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A comparative investigation of the differing responses to the good news of the Gospel among the highland and jungle Quechua Indians of Ecuador

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A COMPARATIVE INVESTIGATION OF THE DIFFERING RESPONSES TO THE GOOD NEWS OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HIGHLAND AND JUNGLE QUECHUA INDIANS OF ECUADOR

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Why does the Good News of the Gospel find greater response in some areas of the world than it does in other areas--even where there is a fairly close relationship geographically and culturally? This is one of the problems that the evangelical church[1] is facing in some areas of Ecuador today. After many years of labor in some areas there has been little fruit, while in others there has been an abundant harvest--even to the amazement of some of the missionaries involved. It is the purpose of this project and report to investigate this paradox to see if any light may be thrown upon the problem. Thus it is hoped to further the understanding of those who are so deeply concerned after so many years of toil.

This report is primarily concerned with the Quechua-speaking Otavalo Indians of the northern highlands, where little has been accomplished, in comparison to the Quechua-speaking Indians of the northern jungles of the oriente

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[1]This term "evangelical church" in the Latin American sense includes most protestant denominations. However, in this project the missions involved directly with the areas of study are the Christian and Missionary Alliance which works in both areas, the United Andean Mission which works only in the highland area, and independent Brethren missionaries who work in the jungle area.

(the East), where good results have been obtained. To be sure, there are other groups with simular circumstances in the country; but because of limited time, this study will only mention them from time to time in support of the discussion of the aforementioned areas.

It is the purpose of this paper to touch on only those areas of culture that are significant to the understanding of the problem at hand. Consideration will be given to pertinent cultural factors, relationships between the cultures involved (including the cultures of the local white man[2] and the missionary), methods used by the church, and results. No attempt will be made in regard to absolute recommendations as the writer feels this would be futile. Rather, suggestions will be made to help the interested individual to evaluate his own concepts and methods in working with these people.

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[2]Ecuador is composed of three main racial groups--the Indian, the white man, and the Negro (a carry over of the slave trade days); and two intermediate groups--the mestizo and the mulatto. The white man as referred to in this report is one who claims mostly Caucasian descent and holds most of the economic and political power of the nation. The mestizo is not accepted by either the white or the Indian. The Area Handbook for Ecuador (Edwin E. Erickson, et al., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966) states that one third to one half of the population is reported to be Indian, 10% is white, 10% is negro or mulatto and the balance is mestizo (p. 59). The population of Imbabura Province, where the Otavalo Indians are centered, has 174,141 people. Napo Province, in the jungles where this report is concerned, has 24,487 people (p. 62).

Of utmost importance is the understanding that "correct" methods alone are not the answer. Often the missionary is confused by methods that are successful in one area and unsuccessful in another. The wisdom of God is not necessarily that of man. In this type of work involving the spiritual nature of the individual, one must recognize that the Holy Spirit does not necessarily work in mankind in a way that the worker understands or anticipates. However, it is not the purpose here to attempt to think of only the "spiritual," but rather to think in terms of the "whole" individual and his inter-relations. God has given mankind intelligence; and, therefore, man should use it to the best of his ability, trusting in God to work out the final outcome in the lives of men as He sees fit.

It is the presupposition of this research report that the lack or misappropriation of wisdom has in many ways hindered the Gospel from becoming effective both in the past and the present. Part of the reason for this is inherent in the culture of the missionary. Dr. Eugene Nida of the American Bible Society states: "Our incurably individualistic temperaments make us half blind to people as a part of a society."[3] John T. Dale also makes the point of understanding of culture of prime importance when he says:

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[3]Eugene Nida, Customs and Cultures (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 256.

> Many missionaries lacked insight, understanding, and appreciation of the culture of the people to whom they carried the Gospel. Thus, sometimes with clumsy fingers though with honest intentions, have been torn asunder the elaborate network of customs, habits, and goals which gave unity, life, and cohesion to a primitive way of life. If missionary work is to be constructive and permanent in the future, the missionary must approach his people with an understanding mind and try to analyze sincerely their values, goals, motives and needs. Those values and patterns of behavior which are good and of functional value to their way of life must be preserved and no means of satisfying real needs should be withdrawn without making a proper and adequate Christian substitution.[4]

It is such an understanding that is sought here in this foreign project and report.

Speaking in the way of personal background, the investigator and his wife had the privilege to serve for over four years as missionaries with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Ecuador from 1959 until 1963. While only occasionally engaged in ministering to the Indians, they had many opportunities to observe them in several areas of the country.

During the last two years of their term in Ecuador, they were stationed in the city of Otavalo, unofficial Indian capital of the northern highlands of Ecuador. The city, located in the fertile Imbabura Valley, is the commercial center for approximately 100,000 Indians in the area.

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[4]John T. Dale, "Anthropology," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 97.

While the investigator and his wife worked principally among the whites, they were able to observe the Indians firsthand as they lived, worked, played and died in and about the area. Close contact was also maintained with the missionaries who were directly involved with these Indians. The problem of working among them was often the topic of much conversation.

Several weeks were spent working in the jungles of the oriente where it was possible to observe the Indian in a completely different setting. In this area, where the total population is only a small fraction of that of the Otavalos, the results have been significantly different for the work of the church.

Early in 1968 it was brought to the attention of the investigator that the problem of communicating the Gospel to most of the highland or sierra Indians is still an enigma to the church. It was determined, therefore, that a study of the problem could be of value.

Returning to Ecuador in July, 1968, for six weeks, the investigator was able to visit several places with which he was already familiar through previous residency. In the mountains these places included Quito--the capital city and center for most mission activity in the country--Otavalo, and Agato--an Indian community near Otavalo. In the jungles to the east which form the upper reaches of the Amazon River

basin, his journey took him to Shell, main junction for travel between the highland valleys of the Andes and the eastern jungles, and on to Dos Rios, center for evangelical mission activity in the northern jungles.

Thus, through contacts with the Indians, white men, and foreign missionaries--both in the past and the present--considerable information was gained that will aid in the understanding of the problem. Inherent in understanding the problem, though, is the matter of understanding the cultures involved and their differences.

CHAPTER II

UNDERSTANDING THE CULTURE

As stated in the preceding chapter, it is the purpose of this chapter to only touch on those points of culture that are significant to the understanding of the problem and is not intended as a thorough treatment of the cultures discussed. The method used is that of describing the contrasts between the cultures of the two groups of Indians as they respond to their conquerors. While culture may be defined as a way of life, it can hardly be disassociated from the term "race" in the case of Ecuador. Because of his race, one finds his culture to be quite rigidly defined and quite inflexible. To help in understanding the problem, therefore, it will be necessary to look at life as the Indian sees it. This will be done by first looking at cultural factors in general and then also by considering the narrower areas of economics, education and religion.

I. DIFFERING CULTURAL FACTORS

Although joined by a common language, there appears to be considerable significant cultural differences between the highland Indian and the jungle Indian which probably has contributed a great deal to the rejection by one and the acceptance by the other of the Gospel. Basically the jungle

Indian presents a picture of a weak cultural system while the highland Otavalo Indian presents a picture of a very strong cultural system functioning within the system of the white man. According to W. Stanley Rycroft, writing of the Otavalos:

> The most typical representatives of the Indians to be found in south America today, the most prosperous, the most intelligent and physically developed are those in the north of Ecuador, in the Imbabura valley, around Otavalo. They are descendents of the Caras, the strongest of the many tribes existing at the time of the Incas. Their way of life today probably comes nearer than any other to that which the Spaniards found four hundred years ago. The reason for their outstanding characteristics and their independent spirit is the fact that they were only under Inca domination for a short time before the Spanish Conquest, and never really succumbed to Inca culture.[1]

Because the influence of the Inca and white man has never been strong in the jungle area, it would appear that the Indians there have not found it necessary to form a strong cultural system. It has been a matter of necessity that the Otavalo Indian has had to form a strong cultural system in order to maintain his identity and to operate as a society. In describing the purpose of culture, Harold Lindsell states that:

> Culture has pattern and symmetry so that the individual strands which go to make up the culture are part

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[1] W. Stanley Rycroft, "The Historical Setting," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 6.

> of an integrated and systematic whole. The function of culture is to make society operate.[2]

Thus the function of the Otavalo Indian culture is to make their unique society operate within the confines of another society. First, it was the Inca society. Now, it is the white Spanish society.

Among the jungle Indians there has been less need to develop such a society within a society largely because of more freedom. Lightly populated in comparison, the jungle has ample room for the Indian to live in his own simple way without too much molestation from the whites.

In the sierra with the coming of the Spanish the form of authority changed from that of a state of benevolence under the Incas to that which meant social and economic enslavement under the Spanish.[3] It is under this enslavement that the Indian of the sierra or mountain area for the most part is still found today. The Indian, rather than fight back outwardly against such oppression, instead has turned inwardly to protect himself and his ways. As Collier and Buitrón point out:

> The Indian continues in his obedience to the white man's world and yet survives by virtue of a subtle

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[2]Harold Lindsell, Missionary Principles and Practice (Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1955), p. 283.

[3]John Collier, Jr. and Anibal Buitrón, The Awakening Valley (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949), p. 90.

