

Religious Competition, Protestant Syncretization, and Conversion in Guatemala since the 1880s*

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Abstract

Evangelizing in a highly illiterate society poses challenges to the traditional method of establishing churches, schools, clinics, and emphasizing reading of the Bible. The Protestant missionaries at the beginning of the 20th century, early on in their work in Guatemala, incorporated innovative evangelizing strategies such as open-air services in town squares with music, preaching and evangelizing at fiestas. When radio was introduced in the 1940s, the Protestants immediately began purchasing airtime to broadcast programs in Spanish and indigenous languages. By shifting from the traditional Protestant emphasis on creating human capital to evangelizing through oral and visual means, the first Protestant missions to Guatemala made a shift from conversion (and the investment in human capital that entailed) to developing indigenous forms of cultural syncretization that eventually allowed for Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals to become the fastest growing segment of Protestantism. The Pentecostals building on the innovative evangelizing strategies of the Protestant missions relied on modern technologies that did not require literacy.

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“The Lord used these cassettes to prepare the hearts of the people for the coming of the printed Word.” David and Carol Fox, Wycliffe Bible Translators in Guatemala

Introduction

The reforms instituted by the liberal governments of Miguel Garcia Granados (1871-1873) and Justo Rufino Barrios (1873 – 1885) deregulated the religion market in Guatemala by introducing civil liberties while breaking the monopoly of the Roman Catholic Church. Bruce Johnson Calder describes the Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala during this period as being in a “virtual paralysis” (1970: 11). A more apt description of the effects of the liberal reforms would be the gutting of the Roman Catholic Church. The eviscerating process, if not furthered by Barrios’ successors, was at minimum maintained until December 1933, when the first Papal Nuncio was appointed to the country. The regions of the highlands were accessible only by horseback, mule, or foot and visited by the Catholic priest on holy holidays such as Good Friday and Corpus Christi day. This led to the preserving of indigenous religious beliefs, practices, and institutions (Siegel 1954; LaFarge and Byers 1931). Ironically, for the Roman Catholic Church, religious authority up until the 1950s became concentrated in the indigenous *cofradias* (religious brotherhoods).¹ The *cofradias* maintained rituals (albeit in a syncretized form) and church buildings. The *cofradias* were not only the keepers of the remnants of official Roman Catholicism, but these brotherhoods assumed a pivotal role in the revival and expansion of syncretized Maya-Roman religion, particularly by overseeing, planning, and financing the patron saint’s feast day as well as feast days on major Christian holidays (Thompson 1954).

¹ *Cofradias* were common in Spain and brought to the Americas. Foster (1960: 182-3) estimates that *cofradias* arose in the early 1500s during Spain’s Golden Age. Ruth Bunzel, in her study of Chichicastenango defined a *cofradia* in Spain as “a fraternal organization, devoted to the cult of some Saint. Membership is permanent, voluntary and unrestricted and the organizations are only indirectly political” (1952: 164-5). By contrast, in Guatemala, *cofradia* membership is selective with political responsibility for those members who serve in the civil government of the local community (Bunzel 1952: 164-5). Finally, *cofradias* vary in structure from one linguistic group to another; see LaFarge (1947: 112).

This paper examines religious competition in Guatemala with the entry of Protestant missions in 1882. The focus of the argument is on the evangelizing strategies that gave rise to independent Pentecostal and forms of neo-Pentecostal churches in Guatemala in the late 1950s onward. My argument is that forms of Protestant syncretization with indigenous cultures occurred over six decades of U.S. Protestant missions evangelizing and working in the highlands of Guatemala. However, it did not take place as some scholars (Adams 2001; Garrard-Burnet 1998) contend: that Protestant-Maya syncretization took place through the translation of the Bible (or portions thereof) into indigenous languages. These scholars argue that translations of the Bible into indigenous languages increased conversions to Protestantism as well as allowed indigenous communities to establish their own churches without missionary support or knowledge (Adams 2001).² This argument, by itself, is not viable given the low literacy rates among indigenous populations over time. My argument is that the use of communication technologies served the dual purpose of mass evangelization to cultures that were “oral communicators.” In other words, oral and visual technologies reached large numbers of peoples who were illiterate in a way that the printed copies of translated Bibles could not. Guatemalans were converting to Protestantism not through the written word but through the use of new technologies—portable phonograph (invented in 1913), reel-to-reel tape recorder (1930s), video (1951), finger-fono (1957), cassette recorder (1963), light-weight portable bullhorn (operated on commercially viable alkaline battery invented 1959), portable projector (commercial use introduced in the late 1950s), and radio programs (radio was introduced to Guatemala in the 1940s, transistor radio invented in 1952). As new technologies were being developed in the

² Adams (2001: 217) suggests that the first Gospel to be translated into indigenous languages in Guatemala is the Gospel of John. In fact, the first book of the New Testament to be translated tended to be the Gospel of Mark (see Chart 1) because it is believed to be the first Gospel to be written.

United States and Europe, missionaries brought them to Guatemala and introducing them into their evangelizing work. The technologies permitted U.S. missionaries to evangelize outside the traditional church service, thus leading to the syncretization of Protestantism with Maya cultures and, thereby, increasing conversions.

The introduction of new technologies, combined with translations of the Bible (or portions thereof) and improved infrastructure gave indigenous converts the means to proselytize independently of U.S. churches. In this manner, the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostals were able to capitalize on improvements in Guatemala to overcome the low-literacy rates, the rugged terrain, and the poor educational system to successfully compete with other Protestants. As a result of adopting the innovative means of evangelizing by the original Protestant missionaries (evangelizing at fiestas, using live music, broadcasting over bullhorns), Pentecostals churches with their more flexible forms of worship (singing, testimonials, miracle healing, prophesying), self-appointed ministers, and decentralized structure readily accommodated to the indigenous cultures.

Methodology of the Research

Except for Amy Sherman's study (1997), which covers five towns in four regions, studies on religion in Guatemala tend to focus on local communities [Goubaud (1949), Tax (1953), LaFarge (1947), Wagley (1949), Bunzel (1951), Nash (1958), Oakes (1951), Reina (1960; 1966), Ebel (1969), Ochaita de Escaler (1974), Hinshaw (1975), Wagley (1949; 1957), McArthur (1959; 1966), Mejía de Rodas and Miralbés de Polanco (1987), and Portillo Farfán (1991)]. Other studies, such as Emery (1970) and Grossman (2003), are based on surveys focusing on personal conversion/beliefs as well as social and political problems confronting Protestant

groups in Guatemala. National surveys on religion are fairly common and can be found in the *World Values Survey*, the *Christian Encyclopedia of Religion*, the *World Religion Database*, and the U.S. State Department *International Religious Freedom Survey*. Garrard-Burnett's historical work on Protestantism in Guatemala (1987; 1998) focuses on the effects of national policies on religious competition. The research uses Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology applied to the village, department, and national levels to construct maps that visualize relationships and trends in the country's religious competition.

The four data sets used cover:

(1) Protestant denominations and churches in Guatemala since the 1800s (including locations of churches, primary and secondary schools, vocational schools, seminaries/bible schools, clinics/hospitals, and radio and television stations.

(2) Roman Catholic parishes (including location of churches, primary and secondary schools, vocational schools, seminaries/bible schools, clinics/hospitals, and radio and television stations.

(3) Census data (all the national censuses beginning in 1882)

(4) *moreria* ledger data-- describing locations of dance performances in Guatemala (earliest date 1935).

The illustration in GIS of the geographic distribution of churches (Roman Catholic and Protestant) informs us of the proselytizing efforts of the various religious organizations. Are certain ones geographically localized? Regionally localized? Are other churches national in that they cover the entire country? If so, why? Does this pattern reflect topographical features (e.g., mountains, large rivers?). Or, is it due to the introduction of infrastructure (e.g., roads, trains, bridges, airports)? Are churches that are gradually built in remote areas indicative of population

growth due to a new product (e.g., garlic, coffee, cattle)? Is the introduction of new craft forms or trade routes, or natural factors, such as earthquakes and malaria, determinants of the geographic presence of a church? Does the location of churches correspond with economic, political, or religious characteristics (markets and trade routes, government seats, relics)? The flip side of these questions that my research will be addressing is: What effects do churches have on the accumulation of human capital, based on data on schools (Roman Catholic, Protestant, and public) and the ethnic distribution of the Guatemalan population.

Since 1882, Protestant denominations, churches, and sects have been competing with the once-monopolistic Roman Catholic Church in Guatemala. The nature of the competition, syncretization, and conversion among the indigenous groups of Guatemala has yet to be examined in a comprehensive and quantitative way. Scholars have studied the historical entry of Protestantism and competition (Garrard-Burnett 1987, 1998; Martin 1990). Others have focused on the relationship between Protestantism and economic aspects of indigenous life. Annis (1987) argued that the weakening of the economic viability of the *milpa* agriculture facilitated the entry of Protestantism into indigenous communities. Sherman (1997), like Annis, sought to establish causality from religious beliefs/participation to positive economic outcomes. Gooren (1999) studied small-scale Mormon and neo-Pentecostal entrepreneurs in a low-income neighborhood of Guatemala City to examine the causal relationship between religious affiliation and entrepreneurial success. What remains unanswered in these studies is: How and where in Guatemala is religious competition taking place? How is Protestantism syncretizing with Maya *costumbre*? By *costumbre* we mean indigenous practices or rituals handed down from one generation to the next.

Today, Protestants are conservatively estimated to be 32% of the population.³

Evangelicals are an estimated 28% - 30% of the total population with a slightly higher percentage in the highlands, where the majority of the indigenous groups live. Of the evangelical total, 12.9% are Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal/Charismatic (Johnson and Ross 2010: 77). How does Protestantism vary by department and ethnic group in Guatemala? How does competition occur between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism? How do Protestant denominations and churches compete with each other for adherents? Using a series of unique data sets on Protestant denominations and churches, Roman Catholicism, and the performance of dances in Guatemala, we track since the 1880s Protestant activity in Guatemala by geographic location of each group's churches, their schools, clinics, and radio and television stations. This Protestant data set tracks schisms and newly created churches over time.

Evidence of Protestant syncretization in the work of early anthropologists is scarce. Ruben E. Reina (1966: 120-122), working in the town of Chinautla in the late 1950s, noted that Protestant families recognized the authority of the local Mayan religious leader. The more common recorded perception of Protestants up through the early 1960s was quite negative. LaFarge (1947: 11-12) noted with some humor that the Seventh Day Adventists were viewed as the Anti-Christ. Early Protestant missionaries themselves describe being physically attacked and their property destroyed (Tracy 1961; Teague 1966; Dahlquist 1995). Nash observed in 1954 that "Protestantism is the religion of the marginal man, when viewed from the perspective of the whole community" (1958: 66). Nash claims that those individuals and families who "feel at ease" in their communal relations tend to convert to Protestantism. Nash's observations were made from the perspective of the factory workers in Cantel, Quetzaltenango, whom he was

³ Grossmann (2002) statistics were gathered in 2001.

studying and found to be devout Catholics. Like Reina, Nash does not mention the Protestant churches by name nor does he provide a description of them. Reina and Nash were focused on researching the indigenous culture, overlooking the impact Protestantism was having on the communities. The prediction by foreign (U.S.-trained) anthropologists was that Protestantism would never successfully compete, particularly the stricter Pentecostal form that preached eternal damnation, as it went against both syncretized Maya-Roman *costumbre* and the Roman Catholic Church.⁴ As the negative remarks of the anthropologists suggest, the success of Protestantism involved cultural accommodation and adaption, in other words, forms of syncretization.

