 1967)


--------- "Iconoclastas y coleccionistas: la importancia de las fuentes primarias para la historia evangélica" in S. Escobar (ed.) *Historia y Misión: Revisión de Perspectivas* Lima pp57-92


Macquigg, C. 1993. *Baptist Camps, Peru... twenty-five years of evangelism* Belfast

McCombe Orr, M. 1957. *Twelve Thousand Miles by Land Rover from Brazil to Canada* Grand Rapids


Nordyke, Q. 1972. *Animistic Aymaras and Church Growth* Newberg (OR, USA)


Payne, E. 1959. The Baptist Union. A Short History London


Pritchard, E. 1973. For Such a Time: God's Faithfulness through the Regions Beyond Missionary Union for a Hundred Years Eastbourne


Savage, J. n.d. *This our Song of Jubilee* London (Published for Fiftieth Anniversary of EUSA i.e. 1961)


--------- 1995. Century of Grace. The Baptist Union of Ireland: A Short History Belfast

Thompson, P. 1955 Dawn Beyond the Andes London


Appendix One: Officers of the Mission

Secretaries
May 1924 - May 1948 Honorary Secretary: Pastor F.W. Gracey
  (From Jan 1927 - Sept 1933 Joint Honorary Sec. with Pastor J. Shields)
  (From 1942 - 1945 Pastor L.E. Deens acted as Recording Secretary)
May 1948 - Jan 1950 Organising Secretary: Mr G.R. Bennett
  Jan 1950 - Aug 1963: Pastor J. Thompson
    (Jan 1950 - May 1952 In his capacity as Assistant Secretary to BUOI)
    (May 1952 - Aug 1963 In his capacity as Secretary to BUOI)
  (Sept 1963 - Apr 1967 In his capacity as Associate Secretary to BUOI,
    with Pastor J. Thompson continuing to act as General Secretary)
Sept 1971 - Aug 1973: Interim Arrangements
  (Sept 1971 - Oct 1972 Interim Part-time Secretary: Pastor W. Lyttle)
  (Oct 1972 - Aug 1973 Pastor J. Thompson in his capacity as
    General Secretary to BUOI)
  (Pastor Lyttle continued as Baptist Missions Secretary until 1984)

Treasurers
May 1924 - Feb 1935 Mr R. Arnold
  (From 1934 - Feb 1935 Joint Treasurer with Mr T.G. Shields)
Mar 1935 - Apr 1940 Mr H.A. Johnston
May 1940 - Mar 1958 Mr J. Jeffrey Jnr.
May 1958 - Oct 1974 Mr J.G.M. McCullough

Deputation Secretaries
Sept 1933 - May 1943 Pastor J. Shields
May 1943 - May 1948 Pastor G.H. Weir
  (May 1945 - May 1947 Jointly with Pastor J. Shields)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chairmen</th>
<th>(Vice Chairmen)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925-26 Pastor R. Hodgett?</td>
<td>1960-61 Pastor J. Ravey</td>
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<tr>
<td>1928-29 Mr A.W. Tweedall?</td>
<td>1963-64 Pastor J. Ravey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30 Mr A.W. Tweedall</td>
<td>1964-65 Pastor M. Mills</td>
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<td>1930-31 ?</td>
<td>1965-66 Pastor M. Mills</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931-32 Pastor J.W.D. Freeman</td>
<td>1966-67 Pastor M. Mills</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932-33 Pastor L.E. Deens</td>
<td>1967-68 Pastor M. Mills</td>
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<td>1933-34 Pastor D. Burrows</td>
<td>1968-69 Pastor G.F. Blayney</td>
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<tr>
<td>1934-35 Mr H.A. Johnston</td>
<td>1969-70 Pastor G.F. Blayney</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935-36 Mr R. Arnold</td>
<td>1970-71 Pastor G.F. Blayney</td>
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<td>1936-37 Pastor J. Shields</td>
<td>1971-72 Pastor G.F. Blayney</td>
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<td>1937-38 Mr A.W. Tweedall</td>
<td>1972-73 Pastor G.F. Blayney</td>
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<td>1939-40 Pastor F.H. Forbes</td>
<td>1974-75 Mr W. Hunter</td>
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<td>1940-41 ?</td>
<td>1975-76 Mr W. Hunter</td>
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<td>1941-42 Mr J.H. Corbett</td>
<td>1976-77 Pastor J. McVicker</td>
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<td>1942-43 Mr J.H. Corbett</td>
<td>1977-78 Pastor W.J.K. Byers</td>
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<td>1943-44 Pastor J. Shields</td>
<td>1944-45 Pastor J. Shields</td>
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<td>1945-46 Pastor J. Ravey</td>
<td>1945-46 Pastor J. Shields</td>
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<td>1946-47 Pastor L.E. Deens</td>
<td>1946-47 Pastor J. Shields</td>
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<td>1948-49 Pastor J. Shields</td>
<td>1949-50 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
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<td>1949-50 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
<td>1950-51 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
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<td>1951-52 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
<td>1952-53 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
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<td>1953-54 Pastor J. Shields (Mr J.H. Corbett)</td>
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<td>1956-57 Pastor J. Shields (Pastor J. Ravey)</td>
<td>1957-58 Pastor J. Shields (Pastor J. Ravey)</td>
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<td>1958-59 Pastor J. Ravey</td>
<td>1959-60 Pastor J. Ravey</td>
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Appendix Two: IBFM Workers

Notes:
1) If it is not possible to establish the date of appointment i.e. when employment commenced then the date of the Committee meeting at which the candidate was accepted is given instead. If neither of these dates is recoverable then only the date of departure for the field is given.
2) Missionaries who married other IBFM workers are dealt with in two different ways, depending on whether they were already engaged when commissioned. If already engaged, then the details of both workers are given under their married name. Otherwise the wife's details appear under her maiden name.
3) Missionaries serving in September 1977 passed onto the staff of Baptist Missions, created out of the merger of the IBFM with the Irish Baptist Home Mission.