> philosophy that is deep within him. . . . His intimate relations are with vast unchangeable values--mountains, rain, sun, and wind. His contact with these forces means far more to him than do calculated motivations such as characterize the white world. . . . But leave him his ancient patterns of plowing and harvesting, leave him his land and his primitive mysteries, and he can bear the heaviest yoke with dignity.[4]

However, the centuries of oppression have left their mark. While some do show progress towards a better life, the vast majority "appear resigned to their station in life--dull, apathetic, and unresponsive--a hopeless mass of humanity."[5] John T. Dale further describes them:

> When drunk, the Indian boldly talks of his mistreatment, his loss of land to the whites, and his determination to regain it. When these reactions are not possible, we find that the Indian withdraws into his community and into himself. This reaction is most noticeable among the Indians on the hacienda where they have assumed a fatalistic attitude and one of submission to the inevitable. The hacienda Indian is docile, languid, slovenly, ambitionless and filthy in his personal habits. He will not look you in the face as he talks to you.[6]

Not only does this description describe the hacienda Indian, but it also in many ways describes the free Indian including many evangelical Indians who have likewise suffered at the hands of the white man. This has resulted in withdrawal--

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[4] Ibid., p. 91.

[5] Keith E. Hamilton, Church Growth in the High Andes (Lucknow, U. P., India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1962), p. 18.

[6] John T. Dale, "Anthropology," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 106.

both physically and psychologically. To help understand the depth of this problem, Davis says:

> The Indian has three traditional enemies: the hacendado, the priest, and the police. Each represents organized power, each exploits him and takes advantage of his helplessness. All three are in league with one another and hold weapons against which the Indian is powerless. The Indian in consequence has retreated as far as possible from organized society. He has climbed to altitudes so high and terrains so barren that white exploiters have found it unprofitable to follow. He has also retreated into himself. His deep mind set toward the environment and white society has made him well nigh impervious to outer influence.[7]

Another characteristic that must be recognized is the fact that just because they are Indians does not make them all part of the same culture. All too often we have thought of the Indian as being homogenous over wide areas, but recent studies have revealed that there can be a marked difference between one ridge and the next. Hamilton says:

> Instead of a homogeneous Indian population we have a multiplicity of tribes, each with its own geographical base (valley, basin, or plateau) and its own dress, customs and dialect. In each, individuals have a strong sense of belonging to their own kind, a strong people consciousness. Each likes to marry its own kind of folk.[8]

While the distinction is not so great among the various divisions of the Otavalos, nevertheless it is there and one should pay heed to it.

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[7]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 21.

[8]Ibid., p. 12.

Down through the years those in power have come to realize that the mountain Indian, and especially the Otavalo Indian has found strength in his group spirit. Realizing that they could never really dominate the Indian to their advantage as long as this spirit continued, they have "endeavored to break down the Indian by drawing him away from his group."[9] However, this has not been the case for the most part among the jungle Indians.

Rather than weaken the mountain Indian, the oppression and tactics of the white man has helped to strengthen the determination of the Indian to maintain his identity. This has also strengthened his group spirit. One way in which this is done is by reciprocal obligation:

> Within the Indian community the system of reciprocal obligations serves to tie it together in interests, activities, and goals. . . . Thus the life of the community is tied in a know which is hard to loosen. Further, a sense of the necessity of defense against the whites and the need of security tend to give the community, however loosely organized, a solid front.[10]

While there is some community participation among the jungle Indians, they have not found it necessary to develop a system of self-protection and self-preservation like that of the mountain Indian who lives so much closer to his oppressor.

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[9]Dale, op. cit., p. 139.

[10]Ibid., p. 117.

II. DIFFERING ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economically, the Otavalo Indian has suffered more than his counterpart in the jungle. Not that the jungle Indian has more in material goods--he does not need as much--but the Otavalo Indian has had more to lose through economic oppression. Some of the Otavalos are showing amazing progress materialistically but they represent a small minority. Because of the nature of his economy, the Otavalo Indian is much more susceptible to exploitation. He depends much more on a trading system while the jungle Indian is much more self-sufficient and trades relatively little in comparison. The sierra Indians "have been and are exploited without mercy; they have been and are kept in ignorance."[11] Those who work on the haciendas are even worse off, being almost like slaves. Davis writes: "He is usually in debt to his employer and is also held to his hacienda by traditional bonds and a fatalistic inertia. . . ."[12]

It has only been just in recent times that the practice of forced labor in the towns has been abolished. If there was some work to be done in town such as cleaning the

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[11] Collier, op. cit., p. 91.

[12] J. Merle Davis, "The Economic and Social Setting," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 24.

streets or the plaza after market day, it was a simple matter to send a policeman out to snatch a poncho or hat from some unsuspecting Indian and then make him work gratis to get it back.

The Indian, when he does have money, usually does not have it for long. "Loan sharks" often charge 100% interest on short-term loans. Many an Indian has lost his poncho over such dealings. The jungle Indian is not bothered by such things usually as his economy is more of a barter system rather than dealing in cash.

The Roman Catholic Church has not been innocent of such economic oppression either. From the earliest times:

> . . . the new religion was taken in the case of the colonizers as a means of extorsion and enslavement of the aborigines. The same Catholic Church and its servents found in the practices of the new service excellent means of economic production.[13]

From this has come the fiesta system. Marvin Harris points out that the fiesta system is almost wholly a sixteenth-century Spanish-Catholic invention.[14] He goes on to say:

> . . . it is all too frequently forgotten that in terms of the colonial system, the fiesta complex was a direct expression of the attempt by the Church to

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[13]Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, Aspectos indígenas (Quito: Editorial Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1965), p. 113. (This is a free translation by the investigator.)

[14]Marvin Harris, Patterns of Race in the Americas (New York: Walker and Company, 1964), p. 27.

> maintain control over the highland Indian populations and to derive wealth from them.[15]

Because of the nature of his society, the only way for the mountain Indian to gain position and respect from money is to spend money, usually on a fiesta, which more often than not leaves him in debt sometimes for years to come.[16] With such an emphasis, "the fiesta system insured that the wealth of the Indians would be dissipated in colorful drunken religious festivals."[17]

One may ask why the Indian has not done something to stop such a thing, but because of the nature of the culture of the Indian, this system is not to be easily changed. Harris explains:

> . . . the threat of material sanctions does not lie far behind the façade of persuasion and voluntary accommodation. . . . It should be noted that the contemporary system depends to a great extent upon the consensus among the members of the Indian village that those who shirk their burdens as cargueros (burden bearer--underscore and interpretation by the investigator) ought not to receive the respect to which those who have accepted the burden are entitled. If one has given a fiesta and suffered the economic consequences, he does not view with equanimity the prospect of others in the village failing to assume their proper share of the burden.[18]

Thus, the Indian is duty-bound to do his share.

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[15]Harris, op. cit., p. 30.

[16]Collier, op. cit., p. 124.

[17]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 6.

[18]Harris, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

The fiesta in the case of the jungle Indian does not carry such significance and, therefore, does not lend itself to such exploitation practices. Presumably this is because of less influence and economic interest on the part of the whites who only in recent years have been physically able to live in the tropical climate of the jungles.

Concerning the amount of work necessary to survive, there is also a considerable difference between the sierra and the jungles. In the sierra it takes all members of the familty to make ends meet. Children become an economic asset at a very early age as they become old enough to care for the family animals and smaller children that come along after them. In many cases the only relaxation that the mountain Indian gets from day to day other than the occasional fiesta is a change of work. Every waking moment must contribute to the economy.

The jungle Indian on the other hand is not under such economic pressure. His land is usally productive enough that he has little difficulty supplying his family with the necessities of life. Therefore, his life is much more casual and carefree.

Another economic problem that presents a very drastic difference between the two areas being considered is that of theft. It seems as though the more advanced the society is the more theft is committed. Theft is a very serious

problem among the highland Indians while it is a rarity among the jungle Indians. Ripened fields are stripped and animals are stolen so often that the Indian has to sleep within a few feet of his crops and animals in order to protect them. He dare not leave his home unattended for fear that thieves will dig a hole through the packed dirt walls and steal practically everything he owns.

In the jungles houses are left unguarded and tools may be left where the Indian was working while he goes off to eat. Only where the white man has entered has theft become a problem.

Sometimes because of economic necessity, the mountain Indian must leave his area to find work elsewhere. This at times leads to cultural breakdown resulting in confusion of morals and decay of family structures.

The Otavalo Indian has been noted for years for his ability at producing and marketing goods for sale both at home and in the major cities of the continent. He appears to be much more materialistically minded than his counterpart in the jungles. One wonders whether or not he is so preoccupied with the making of money that he has little time for spiritual thoughts.

From this study on differing economic factors the purpose has been to show how even in this field that oppression alienates the Indian and makes him suspicious of

anything the white man, including the missionary, has to offer. This situation has not been helped because of the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church in such matters, too.

One then questions whether or not there is some solution to this and other problems that are causing such alienation which in some cases is not justified. Some feel that through education this problem may be corrected or at least reduced some. This then leads to the next topic, education.

III. DIFFERING EDUCATIONAL FACTORS

In this day of such emphasis on education here in the United States many wonder why it has had such little effect upon the mountain Indian. The jungle Indian to the contrary is eager to learn. Apparently it is not a question of not being interested in education on the part of the mountain Indian, but rather it is a question of education by the white man or by the Indian.