Protestant Entry and Competition

Protestant competition officially entered Guatemala in 1882 in the form of the Presbyterian Church, first setting up headquarters in Guatemala City and then quickly moving into indigenous areas of the country.⁵ U.S. Protestants, unlike their European counterparts, proselytized to anyone outside the Protestant faith, including Roman Catholics, making little distinction in their evangelization between non-Christians and Christians. The strong anti-Roman Catholic stance of the Presbyterian Church conveniently dovetailed with the political agenda of President Justo Rufino Barrios.⁶ The nondenominational mission organization Central American Missions (CAM) entered Guatemala in 1896 and came to an agreement with

⁴ In this paper, Maya-Roman syncretization is not discussed and, as consequence, the fourth data set of this research project is not used here.

⁵ The Guatemalan national census of 1880 shows that Protestants were living in Guatemala prior to President Barrios's formal invitation to the Presbyterian Church to establish itself in Guatemala. Prior to this formal invitation, Protestants were tolerated as a religious minority but could not practice their religion in public.

⁶ In the 1904 Presbyterian publication, *The Assembly Herald*, William B. Allison after a visit to Guatemala writes invictively about the deprived and ignorant condition in which the Roman Catholic Church keeps the Guatemalan population. See, "Guatemala: The Land, The People, The Needs." *The Assembly Herald* (1904): 356-7.

the Presbyterians that CAM would work in the department of San Marcos.⁷ With other Protestant denominations, the Friends, Nazarenes, and Primitive Methodists seeking mission fields in Guatemala, another agreement was reached on geographical territories (Map 1). What is important to glean from these agreements is that a pattern of geographical persistence developed whereby each group historically retained a concentrated presence in the vicinity of its original missionary activities. The pattern is significant when analyzing religious competition as schisms began to occur from the original Protestant groups and new churches were created. The original five groups, even today, retain geographical persistence and collaborate without directly competing for adherents (Map).⁸

Hason and Xiang (2010) find that health and education spending on the part of the government are unrelated with the entry of Protestants. However, entry is more likely in countries that spend less on social welfare. Religion substitutes for the state when the demand for social services is not being met by government agencies (Hansen and Xiang, 2010). This result confirms the finding that church and state substitute for each other in the provision of welfare (Hungerman, 2005; Gruber and Hungerman, 2007). In this study, the rugged terrain of Guatemala (Cuchumatanes range in northwest Guatemala is the highest in Central America) including 29 volcanoes, lack of adequate roads (until the completion of the Inter-American highway in the 1950s), rapidly changing weather in areas of the highlands, and 22 indigenous

⁷ Differences of opinion exist on this agreement see, Barnett (1998) page, footnote 27. Teague (1966: 31)

⁸ The five original Protestant groups started in 1935 or 1936, an annual “Intermissions” conference. “The program of the early conferences included devotional times, presentation and discussion of topics of current interest, and business sessions. For many years the conference was headed by a committee of different mission personnel and had formal membership of each participating mission organization.” <http://www.intermissionsgt.org/aboutim.html> accessed February 3, 2011.

groups meant that the Protestant missions could not provide social services to the majority of the Guatemalans living in the highlands.⁹

Furthermore, the Protestant churches initially did not have much success with their written translations of Bible scripture (Chart 1) due both to illiteracy and lack of mass printing. The idea the missionaries had was to indigenize the written Gospel when it came to Scriptures—to convert people and make a K'iche', Ke'kchi, Kaqchikel, Mam, Poqomchi' church. This approach fit with a literate society rather than cultures of “oral communicators,” which characterized the indigenous populations of Guatemala. Realizing that the written word was not the most efficient medium for evangelizing, Protestants turned to recordings (finger-fonos, phonographs, cassettes, digital players) of hymns, Bible readings, and sermons. Missionaries also used films dubbed in indigenous languages and later filmed in local contexts to convert the indigenous population into Protestantism. Films, in particular, were useful in evangelizing, as the visual medium attracted crowds of people, thereby creating trust (Weaver 2001: 193).

Early on in their work, missionaries evangelized at public gatherings, particularly the saints' feast days. A popular strategy shared by the Protestant churches was to set up a booth or pitch a tent at a patron saint's fiesta, play music (either live or on tape), hand out literature, and preach over a portable bullhorn (Tracy 1961: 65-81; Teague 1966: 100-101; Central American Bulletin 403 (1967): 10-11; Vaughters 1968: 102; Schultz 1995: 90-91). Some showed films such as the “Life of Christ” and held children's classes under a tent (Hays 1972: 55). A saint's feast day is a *fiesta del pueblo* or public communal event where performances of dances take

⁹ The Cuchumatanes range stretches east from Chixoy (Rio Negro), where it divides into two groups, the Cuchumatanes and Verapaz mountains. The Sierra Madre mountains stretch from east to west and divide the Pacific slope from the midlands. Minor ranges include the Chamá, Santa Cruz, Chuacús, Las Minas, Montañas del Mico.

place and a fair occurs (Reina 1966:133; 142-162).¹⁰ Musicians and fireworks technicians may be hired from outside the community, dance costumes are rented from a *moreria* in another town, and candles are purchased from a major city. Merchants from the region come to sell their goods at the fair as part of the celebration. Other public feast days occur on Easter and Christmas. Another evangelizing strategy was to travel from town to town showing films with a portable projector on a sheet hanging between two trees. Portable bullhorns were commonly used to evangelize as missionaries visited town after town. Phonographs were used to play recordings in Spanish and an indigenous language.

Another form of evangelizing was to hold open-air services in town squares where traditionally fiestas take place (Hays 1972: 53). Tents were sometimes used, music played, and films were shown as part of the service. In the 1950s (Holland 1980: 85), U.S.-based interdenominational mass evangelistic crusades occurred in Guatemala. The first “United Evangelistic Campaign” held in Guatemala took place in 1950 coinciding with the Central American Sports Games and a National Fair in Guatemala City. Rev. Harold Van Broekhoven, a Central American Mission (CAM) missionary, coordinated the crusade with Virgilio Zapata, a Guatemalan who would become an influential Christian leader. A large tent was put up in the Mateo Flores Olympic Stadium in Guatemala City. Over the course of four weeks, thousands of people attended the services. Other “open air” mass evangelistic campaigns took place in 1953, 1956, 1957, and 1958 (Holland 1980: 85).

Unlike the previous crusades, which took place only in Guatemala City, in 1962 an Evangelism in Depth (at that time part of Latin American Mission) campaign was conducted

¹⁰ . The saints’ cults were introduced by the Spaniards in 1540 as a means of converting the indigenous population to Roman Catholicism. Each indigenous community over time was assigned a saint and feast day (Remesal 1964:246). Today, cities, towns, and indigenous communities (cantons and caserios) have a saint feast day that is celebrated over a short period of days with dancing, religious ritual, and social interaction at a fair.

throughout the country. During the opening ceremony for the kick-off event, the President of Guatemala, Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes (1958-1963), and the Mayor of Guatemala City, Dr. Luis Fernando Galich, addressed the audience of about 3,000 (Holland 1980: 86). The presence of the country's President and other politicians gave legitimacy to the Protestant event. During the year, open-air rallies were held throughout the country. The first phase of the year was on prayer. The next phase was training with leadership institutes. Congregations sent their members to be trained for ten weeks on how to evangelize door-to-door. Leadership institutes were held in the major cities of 17 departments from which trained leaders, with maps of the urban area, would then fan out to the *aldeas*, *cantones*, *caserios* and smaller communities surrounding the municipalities.¹¹ The goal was to cover each house in the country. By April, more than 3,000 homes throughout the country had prayer cells operating weekly if not more frequently. Regional evangelistic campaigns were held with different churches working together. According to a Primitive Methodist missionary, this evangelistic campaign was the beginning of the conversion of Mayan shamans (“witchdoctors”) to Protestantism—“16 such conversions in 15 months” (Hays 1972: 34). This year-long mass evangelizing crusade legitimized publicly identifying oneself as an evangelical. The public display of their religion *en masse* and with foreign assistance gave Guatemalan Protestants confidence to evangelize in their communities.

On November 25, 1962, the day of the final parade and crusade with evangelists from Mexico and Argentina participating, *Evangelism in Depth* estimated an 80,000 people would attend from all over the country. That morning, the guerrillas dropped bombs on the presidential palace. The police banned the busloads of Christians from entering Guatemala City and for a

¹¹ Guatemala City, Guatemala; Cobán, Alta Verapaz, Santa Cruz del Quiché, El Quiché; La Unión, Zacapa; Puerto Barrios, Izabal; Quetzaltenango, Quetzaltenango; Huehuetenango, Huehuetenango; San Pedro Sacatepequez, San Marcos; Flores, Peten; Retalhuleu, Retalhuleu; Chimaltenango, Chimaltenango; Sololá, Sololá; Escuintla, Escuintla; Jutiapa, Jutiapa; Jalapa, Jalapa; Sanarate, El Progreso, and Monte Sión, Amatitlán.

while the parade itself was suspended. Finally, the security forces permitted the parade to take place. The parade ended in the Mateo Flores Stadium which was filled with about 40,000 people (the bus loads of people from the highlands never entered Guatemala City). Juan Isaías, the coordinator of the event, was directing the chorus when suddenly to everyone's amazement the president of the country, the head of the Supreme Court, and the head of the Congress accompanied by other politicians entered the stadium and sat down to listen. According to Elisabeth Isaías, “They had guns over their shoulders and their shirts were open at the neck, but they wanted to show the revolt was crushed.”¹²

In 1968, another year-long crusade took place throughout the entire country. By then, each Protestant group was holding its own crusade. Through the 1970s, the churches held their evangelizing campaigns with open-air meetings (Hays 1972: 53). Films such as the “Life of Christ” were shown and choirs sang. By the 1970s, indigenous religious leaders were founding their own churches with no missionary or foreign assistance and spontaneous indigenous church growth occurred (Knoll 2003: 21; Weaver 2001: 164).

Starting in 1950, radio programs became an important part of evangelizing for all the churches. The Central American Mission set up Radio TGNA in Guatemala City, which continues to be a major religious radio station in the country.¹³ A second Central American Mission radio station was started in Barillas, Huehuetenango, *Radio Maya Barillas*, in 1962, the first radio station specifically broadcasting Scriptures to the various indigenous groups in Guatemala. In 1967, *Radio Buenas Nuevas* went on the air, broadcasting Mam programs from Huehuetenango, Huehuetenango. By 1979, there were at least four “religiously oriented” radio stations in Guatemala (Smallwood 1979: 2-4), including the Seventh Day Adventist *Unión Radio*

¹² Elisabeth Isaías, emails March 31, 2011 and April 1, 2011.

¹³ TGNA (shortwave) and TGN (AM medium wave) are both known as *Radio Cultural*.

station. Churches and religious groups purchased time on commercial radio stations as well to broadcast programs in Spanish and indigenous languages.¹⁴ By 1988, nineteen radio stations were evangelical (as compared to ten Roman Catholic) with seventy percent of the programming on air.¹⁵ By 1994, two more evangelical radios went on the air, *Radio Kekchi* and *Radio Cultural Coatán*.¹⁶ In 1996, the peace accords stated that Mayan (indigenous) communities were to have access to radio. Some interpreted the peace accords to be stating that communities have a legal right to radio frequencies. Radio frequencies are controlled by law and by the *Superintendencia de Telecomunicaciones* (SIT). The law is clear in that only frequencies authorized by the SIT and backed by a document known as a TUF (*Titulo de Usufructo*, which is a 15-year lease) can legally be used. The SIT auctioned off a great number of frequencies from 1997 to about 2001 and the Mayan communities had the opportunity to participate. Almost none did. Individuals, associations, and churches were able to purchase frequencies, which are being used to broadcast in many Mayan languages.

