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**SLAVIC IMMIGRATION AS AGENT OF MISSION: A HISTORICAL
PERSPECTIVE IN THE PROVINCE OF MISIONES, ARGENTINA**

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BIBLE AND GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Old Testament

Genesis	Gen.	2 Chronicles	2 Chron.	Ezekiel	Ezek.
Exodus	Ex.	Ezra	Ezra	Daniel	Dan.
Leviticus	Lev.	Nehemiah	Neh.	Hosea	Hos.
Numbers	Num.	Esther	Est.	Joel	Joel
Deuteronomy	Dt.	Job	Job	Amos	Amos
Joshua	Josh.	Psamls	Ps.	Obadiah	Obad.
Judges	Judg.	Proverbs	Prov.	Jonah	Jonah
Ruth	Ruth	Ecclesiastes	Eccl.	Micah	Mic.
1 Samuel	1 Sam.	Song of Solomon	Song	Nahum	Nah.
2 Samuel	2 Sam.	Proverbs	Prov.	Habakkuk	Hab.
1 Kings	1 Kings	Isaiah	Is.	Zephaniah	Zeph.
2 Kings	2 Kings	Jeremiah	Jer.	Haggai	Hag.
1 Chronicles	1 Chron.	Lamentations	Lam.	Zechariah	Zech.
				Malachi	Mal.

New Testament

Matthew	Matt.	Ephesians	Eph.	Hebrews	Heb.
Mark	Mark	Philippians	Phill.	James	James
Luke	Luke	Colossians	Col.	1 Peter	1 Pet.
John	John	1 Thessalonians	1 Thess.	2 Peter	2 Pet.
Acts	Acts	2 Thessalonians	2 Thess.	1 John	1 John
Romans	Rom.	1 Timothy	1 Tim.	2 John	2 John
1 Corinthians	1 Cor.	2 Timothy	2 Tim.	3 John	3 John
2 Corinthians	2 Cor.	Titus	Titus	Jude	Jude
Galatians	Gal.	Philemon	Philem.	Revelation	Rev.

General Abbreviations

A.C.	After Christ
Ac.	Acres
APA	American Psychological Association
BWA	Baptist World Alliance
c.	about, approximately
ch., chs.	Chapter (s)
CABA	Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires
CEMLA	Centro de estudios migratorios para América Latina (Study Center for

	Immigration in Latin America)
Ch.	Chapter
d.	died
e.g.	for example
ESV	English Standard Version
etc.	and so on
EC-B	Russian abbreviation: <i>Evangelii Cristiani y Baptisti</i> (Christian Evangelical and Baptist)
HCJB	Spanish: Hoy Cristo Jesús bendice. English equivalence: Heraldng Christ Jesus Blessing
KJV	King James Version
ND	No date
NIV	New International Version
n.p./n.pp.	No page/s
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
No.	Number
p., pp.	page(s)
RFSSR	Equivalent to Socialistic Federative and Soviet Republic of Russia (In Russian: Российская Советская Федеративная Социалистическая Республика, Российская РСФСР, between November 7 th of 1917 to January 25 th of 1918)
SSSR	Soyuz Sovetskij Sotsialicheskij Respublik (Soviet Socialistic Republic Union)
SGA	Slavic Gospel Association
trad. by	Traduction by
URSS	Russian: Союз Советских Социалистических Республик (Russian phonema): <i>Soyuz Sovétskij Sotsialistícheskij Respublik</i> . Abreviation СССР. Was a Federal Marxist-Leninistic State in Europe and Asia between of 1922 and 1991. The terms <i>Soyuz</i> was included informally between the Union residents
v., vv.	Verse(s)
vs.	Versus

INTRODUCTION

This project, as an investigation and scientific thesis, involves a number of issues regarding the influence of Christian Slavic immigrants in the Province of Misiones (Argentina Republic). Although the field work is historical, the project is also related in ~~in~~ the academic arena of the missiology study.

In general, the project was designed as a part of the Slavic immigrant's roles on the Provincial context, from the historical perspectives. First, Slavic immigrants played a leading role in the formation of communities and influenced the country as a multicultural society. Secondly, the Slavic community contributes its brick in building a singular and dynamic context in Argentina and different demographic areas in Latin America.