Education of the mountain Indian presents two basic problems. First, there is the "disparaging concept of the 'hopeless Indians'"[19] by the white man. What education is attempted is usually done from a pessimistic point of view. Little hope is held for the success of educating an Indian.

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[19]Collier, op. cit., p. 160.

More important, though, is the attitude of the Indian himself toward education and educators. Dale quotes a mayor of a rich and progressive province in Ecuador:

> The rural school system of Ecuador has not been effective due to the fact that it has little relation to the daily life of the Indian. When an Indian is educated, he is educated away from his village and thus not made better for either rural or urban life.[20]

Dale goes on to say:

> The teacher generally does not speak the Indian language nor does he endeavor to understand with sympathy the way of life of the Indians among whom he is working. Thus he does not become a vital part in the life of the community.[21]

Some may say that the Indian does not have the intelligence to profit from formal education. Surprisingly, though, "their intelligence is on the average superior to that of the white and mestizo children."[22] This has been further substantiated by Indian students in basically white seminaries where they also have a language barrier to overcome.

In contrast to the mountain Indian, the jungle Indian presents a different situation. Like his counterpart in the mountains, the jungle Indian shows a considerable amount of intelligence. The difference is seen in their motivation.

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[20]Dale, op. cit., p. 118, citing an undisclosed mayor of a rich and progressive province in Ecuador.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Collier, op. cit., p. 182.

While the mountain Indian rebels against the education of the white man, the jungle Indian, because he lags in sophisticated social development, grasps at any opportunity to get ahead--even if it does mean accepting the system of the white man. There does not exist the same feelings against the white man that exists in the sierra anyway as the white man has not made his presence too obnoxious yet.

Then, too, there does not exist the fear in the jungle Indian that education will draw the child away from his normal environment. Because of economic and social oppression in the sierra, it is quite easy to influence the Indian child to want to leave his home environment for "greener pastures" elsewhere. Therefore, the older Indians are against any such influence that may weaken their group strength. The jungle Indian remains content with his situation in spite of of his education.

It is quite evident, then, that education in the case of the sierra Indian is not looked upon as an asset while the opposite is true with the jungle Indian. However, one must not stop here as it is necessary to consider the area of contrasts in religion in order to complete the picture.

IV. DIFFERING RELIGIOUS FACTORS

Fundamentally there is very little difference to be noted between the religion of the Otavalos in comparison to

that of the jungle Indian in Napo province. Rather, it is a question of how much influence the Roman Catholic Church has been able to exert on each area. This is usually in direct proportion to the overall influence of the white man. The stronger the influence of the white man the more catholicized in form is the religion of the Indian.

However, it is apparent that the Indian embraces Catholicism only to appease his oppressors. It is not so much a matter of conscience as it is a matter of obedience to the powers that be. According to Collier and Buitrón:

> The Indian's obedience to civil customs involves obedience to religious customs as well . . . as long as the Indians confessed to be Christians and baptized their children in the church, the Catholic priest made no exclusive demands on their consciences. So the Otavalos today can be said to have a Catholic-pagan religion.[23]

Lilo Linke makes a broad statement that is not quite true today because of its all-inclusiveness, but which reveals a question as to the effectiveness of the work of the Roman Catholic Church among the Indians:

> There is no doubt that all Indians today profess the Catholic faith, and that the year for them revolves around their religious holidays as much as around their agricultural occupations. Yet how far the abstract concepts of Christianity are understood by the earthbound Indians, how far they are mixed with or contradicted by pagan beliefs, no one has yet properly studied.[24]

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[23] Ibid., p. 95.

[24] Lilo Linke, Ecuador, Country of Contrasts (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 64.

Basically the religion of the Indians is still pagan, being a form of animism with a superficial coating of Roman Catholicis applied even though this was not the original intention of the church. Dale states:

> Catholicism has not accomplished anything more than a change of idols. . . . A prominent anthropologist told us that what the Spaniards tried most to destroy is the very thing which the Indian today has preserved almost intact, that is, his old religion.[25]

Orbe gives a little more insight into the matter by saying:

> The Catholic religion in the colonies utilized all possible recourses to establish the bridges and connections between the traditional religious beliefs and the new; the religious festivals of the Indians began to be substituted with other Catholic practices on the same days. . . . However, the new ways could not be adapted to the proper forms and specifics of Catholicism and were combined with the primitives, so that it actually resulted in mixed practices and services.[26]

The Indians down through the centuries have had a very strong fear of the evil spirits. They worship them to appease them so that the evil spirits will not do them any harm. The saints are evil spirits with Christian names.[27] An indifferent, materialistically-minded church has done little to bring about a true relationship with God who is stronger and able to subdue the evil spirits. Instead, "as

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[25]Dale, op. cit., p. 125.

[26]Orbe, op. cit., pp. 112-113. (This is a free translation.)

[27]Opinion expressed by Taita Nicolás Concha, Otavalo Indian, in a personal interview.

long as the Indians labored, obeyed the law, and left their sucres at the church, state and church have been indifferent to their fate."[28]

While it is not done so much out in the open where the stranger can see it, spirit worship is still very definitely carried on. One missionary reported that he and his wife once came upon a bowl of native fermented drink up on the side of a mountain which was later identified to him as being an offering to the spirit of the mountain.[29] Hamilton points out the importance of worshipping the evil spirits:

> Each group of families placates the evil spirits, "marries" the spirit of each new house to the spirit of the land, and "feeds" the ancestors. The Roman Church, while physically prominent, is limited in its influence. Its door seldom opens. The priest says mass only once or twice a year.[30]

Even the protestant church has not been completely free of such mixtures of paganism and Chrisitanity. Gonzalo Rubio Orbe, an Ecuadorian, sees it much better than the foreigner:

> What one can affirm in this situation is that reality itself offers a mixture of beliefs, gods, and rituals. The primitive fetishism, the naturalistic paganism, is living together with the new Catholic monotheistic forms and practices and also the various protestant sects--

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[28]Collier, op. cit., p. 194.

[29]Opinion expressed by Rev. Paul Streich, formerly with United Andean Mission in Ecuador, a personal interview.

[30]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 22.

> sometimes confusing and mixing the characteristics and forms; other times making an amalgamation that makes it difficult to establish from where one form or another comes; frequently confusing the spiritual power and wisdom of the religious leaders with those of the witch doctors; at times alternating faith with superstition.[31]

The key person is not the priest of the church but rather the brujo (witch doctor) who has the power to appease and use the evil spirits:

> The mystical relationships the Indians feel with the sun, the rain, and the earth, and the powers of good and evil, all make the brujo an important person in the community. His powers are respected by everyone.[32]

The Indians look to their brujos chiefly as doctors who can cure their sicknesses.[33] So strong is their faith in the powers of the brujo that "they never consider the brujo's actions in the light of reason. The simplest trick fools the most intelligent Indian."[34] There may be many who feel that the brujo accomplishes all of his feats through trickery and "luck," but there are many missionaries who have expressed the belief that the brujos do have demoniac powers at times.

One area often looks to another area for brujos who are supposed to have stronger powers than their own brujos.

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[31] Orbe, op. cit., p. 65.

[32] Collier, op. cit., p. 148.

[33] Ibid., p. 145.

[34] Ibid., p. 148.

The Salasacas, some groups in Chimborazo Province, and even some groups of Indians in the jungle look to the Otavalos for their brujos, believing that they have stronger powers. The Otavalos, on the other hand, look to the Colorados on the western slope of the Andes or to the Indians of the Amazon basin for their best brujos.[35]

Either way one looks at the religion of the Indians--whether as Roman Catholic-dominated or as evil spirit-dominated--it is basically one of fear. They fear the temporal powers of the church and they fear the powers of the evil spirits and the brujos who use their powers. God is recognized as a spirit who punishes evil but does not necessarily reward for good. Therefore, there is little room for the concept of love as taught in the New Testament. When there is a lack of rain or if it hails, God is punishing them for evil. The Otavalo Indian fears the spirits of Mt. Imbabura, Lake San Pablo, and the waterfall. They also have a strong fear of the spirit of the rainbow because they believe the spirit of the rainbow will violate the virginity of the girls. There is also the fear that if one points his hand and arm at a rainbow, the hand and arm will shrivel up and be useless.[36]

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Comment made by Nelson Cerda, jungle Indian pastor, Dos Rios, Tena, Ecuador, in a personal interview.

Because the Otavalo Indian has a more closely knit society than the jungle Indian, his religion appears to have more meaning and a much stronger hold on him. Not only is there the fear of the church and the brujo, but there is also the fear of his fellow man should he step out of line religiously and otherwise.

Up to this point the discussion has centered on the differences in culture, economics, education and religion between the two groups. The Indian has has own distinct culture, and one needs to be very much aware of his way of life. Because he is a part of a society which functions as as a whole, an understanding of the economics of life is also very important. Education means different things to different groups--to some it means a way of getting ahead, but to others it means being indoctrinated by the enemy--so that an understanding here will greatly aid the comprehension of the problem. Understanding the religion of the Indian is important since it forms an integral part of the man, and one cannot understand him if this part is not thoroughly understood. One must analyze the total man.

While it must be acknowledged that there is much more to the subject than has been presented here, it is hoped that this is enough to arouse the interest of the reader to the fact that culture with its related areas forms a very important part of the problem at hand.