The vagueness of the law contributed to between 800 and 1200 illegal stations currently broadcasting with no permit and causing great havoc and interference in the spectrum. However, very few, if any, of these are operated by Mayan communities. About 80% of the pirate stations are evangelical, many are commercial, and although many use Mayan languages, their interest is chiefly commercial.¹⁷ Since these stations are illegal, the government does not subsidize equipment (although the government is not trying very hard to close down the pirates, despite a

¹⁴ The groups broadcasting were Central American Missions, Church of God Foreign Mission Board, Primitive Methodist Foreign Mission Board, Seventh Day Adventists, Southern Baptist Convention Foreign Mission Board and the United Presbyterian Church/USA. Taylor and Coggins (1960): 152.

¹⁵ Thirteen of the evangelical radio stations were nonprofit, Schultze (1992): 259. Roman Catholic radio stations were primarily established during the 1980s, many of them community radio stations with low frequencies.

¹⁶ A list of radio stations is being compiled with frequency strength and times programming in broadcast. The strongest frequency religious radio is TGNA. The Roman Catholic network has several radio stations in Guatemala

¹⁷ Steve Sywulka, email correspondence March 30, 2011.

few successful cases). On the other hand, some of these pirates operate out of a mayor's office, and various congressional representatives have been known to hand out frequencies—which obviously were not theirs to give.

Currently, it is estimated that around 60 legal radio stations are religious (including Protestant and Roman Catholic).¹⁸ Some of these are commercial stations that sell air time to churches and other religious entities. The number of these stations broadcasting primarily in indigenous languages is between fifteen and twenty.¹⁹ The AM wave length in Guatemala is dominated by Protestant programming (Evangelical, Pentecostal, neo-Pentecostal) (Mazariegos Morales 2008). The style of programming the Protestants air—witnessing, live programs including talk shows and musical performances, Scripture readings in indigenous languages—and the number of hours on air have a significant impact and contrast sharply with the staid Roman Catholic programming.²⁰

The Rise of Guatemalan Pentecostalism and Neo-Pentecostalism

The first wave of Pentecostalism in Guatemala remained uncompetitive until a revival took place in 1932, eventually causing a significant number of members in the Primitive Methodist Church (estimated 2/3) to switch to the Church of God (Conn 1959: 134-6). The revival began in San Cristóbal, Totonicapán and Santa Cruz del Quiché, where speaking in tongues was introduced, and spread north to Nebaj (Hays 1972: 19; Conn 1959: 135). The five original Protestant groups to enter Guatemala—Presbyterians, Central American Missions, Friends, Nazarenes, and Primitive Methodists—who had agreed to collaborate in their

¹⁸ Out of an estimated 620 radio stations in Guatemala.

¹⁹ Steve Sywulka, email correspondence March 30, 2011

²⁰ Schultze (1992): 259.

missionary work but not to compete for adherents, were now confronting direct competition from Pentecostal missionaries (Teague 1966: 52-3). The five Protestant missions reached a comity agreement in 1935 in a futile attempt to shut out the Pentecostals. Not only were Pentecostals competing with the original five Protestant groups, they were competing with each other. In 1935, an Assemblies of God missionary entered the department of Jutiapa from El Salvador, converting a Church of God to his brand of Pentecostalism (Teague 1966: 63, footnote 5). The Primitive Methodists decided to reach an accommodation with the Church of God by signing over deeds to property in the towns of San Cristóbal, Chuicacá, and Paquí, all in the department of Totonicapán.

Starting in the 1940s, the Church of God began an aggressive evangelizing campaign. A revival occurred in Guatemala City in 1943 but by 1950 the church split off to affiliate with the Church of God Prophecy. The intense schedule of revival services during the 1940s and 1950s resulted in thousands of conversions during evangelism campaigns. Pentecostalism introduced to the Guatemalan religion market new trends, featuring Protestants competing against Protestants for adherents and schisms in which individual churches switched affiliations or became independent.

By the 1940s, national leadership in the original Protestant groups as well as in the Pentecostal churches was being developed, although US missionaries retained ultimate leadership. In the 1950s a gradual withdrawal of mission funds and an increase in local fund-raising began to put the churches on a self-supporting basis. By the 1960s, the plan was to make each church “self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating.”²¹ The Protestant churches began turning over leadership to Guatemalan Protestants in the late 1950s with the Church of

²¹ Margaret Hays, *An Outline History of Fifty Years, 1922-1972*. Primitive Methodist International Mission Board., page 28.

God (Iglesia de Dios Evangelio Completo in 1959), the Guatemalan Presbyterian Church (1962), the Nazarene Church (1968), and the Primitive Methodists (early 1980s). The process was gradual in that as Guatemalans converted to Protestantism they became lay and ordained preachers.

A fundamental difference between the original Protestant missions and the Pentecostals was with regard to education. By 1950, the original Protestant groups had contributed to the translation of the New Testament into Kaqchikel, K'iche', and Mam. Accompanying the translations were literacy classes for lay leaders and the founding of a few schools. The Pentecostals viewed literacy as part of missions in so far as it was a means to converting and establishing an indigenous church. The mission trained lay pastors and church leaders who would then evangelize in the countryside. These indigenous pastors and leaders were the ones who had the responsibility for ensuring that their communities had schools provided by the government (Hodges 1953: 139-140).

By 1960, seven more indigenous languages had books of the New Testament and by 1970 the New Testament had been translated into nine indigenous languages. The Pentecostals had not participated in these translations. Liturgy and doctrinal orthodoxy were not a major concern of the nondenominational missions such as CAM and Wycliffe Bible translators as well as Pentecostal churches. Their position contrasted (in degrees) with that of the denominational missions--Presbyterians, Nazarenes, and Methodists--who had ordained ministers. Pentecostal churches with self-anointed pastors did not have a shortage of pastors. As a result of the evangelizing, Pentecostalism, of all types of Protestantism, flourished. Pentecostalism with its more flexible forms of worship (singing, clapping, testimonials, miracle healing, prophesying, loud group praying) and a decentralized structure easily adapted to the indigenous cultures.

The Pentecostal churches that were established beginning in the 1950s as schisms were a different paradigm from the original Protestant missions. These Pentecostal churches benefited from the development of the country in terms of infrastructure and technologies. Whereas the original Protestant missionaries entered the country when there cart roads (seasonal) and most of them walked or traveled by mule or horseback, the new generation of Pentecostal churches traveled in vehicles on roads. The Pentecostals building on the innovative evangelizing strategies of the Protestant missions relied on modern technologies that did not require literacy.

Infrastructure of Guatemala and the Spread of Protestantism

President Justo Rufino Barrios (1835-1885) sought to improve infrastructure as part of his modernizing vision for Guatemala. However, manual labor was required to build the cart roads being surveyed between highland towns, Guatemala City, and coastal regions. In 1875, a special law (*Reglamento de Jornaleros*) was passed requiring every male citizen to work three days each year on the roads or pay a poll tax. To increase the supply of land available for coffee and wheat production, indigenous communal lands (*ejidos municipales*) were order to be divided up. All confiscated Roman Catholic Church property without a lien went to paying the national debt (Diez de Arriba 1988: 244). To reward his political supporters in Quetzaltenango, Barrios ordered the construction of a cart road between the cities of Quetzaltenango, San Felipe, Retalhuleu, and the port of Champerico (Burgess 1946: 90, footnote 14; page 138). The road between Quetzaltenango and Guatemala City was improved. Roads connecting Huehuetenango and Aylon, Santa Cruz del Quiché and San Miguel Totonicapán were built. A cart road was constructed between Guatemala City and the Atlantic seaboard.

H.C. Dillon, who traveled to Guatemala between 1894 -1896 to conduct a survey for the Central American Mission, found “the roads are nothing more than trails” (1896: 14). Dillon mentioned cart roads from Guatemala City to the towns of Zaculeu, Huehuetenango, and Panzos, Quiché. In 1930, the main dirt wheel roads (for ox-carts and buggies) were between Guatemala City and Antigua and up to Quetzaltenango. These roads were not passable during the rainy season. By 1939, primary roads were improved under President Jorge Ubico (1931-1944) and the Pan American Highway was being constructed to traverse the country from west to east along the coastal area. Indigenous men and mules continued to carry goods between the highlands and the coastal region of Guatemala until the 1950s. (The practice continues today where only bridle or foot paths are available.) The only paved roads were those with cobblestones in the center of urban areas.

In 1944, when President Ubico was overthrown, the roads in Guatemala were of third order, impassable during the rainy season. The original Protestants went to geographic locations regardless of the nature of the existing infrastructure. Beginning with the Jacobo Arbenz government (1953 – 1954) 450 kilometers of roadway were paved. This activity was financed through local taxes. By 1958, Guatemala had 787.57 kilometers of paved roads, with most of them two-way. The main paved roads in Guatemala by 1960 were the following. During the Arbenz government, the road from the Atlantic Ocean, connecting Puerto Barrios and Santo Tomas with Guatemala City, was constructed and finished in 1959. The Pan American Highway was finished connecting Guatemala City with Mexico’s border in Huehuetenango. Another main highway was constructed from Guatemala City to the town of San Cristobal, Jutiapa, on the border with El Salvador. And, a road was built connecting the southern coast at Puerto San José with Guatemala. From Guatemala City the road went up to Cobán, Alta Verapaz.

As it was the situation in 1960, today (2011) most paved roads connect ports and main towns to the capital city (Map). To travel east – west or north – south across the country, one has to go through Guatemala City. A branch of the Pan American Highway crosses the country from east to west, from the border with El Salvador to the Mexican border. Other main paved roads pass through departmental capitals and link the main ports with the capital city. Rural areas are in general served by gravel or sand roads, where access may become difficult especially during the rainy season (from May to November). Problems of access are reported also in northern departments, including Alta Verapaz, Izabal and Petén, due to the lower density of roads and their poor conditions.

The Guatemalan railroad network was once the largest and most important of Central America with more than 900 kilometers of track connecting the ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, the capital city, El Salvador, and Mexico. The construction of the railroad began between the Puerto de San José (Pacific seaboard) and the city of Escuintla.²² A subsequent contract with the same firm called for extending the railroad tracks to Guatemala City. In 1884, the first locomotive to operate in Guatemala would travel along these tracks. With the Larrando brothers, the Guatemalan government contracted for a railroad line to be built from Guatemala City to Puerto Santo Tomás de Castilla on the Atlantic seaboard. In 1883, the government began raising funds through an obligatory bond issue (to be purchased by every Guatemalan male earning a minimum monthly wage of eight pesos and minimum of 18 years of age) for the construction of this railroad. In 1884, a US company was awarded a contract to construct a rail

²² The railroad concession for this construction was given to Louis Schlessinger and William Nanne, see Burgess (1946: 179, footnote 11).

line between Cobán, Alta Verapaz, and a point on the Rio Colochic. The rail line was finished by a German company (Burgess 1946: 215, footnote 5).

By 1996 the railroad system, after years of little maintenance, loss of traffic due to the opening of new roads and highways, and invasions by squatters was no longer functioning. After Hurricane Mitch in late 1998, the system was privatized and a rehabilitation project was started in 1999. The line between Guatemala City and the Atlantic ports of Puerto Barrios and Puerto Santo Tomas reopened for freight service not passenger service, hauling cement, imported coil and bar steel, sugar from Cuba, native coffee and other goods.