Avalos, Sr Orlando. Departed Rosario for Peru August 1935. One-year contract in Peru followed by service in Argentina. Married Josefa Mocciaro 5.2.38 and with her left again for Peru August 1938. Retired November 1943 on completion of their contract.
Brown, Miss Pamela. Accepted on secondment from the Strict Baptist Mission 17.9.76. Departed for Peru February 1977.
Buchanan, Miss Audrey. Appointed on short-term contract (for student work in Brussels) from October 1974 to June 1975.

Cameron, Miss Elizabeth. Appointed on short-term contract (for student work in Brussels) from September 1976 to June 1977. Re-appointed for further academic year 15.4.77.

Cooke, Miss Mavis. Appointed 1.4.72. Departed for Peru 10.8.72.

Creelman, Mr Desmond. Appointed 1.7.77.

Creighton, Mr William Irwin. Appointed 1.5.29. Sailed 29.8.29. In Peru married Miss Helen Cook 24.5.33. They agreed that he return alone to Peru for a last period of service in January 1948 after which they both retired 30.6.51.


Gismondi, Sr Genaro. Appointed 1.12.43. Resigned February 1946 because of his wife's health.

Greer, Miss Valerie. Accepted for 4 year term 15.6.73. Departed for Belgium 28.9.73. Completed contract August 1977.

Hamilton, Mr Robert and Mrs Joan. Appointed 1.3.61 Sailed October 1961. Resigned with effect from March 1964.


Hosford, Mr Robert Sangster and Mrs Elizabeth E. Appointed as Honorary Superintendent in Argentina in September 1928. He had been in banking in Argentina since 1899. They both died in Argentina, in March 1948 and February 1959 respectively.

Hughes, Dr Peter and Mrs Elizabeth. Accepted October 1965. Sailed 15.3.66. On completion of their first term in June 1970 Dr Hughes resumed medical studies. Received back onto staff September 1974. Retired from the field in 1975 due to family bereavement.

Hunter, Miss Muriel. Appointed 1.7.62. Sailed 3.1.63. Resigned on completion of her first full term in Peru, 20.9.68.

Johnston, Mr Philip. Appointed for 3 year term September 1976.

Lanzotti, Sr. Appointed July 1936. Left staff when IBFM work in Rafaela ended in January 1938.

Marks, Miss Anne Elizabeth Marks. Appointed 1.8.61 Sailed October 1961. Resigned June 1965 for health and personal reasons.
Martinez, Sr Pablo and Sra Eve. Accepted 15.3.74. Spent training period June 1974 - June 1976 in France. Appointed onto staff July 1976 upon their move to Spain.
McFadden, Miss Doreen. Accepted September 1956. Sailed February 1957. Resigned 30.6.58 upon engagement to Mr J. Smyth of RBMU.
McManus, Mr William T.B. Appointed 1.8.46 initially as Warden of the Missionary Training School. Sailed for Peru 17.7.47. In Peru married Miss Sadie Cushley in March 1949. She had sailed October 1948. Honorary staff from July 1954. Resigned November 1957 because of their son's health.
McVicker, Mr John. Accepted 23.3.49. Sailed January 1950. In Peru married Miss Mary McMullan 17.2.51. She had been accepted 26.9.49 and sailed in December 1950. They resigned 30.6.70 due to John McVicker's health.
Mitchell, Mr Hugh. Accepted 24.5.46 as was Miss Sarah Porter. They sailed March 1949 and married in Peru that September.
Needham, Mr Ken and Mrs Eva. Appointed 1.7.65. Sailed October 1965. Resigned due to family bereavement 31.7.68.
Oehring, Mr George and Mrs Sarah. Appointed 24.11.26. Sailed 7.7.27. Contract ended November 1933.
Reid, Mr Stanley. Appointed 1.7.32. Sailed July 1932. In Peru married Miss Kathleen McCord 30.7.35. She had been appointed and sailed in January 1935. They retired 31.7.70.
Ropp, Miss Rachel. Accepted 16.2.73. Appointed April? 1973.
Richmond, Miss Mary Beattie. Appointed 1.4.71. Departed for South America August 1971. Resigned with effect from 31.3.75 for health and personal reasons.
Sambrano, Sr Rodolfo. Departed Rosario for Peru August 1935. One-year contract extended to two, eventually completed term of service January 1938.


Sloan, Miss Sarah Dorothy B. Appointed (already in Peru) 1.7.41. Retired 24.5.68.

Sloan, Mr Samuel. Appointed 1.2.47. Sailed 17.7.47. In Belfast married Miss Mary Iredale Gribbon in June 1953 and proceeded alone to Peru. She followed in April 1954.

Terán, Don Jacinto. Appointed August 1931. Resigned 1.5.35.

Thompson, Mr Brian and Mrs Margaret. Accepted 6.5.57. Sailed July 1957. Resigned November 1959 over son's health.

Totten, Mr Edward. Appointed 1.7.77.