If one is to better understand the culture and its related aspects, though, it will also be necessary to enter into a discussion on race relations. This is an area of extreme importance for any study concerning the Indians of the country as the society of Ecuador as a whole is not what one would call a truly integrated society with equality for all.

CHAPTER III

RACE RELATIONS

Some authors have expressed the belief that there is no true racial prejudice between the white man, mestizo and Indian. They say that the Indian who knows Spanish may easily become "mestizo" or "white" by changing his community setting and costume and that any prejudice is a matter of class rather than race.[1]

However, in the opinion of the investigator, this does not appear to be the case. In all the contacts made by him where the question was asked, there was no individual who believed that racial prejudice does not exist. In fact, even among the whites there is a feeling of superiority if the skin of one is lighter than the skin of another. The darker skinned white has mixed blood according to the lighter complexioned white. Racial prejudice presents a very serious problem for any group working with the Indian.

In the way of introduction to the problem of race relations, the following two references will serve to illuminate the situation that exists and what centuries of oppression have done to the Indian:

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[1]John Collier, Jr. and Anibal Buitrón, The Awakening Valley (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949), p. 90.

> A famous Bolivian author writing in 1956 and reflecting accurately the opinion of the oppressor classes says, "The Indian is a sphinx. He inhabits a hermetic world, inaccessible to the White and the Mestizo. We do not understand his forms of life nor his mental mechanisms. We speak of the Indian as a mass factor in the nation: in truth we are ignorant of his individual psyche and his collective drama. The Indian lives. The Indian acts and produces. The Indian does not allow himself to be understood. He does not desire communication. Retiring, silent, immutable, he inhabits a closed world. The Indian is an enigma."[2]
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> The Indian is not only at the bottom of the social and economic order in the Andean republic, he is regarded as a distinct caste. In his contacts with the people of the towns and cities, he expects to be treated as inferior, to be served last, to take what is left, and to do the things which are beneath the dignity of the white man.[3]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, alcoholic beverages seem to be one of the few things that will cause an Indian to speak up. Likewise, it is only when he is drunk that the Indian feels himself the equal of any white.[4]

The problem--like most problems in life--has two sides to it. First, the Indian has been abused so long that he has resigned himself to his fate and, secondly, the white, for the most part, refuses to change his attitude

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[2]Keith E. Hamilton, Church Growth in the High Andes (Lucknow, U. P., India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1962), p. 7.

[3]J. Merle Davis, "The Economic and Social Setting," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 78.

[4]Collier, op. cit., p. 97.

towards the Indian. As a result, the status quo continues generally. This problem is far more serious in the sierra than in the oriente where the influence of the white man is quite limited in comparison because of the proportion of white to Indian and the type of economy.

Discrimination takes upon itself many forms in the sierra. One of the most readily seen forms is that of discrimination in transportation. Many times a bus will stop for a white or mestizo while passing by an Indian. When the bus does stop for an Indian, he often has to get on through the back door and must remain in the back of the bus. Often times when they do get a good seat, they have a hard time keeping it. One missionary, having purchased reserved seats for himself and some Christian Indians once had to defend the right of the Indians to their reserved seats. Presumably, when he had purchased the seats, the clerk had figured that they would be for white people.

Extortion and cheating are a common practice by the whites against the Indian. The Indian is often overcharged for the things he purchases. He usually has to wait until the whites are served even though he was there first.

The Indian often sees injustice in the case of the police and the courts. After seeing a white robber, whom the Indians themselves had captured in the act of robbery, turned loose without punishment by the white police, one

Indian tribe, the Salasacas, decided to form a vigilante organization to protect themselves. They now do their own patroling of their tribal area from 8:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. and they exercise swift judgment on anyone caught in their area since they cannot depend on the white police.

There is also apparent discrimination in the area of education. Although the total Indian population far exceeds that of the white, the Indian seldom is seen in the universities as a student. The Indian is not given the opportunity to better himself even though he is reported on the average to have more intelligence than the white.

Although treatment could be successful in most cases, an Indian mother more often than not would rather take her ill baby, dehydrated from diarrhea, home to die rather than leave the baby in the hospital for fear the baby would die there. If an Indian dies, the attitude seems to be, "so what?" One Indian man died and it was not until a day or so later that a friend, coming to visit him, found him not in the hospital but in the morgue. Since it was and Indian, no effort was made to advise the family of the deceased.

The problem of relations exists also between the missionary and the Indian. The missionary, because of his own culture, is often guilty of thinking like the white man. The Indian is quick to notice the simularity and, therefore, to him the missionary is also suspect.

Because of more simularity between cultures, the missionary often associates more freely with the white national even though his work is supposed to be primarily with the Indian. Let a white man come into his house and he serves him coffee in the best dishes or at least in the ones the missionary normally uses himself. The Indian, however, is served out of an old battered enameled cup. The white is invited into the dining room but the Indian is kept in the kitchen.

Possibly because there are less whites in the jungles and, therefore, less oppression, the missionary is more readily accepted--provided, of course, that he does not make himself obnoxious deliberately. Or it may be that because the jungle Indian is cleaner generally and more willing to accept the ways of the white man that there is less cause for poor relationships between the missionary and Indian.

Sometimes it appears to be more a question of pity rather than love and identification on the part of the missionary. One feels sorry for the Indians, so he tries to help them out of their "terrible" state of life when actually he should be walking along beside them, realizing that he, too, is a condemned sinner except for the mercy of God.

This does not mean, though, that one is to change his culture and try to become Indian. Two anthropologists attempted to do this in Chimborazo Province of the central

highlands. They ate, slept, and dressed like the Indians, trying to assimulate themselves as much as possible into the culture of the Indians. Finally, after a frustrating period of time of less than desired acceptance, one of them asked some of the Indians why they were not accepted. The reply was very simple and to the point: "Your mother is not an Indian."[5] On the other hand, though, some of the missionaries in the same province are being accepted by the Indians because they are showing the Indians a true sense of humility in spite of their differences in culture. It is so noticeable that even some of the jungle Indians are noticing the relationship.[6]

Another failure in the missionary-Indian relationship is that of failing to recognize that the Indian cultures (as well as most of all other Latin American cultures) are male-dominated and male-oriented. The placing of a woman--especially a single woman missionary--in a place of leadership greatly frustrates the situation and more often than not hinders the work because in the eyes of the native she can not speak with authority. If Christianity is valid, then why is not the man speaking instead of the woman? Even the

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[5]Story reported by Gospel Missionary Union missionaries in Chimborazo Province.

[6]Opinion expressed by Santiago Calapucha, president of the National Indian Committee, Christian and Missionary Alliance and pastor of Pano church, a personal interview.

use of single women missionaries in working with married Indian women has limited usefulness because the women are so dominated by their husbands that they do little independent thinking for themselves. The woman missionary will be much more respected in a supportive ministry, such as nursing, or in working with children than she ever could hope to be in a major leadership type of ministry involving adult men and women.

Another reason why there is less race relation problems in the jungles is possibly because the Indian there respects the station in life of the missionary. The Indian is looking for new and higher rungs on the ladder on his climb from social oblivion to new heights of glory. The sierra Indian, because of his mental block, seems indifferent to the need for change.

The Dos Rios[7] situation is unique concerning relationships in that the location was at one time an hacienda that utilized a debt peonage system to maintain its labor force. The mission set the Indians free from their debts when the property came under the control of the mission. The Indians were given the right to work the land of the hacienda for their own gain. In some ways the Indian has

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[7]Christian and Missionary Alliance mission station located just outside of Tena, provincial capital of Napo Province.

transferred his dependency on the patrón (landlord) of the years gone by to the resident missionary. This dependency is in evidence even to this day. Good relations, therefore, have been much easier to establish and maintain.

Relations between the Christian and non-Christian Indians in the sierra are very poor. One reason for this is that Christianity tends to break down established patterns of the group concept and also to disrupt the fiesta system. The Christian is treated as an outcaste. Also, since there is such a close tie to the white man, this also affects the overall relationship. The Christian violates the centuries old traditions of his forefathers.

In the jungle, though, because the group spirit and fiesta system are not so strong, the Christian is allowed to live his life without so much pressure from the group. At times pressure is brought to bear especially in the matter of being forced to drink intoxicating chicha, a fermented native beverage, but this is rare in comparison with what is done in the sierra.

The Indian in the jungle has earned for himself and his Christianity considerable respect from his neighbors. Because of changed living habits, the infant mortality rate is very much lower than that of the non-Christians. Also, the Christian Indian is often paid more by his employer because he knows the Christian will give an honest day of

work and that he is not burnt out physically from the many effects of alcoholism.[8]

One final factor which greatly affects relationships between white and Indian is that of language. The missionary who attempts to reach the Indian through the language of the white national--Spanish--will often find himself to be suspect. It is just another relationship to the oppressor of the Indian. Then, too, there is the problem of non-understanding. More harm is done in the world today because of the failure of communication than what is probably done with malice aforethought. Find a missionary who has a good relationship with the Indians, and you will usually find a man who speaks their language fluently.