Two principal ports handle the vast majority of Guatemala's seaborne trade. Puerto Quetzal is the main port on the Pacific coast; it primarily handles bulk cargoes and is the main point for sugar exports. Puerto de Santo Tomás de Castilla is the main port on the Atlantic coast and is ranked fifth in terms of total tonnage in Central America. Both ports are connected with the capital city by a well-maintained, two-lane paved highway. Due to the greater distance, costs of transportation from Puerto de Santo Tomás are about double the costs from Puerto Quetzal to the capital city. A third minor port is Puerto Barrios, also on the Atlantic Ocean and very close to Puerto de Santo Tomás, handling mostly banana exports.

Why the Roman Catholic Church Could not Compete

Elected in May 1873, Justo Rufino Barrios brought with him to the presidency the support of the coffee and banana farms and the rising *clase finquera*. The new constitution, which remained in effect until 1944, established that public education would no longer be religious (allowing for some private schools such as the Presbyterian school), declared freedom

of religion for all religions and prohibited the establishment of Roman Catholic religious congregations or monasteries (Diez de Arriba 1988: 216). In 1871, the Jesuit order was expelled from Quetzaltenango and Totonicapán and soon after from the republic of Guatemala (1872).²³ Exiled the same year were the Archbishop Bernardo Piñol y Aycinena and the Bishop of Teya, Mariano Ortiz Urrutia, and then the governor of the Archbishopric Francisco Espinosa (1873). In 1873, the government consolidated all property of the Roman Catholic Church, convents, religious orders, cofradías, archicofradías, and congregations into the national treasury. A *Comision Central de Consolidación* was formed to oversee the efficient disposition of such property and the efficient transfer of such revenues and accrued interest to the Treasury. All religious orders were abolished (in 1872 for men and 1874 for women) with their property reverting to the state treasury.²⁴ Public displays of religious affiliation were banned (for example, religious processions and wearing of clerical robes), religious education ended as well as religious careers.²⁵ The constitution of 1879 incorporated all the previous anti-clerical decrees as well as introducing new measures to secularize public life. Civil marriage was legalized with the requirement that it be performed prior to a religious one. Cemeteries were no longer religiously affiliated and a candidate for president could not be of the clergy.

The Liberal Reforms of the 1870s left the Catholic Church severely crippled. In 1912, for example, there were only 119 priests of which ninety-five were religious (i.e, belonging to a foreign order and taking orders from the leader of the religious order) in Guatemala. In 1920, 105 parishes

²³ Burgess provides a detailed description of how Barrios used his position as General of the army to rapidly round up the Jesuits and put them on a boat to Panama (1946: 89-90). For a more detailed treatment and in-depth analysis of these events relying on a broader range of sources, see Miller (1969).

²⁴ The male orders were the Franciscans, Dominicans, Recollects, Mercedarians, Philippians, Brethren of Saint Vincent de Paul, and Capuchines.

²⁵ According to Burgess (1946: 201, footnote 3) the law of banning public religious processions was passed several times but not enforced. Rather, the government was willing to accept a payment (“license fee”) for the taking place of the procession. The Colegio Tridentino and the Seminario Mayor were incorporated into the new Universidad de San Carlos, the first national and secular university (Decree No. 116).

existed in Guatemala with 115 priests, 70 of whom were found in parishes, mostly secular, with 9 that had secularized and 5 still belonging to the order of Saint Vincent de Paul. Instead of being distributed to the rest of the parishes, the remaining priests were concentrated in chapels (*capellánias*) and other churches in Guatemala City. As a point of comparison, in 1944 the country had a mere 114 priests of which eighty-four were religious (members of orders) clergy.

With several uprisings throughout the country, the liberal government of President Orellana accused the clergy of instigating the uprisings in San Lucas, San Bartolome, Taxisco, Chiquimulilla, and San Jose Pinula. The parish priests of Antigua, Santa Rosa, Quiche, San Martin Jilotepeque, and Esquipulas were ordered to go to the capital as a result of the uprisings (Bendaña 1996:105). The Archbishop countered that there were no clergy involved in the uprisings and that the *cofradías* and *hermandades* refused to notify the priests of their income and expenses, and even wanted the priests to act according to the will of the *cofradías*. Furthermore, the *Comites en el manejo de los asuntos religiosos y economicos* in some towns gave full state approval to the *cofradías* for autonomy. (Diez de Arriba 1988: 337). This incident led to the exiling of the Archbishop, the Jesuit order and any foreign priests intervening in domestic political affairs on September 6, 1922. The Government also sent Adrian Recinos to Rome to ask for the removal of the Archbishop with plans to name someone else of President Orellana's choice. The Vatican refused to yield to this request. In the years 1925 and 1926, President Orellana imposed more restrictions on the entrance of foreign priests as well as the need for Government approval for the naming of any new parish priests and other ecclesiastical posts (Diez de Arriba 1988: 344). In 1925, there were a total of 108 parishes in Guatemala with half of them lacking clergy. In 1927, the number of parishes had been reduced to 58 (Anuario).

Finally Rome intervened directly in 1927, naming Monseñor Jorge Caruana as Apostolic Administrator for Guatemala after the death of the Archbishop in the same year, essentially leaving the Archdiocese under direct control of the Holy See until a resolution could be reached (p 344). It is important to note that in 1921 Pope Benedict XV signed a Papal Bull erecting the Diocese of Los Altos for the west of the country and the Apostolic Vicariate of El Petén for the north, but this would not be made public until 1928. With the death of President Orellana and General Lazaro Chacon's ascension to the presidency in 1927, Guatemala allowed Caruana to enter the country and take possession of the Archdiocese. Among his first priorities were the reorganization of the parishes, a reunion of all the clergy in the Republic, and a collection of reports from all the clergy (Diez de Arriba 1988: 450). **On** August 4, 1928, Pope Pius XI named the French priest Luis Durou y Sure Archbishop of Guatemala and Jorge Garcia Caballeros as first Bishop of Los Altos, both of whom took possession of their Episcopal chairs in November 1928, ending the crisis of the Catholic Church in Guatemala. Archbishop Durou reopened the seminary in April 1929, engaged in a pastoral visit to all the parishes, and ceded the administration of the Colegio de Infantes first to the Salesian order and then to the Marists. Foreign orders such as the Jesuits were again permitted to work in the country. The Dominicans and Salesians were assigned to the northern part (Alta and Baja Verapaz and Petén) with the plan to create a diocese in the near future (which took place in 1935). In 1934, Archbishop Durou reported to the Vatican that there were 80 priests and 62 parishes in Guatemala.

In 1933, the Vatican appointed the first Papal Nuncio to Guatemala who communicated directly with the bishops, side-stepping the archbishop's office. Although the Nuncio had no canonical authority with regard to the bishops (his office was a diplomatic one representing the

Papal office), he exerted significant influence through direct communications with the Vatican. The consequence of placing a Nuncio in the country was to strengthen the presence of the Church at the local level in the form of foreign priests and the resources they brought into the country for their work. This action had been intentionally and consistently opposed by the archbishop even though it was long-overdue. To weaken the control of the archbishop over the country (in 1921 the country was one diocese, in 1937 three dioceses), the Vatican created four new dioceses and one apostolic administration and assigned bishops, some foreign, to the newly created positions. The new dioceses were founded in 1951 and included the Diocese of San Marcos, Diocese of Jalapa, Diocese of Solola, the Diocese of Zacapa, and the Apostolic Administration of El Peten. Since the newly appointed Nuncio Verolino (1951) had the responsibility to find the appropriate pastors to lead the Church in Guatemala, the Diocese of San Marcos began independent functioning with a Spanish bishop (1955) and the Diocese of Solola with an Italian bishop (1959). The Diocese of Jalapa and the Diocese of Zacapa began with a Guatemalan bishop (1951) recommended by the Nuncio. The dioceses with foreign bishops were in the western part of the country, while those with a native bishop of the Nuncio's choice comprised the easternmost departments with lower indigenous population density. Foreign priests and their orders entered in 1937 (Jesuits), 1943 (American Maryknolls to the department of Huehuetenango), 1959 (Belgians-Zacapa), 1962 (American Benedictines-Alta Verapaz), 1947 (Franciscans-Jutiapa), 1955 (Spanish Franciscans of the Order of the Sacred Heart-- Quiché, Sololá). These foreign orders were assigned to geographic regions of the country.

In 1941, President Jorge Ubico reformed the Constitution of 1879 to allow for his reelection. The uprisings in June 1944 led to what became known as the October Revolution, with Ubico's ouster and a transitional regime (*La Unidad Nacional*) established to write a new

constitution which did not change the legal status of the Roman Catholic Church. The new Constitution of 1945 continued the restriction on public exercise of religion and the Catholic Church remained without juridical personality. The property of the Catholic Church was not reinstated and prohibitions on priests' political activities including involvement in labor movements was banned (*organizaciones del trabajo*) (121).

With the election of Juan José Arevalo to the Presidency, the Catholic Church attempted to maintain cordial relations. The new nuncio for Guatemala, a Franciscan priest, convinced the Arbenz government to allow religious orders to return, with particular presence of Franciscans to take care of the important parishes of San Marcos, Quetzaltenango, Retalhuleu, Totonicapán, Suchitepéquez, Sacatepéquez, Guatemala, Santa Rosa, Jutiapa, Zacapa, and Izabal. The Government developed good relations with the Nunciatura, but not with the Archbishop, who had published a series of pastoral letters advocating the right and responsibility to vote and complaining about the Minister of Education who had canceled a Catholic radio station accusing it of airing subversive propaganda (Bendaña 1996:122-123).

In 1954, President Arbenz was forced to step down, replaced by Castillo Armas whom the Archbishop favored more (Bendaña 2001:13). The Constitution of 1955 recognized the juridical personality of the Catholic Church granting the institution rights to property ownership. Although the legal situation of the Church was much improved, relations between the Archbishop and the Nuncio become more acrimonious as the latter was granted the right to negotiate arrangements with the religious orders to send in missionaries. Such arrangements included Huehuetenango for the Maryknolls, Quiché for the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, Sololá for the Carmelites, Escuintla to the Missionaries of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Scheutz), Petén to the Spanish Institute for Foreign Missions (IEME), Izabal, Zacapa, Jutiapa,

and Santa Rosa to the Franciscans. In some cases big territorial extensions or important parishes were granted in whole to other missions in exchange for the personnel. (Bendaña 2001:19).

The entrance of priests belonging to foreign religious orders occurred quickly once the Nuncio obtained permission for their entry. By 1967, there were 387 regular priests heading parishes and 91 of these priests dedicated solely to education endeavors, all belonging to 24 foreign orders, of which the Spanish Franciscans, the Maryknolls, and the Salesians had 45 or more members each.²⁶ There were also 814 foreign sisters, with 196 belonging to the order of Saint Vincent de Paul and the rest belonging to another 38 orders. In total, 141 of the regular priests served parishes, 96 took care of chapels (*capellanias*), 182 worked in schools for children, and 402 regular priests—who had to learn Spanish themselves—worked in literacy centers, teaching indigenous adults to read and write Spanish. (By this time, the Protestants had been focusing on indigenous literacy and translations for four decades). By the end of 1955 bishops are named, none of whom were diocesan: Celestino Fernández, a Spanish Franciscan for San Marcos, Luis Manresa, a Guatemalan Jesuit for Quetzaltenango, and Constantino Luna, an Italian Franciscan for Zacapa. (Bendaña 2001:21). The Guatemala Episcopal Conference is founded in 1956 and in 1960 began to take authority away from the Archbishop.