In addition, this project is a direct contribution to the contemporary missiology in a local and global challenge about immigration as *Missio Dei* and the mission of God's People in the twenty first century.

Specifically, the Christians currents of Slavic migrations, largely, found a way to overcome of their adversities and to achieve integration into the overall context in faith and Christian hope. Religion was an incentive to living fight, containment and development within the rugged context. It may be checked by primary documents, diary books of lives, testimonies and the many expressions of Christianity today.

From a historical perspective, there are a variety of investigations to the Roman Catholic Christianity. However, with respect to other Christian groups (Byzantine, Orthodox and Evangelical Protestants) it is less exhaustive research, and in many cases there are not formal information.

With regard to the Evangelical presence (Protestantismo Evangélico), the origin of History began since early twentieth century; but in 1925 took place the formal appearance for the Evangelical Slavic ethnic groups: Evangelicals Baptists and

Pentecostals (Ukrainians, Polish and Russians). Evangelical Baptists had a brittle organization of churches, which were not exempt from foreign ideologies (pro-Russian, pro Ukrainian and American way of life).¹ Meanwhile, Pentecostals had a more informal organization. His influences came from the Canadian missionaries and some Swedish shepherds who worked among sizable mestizo population.²

Beyond the internal life of the Slavic communities, the Evangelical communities interacted with other ethnic groups in the context (e.g. German, Swedish, Finnish, Brazilian and mestizos). The most relevant contributions to the present Province are: the formation of a Europeanized demographic landscape with a local adaptation; provincial development promoted the capitalist bias, a very complex spirituality and tolerance in diversity of creeds; the incorporation of cooperative societies of work that distinguishes the province. The Slavs were second in the influence of this thought. The “Colono Cultural Style” (la cultura colono) is unique in expression of values (honesty, thrift, industriousness, simplicity and persistence), hence involves interest on this research work written.

Finally, it is rather to emphasize that the choice of subject involves an interest to the author, since it belongs to the third generation of Slavic Evangelical immigrants in Argentina. In many ways, the immigrant community and the values of the ancestors, not only keep a historical memory, but were constituent factors of their identity today.

1. Guideline of the research's problems

¹ Protestantos Evangelicos: For definition see Appendix Table 4, pp. 246-248.

² The inhabitants of Latin America are from a variety of ancestries, ethnic groups and races, making the region one of the most diverse in the world. The specific composition of the group varies from country to country. Many have a predominance of European-Amerindian or Mestizo population: e.g. Mestizo is the blend between Europeans and Native Americans. It began early in the colonial period and was extensive. The resulting people, known as Mestizos, make up the majority of the population in half of the countries of Latin America.

This thesis degree is the product of observations and questions about the concrete missiology issues through the Slavic historical immigration process and its influences in the center of the Province of Misiones, Argentina.

According to historical background, in the early twentieth century, European immigrants clashed with different adversities. By the way, they were resisted by the various forms of improvement and integration into the overall context. Among these forms of resistance, the most important were the virtue of carrying the spirit of your dreams, Christian hope and community practicing faith. These qualifiers formed an inherent part of their mission. Specifically, their burning Christian faith. It was not only a palliative way to survival, but an incentive to fight, cohesion, development and influence on the context.

Currently, the immigration's problems and the Christian mission have a different scenic. In the first half of the twentieth century the immigration was relative addresses organized by world's directions: eg. 62 million south-north migrations; 61 million south-south migrations; 53 million north-south migrations; and the rest were migrations of east - west. At the dawn of the century, migration has globalized. In 2009, more than 214 million international migrants were mobilized from countries to countries in the world. This phenomenon makes all regions of the world were involved with moving people: both the outgoing, incoming or in transit. In these senses, the boundaries are blurred distinctions and immigrants are unclear.

The challenges of Christian mission require a thorough analysis. Specifically, of the points that relate between the phenomena of movements of peoples, sovereign mission of God and the participation of its people on concrete reality. In this sense, this

thesis is looking for an innovative perspective on contemporary and concrete reality, for the immigration and mission dilemma in the contemporary world.³

2. Justification

The choice of this topic seeks to answer several reasons and causes: First, from the academic point, the analysis and critical way on immigrant realities will be appreciated and valued, as well as the past and present remain. At the same time, the investigation will focus in the evidences of the world's paradigms shift and its consequences on Christian mission among the human movement.