It is quite evident, therefore, that prejudice does exist in racial relations, not only between the white national and the Indian, but also between the missionary and the Indian. These problems have been present for centuries in the case of the white national and for approximately seventy years in the case of the evangelical missionary. These problems will not be easily overcome. They take many forms and it behooves the missionary to understand and overcome as many of them as possible. The understanding of the

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[8]Comment by Rev. Morrison Fuller, Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary to Ecuador who has worked extensively among both jungle Indians and white nationals.

cultural and racial problems now leads to a discussion of methods as to how one can best work among these people in view of the obstacles that he faces.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS IN EVANGELISM

In view of what has been discussed in the preceding chapters, one now comes to the practical side of the problem--suggested methods of evangelism that can be used in view of the problems of culture and race relations. May it be mentioned again that the following are not intended to be considered as absolutes, but rather in the form of guidelines for the interested individual.

Many times the missionary becomes discouraged and dissatisfied with his work when he sees no visible fruit for many years. He comes to the conclusion that his methods are all wrong. They may or they may not be wrong, but one needs to remember that the time of God may not necessarily be the time of the worker. Dr. Nida quotes Hendrick Kraemer:

> Some mistakes have arisen out of a false time perspective, for missionaries did not realize that it took some four centuries to evangelize the Belgians, three centuries for the Frisians, and at least an equally long time for Germany, despite the great prestige of Christianity as a political and religious force in Western Euroope.[1]

Therefore, one must be careful that he does not jump to

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[1]Eugene Nida, Customs and Cultures (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 255, citing Hendrick Kraemer, The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World (New York and London: International Missionary Council, reprinted 1947), p. 178.

conclusions. There have been movements toward God in some areas using the same methods that have produced no movement in others, but it sometimes just takes time. Patience is a virtue that all Christian workers need.

There needs to be a clear understanding of what evangelism or communicating the Gospel really is. Some individuals apparently are only interested in making superficial contacts, thinking that they have fulfilled the commission of Christ to reach every creature with the Gospel. Following the massacre of the five missionaries in Ecuador in 1956 there were a rash of ill-thought-out schemes to evangelize the Auca Indians, one of which was the dropping of scripture portions (in English, no less) from an airplane. Hamilton points out the problem quite well:

> They did not come as invited guests, nor to groups already interested and ready to accord a receptive hearing to the Word, as had been the case invariably in the earlier phase of the work. They broke new ground in the "regions beyond." In many villages they were given a welcome at first and were able to report good meetings in several places. But in the absence of any previous local interest, and failing to organize their results, they did not have the success which had attended the earlier efforts of either the missionary who responded to invitations, or the groups of believers who had gone out to evangelize among their relatives in the neighboring villages.[2]

Evangelism involves sowing the seed, the Word of God, by

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[2]Keith E. Hamilton, Church Growth in the High Andes (Lucknow, U. P., India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1962), p. 51.

word and action in a form that is easily understood. Then it must be nurtured, and that takes time.

Inter-mission and inter-missionary differences as to methods has always posed a problem for the work. Missions are composed of missionaries, and missionaries are made up of some of the most individualistic peoples on the face of the earth. Each missionary, each mission feels that it knows the "best" way to reach a people. Consequently, "each had its own 'a priori' ideas as to how mission work should be carried on."[3] The resulting confusion often retarded church growth. Some missions subsidized practically everything while others were very stringent with their funds. Some built beautiful buildings, others remained "native" as much as possible. Some stressed the social gospel while others limited their teaching to ideological concepts of abstract Bible teaching. Consequently, the poor native who was often torn by dissatisfaction with his old ways was further torn by the confusion in the evangelical movement.

It now appears that extremes in either direction can be harmful to the cause of Christ. Extremes in the direction of the social gospel give the Indian no spiritual foundation, while extremes in the opposite direction tend to leave him with beliefs that are irrelevant to life. The

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[3]Ibid., p. 50.

point is made clear by Hamilton who states:

> The task of missions is not primarily "help these poor people" by giving them money, food, clothing, education. The primary task is to give them Christ and let Him empower them to love their neighbors as themselves. No amount of charity given to them by missions will do highlanders as much good as their learning to minister to the real need of others.[4]

It is interesting to note that he does not rule out helping them socially, but rather that the emphasis should be first placed on the spiritual needs of man which should then result in a natural outflowing to the temporal needs of others.

Unfortunately, this has not always been evident in the case of the Otavalo Indians. Tending more and more toward a materialistic society (much the same as in the western cultures), there has been a considerable lack of care for others on the part of the Christians--possibly because they have been taught more in an abstract fashion. This failure was quite vividly illustrated on one occasion when a Christian minga, or work party, was planned in which there was to be no intoxicating chicha served. It turned out to be more non-Christian than Christian because of the lack of participation by the Christians. A near riot almost resulted when the minga leader failed to produce the usual chicha. It was only through much persuasion on the part of

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[4] Ibid., p. 113.

the missionaries that the men accepted money in its place to go buy their own chicha. Otherwise, they would have forced the Christian minga leader to go to the cantina, or local bar, to buy them drinks, and they probably would have forced him to drink also. Asked later why they had not participated in the minga, the missing Christians replied, "He did not help us so we would not help him!"[5]

One must realize, of course, that the basic factor above all for church growth is the "indwelling Christ." Hamilton, quoting Donald McGavran, says:

> Radiant personal faith on the part of younger and older churches, ministers and missionaries, laymen and youth is an irreplaceable factor. Everything else can be there, but if this is absent, church growth scarcely ever occurs. Conversely, when there is authentic spiritual fire, all difficult circumstances are surmounted.[6]

This does not go so far to say, though, that the missionary or minister who has outstanding success in one area is guaranteed equal success in another except as God works.

One of the biggest difficulties is the culture of the missionary himself. The missionary may have a thorough understanding of a well balanced, relevant message. However, all too often it has been presented from "the white

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[5]Experience related by Sra. Marjorie Miller de Endara of Otavalo, a former Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary--a personal interview.

[6]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 99, quoting Donald A. McGavran.

man's point of view and . . . therefore bound to fail."[7] Even the Roman Catholic Church is awakening to this fact when it was reported that:

> More often than not, they (the foreign priests) are better educated and more zealous than the native priests, but inevitably, they are also separated to a large extent from the culture of their parishioners.[8]

Passing through the foreign culture of the missionary, the Judeo-Christian concepts often receive a decidedly "gringo-ized" or westernized flavor. The missionary tends, therefore to be prejudiced by his own culture. Lindsell states:

> Since the missionary is human, the chances are that he, too, will tend to think and to evaluate other cultures against his background and with the unspoken assumption that whatever is not in agreement with his culture is somehow suspect.[9]

Because the highland Indian has a much more well established culture and is less willing to bend to the ways of the missionary, the missionary sometimes thinks this is wrong and commences to make enemies for the church by his efforts to "purify" the culture. The jungle Indian, on the other hand, is much more susceptible and conforms more

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[7]Lilo Linke, Ecuador, Country of Contrasts (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 65.

[8]"Latin America: A Divided Church," Time, Latin American edition, vol. 92, no. 8 (August 23, 1968), pp. 40-41.

[9]Harold Lindsell, Missionary Principles and Practice (Westwood, N. J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1955), p. 278.

readily to the culture of the white man. Thus, this problem of "purify" the culture is not so great among the jungle Indians as it is amongst the sierra Indians.

Then there is the problem of language. Many times one thinks of learning a language as being a one-way street to communicate the Gospel to the native. Nida points out, though, that:

> The proper use of language is not only the key to open the hearts of non-Christians, but it can also help to open the culture-closed heart of a missionary to the unsuspected needs and aspirations of the people.[10]

The initiative of contact almost always will be in the hands of the missionary. Once in awhile it will be reversed when an Indian will come seeking, having been motivated by some remote incident or working of the Holy Spirit, but this is rare, although possibly genuine. The missionary, for the most part, is the one who will have to do most of the adapting--not the Indian. Lindsell states:

> For the missionary, any effort to understand the people to whom he ministers is almost bound to be unilateral . . . therefore, one of the primary problems for the missionary is the wrapping in which he brings the Gospel, and his personal understanding of the people and his ability to adapt himself to their environment rather than their adapting themselves to his.[11]

Without adaptation there will be very little communication between missionary and Indian.

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[10] Nida, op. cit., p. 252.

[11] Lindsell, op. cit., p. 277.

In the early days of mission work little thought was given to the subject of anthropology as a means of improving the effectiveness of the work of the missionary; and even today some missions are failing to realize the importance of anthropology as Rycroft explains it:

> . . . any work undertaken must be based on a thorough understanding of the way of life, the customs, superstitions, ceremonies, motivations, values, behavior patterns and group relationships of the Indians themselves. The message of Christ and the power of His Gospel can transform the Indian if they are presented as something related intimately to his own life, rather than as an exotic religion.[12]

This does not mean that anthropology is an answer in itself, but rather that it is a valuable tool that should be exploited. The purpose of anthropology does not mean that one is to lose his own identity--which is practically impossible anyway--but rather to be flexible and responsive to the differences in cultures. Nida points out that:

> Identification with people is not attained by wearing a breechcloth, eating manioc and termites, or dwelling in a grass hut; what really counts is having a mind which can understand, hands which join with others in common tasks, and a heart which responds to others' joys and sorrows.[13]

Another possible barrier to real church growth has been the "mission station approach." The Indian looks at

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[12]W. Stanley Rycroft, "The Historical Setting," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. vii.