Our Parish data set also contains the date of erection for many parishes and allows us to total the number of existing parishes with substantial reliability. While the number of parishes had remained under 120 up to the constitution of 1955, the 1959 *Anuario de la Provincia Eclesiastica de Guatemala* lists 166 parishes with priests. While the Maryknolls had been allowed to enter the country prior to the Constitution of 1955 the agreement between the Nuncio and the Government explicitly called for the revival of the Catholic Church with foreign clergy.

²⁶ “Regular” and “Religious” are terms used interchangeably to distinguish priests affiliated with religious orders from those with no affiliation.

The dearth of Guatemalan Catholic clergy left the hierarchy (including the Vatican) no choice. The number of parishes had grown to 273 by 1967, reaching a total of 443 parishes in 2003. The Roman Catholic Church never recuperated from the policies of the Liberal period (1871 - 1944).

The Protestant denominations and churches by the end of the 1960s, had translated the New Testament into nine indigenous languages, set up literacy programs, evangelized through a variety of mediums using new technologies in those regions of the country left vacant first by the expulsion of the religious orders—which had monopolized catholic religion in the western part of the country with the highest indigenous concentration—in 1871 and by the remaining secular Catholic priests in the country who concentrated in urban centers that could support the religion. The Protestants were not competing with institutional Roman Catholicism but with each other and with Maya *costumbre*.

On Tithing, Incentives for Religious and Secular Priests, and the Incentives for the State

The settlement of the Western highlands of Guatemala was monopolized by the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Mercederians (the early religious or regular orders) since the founding of indigenous villages; the orders founded the villages themselves. The eastern part of the country, which was Spanish Guatemala, became monopolized by the secular clergy (not belonging to a religious order), which could travel to America without asking for permission from superiors of religious orders and then pose themselves as candidates for parishes. But the secular clergy could not enter the highlands because the orders restricted their competition there and refused to allow the distribution of the original regular doctrines (the original geographical division predating present-day parishes) into secular parishes, which was the ultimate goal for any Spanish colonization. Thus the west/east division in the Catholic Church has its origins in the colonial division of evangelization.

This division resulted at least partially from the practice of tithing. Van Oss (1986) says the Crown exempted indigenous populations from tithing as early as 1533, so indigenous communities would come into Christianity without suspecting any material interest from their evangelizers (Van Oss 1986: 82-92). The tithe also was not a percentage of one's income, but a percentage of crops, usually 10%, and in Guatemala was only paid by ladinos and Spaniards.²⁷ The religious orders were in favor of this exemption for the indians and the secular clergy/institutional hierarchy initially opposed it, creating a point of contention between the two sectors of the Catholic Church. There were however, other sources of income and strategies the religious orders concocted, and these were adopted by secular priests as indigenous populations grew in secular parishes if such thing happened. These sources of income included the payments and sustenance provided by *cofradias* when paying for the fiestas and patron saint day celebrations, the largest source of income from indigenous communities according to Van Oss. The religious priests also exacted payment in form of unpaid service from indigenous communities, rations of goods expected by the priests and justified as acts of piety by the native in support of their priests. Parish fees for marriages, baptisms, and funerals were also a source of income, and while indigenous populations were not legally/ecclesiastically obligated to pay for anything to the Catholic Church, they were subjected to reduced fees for such services. Finally, first fruits (*primicias*) were also exacted by the priests in varying degrees across parishes, some parishes getting more from ladinos and others from the indigenous population, and these included a variety of agricultural and farm products. So at the end, Indians were exempt from financial obligation to the church in legal terms, but still had to make substantial "voluntary"

²⁷ The term "ladino" as commonly used in Guatemala refers to the Spanish-speaking person (female or male) whose clothing, language, and customs are not expressions of an indigenous culture. See Burgess (1946: 27, footnote 1). Ruth Bunzel (1952) and Burgess (1946) concur that the terms "ladino" and "mestizo" are used interchangeably

contributions to the sustenance of their priests, who justified them as voluntary acts of piety in return for the services provided for the maintenance of the cult.

Van Oss (1986: 82) states that even all these voluntary source of income did not make up for the lost wealth due to the indigenous exemption from the *diezmo*, but given that such activities could not be closely regulated and that members of religious orders guarded the legal tithing exemption for Indians so zealously, this may be questionable.

One thing is certain. Maintaining the exemption from the *diezmo* was a way to keep secular priests and the institutional hierarchy out of the highlands, since the ease with which the *diezmo* was collected relative to the collection of income in other forms would have attracted them. Van Oss mentions some lower members of the religious orders would beg for food while the higher ranking members expected it in the form of ration and first fruits, etc. establishing the *diezmo* would have eliminated the need for such strategies and standardized its collection.

During the conservative restoration (1839-1870), President Carrera and others had reduced the *diezmo* from a 10% fee on all products to a 1% fee on selected agricultural products like coffee exports. When President Carrera died, President Cerna announced he would restore the full *diezmo* on all products (Diez de Arriba 1988: 172-174). As the ladino population increased in the west and would have been subject to such payments, unrest must have grown among them. Diez de Arriba (1988) mentions the proposed increase in the *diezmo* as one of the motivations for the second liberal revolution in 1871. Now, we must remember that Spaniards and ladinos had to pay the *diezmo* on all crops to the residing priests in the area, whether secular or regular. Thus it makes sense that President Barrios—who owned an hacienda himself in San Marcos—wanted the Jesuits out of the west, otherwise he would have had to pay 10% of his hacienda's products to them.

The interesting point that Van Oss never discussed because his work stopped at the end of the Colony is that President Morazán (1829) and President Barrios (1872) expelled the religious orders first, but never kicked out secular priests as a whole; at most they exiled particular priests who were trouble makers or disagreed with government policy, i.e. the Archbishop whenever he refused to follow the President's orders. So when the liberals expelled the orders, the highlands were left without religious guides because the orders had monopolized the indigenous evangelization up to the early periods of independence. This partially explains the lack of Catholic parishes in the western highlands since 1830.

While there were not enough priests in Guatemala, the few that remained also chose to concentrate in the urban and ladino centers that could support the subsistence of the priests. The problem was that religious orders initially did not have to answer to the local Bishop/Archbishop, they had to answer to their superiors in Europe and elsewhere. When the council of Trent in 1564 tries to bring them in under control of their respective local bishops, the religious orders in Guatemala refuse to accept this and to cede original doctrines to become secular parishes. Unlike other authors, Van Oss stresses that the division between the religious orders and the secular clergy was a problem with colonial origins.

It is possible that when the liberal regimes begin, the Catholic institutional hierarchy acquiesced to the liberal demands because the attack was not on the institutional hierarchy priests but on the religious orders that had monopolized the west. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the religious priests were allowed to stay in the country only if they secularized, which meant they would have to come under control of the local bishop and could be moved around the country as the Bishop or the President wished to break the monopoly.

This would have been a win-win situation: the Church would have broken free from the restraints of the regular/religious orders to do as the Bishop pleased, and the government would be rid of the religious orders that protected the natives from labor abuses or excessive taxation from the state (not that the religious orders did not tax them or abuse them). With the religious orders protecting the indigenous communities, the government could have never established things like the *Ley de Jornaleros* and submitted them to become the cheap labor needed for the new goals of the export economy.

But the Archbishop would have never thought the government could turn on the institutional hierarchy as it did when President Barrios exiled the Archbishop. This point is confirmed by the fact that President sought authority over the assignment of parish priests and the naming of the bishops (Diez de Arriba 1988:152-155, 318). The government did not have a problem with the Church, just with opposition to government policies (the religious orders protecting indigenous populations) and those secular priests and archbishops who refused to follow suit.

In short, the secular priests remaining in the western highlands had little incentive to occupy the vacated parishes because the language barriers, geographic distribution, indigenous population density, and tithing exemptions raised their transaction costs to collect the payments from the population. The government won its concessions because the Indians could then be manipulated to work on government projects, such as the construction of roads. The absence of the institutional Catholic Church left for Maya-Roman *costumbre* to dominate the religion market in the western highlands and to compete with the Protestants. This competition gave way to the rise of the Pentecostals, who brought a new type of religion with share characteristics to indigenous *costumbre*.

Concluding Remarks

Protestantism in Guatemala was aimed at converting the indigenous population more so than the ladino population. The original U.S. missionaries (Presbyterians, the Nazarenes, Primitive Methodists, Friends, and the nondenominational Central American Mission) were successful and welcomed by the indigenous populations for several reasons. The Protestants immediately began translating the Bible into the indigenous languages. But in order to accomplish this, they lived among the indigenous populations as they lived, befriending them and incorporating them into their work as well as evangelizing to them. Rather than devaluing the indigenous way of life and their languages, the Protestants translated the Scripture as well as the *Popol Vuh*, the sacred text of the Maya. The Protestants wanted the Indians to read for themselves that the Bible picks up where the *Popol Vuh* leaves off--Christ brings light, not darkness.

Protestantism relieved people from the financial commitment to the fiesta system (and the hefty pay-for-service fees in the Roman Catholic Church). Tithing in the Protestant churches was and remains voluntary, not obligatory (even though there is significant peer pressure). Personal salvation and a change in life style that comes with it--Protestantism offered a reason to break tradition-enforced patterns of alcoholism and physical abuse. Important means of educating children and adults were new technologies such as films and cassettes. Protestants targeted the younger generations and insisted children attend Sunday. Protestantism in the form of the original mission groups such as the nondenominational Central American Mission and denominations such as the Nazarene and Primitive Methodists, allowed churches to choose their pastors. Lay pastors were trained with the expectation that they would proselytize on their own

using a copy of Scriptures in their native language as well as recorded materials and films. The syncretization of Protestantism began with the translations and was continued by Guatemalan converts who were evangelizing in their communities on their own cultural terms. This was an innovation for indigenous communities who immediately took to lay preaching incorporating into their way of life and leading to spontaneous church growth.

The low literacy rates in the county, particularly among the indigenous populations, meant that the translations of the Bible would not have immediate pay-off. The greatest accomplishment of the Protestants missions was the innovative evangelizing methods through technologies that eventually gave the Pentecostal churches the winning strategy over other the original Protestant groups and the Roman Catholic Church. For its part, the weak institutional Catholic hierarchy and its dependence on foreign, religious priests reinforced the internally weak structure of the institution. Unlike the Protestants, the Catholic priests did not learn indigenous languages and when indigenous translations of the Bible became available the Catholic—both lay people and priests— adopted them in their work. The Pentecostals took a different tact by capitalizing on oral and visual technologies to evangelize thereby minimzing the issue to literacy in any language.