Second, a theoretical and methodological value will be highlighted in the existing questions, use of the resources, contextual and historical understanding, migration and immigration complementary exploration, systematic organization of the population in context; and social evaluation of the process of Slavic immigration in the Misiones Province area.

Third, the hypothesis will be replaced by a problem writings view argues. This way holds that hypothesis are not a prerequisite to the study. It also concluded that recognition of the problem and its resolution is more important characteristic of a scientific method on history study.

Finally, the issue involves the author's interest, since it represents the third generation of Slavic Evangelical immigrants to Latin American region. In many respects, the immigrant community and the values of the ancestors, not only keep a historical memory, but were some constituent factors of a transformative identity of

³ The migration movements among the globalization became as a network of global mobility in the world, due to the increase of immigrants. Its means that the number of international migrants tripled compared to forty years. (Eg. in 2009 an amount of 214 million international migrants were counted around the world). Moreover, globalization of immigration means a difference in the category of analysis of the objectives of immigrants. The individual may throughout their lives take different conditions, from the lack of documentation to highly skilled and professionals elite. Also, the categories of immigrants are driven by technological media and new points of departures, complex arrivals, involving more than a border issues. But it also includes the legal and taxonomic qualifications, labor exploitations, precarious conditions, etc. See Catherine Wihtol de Wenden (2013), pp. 25-53.

context and reflected a direct influence on the construction the prosperous societies. On this way, Christians communities and from a whole mission`s perspective is a valid human mobility.

3. The overall research´s objectives

The overall objective of the research project will be determined in terms of the following achievements:

First, the research looking for an of the relationship among immigration and ethnic integral mission in a given context. From experiences of the Slavic Evangelical communities, in the Province of Misiones (Argentina), the research is the first written work developed around a missiology perspective.

Second, specifically, in view of the present and future Christian mission challenges, the research looking for responding the immigration task as a stage of the mission of God first and then, the God´s people duty.

The scope of the objective pursued through the account of the Slavic Evangelical community experiences in its history and the provincial context. Besides the other ethnic groups in the region, the information will be crossed to prove scientifically evidences for missiology principles.

On the other side, although it is presumed that the most useful contribution today of Slavic ethnic churches will not be theirs experience of migration, poverty and integration of past; or, a lot less, their efforts to implement the good principles of the European way of life. But the best, is the reliable evidences of the practice of living faith.

Looking ahead to the present and future generations, the Christian mission is responsible of high impact and influence in the globalizing world context, without falling inside the factors such as hinder and unbalance the integral mission (nominalism,

capitalism, consumerism, professionalism, parochialism, church-centrism, populism, etc.).

4. The research's great question

How the mobility of people, nomadism and migratory movement were dynamic icons to the redemptive mission of God and Christian missionary work in the development of the provincial context?

From the historical and missiological perspective, Slavic immigrants, with their social and cultural strength, Christian values and spiritual dynamism had fully influenced the development and identity of the Argentinian northeast region.

Finally, the thesis research seeks to recover the historical legacy of the Slavic Christian immigrants, documenting the main events and influences in the provincial context, and investigate which is the correlations between traditional migration and contemporary immigrant's phenomenon.

5. The research's specific questions

5.1. What are the biblical, theological and missiological foundation for the immigrant's mission?

5.2. What did the roles of Slavic immigrants in the history building of the provincial context?

5.3. What were the Slavic immigrant's values influence on to the provincial context?

5.4. Is there a correlation among twentieth century immigrant and the migration phenomenon in the XXI century?

6. The specific objectives

6.1. To define immigration as one of the processes of sovereign mission of God to humanity and missionary responsibility of the God's people.

6.2. To analyze the positive factors of the different Slavic Christian currents for social, cultural and religious development of the Province of Misiones, Argentina.

6.3. To describe the critical factors inherent of Slavic Christianity in the different migratory periods and provincial development.

6.4. To draw conclusions from the history of the Slavic immigration, and to integrate the past to a biblical missiology for XXI century.