[13]Nida, op. cit., p. 257.

the mission station as the place where the rich missionaries live. Everything pertains to the mission, and the Indians often find it very hard to relate to such an extensive complex as being really there for them. Hamilton states:

> . . . we wonder if lack of growth was not due in large part to the fact that the method of work of the Evangelicals was exclusively the mission station approach. This mode of working is too foreign, to easy to encircle and bottle up, too open to immediate retaliatory action against those who become Evangelicals, and too open to "external" imitation. Competitive schools and clinics can so easily be set up on the other side of the road.[14]

The mission station has almost the same approach as the medieval castle had centuries ago--only this is not the Middle Ages but the latter part of the 20th century. Population is growing so fast that the church is not keeping up in proportion to the population growth. Simple addition is not enough:

> Someone has made the incisive observation that in the mission station approach, there is a "bring them in" attitude, while in the more fruitful experiences described in this study there is a "send them out" system. Which suggests . . . that Type A is content with piling up sheaves, while Type B by divine alchemy-plus transforms sheaves into farmers with seeds. The former is church growth by addition; the latter is church growth by multiplication.[15]

The mission station approach centers too much on the missionary. As has been already discussed, the missionary is

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[14]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 64.

[15]Ibid., p. 127.

already suspect, which means that the mission station approach is just one more obstacle in the way.

The question then arises:

> . . . what should be done when property has been bought and missionary residences built and stations established? There is no simple answer to this most serious question which Methodists and many others face. This much can be said. A chief goal for all such workers to hold clearly before them is that the outcome expected is the multiplication of bands of believers and that the way to obtain this is not to engage in vaguely preparatory labors hoping that sometime, somehow, churches will start growing. If the mission station can renounce all methods which do not establish bands of believers and embrace all which do, then it will surmount its handicaps and introduce the Gospel to new sub-tribes.[16]

Keep the property if necessary but get the church away from the station. Meet the people on their own ground. A church in a home is more effective than a church on the compound of a foreigner. All too often the only thing missionary about a mission church is the resident missionary. On the other hand, the indigenous church often becomes truly missionary in spirit.

Another difficulty the missionary encounters is the problem of abstract teaching. The Indian normally does not think in abstract terms while the missionary does to a large extent. What seems so clearly logical to the missionary leaves the Indian completely in the dark or with a mistaken

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[16] Ibid., p. 82.

conception of what the real meaning is. The Indian sees little relevance of the abstract to his own needs. Rycroft points out that:

> The Indians have clung tenaciously over the centuries to their traditions, beliefs, superstitions, customs, and ways of life and when a foreigner appears among them and tries to make a purely ideological or doctrinal approach with his religion, he does not, as a rule, get very far. It is difficult for the Indian to fully understand the new religion even if he wants to. Terms such as sin, salvation, faith and grace, even when translated into the Indian language (if they can be), will not have the same content and connotation as they have for the missionary brought up in an entirely different culture.[17]

To further point out the significance of this point, the missionaries in Chimborazo Province expressed amazement at seeing how God was moving men to action through the simplest kind of sermons preached by the Indians that for the most part were far beneath the level of sermon that the missionary would ever think of preaching.[18] Sometimes the missionary finds even when he attempts to preach on a kindergarten level that he is not getting through to the people.

To overcome the problem of abstract concepts requires considerable effort on the part of the missionary. Recognizing the problem is the first step. Then one needs to present the Gospel in a practical rather than abstract way

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[17]Rycroft, op. cit., p. 301.

[18]Opinion expressed by Jim Jackman, Gospel Missionary Union missionary, in a personal interview.

or at least in a way that can be applied to life on a level that the Indian understands--often at the level of understanding of a child. Above all the truths being communicated must be demonstrated in the life of the communicator.

Much teaching has been negative, leaving a void in the life of the individual that goes unfilled. When this void is not filled with positive Christian ways, it remains to be filled by the old ways of life in the moment of weakness. Dale points out the need for dynamic power for better living:

> The approach to the Indian has, in a large measure, been negative, the Gospel having been presented as a prohibitive factor in life rather than a dynamic power for better living. . . . Because of this negative approach, many of the basic needs of the Indian Christians remain unsatisfied and they return to their former ways.[19]

Many times the missionary is tempted to rely on methods used successfully in other areas of the world, not considering the differences in cultures. Each situation must be looked upon as being unique. Just because it works in the jungles does not necessarily mean that it must work in the highlands. Although there may be similarities in groups, each one must be treated in its own way, using the methods that are best suited to that particular group.

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[19]John T. Dale, "Anthropology," Indians of the High Andes, W. Stanley Rycroft (ed.) (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1946), p. 148.

Sometimes the attitude prevails amongst missionaries that the only thing necessary for them to do is to evangelize the pagan. However, the newborn babe needs love and nurture. It cannot be abandoned. Neither can a newborn babe in Christ be abandoned. Bishop Barbieri, Methodist bishop in Argentina is thinking of the "whole" man when he says:

> The Indian should be helped out of their miserable, almost subhuman conditions. The church should create in them the conscience that they are real human beings and have the right to be remembered as children of God, equally redeemed by the love and sacrifice of Christ. This does not mean that just a change in their social conditions will make them Christian. Underlying all that can be done for their material and intellectual betterment, there should always be the Christian message and testimony and reliance on the Holy Spirit for the changing of hearts and the creating of Christian communities.[20]

A proper balance must be attained if there is to be wholesome growth, and this does not come automatically. Hamilton demonstrates this by comparing the church to a growing person:

> Churches do not grow automatically. . . . The growth of a person likewise is best achieved by a combination of factors. Proper diet, physical, mental, and spiritual exercises, observation of certain rules of health, medical examinations at each stage of life are essential for wholesome growth. Yet an emphasis on any one of these to the exclusion of others could seriously damage normal development.[21]

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[20]Sante Uberto Barbieri, Land of Eldorado (New York: Friendship Press, 1961), p. 96.

[21]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 142.

John Ritchie, missionary to Peru of a past generation, recognized many principles that have been discussed thus far in this paper. Possibly one can learn much from him even yet:

> John Ritchie followed up contacts so far as possible. In each village he would be the guest of the person with whom he had been in correspondence. Most villagers quit work for the period of his visit. When they gathered to hear the message, he usually began by speaking of the lost sheep and the Good Shepherd, a theme familiar to them. But he did not attempt to conduct a regular church service with singing, prayer, sermon, and benediction. After his discourse, he stayed and awaited the inevitable questions. He praised the first questioners for their discernment, so that everyone who could think up a question of his own hastened to propound it. So far as possible, he found some verse of Scripture and read it out of the Bible. On it he based his reply. Thus the Gospel was brought into the people's lives.[22]

Ritchie understood what it is to "gossip the Gospel." There seems to be a natural outflowing interest for the whole individual in the method. He would even spend two or three days teaching whatever he felt the people could use---be it religious, social, or materialistic.[23] Some may be critical of his methods as being too much social, but he was able to relate the Good News to the whole life, not just to the intellect.

Along with the principle of relating the Good News to the whole man is the principle of "utility." Dale states:

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[22] Ibid., p. 42.

[23] Ibid., p. 43.

> Before a people accept an idea, truth or pattern of behavior, it must first be shown in a convincing manner to satisfy the needs and longings of the soul more adequately than the ones they hold. Thus the first principle for introducing Christian values is that of "utility." It is well for us to remember that this factor of utility must not be interpreted from our point of view but from that of the people themselves.[24]

If the missionary would keep in mind the concept of utility from the point of view of the Indian, he would not be so tempted to present a negative Gospel. For example, just because the social and recreational activities of the Indian associated with the Roman Catholic Church are usually occasions for drinking and other things unacceptable to the evangelical church does not mean that there is no need for social life and recreation. To the contrary, everyone needs such activities, and the missionary should seek for that which fulfills the definition of utility from a Christian point of view. If it means leaving the mission compound open so that the Indians may play volleyball on Sunday, do it. It may mean that he will not seek his recreation and social life in the local cantina. After all, what is so different between playing volleyball on Sunday and taking a Sunday afternoon drive in heavy traffic which sometimes is far more fatiguing to the body than a volleyball game? All too often one tries to impose his cultural concepts.

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[24]Dale, op. cit., p. 141.

Many times the truths of the Gospel are taught in an abstract, indirect method which, while the individual may be able to "parrot" them back, they may not necessarily be a part of him. This is a dangerous situation and all too prevalent among the Indians of the northern highlands. Dale points out the problem and the solution:

> Not only must he be given a well-defined group of ideas, values, motives and drives which are Christian and which give him a Christian "esprit de corps," but these must be presented to him directly and objectively in concrete patterns of behavior. Not to do this is a serious mistake for otherwise, especially in times of crisis, the Indian will revert to old patterns. . . . Thus the Gospel must be concerned with the whole of the Indian's life--his mind, person, soul, home, work, pleasures, attitudes and values.[25]

Dale is quick to defend himself against those who would accuse him of advocating a purely "social gospel" and in so doing points out the problem of failing to understand and work within the group:

> It is scarcely necessary to point out that we are not advocating "the Social Gospel" as a means of salvation. Salvation is individual regeneration first and foremost. Up to the present time much of the work among these Indians has tended to detribalize by separating them from the community without integrating them into a composite Christian group, thus deepening their sense of isolation and economic insecurity.[26]

The group concept is of utmost importance in working with the Indians of the sierra. Because of the nature of

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[25] Ibid., p. 143.