Country Profile Guatemala

Population (2010): 14.36 million; (2002) 11.2 million*

Literacy rates 2002 (Spanish):

Indigenous population: 0%–25%

Ladino population: 75%–85%

40.3% percent of population by indigenous linguistic groups (2002):

K'iche': 9% (1.2 speakers)

Kaqchikel: 8.4% (760,855 speakers)

Mam: 8% (560,511 speakers)

Kekchi: 6.3% (755,532 speakers)

Other indigenous groups: 8.6%

Languages: 55 indigenous languages, 53 are living languages and 2 have no known speakers.**
Guatemala Government recognizes 22 indigenous languages

Departments with over 50% indigenous population and their literacy rates (Spanish - 2002):

Alta Verapaz –	52%	(K'ekchi', Poqomchi')
Baja Verapaz –	61%	(Achi', Kaqchikel, Poqomchi')
Chimaltenango –	74%	(K'iche', Kaqchikel) closest to Guatemala City
Huehuetenango –	59%	(Akateka, Awakateka, Chalchiteka, Chuj, Jakalteco, K'iche', Mam, Kanjobal, Tektiteko)
Quetzaltenango -	75%	(K'iche', Mam)
El Quiché –	50%	(Ixil, K'che', Sakapulteka)
Sololá –	59%	(K'iche', Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil)
Totonicapán –	62%	(K'iche')

Chart I

Chronology of Written Bible Translations into Indigenous Languages and Introduction of Technologies

1532 – Bible portions (Sunday Lectionary), Aztec. Translated by Bernardino de Sahagún (Franciscan priest)

1553 - Pentateuch, Kaqchikel (Central). Translated by Spanish priests

1902 – Gospel of Mark (British Foreign Bible Society, New Orleans, LA)

1921 – The Passion and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ (CAM)

1923 – Gospel of John, Kaqchikel (Central). Translated by Cameron Townsend and Trinidad Bac (CAM)

1931 – New Testament, Kaqchikel (Central). Translated by Cameron Townsend and Trinidad Bac (CAM)

1954 – Revised New Testament by Joe Chicol; (ABS) 5,000 copies

1980 – Revised New Testament by Martha King (Wycliffe/SIL); 10,000 copies

2003 – Entire Bible (ABS)

2003 – Audio New Testament*

Geographic region: department of Chimaltenango

1898 – Gospel of Mark, K'iche'. Translated by Felipe Silva (Catholic priest)

1899 – Second edition of Gospel of Mark

1902 – Third edition of Gospel of Mark. All three editions total 7,000 copies

1925 – Gospel of John, K'iche' (Central). Translated by Dora and Paul Burgess (Presbyterian)

1925 – Second edition of Gospel of John

1926 – Book of Acts. Translated by Dora and Paul Burgess (Presbyterian)

1926 – Gospel of Matthew. Translated by Dora and Paul Burgess (Presbyterian)

1946 – New Testament, K'iche' (Central). Translated by Dora and Paul Burgess (Presbyterian) (ABS) 3,000 copies

1958 – Finger-fonos** used to play K'iche' recordings; 305 distributed.

1959 – Radio religious programming in Spanish and K'iche'

1972 – Revised version of the Burgess New Testament translation by David and Marilyn Henne (Wycliffe); 4,000 copies (sold in two years)

1970 – “The Life of Christ” film in K'iche'

1972 – Cassettes and recordings in K'iche'

1995 – Entire Bible, K'iche' (Central). Translated by Cocking (); 10,000 copies

2010 – Bible, K'iche'. Translated by Bernardo Guos (Catholic priest) and Isabel Sucuquí (Roman Catholic Church, Guatemala)

Geographic region: Central highlands, Totonicapán, southern El Quiché, eastern Sololá, eastern Quetzaltenango department (taught in primary schools)

1930 – Gospel of John, Mam (Southern). Translated by Dorothy and Dudley Peck (Presbyterian)
 1939 – New Testament, Mam (Southern). Translated by Dorothy and Dudley Peck (Presbyterian)
 1958 – 1964: Finger-fono played Mam recordings. 152 distributed
 1975 – Revised New Testament by Ed Sywulka (CAM) and Rubén Díaz; (ABS) 1,500 copies
 1980 – New Testament, Mam (Southern). Translated by David Scotchmer (SIL); 2,000 copies
 1988 – Old Testament, translated by Ed Sywulka (CAM) and Mam assistants
 1994 – Old Testament translated by David Scotchmer (SIL) and Rubén Díaz
 2007 – Audio New Testament
 2009 – Entire Bible (ABS)
 Geographic region: Quetzaltenango department (9 towns); Retalhuleu department (one town);
 Western Ostuncalco area (San Juan Ostuncalco, San Martín Sacatepéquez, and other towns)

1937 – Gospel of John, K'ekchi'. Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene) and Pablo Cruz
 1948 – Gospel of Mark, K'ekchi'. Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene); (ABS) 3,000
 copies
 1948 – K'ekchi' records and tapes broadcast over a public address system
 1954 – Book of Acts, K'ekchi'. Translated by Betty and Bill Sedat (Nazarene); (ABS) 2,000
 copies
 1955 – K,ekchi, dictionary. Betty and Bill Sedat (Nazarene) and printed by the Government of
 Guatemala; 1000 copies
 1958 -1964: Finger-fonos K'ekchi' tapes. 995 distributed
 1961 – New Testament, K'ekchi'. Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene) and Pablo
 Cruz; (ABS) 1,500 copies
 1971 – New Testament, K'ekchi'. Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene) and Pablo Cruz
 1980 – Books of the New Testament, K'ekchi'; 5,000 copies
 1984 – Entire Bible, K'ekchi' (first printing). Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene) and
 Pablo Cruz; 5,000 copies
 1985 – Entire Bible, K'ekchi' (second printing) 2,500 copies
 1986 – Entire Bible, K'ekchi' (third printing) 2,500 copies
 1988 – Entire Bible, K'ekchi' (first printing). Translated by Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson
 (Wycliffe/SIL); 10,000 copies
 1992 – Entire Bible, K'ekchi' (second printing) 10,000 copies
 2002 – Audio New Testament
 2006 – Entire Bible, Diocese of Verapaz, Roman Catholic Church
 2008 – Audio New Testament
 Geographic region: Northern Alta Verapaz, southern Petén (taught in primary and secondary
 schools)

1942 – Gospel of John, Kánjobal (Eastern). Translated by Kitty and Newberry Cox (CAM)
1953 – Gospel of Mark, Kánjobal (Eastern). Translated by Kitty and Newberry Cox (CAM)
1955 – New Testament, Kánjobal (Eastern). Translated by Kitty and Newberry Cox (CAM)
1960 – New Testament (second edition); (ABS) 1,000 copies
1958 – 1964: Finger-fono played Kánjobal recordings. 511 distributed
1963 – Radio Station TGBA, Barrillas, Huehuetenango was the first radio station started specifically to broadcast Scriptures to the various indigenous groups in Guatemala.
1973 – Revised New Testament. Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM); (ABS) 2,000 copies
1983 – Pentateuch and Psalms. Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM); 1,500 copies
1989 – Entire Bible, Kánjobal (Eastern). Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM) and Basilio de Basilio; (ABS) 2,600 copies
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Santa Eulalia, Huehuetenango and Southern California, United States

1955 – Bible portions, Ch'orti'. Translated by Helen Oakley (Friends)
1958 – Gospel of Mark, Ch'orti'. Translated by Helen Oakley (Friends)
1996 – New Testament, Ch'orti'. Translated by John and Diana Lubeck (SIL); 1,000 copies
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Municipalities of Jocotán, Camotán, San Juan Hermita, Copán, Olopa, Quetzaltepeque in the department of Chiquimila along the eastern border region with Honduras (taught in primary schools)

1955 – Gospel of Mark, Tz'utujil (Western). Translated by Agustin Pop and Carl Moses (CAM); (ABS) 300 copies
1971 – Cassette scripture recordings Tz'utujil. This began the project Bible Translations on Tape which provided 25 cassette players and several hundred cassettes
1981 – New Testament, Tz'utujil (Western). Translated by Judy and James Butler (Wycliffe); 2,000 copies
2011 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Southern Sololá area, southwestern shore of Lake Atitlán, Sololá

1956 – Gospel of Mark and Book of James, Chuj, San Mateo Ixtatán. Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM)
1970 – New Testament, Chuj, San Mateo Ixtatán. Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM)
2007 – Entire Bible; (ABS) 6,000 copies
2008 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: San Mateo Ixtatán, Huehuetenango and western Huehuetenango

1957 – Gospel of Mark, Poqomchi’ (Western). Translated by Betty and Bill Sedat (Nazarene)
1957 – Ten Commandments translated by Bill Sedat into Poqomchi’
1975 – New Testament, translated by Betty Sedat (Nazarene)
1984 – Entire Bible translated by Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson (Wycliffe)
2009 – Entire Bible (?)
Geographic region: San Cristobal, Alta Verapaz area (taught in primary schools)

1958 – Gospel of Mark, Aguacateco.
1971 – New Testament and Psalms, Awakateko, Aguacateco. Translated by Harry and Lucille McArthur (Wycliffe)
1993 – New Testament, Aguacateco. Translated by Harry and Lucille McArthur (Wycliffe); 2,000 copies
2003 – Old Testament Bible portions
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Aguacateco, Huehuetenango (taught in primary schools)

1960 – Gospel of Luke, Mam (Northern). Translated by Ed and Pauline Sywulka (CAM)
1968 – New Testament, Mam (Northern). Translated by Ed and Pauline Sywulka (CAM); (ABS) 2,000 copies
1975 – Second edition of New Testament
1979 – Third edition of New Testament
1982 – Old Testament portions, Mam (Northern), Translated by Ed and Pauline Sywulka (CAM); (ABS) 2,000 copies. The first Bible scriptures to be typeset in Guatemala on an Olivetti electronic word-processor
1988 – Old Testament, Mam (Northern). Translated by Ed and Pauline Sywulka (CAM)
1993 – Entire Bible, Mam (Northern). Translated by Ed and Pauline Sywulka (CAM)
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Western Huehuetenango department (San Sebastián and other towns) and seventeen towns in San Marcos department. Dialects spoken in San Miguel Ixtahuacán and Concepción Tutuapa, San Marcos.

1961 – Gospel of Mark, Ixil, Nebaj, Quiché
2008 – New Testament, Ixil, Nebaj, Quiché. Translated by Raymond and Helen Elliott (Wycliffe); 3,500 copies
2008 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Nebaj area, Quiché

1961 – Gospel of Mark, K’iche’ (West Central)
1998 – New Testament, K’iche’ (West Central) (first printing). Translated by David and Carol Fox (SIL); 10,000 copies
2002 – New Testament (second printing); 5,000 copies
2002 – Audio New Testament
2008 – New Testament (third printing); 5,000 copies
Geographic region: Southwest of Lake Atitlán, Quezaltenango, and Totonicapán departments

1962 – Gospel of Luke, Achí, Cubulco
1968 – Book of James, Achí, Cubulco; 590 copies
1984 – New Testament, Achí, Cubulco; 1,500 copies
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Central area west of Rabinal, Baja Verapaz (taught in primary schools)

1963 - Gospel of Mark, Chuj San Sebastian Coatán.
1969 – New Testament, Chuj, San Sebastian Coatán. Translated by Kenneth and Bobbi Williams (Wycliffe); 1,000 copies. The Chuj San Sebastian Coatán New Testament was the first computer typeset of the New Testament in the Central America
1999 – Entire Bible, Chuj San Sebastian Coatán. Translated by Haroldo and Regina Marin with Baltazar Nicolas and Diego Nicolas, David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM); (ABS) 5,000 copies
2007 – Audio New Testament
2008 – Entire Bible, second edition; (ABS) 2,050 copies
2010 – Audio Entire Bible, available in CD, MP3 and MegaVoice formats
Geographic region: San Sebastian Coatán area, Huehuetenango

1964 – Bible Portions, Tz’utujil (Eastern). Translated by Judy and Jim Butler (SIL)
1971 – Bible portions recorded in Tz’utujil on cassette tapes. Bible Translations on Tape provided 25 cassette players and several hundred cassettes
1992 – New Testament, Tz’utujil (Eastern). Translated by Pedro Samuc and Jim Butler (SIL); 1,200 copies
2007 – Audio New Testament
Geographic location: Southern shore of Lake Atitlán, Sololá (taught in primary schools)

1966 – Gospel of Mark, Achí, Rabinal. Central
2009 – New Testament, Achi, Rabinal; 3,000 copies
2008 – Audio New Testament
Geographic region: Rabinal area, Baja Verapaz (taught in primary schools)

1966 – Gospel of Mark, Poqomam (Eastern). Translated by Carol and Rick McArthur (SIL)
1980s – Film of the Gospel in Poqoman
1983 – Gospel of Luke, Poqoman (Eastern)
Geographic region: Eastern Guatemala, area of San Luis Jilotepéque, Jalapa

1969 – Gospel of Mark, Jakalteco (Eastern)
1997 – New Testament, Jakalteco (Eastern) (first printing). Translated by Dennis Stratmeyer (SIL); (ABS) 1,000 copies
2003 – Audio New Testament
2005 – New Testament, Jakalteco (Eastern) (second printing); 3,000 copies
Geographic region: Concepción Huista area, Huehuetenango

1970 – Bible portions, Poqomchi' (Eastern). Translated by Bill and Betty Sedat (Nazarene); 300 copies

1983 – New Testament, Poqomchi' (Eastern). Translated by Betty Sedat, José María Quej, Feliciano Sep, and Vincente Bin; (ABS) 2,000 copies

1994 – Spanish-Poqomchi' dictionary. Translated by Betty Sedat

1997 - Book of Genesis; (ABS) 2,500 copies

2010 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Department of Alta Verapaz

1973 – Gospels of Matthew and Mark, K'iche', Joyabaj.

1985 – New Testament, K'iche', Joyabaj. Translated by William Vasey (Primitive Methodist); 2,000 copies

2008 – Entire Bible (?)

2009 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Joyabaj, Quiché

1977 – Gospel of John, Jakalteco (Western)

1979 – New Testament, Jakalteco (Western). Translated by David and Helen Ekstrom (CAM); (ABS) 1,000 copies

2005 – Revised New Testament

2006 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Area around Jakaltenango, Huehuetenango

1978 – Books of Ruth and Jonas, Ixil, San Juan Cotzal, Quiché

2001 – New Testament, Ixil, San Juan Cotzal, Quiché; 700 copies

2005 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: San Juan Cotzal, Quiché (taught in primary schools)

1978 – Gospel of Mark, Uspanteko. Translated by Stan and Margo McMillen (SIL)

1999 – New Testament, Uspanteko. Translated by Stan and Margo McMillen (SIL)

2001 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: San Miguel Uspantán, Quiché and Las Pacayas, Quiché.

1979 – New Testament, Maya, Mopán.

Geographic region: Along border with Belize in the department of Petén

1979 – Life of Jesus, Mam, Todos Santos Cuchumatán

1981 – Gospel of Mark, Mam, Todos Santos Cuchumatán

1997 – New Testament, Mam, Todos Santos Cuchumatán. Translated by Richard Reimer (SIL)

2007 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Todos Santos Cuchumatán, Huehuetenango

1980 – New Testament Bible portions, Sakapulteko. Translated by Ralph McCluggage (SIL)

Geographic region: Sacapulas, Quiché, and Guatemala City

1980 – “Death of Jesus”, Ixil, Chajul.

1984 – Bible portions, Ixil, Chajul. New Testament translation in process

Geographic region: Chajul, Quiché (taught in primary schools)

1980 – Book of Genesis, Sipakapense

1998 – Bible portions, Sipakapense

Geographic region: San Marcos department, northeast Sipacapa area

1981 – Gospel of Mark, Kaqchikel (Eastern)

1986 – New Testament, Kaqchikel (Eastern)

Geographic region: San Juan Sacatepéquez, Guatemala (taught in primary schools)

1981 – New Testament, Akateko (Kánjobal, Western); 2,000 copies

1983 – Book of James

2002 - Audio New Testament

Geographic region: San Miguel Acatán, Huehuetenango (taught in primary schools)

1981 – Gospel of Luke, Poqomam (Central), New Testament translation in progress

Geographic region: Chinautla, department of Guatemala, and Guatemala City, Guatemala

1982 – Gospel of Mark, Kaqchikel, Yepocapa Southwestern.

1990 – New Testament, Kaqchikel, Yepocapa Southwestern.

2004 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: San Pedro Yepocapa, Chimaltenango

1982 – Gospel of Mark, Kaqchikel (Southern)

1993 – New Testament, Kaqchikel (Southern). Translated by Juan Sicajol and others; 1,000 copies

Geographic region: South of Antigua, southern Sacatepéquez (taught in primary schools)

1983 – Gospel of Mark, Kaqchikel, Santo Domingo Xenacoj

1984 – Book of James

Geographic location: West of Guatemala City on the Pan American highway (taught in secondary schools)

1983 – Gospel of Mark and Book of James, Kaqchikel (Western)

1996 – New Testament, Kaqchikel (Western). Translated by Rick McArthur (SIL); 3,000 copies

2008 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: North and east shores of Lake Atitlán, Sololá

1983 – Gospel of Mark, Kaqchikel (South Central)

2007 – New Testament, Kaqchikel (South Central)

Geographic region: Urban areas of Parramos and San Andrés Itzapa, Chimaltenango and San Lucas, Santiago, Sumpango, Santa Lucía Milpas Altas, San Bartolomé Milpas Altas, Sacatepéquez. (taught in secondary schools)

1984 – Bible portions, Kaqchikel (Northern).

Geographic region: Central highlands, northeastern Chimaltenango department, rural areas and towns of San Martín Jilotepéque and Santa Ana, Chimaltenango

1997 – “God Sent the Savior”, Mam, Tajumulco. Gospel Recording USA

2003 – Gospel of Luke, Mam, Tajumulco. Translated by James and Linda Baarte (SIL); 3,000 copies

Geographic region: Tajumulco and Ixchiguán, San Marcos

1998 – New Testament, Mam (Central) (first printing), 3,000 copies

2003 – New Testament (second printing), 5,000 copies

2006 – New Testament (third printing)

2008 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: San Marcos department (10 towns) (taught in primary schools)

1983 – New Testament, Garífuna. Translated by Lillian Howland (SIL)

2001 – Entire Bible, Garífuna

2001 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Pacific coast of Guatemala

2004 – New Testament, Tektiteko. Translated by Beach (Wycliffe)

Geographic region: Tectitán, Cuilco, Huehuetenango

2006 – New Testament, Kaqchikel, Santa María de Jesús

2008 – Audio New Testament

Geographic region: Southeast of Antigua and Santa María de Jesús, Sacatepéquez

No Translation

Chicomuceltec: no known speakers, language extinct. Ethnic population 100 (1982 GR).

Itzá: Lake Petén Itzá in San José Petén. Ethnic population: 1,800 (2001)

Kaqchikel, Akatenango Southwestern: Acatenango, Chimaltenango. Ethnic population: 500 (1997 SIL)

Kaqchikel-K'iche' Mixed Language: Santiago, Sacatepéquez and Santa María Cauque.

Changing to become more like South Central Kaqchike. Ethnic population: 2,000 (1998 SIL).

K'iche', Cunén: Quiché Department. Ethnic population: 9,000 (2000 L. Marhenke).
Translation in process, shifting to monolingual Spanish

K'iche', East Central: Chichicastenango and Chiché municipalities, Quiché. Ethnic population:
100,000 (1991 SIL). Translation in process

K'iche', San Andrés: San Andrés Sajcabajá, Quiché. Ethnic population: 19,700 (1991 SIL)
Translation in process.

Poqomam (Southern): 20 kilometers south of Guatemala City. Ethnic population: 27,900 (1991
SIL)

Tacanec: West of the town of Tacaná, western Guatemala border, and in Sibinal and Tectitán,
San Marcos. Ethnic population: 20,000 in Guatemala (1991 SIL)

Xinca: Southeastern part of Guatemala now an extinct language.

Explanatory Notes:

Abbreviations: ABS = American Bible Society; CAM = Central American Mission; GR =
Gospel Recordings; SIL = Summer Institute of Linguistics;

*Audio New Testament is a collaborative project of Hosanna/Faith by Hearing and Viña recording studios, Guatemala City, Guatemala. The Bible Stick, intended for individual use, has a recorded 40 Day Plan of the New Testament powered by one AAA battery. The Proclaimer, intended for groups, is a player with an installed microchip containing Scriptures in the indigenous language. "...the chip will not erase or wear out from frequent playing. The battery will play for 15 hours and can be recharged enough times to play the entire New Testament more than 1,000 times. The Proclaimer has a built-in generator and solar panel to charge the battery. The solar panel, in addition to charging the battery, will run the Proclaimer even without battery power as long as there is sunlight. The sound is digital quality and loud enough to be heard clearly by groups as large as 300. The Proclaimer was developed primarily as a playback device for poor and illiterate people who may not have any other source to hear God's Word." Since 2006, 11,000 Proclaimers have been distributed in Guatemala in 29 different languages/dialects. <http://www.faithcomesbyhearing.com/audio-bible-ministry-tools>.

** "In 1957, the American Bible Society devised the finger-fono, powered by the turn of one finger. The finger-fono produced sound through a diaphragm (an acoustic device) and a needle located in the arm, and required no electric power, spring or mechanical device. It was made of plastic, inexpensive to produce, easy to ship and practical for use in all climates. The purpose of the finger-fono was to make the Scriptures available to people who could not read.

The American Bible Society continued to distribute finger-fonos until the mid-1960s, when communications and technology had improved and more areas had access to electricity."

<http://record.americanbible.org/content/bible-qa/scripture-phonograph> accessed March 17, 2011.
Statistics of number of finger-fonos from American Bible Society Library

and Archives, American Bible Society, 1865 Broadway, New York, NY 10023

Sources: Paul M. Lewis (ed.), 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com/> accessed February 2011. Forum of Bible Agencies International, http://www.forum-intl.org/find_a_bible/default.aspx?Country=GT accessed March 16, 2011; Viña website: <http://www.vinyastudios.org/en/home/gtcontext/scripture.pdf>. accessed March 20, 2011. Rick McArthur, Viña Studios, Guatemala. David Ekstrom (CAM). *Hosanna/Faith Comes By Hearing*, Albuquerque, New Mexico. American Bible Society Library, New York, NY. Anna Marie Dahlquist, 1995. *Trailblazers for Translators: The Chichicastenango Twelve*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library; Olive G. Tracy, 1961. *We Have Seen the Sun*. Kansas City, MO: Nazarene Publishing House; Margaret Hays, 1972. *An Outline of Fifty Years, 1922-1972*. Primitive Methodist International Mission Board.

Chronology of Protestant Denominations and Churches in Guatemala starting 1882

1882 - Presbyterian Church of New York City, Presbyterian Church USA. (otherwise known as PCUSA)

Schism: 1961 - PCUSA became autonomous and renamed the National Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Guatemala (1961)

1892 – American Bible Society. Established a Central America office in Guatemala City.

1896 - Central American Mission - CAM, (Dallas, TX); Central American Evangelical Church Association (est. 1927)

Many schisms of independent churches

1901 – The Pentecostal Mission (TPM); Went to Livingston. 1903-04 more missionaries to Livingston. In **1915** became the Church of the Nazarene through a merger of the two churches. Coban, Alta Verapaz

1902 – California Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers), Whittier, CA. or Junta Annual Amigos Except for one church in Guatemala City, the denomination geographically focuses on Chiquimula, part of Zacapa. Chiquimula is their original mission field in Guatemala as it remains today.