[26] Ibid.

his own culture, the missionary finds himself thinking and functioning more as an individual than the Indian does. This individualistic attitude carries over into missionary work as he attempts to reach the Indian on the same basis. The results over the years show the failure. One has to approach them in their frame of reference:

> . . . the Indian's (psychology) is certainly a peculiar state of mind, the result of distrust born of ruthless exploitation, of primitive beliefs which have survived the centuries, and of rural isolation. Above all, the Indian cannot be approached and be understood as an individual, but only through his community.[27]

Remembering the story of the Philippian jailer, as found in the Scriptures (Acts 17), one can better understand how the church should grow "along lines of relationship, with a committed man winning his father, brother-in-law, other relatives, neighbors, and their families."[28] This is the most logical way. The isolated Christian has a very rough road to follow and often falls into temptation when all alone with no one close at hand to encourage him.

One point to remember in working with the various groups is that of local loyalty. Just because one group does something does not mean that the next group will automatically follow suit. It is not like the United States

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[27]Link, op. cit., p. 65.

[28]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 74.

where practically everyone is so fad conscious in this day of rapid intercommunication. Fads spread from coast to coast almost overnight with little thought of regional difference, but this is not true with the Indian and church growth in Latin America:

> This intense, local loyalty bears on church growth. What matters is one's own county and one's own people. If the evangelical faith is prospering in a neighboring county, this does not commend it. "To become Evangelicals is exactly what people of that county would do. They always have been a poor lot" is much more likely to be the first reaction. Christians of one county will be much more influential within their own basin than outside it. That "our people" are accepting the Biblical faith is the good news which voiced in the basin's own vernacular carries conviction.[29]

The key word is "our." Identification with Christianity as their own has been the key in several cases, one of which is the recent progress in Chimborazo Province. The Gospel Missionary Union had been working the area in a conventional fashion for many years. The Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Seventh Day Adventist had preceded them in the area with little to show for the many years of labor. On one occasion in 1960 one of the Gospel Missionary Union missionary doctors was attacked in a small village and was barely able to escape with his life after a demonstration of resistance on his part. The ensuing publicity of the attack brought much attention to the clinic work being done by the

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[29] Ibid., p. 17.

doctor. As a result many whites started coming to the clinic because of the now famous doctor. However, seeing the whites monopolizing the clinic, the Indians became disturbed and began to let it be known that the clinic was theirs. Always before it belonged to the mission. Since then there has been rapid growth in the churches of the area with a total baptized number fast approaching 500 out of a total provincial population of approximately 280,000.[30]

This sense of community, belonging to the group, can not be overlooked if there is to be an effective ministry. Hamilton states that:

> It is our conviction that if ways for highland Quechua converts to maintain community with their people can be found and stressed, groups of them will become "seekers" as they did in the twenties in Peru and the fifties in Bolivia.[31]

This does not mean, though, that everyone is going to embrace the Gospel or be happy about Christianity in general. Many a cantina owner and brujo are going to be unhappy over the loss of trade in much the same way as the Ephesian silversmiths were unhappy in the day of the Apostle Paul. When the Christian is not isolated from his culture, the effect of his changed life bears a much more effective

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[30]Opinion expressed by Gospel Missionary Union missionaries, in a personal interview.

[31]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 36.

testimony to the world. Otherwise, Christianity takes on a decided appearance as being the "religion of the foreigner" and is often rejected on that basis. It must be kept in the framework of their own culture, weeding out only those things which are diametrically opposed to the Gospel, but not forgetting to replace such things with Christian things to avoid a vacuum in their lives.

Referring to the mission station approach once again, this system centers more on reaching the individual instead of the group. Actually the family group should be considered as the most important area of effort. A family that becomes Christian is often much stronger than an equal number of isolated Christians who have been plucked from their group setting and who suffer persecution from other members of the family. It is well to remember that it is in the home that the child is prepared for life. "The home should be made such a center of Christian influence upon the child that he will be permanently shaped by it."[32] This is not meant to belittle the importance of the school, but it should be kept in proper perspective. The school serves a very valuable purpose by providing adequate leadership for the future organized church and the community. This has been the example in the jungle area especially. The

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[32]Dale, op. cit., p. 146.

leadership in the Indian church has come from those educated in the mission schools. Also, it should be pointed out that these schools have had a very strong Christian emphasis.

Where real growth is taking place, both in the northern jungles and in the mountain province of Chimborazo, it is happening under their own leaders. Little has been accomplished where no real leadership has been developed. This does not mean just any individual can become a leader:

> Merely "leaders from amongst themselves," however, is not enough. Back of each case of outstanding growth is a man with a pastor's heart. This kind of leader is not serving for pay (either under mission or church), but has a sense of divine calling.[33]

Finding such leaders involves much prayer and discipling and often times much heartache for the missionary.

The missionary has been reluctant in many cases to relax his grip on the situation, forgetting that he should be attempting to work himself out of a job in that area so that he may be free to move on elsewhere to other needy areas. Dale is critical of such situations:

> . . . the missionary has made few attempts to understand the Indian's way of life. In addition, the missionary in most cases does all the work, leaving little to the native worker. . . . The missionary does not seem to realize that his best work is to produce Christian leadership for the native church of tomorrow.[34]

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[33]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 97.

[34]Dale, op. cit., p. 151-152.

Development of leadership is of prime importance. Some day the missionary may be force to leave. Therefore:

> The missionary must busy himself, as never before, with the task of preparing his national brethren to take over the leadership of the church, to share in the preparation of missionary plans and projects.[35]

Possibly because of his hidden prejudices, the missionary feels that the Indian is not capable of running things himself. However, Ritchie felt otherwise, and it is also being proven to the contrary in the jungle church today:

> Ritchie took no part in church discipline. He taught the congregations that the church was God's and theirs; each group was subject to the government of its own elders, and must learn to conduct its life under the guidance of the Holy Spirit and in the light of Holy Scripture. The elders were encouraged to conduct the ordinary services, dedicate children, baptize believers, celebrate the Lord's Supper, conduct church marriage following civil ceremonies, and bury their dead with Christian rites. Much of the elder's work, Ritchie agreed, was primitive, but it had the advantages of being indigenous, free in its development and commanding the devotion of truly awakened men and women who, through lacking much equipment, were interested in their service.[36]

To develop leadership does not mean that the prospective candidate should be taken away to some isolated place to attend a formal school, but rather to work with him where

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[35]Barbieri, op. cit., p. 136, quoting Charles O. Butler, "La vida y el ministerio de las iglesias evangélicas en la América Latina," (a report to the writer from a Methodist missionary in Panama, 1959).

[36]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 45.

he is on the local level. The reason for this is that his economic situation as well as his culture will not permit him to leave his local area. This is especially true in the sierra regions. Those who do leave their home area are often "spoiled" (by cutting the hair, changing their clothes and ways of living) so that they are not received back into their own group.

One practical method of developing leadership and carrying on an effective ministry over a large area by one missionary is to:

> . . . invite the leaders to a preparatory Bible study which they can take to their own group on Sunday. This study could be held on one of the main market days . . . in the afternoons before they return to their villages. These studies would be geared to help them prepare their weekly messages. More complete training should be given in special leadership training conferences.[37]

Much has been said in regard to indigenous church principles by various authors, and the subject has been discussed over and over again by missionaries and mission boards throughout the world. Dr. Donald McGavran, though, recognizing the problem of group differences, has proposed a new set of principles which will be well worth noting at this point. He explains that "the people movement is a normal way for the Christian faith to extend in any country

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[37]Jake Klassen, "Methods for Attainment of Goals and Objectives," (paper prepared for a conference report to the Ecuadorian mission of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Quito, Ecuador, 1966).

among populations conscious of being separate tribes or peoples."[38] The people movement principles according to Dr. McGavran are the following:

1. Churches made up of the people of one homogeneous unit grow better than those made up of people of several. Church growth is more rapid and healthier when it occurs in some one homogeneous unit.

2. Churches expand better along lines of relationship.

3. Church growth is more vigorous when men as groups rather than as individuals decide to become Christian. Group conversion is a valid and common way God works to increase His church.

4. Homogeneous units are more open at one period than another. Churches should be alerted to responsiveness and be mobile enough to reap fields as they ripen.

5. Administration is most effective when it recognizes sociological structure and works with it.[39]

It is quite evident in the above that Dr. McGavran is convinced that when there is a common unifying factor present, there will be more growth than when there is nothing to unify them. In the case of No. 2 above, he feels that the best growth occurs when there is some close tie of relationship, whether it be a blood relationship or other very close tie.

This idea of recognizing and maintaining division may seem strange to the North American who is trying to ease or

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[38]Hamilton, op. cit., p. 48.