1902 – First Comity Agreement among the Presbyterians, CAM, Quakers, and Pentecostal Mission:

Presbyterians: Departments of Guatemala, El Progreso, Quetzaltenango, Suchitepequez

CAM: Departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepequez, Solola, San Marcos,

Huehuetenango, Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Jalapa, Jutiapa

Pentecostal Mission/Nazarene: Departments of Alta Verapaz,, Baja Verapaz, Peten

Quakers: Departments of Chiquimula, Zacapa, Izabal

1908 – Seventh Day Adventists (US missionaries) began work in the northwest

Schism from the Sabbath school organized by E. L. Cardey and C. A. Nowlen in Puerto Barrios, Izabal

1912 – Pentecostal Holiness Church (est. 1812)

1913 – Pentecostal Holiness Church (est. 1911 in North Carolina)

1914 -- Primitive Methodist Church (They operate the Quiche Bible Institute)
Wilkes-Barre, PA.

1916 - Second Comity Agreement:

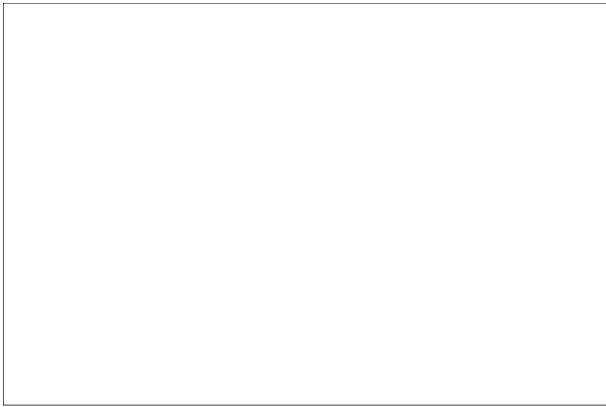
Presbyterians: Departments of Guatemala, El Progreso, Quetzaltenango, Suchitepequez, part of El Quiche

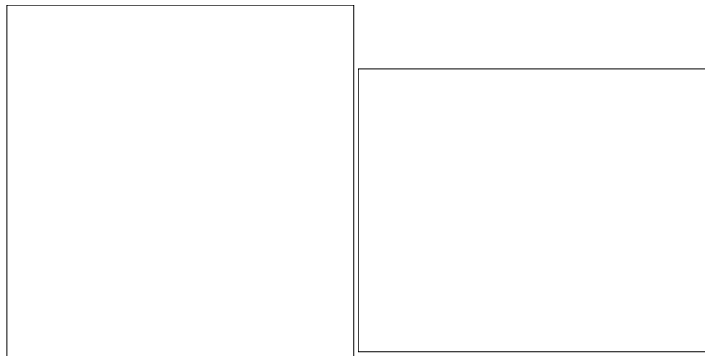
CAM: Departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepequez, Solola, San Marcos,

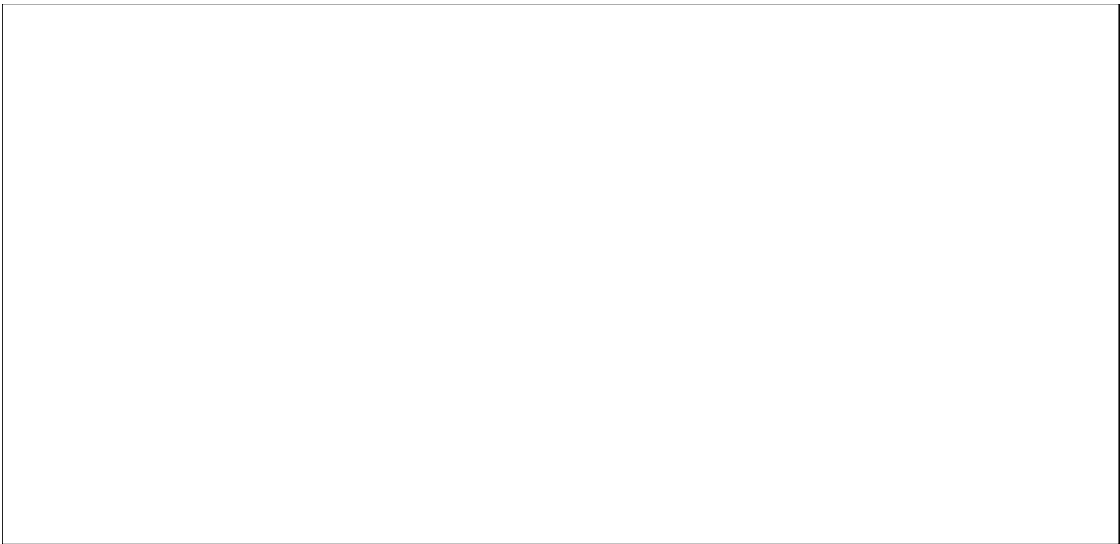
- Huehuetenango, Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Jalapa, Jutiapa
 Pentecostal Mission/Nazarene: Departments of Alta Verapaz, Baja Verapaz, Peten
 Quakers: Departments of Chiquimula, Zacapa, Izabal
 Primitive Methodist: Totonicapan, and part of El Quiche
- 1916 – United and Free Gospel Missionary Society. 1957 changed name to Free Gospel Church
 Turtletown, PA (transferred to the Church of God, Cleveland, TN, in 1934).
 1959 legally became Iglesia de Dios del Evangelio Completo
- 1923 – National Evangelical Mission or Mision Evangelica Nacional.
 Merger: In **1942** it merged with Church of Christ, and in 1950 it merged with
 Iglesia de Dios Profecia (Church of God Prophecy, Cleveland, TN)
- 1924 – The Christian Brethren (the “closed” branch of the Plymouth Brethren)
- 1926 – National Association of Baptist Churches
- 1928 – Mision Evangelica Independiente
 Schism: This church broke off from “Iglesia de Cinco Calles” and acquired juridical
 status in 1960
- 1929 - German Lutheran Church
- 1932 – Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Full Gospel Church
1959 legally became Iglesia de Dios del Evangelio Completo
- 1935 – Assemblies of God in Atescampa, Jutiapa
- 1935 – Third Comity Agreement:
 Presbyterians: Departments of Guatemala, El Progreso, Quetzaltenango, Suchitepequez,
 part of El Quiche
 CAM: Departments of Chimaltenango, Sacatepequez, Solola, San Marcos,
 Huehuetenango, Escuintla, Santa Rosa, Jalapa, Jutiapa
 Pentecostal Mission/Nazarene: Departments of Alta Verapaz,, Baja Verapaz, Peten
 Quakers: Departments of Chiquimula, Zacapa, Izabal
 Primitive Methodist: Totonicapan, and part of El Quiche
- 1937 – Assemblies of God (Springfield Missouri)
- 1940 – Emmanuel Church Association (begun by US missionaries)
 Schism: Mision Emanuel, Jalapa remained part of US mission.
 Asociacion Emanuel Guatemala became independent (date ?)
- 1944 - Mision Evangelica Interdenominacional or Interdenominational Evangelical Mission

- Founded by a CAM missionary, Bessie Estella Zimmerman H. (entered Guatemala 1914 and died 1958). 1945 – Evangelistic Faith Missions (Bedford, Indiana) or Mision Emanuel (Jalapa);
 Merger: 1960, Iglesia Evangelica Nacional Emanuel de Guatemala / Evangelistic Faith Mission, Bedford merged in 1960 with National Evangelical Mission.
- 1946 – Baptist Convention of Guatemala (indigenous) Southern Baptists
- 1947 - Continental Missionary Crusade (Calvary Churches) organized under Calvary Evangelical Church or *Iglesia Evangelica El Calvario*.
 Schism: In 1964, The Hispanic-American Mission (Mision Hispanoamericanas) affiliated with the Spanish-American Inland Mission of Erie, PA or is it Joplin, MO. In 1978, another split from the Calvary Evangelical Church occurred. The *Fraternidad Cristiana de Guatemala* (Christian Fraternity of Guatemala).
- 1947 – Church of God, Anderson, Indiana (Galilee Church of God)
- 1947 – Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (St. Louis, Missouri) or Iglesia Luterana
- 1947 – La Convención Bautista de Guatemala is independent of the Southern Baptist Convention, US. However, the denominational ties related through US missionaries sent to Guatemala under the direction of the Southern Baptist Convention.
- 1950 – Church of God of Prophecy (Cleveland, TN) enters Guatemala as a merger with Misión Evangélica Nacional which became Iglesia de Dios de Profecía
- 1952 – United World Mission (St. Petersburg, Florida) or Misión Mundo Unido
 Schism: a break-off by independent missionaries
- 1952 – Defenders of the Faith or Iglesia Defensores de la Fé
- 1952 – Bethesda Church of God
- 1952 – Wycliffe Bible Translators entered Guatemala at the invitation of the Primitive Methodists, Central American Missions, and the Church of the Nazarene
- 1953 – Apostolic Church of Faith in Jesus Christ/Iglesia Apostolica de la Fe en Cristo Jesus. Affiliated with the United Pentecostal Church, New Orleans, Louisiana, and the Iglesia Apostolica de la Fe en Cristo Jesus, Mexico City, Mexico.
- 1954 – Missionary Church of God (Houston, TX) or Iglesia de Dios Misionera
 A schism from Missionary Church of God and Iglesia de Dios de Profecia
- 1955 – Iglesia de Dios (Septimo Dia) Seventh Day Church of God
 Schisms: 1987 - Iglesia Cristiana Ministerios Vision Celestial

- 1955 - International Church of the Foursquare Gospel (Los Angeles, CA)
Iglesia Cuadrangular
- 1956 – Prince of Peace Evangelical Church Association or Principe de Paz
Schism from the Assemblies of God
- 1956 – Palestine Pentecostal Church
- 1956 – Iglesia Episcopal de Guatemala (or Saint James Parish) overseen by the Episcopal
Church of North America.
- 1959 –Iglesia de Cristo or Church of Christ, USA.
Continues to have ties with US churches who send missionaries
- 1962 – Ministerios Elim or Mision Cristiana "Elim"
Schisms:
1977 - Iglesia Hebron (Independiente) / Iglesia Cristiana Hebron / Ministerios Hebron,
schism from Ministerios Elim, Lima, New York, USA
1983 - Ministerios El Shaddai /Mision Internacional El Shaddai
Ministerios Vida Nueva [split from El Shaddai]
1986 - Iglesia Cristiana Visión De Fe
Iglesia MIEL San Marcos - Red Tabernaculo de Avivamiento
Ministerios Rhema / Iglesia Rhema Iglesia Cristiana
Ministerios Bethania
Ministerios Cosecha
Ministerios Ebenezer / Iglesia de Cristo Ebenezer
1999- Ministerios Shoffar / Mision Cristiana Shoffar [split from Ebenezer]
Ministerios Llamada Final / Otto Azurdia, Downey, CA main church
Mision Elim
Ministerios Pacto Eterno
Mision Cristiana Nuevo Pacto
Ministerios Palabra Miel
Ministerios La Puerta de las Ovejas / Iglesia de Cristo la Puerta de las Ovejas
Ministerios El Refugio de la Oveja
Mision Cristiana Rey de Reyes / Ministerios Rey de Reyes [Charismatic Catholic, then
influenced by Elim and now independent church]
- 1962 – Fundamental Presbyterian
- 1964 – Conservative Mennonite Fellowship (Uniontown, Ohio) or Mision Menonita
- 1980 – Jesus is Lord Church (founded by Gamaliel Duarte)
- 1970s – John 17:21 Fellowship







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