[39]Ibid., pp. 116-123.

erase racial and economic divisions in life in his homeland, but it is still a very real problem in Latin America between the Indians and whites. Hamilton, speaking in regard to the spreading of the evangelical churches in the high Andes, states:

> . . . the social structure . . . plays an enormously important part. For example, dedicated Christians from among the white, mestizo, urban populations, far from naturally spreading the faith among the Indians, will encounter resistance--not primarily because they are evangelicals but because they are "Spanish," "white," and "cultured."[40]

A good example of this is found in one of the national Ecuadorian churches. After years of trying to understand each other, they have had to split into two national organizations---one for the whites and the other for the Indians. Another national group which integrated whites and Indians resulted in an all-white controlled organization. It seems as though the poorest white leader usually dominates the the most capable Indian leader.

Last but not least is the problem of proper staffing of an area to be worked. The jungle area has had more missionaries per capita than has the northern sierra region of the Otavalos. The Gospel Missionary Union in contrast has staffed their area in the highlands very well and is now apparently reaping the benefits of more thorough coverage.

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[40] Ibid., p. 8.

They are also working with a five-year plan as a guideline. Although it may be necessary to change it frequently, it still gives them some semblance of direction.

It has been the purpose of this chapter to consider the methods of the missionary in light of cultural and racial understanding. No one set of methods can be declared to be right. Each worker and each Indian is unique and requires understanding. Extremes are never the answer. While working with individuals, one still must remember that the individual is a part of the whole culture. The missionary must understand himself as thoroughly as he understands the Indian. Needed also is a thorough comprehension of the spoken medium of communication--the language. Old methods must be constantly re-evaluated as the culture is always changing. The message must be relevant if it is to move the individual to action. Rote learning is not enough. The missionary should remember that he is not permanent, but he is an instrument to be used by God in establishing indigenous leadership.

This now brings the reader to want to know what the overall results have been and what are the prospects for future movement of the Indian towards God in these areas of Ecuador.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Church work among the indigenous people of Ecuador has had its extremes in results even though the methods and personnel in many cases have been the same. In some areas the work has been very fruitful while in others it has been very discouraging and frustrating.

The work among the jungle Quechua Indians was a struggle for many years with very little fruit. At one time there was even consideration of closing down the jungle station at Dos Rios because it was so unfruitful. Today, Dos Rios is one of the largest evangelical churches in the country--even in comparison to the white churches. From it and its sister church in nearby Pano has come an indigenous missionary movement that now includes nine centers and 508 baptized believers, their own pastors and an indigenous church organization. The missionary is more of an administrator than anything else. Life for the Indian has so improved that he is often the envy of the outsider. Educational standards are improving each year and they have their own short-term Bible institute that meets once a year. Not just individuals, but whole families are involved in the church. Witch doctors no longer are a real threat and even some of them have been converted. The occasional backslider has not

hindered the church as a whole. This does not mean that they do not have their problems--they do. However, their problems provide them with strength and maturity as they overcome them.

In the northern highlands, mainly in reference to the Otavalo Indians, the picture is very discouraging. The church has been working in the area longer and yet has practically nothing to show for it in comparison. The small group that was established years ago in Agato near Otavalo has been dwindling. Many have left the church because of the continuing problem of their old ways. There have been few new converts to take their place and the place of those who have died. The Indian work in Picalqui and Cajas, areas on the fringe of the Otavalo Indian area, has largely become white-dominated. Indigenous leadership is practically nonexistent. Only in a few isolated areas is there promise of growth. Families as a group have not been reached with the Gospel. The missionaries involved in these areas are discouraged and divided as to what to do. Some say close the work while others say continue it. There is disagreement as to methods. Christian Indians from other areas think the situation is practically hopeless.

The same question arises again as to why has there been this differing response. The investigator believes that the answer is to be found in understanding the culture

in light of the racial problem of the country, and then applying the appropriate methods that fit the situation.

Some would believe that the problem is just cultural. Pedro Ignacio Porras Garcés, a Roman Catholic priest, took this view when he quoted Ignacio Bernal who said that, "the fundamental problem of Mexico is not economic, nor racial; it is simply cultural,"[1] and applied it to Ecuador. While this may be true in Mexico, it is questionable that the term "nor racial" is appropriate for here. Race and culture go together very definitely, especially in the country of Ecuador. The problem of racial differences dictates to a large extent the form of the culture.

To be effective, therefore, the missionary must understand not only the whole cultural situation, but the racial problem as well. This also implies the thorough understanding of his own culture and race.

Inherent in this understanding is the mastery of the communication media--the language of the Indian. Too much has been attempted without adequate ability in the language. If the missionary spends a year in a special language school learning Spanish, why is he not required to spend at least

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[1]Pedro Ignacio Porras Garcés, Contribuciones al estudio de la arqueología e historia de los valles Quijos y Misaqualli (alto Napo) en la región oriental del Ecuador, S. A. (Quito: Editora Félix, 1961), p. 13, quoting Ignacio Bernal, Introducción a la arqueología (México, 1952), a free translation.

that long, if not twice as long because of the difficulty of the language, in learning Quechua before being placed in his particular work?

Then there is the area of relevance to life. The use of abstract ideological concepts mean very little to the culturally simple Indian. If something is wrong in their culture, replace it with something wholesome and useful from the point of view of the Indian. Do not create unfilled vacuums in his way of life. Christianity must not be taught as something negative. It is positive, the most positive thing in eternity. Recognize the group spirit and work within its framework. Avoid that which contaminates the relationship of the missionary to the Indian such as too much association with the enemy of the Indian--real or ficticious.

Strive to establish indigenous leadership among the group. The missionary is only one individual. He can never hope to reach all the people, but he can do it through multiplication of leadership. Adequate missionary staff would be a real help until such a time as the indigenous leadership is able to stand by itself, such as it is now doing in the jungles.

A final note in the area of methods, the evaluation of the effectiveness of preaching the Gospel should not be in terms of affluence. Material success as the criterion

all too often has tended to confuse the true work of the church. Hamilton reminds the reader of what John Ritchie said over 36 years ago, describing how churches grow:

> Herein lies precisely one of the greatest values of the genuinely indigenous church; it is rich in spirit and poor in machinery--a blessed wealth, and perhaps, in this modern age, a blessed poverty.[2]

The Good News needs to be put into balance with culture and race. The Good News preached out of context of these two areas is very ineffective. On the other hand, understanding culture and race is only a means to the end of communicating the Good News and is not an end in itself.

If one is faithful to the wisdom that God has given, His Word will not return unto Him empty.[3] As the Apostle Paul stated to the Corinthian Christians:

> I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the growth. So neither he who plants nor he who waters is anything, but only God who gives the growth. He who plants and he who waters are equal, and each shall receive his wages according to his labor. For we are fellow workers for God; you are God's field, God's building.[4]

May God give the increase as one applies the tools of knowledge and method effectively.

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[2] Keith E. Hamilton, Church Growth in the High Andes (Lucknow, U. P., India: Lucknow Publishing House, 1962), pp. 85-86.

[3] Isaiah 55:11.

[4] I Corinthians 3:6-9, Revised Standard Version.

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APPENDIX

INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED ON THE FIELD

Austin, Rev. Keith. Chairman, Ecuadorian Field of the Gospel Missionary Union, Quito.

Calapucha, Rev. Santiago. Indian President of the National Indian Committee of the Christian & Missionary Alliance, pastor of the Pano Church, Napo Province.

Cerda, Rev. Nelson. Indian pastor of the Dos Rios Church, Tena, Napo Province.

Concha, Mr. César. Indian lay worker, Agato area, Imbabura Province.

Concha, Mr. Nicolás. Agato Christian Indian working in Quito.

Conn, Mrs. Carol. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary to the Indians both in the jungles and the highland areas.

Conn, Rev. Gerald. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary to the Indians both in the jungles and the highland areas; former executive committee member for many years involved in decisions affecting Indian work.

Crouse, Rev. Merle. Church of the Brethren missionary to the Indians in the Calderon area, Pichincha Province.

Endara, Dr. Marcelo. White Otavalo physician, trained in Argentina, serving both whites and Indians in Imbabura Province.

Endara, Mrs. Marjorie Miller de. Former Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary to the Indians of Imbabura Province, now a lay worker in the Otavalo Church.

Espín, Mr. Misiel. White national, formerly from Otavalo, now director of Peter Fleming High School (principally Indian), Dos Rios, Tena, Napo Province.

Fuller, Rev. Morrison. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary, formerly engaged in jungle Indian work, now working among the whites in the costal provinces.

Haines, Rev. Edward. Gospel Missionary Union missionary to the Indians of Cotapaxi Province.

Jackman, Rev. James. Gospel Missionary Union missionary to the Indians of Cotapaxi Province.

Kadle, Mrs. Mary. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary to the jungle Quechua Indians, Napo Province.

Kadle, Rev. William. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary to the jungle Quechua Indians, Napo Province, now involved in extension work down the Napo River.

Klassen, Rev. Jake. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary who served one term among the highland Quechua Indians of Tungurahua Province, now serving in Quito in the children's home for limited time.

Remacha, Mr. Rafael. Agato Indian lay worker, Elder in the Agato Church, near Otavalo, Imbabura Province.

Smith, Rev. Norman. Gospel Missionary Union missionary to the highland Quechua Indians of Cotapaxi Province.

Streich, Rev. Paul. Independent missionary, formerly with the United Andean Mission, now teaching in the private Cotapaxi School in Quito.

Wangen, Miss Violet. Christian & Missionary Alliance missionary nurse to the highland Indians in the Otavalo area, Imbabura Province.