7. Definitions of terms and concepts

7.1. Immigration

Immigration, from Latin, *Immigrāre* means, the native of a country that reaches another to settle in it, especially with the idea of forming new colonies or settle in the populated area above (Diccionario de la lengua española, 22th Digital Edition). The concept also is related to migration, as meaning, from Latin, *Migratio* is an effect of moving people or ethnic groups, from one country to another or reside in it (Diccionario Vox, p. 2:348). A wide sense, immigration is the act of a person who goes to live in a different place, a movement of a person or person who enters another country to live in it, action and effect of immigrating (Collins Dictionary, 2016; Cambridge Dictionary, 2016; Diccionario de la Real Academia Española, 2014).⁴

Sociology usually designates immigration as migration (as well as emigration accordingly outward migration). On other side, the theories of immigration's distinguishes between push and pull factors. Push refer primarily to the motive for immigration from the country of origin. Escape from poverty (personal or for relatives

⁴ All these dictionaries are on the respective websites.

staying behind) is a traditional push factor, and the availability of jobs is the related pull factor. In the early 20th century, the immigration was characterized by these factors: Travel across the Atlantic, the displacement and sociopolitical struggle have come the cause/effects patterns of invasion and displacement migration. Also, the availability of jobs will be the related pull factor. Actually, there is a variable factor for migration: Natural disasters can amplify poverty-driven migration flows. According to Mohammed Reza Irovani (2011), research shows that for middle-income countries, higher temperatures increase emigration rates to urban areas and to other countries. Sometimes, mandatory in a contract of employment: religious missionaries and employees of transnational corporations, international non-governmental organizations, and the diplomatic service expect, by definition, to work overseas. They are often referred to as expatriates, and their conditions of employment are typically equal to or better than those applying in the host country for similar work (pp. 296-303).

7.2. Slavic people

Slavs immigrant is a building concept, and the research must admit different variants for a precise definition. Firstly, each ethnic group hosted a variety of peoples. The terms Slav, Slavonic or Slavic may refer to different concepts, as Slavic languages, Slavonic peoples in Europe, Slavic mythology, and ancient liturgy.

In this research, the emphasis will be put on the second variable: Slavic peoples in Europe, but in some specific topics, Slavonic language and liturgy qualifications will be quoted.

The Slav term refers to the common name of all peoples related to the root Slav, whose meaning is “glory” or “fame”, and belongs to the great Indo-European family. They are divided into three wide groups: Southern: Bulgarians, Slovenes, Macedonians

and Serbo-Croatian; Eastern: Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian; and Western: Czech, Slovak and Polish (Robert Zub Kuryłowicz, 2004, p. 17).⁵

Second, the arrival of ethnic groups occurred in a context of immigration flows classified by the factors of origin and arrival time, promoted by border conflicts between the different empires which were expelling marginal population. For example, German-speakers who came to these lands represented the Austrian, Swiss, Russians, Germans, German from Reich, etc. They all came in three big immigrant wave: the Luso-Germanic (from Brazil), the Germans from Germany country and the Germans diaspora (Poland, Austria, Australia, Russia, Africa), (Kegler, Rolando, 1999, pp. 99-109).

The Slavs immigrants in the National Territory of Misiones, came in two broad streams: the Slavs from Galitzia (region under the Austrian-Hungary empire, since 1897 to 1922 proximately. The Slavs from Volhyn, Rivno/Rowno and Bielorrussia, did migrate since 1925 to 1938; and the Slavs from ex- Sovietic Union in the 1990. There are many scientific arguments to support these two periods of immigration (Ryszard Stemplowski, 1985, p. 169), although we must recognize other minor diasporas from other periods during the twentieth century.⁶

Third, the main objective of immigrants was looking for a new life, with peace and prosperity. In Europe, both monarchies as anarchists, oligarchies and vassals

⁵ For a more rigorous definition, it may be formed by a contemporary geographic view, such as western, eastern and southern Slavs.

⁶ The **western Group** includes Czech, Croatian, Moravian, Kashubians, Slovaks, serbs, liutiches, pomeranian, mazovian, vistulian, polish and silesian, move to the west setting in the south Danube river, Vístula river at east, Elba river and the Baltic Sea at west, and the actual border with Latvia at north. At the beginning of VII Century they had set several kingdoms, as the ancient Great Moravia, on the Moravian river in the present Czech Republic. Then, countries of the Czech Crown or Poland result the most powerful kingdoms at that region. **The Eastern Slavic** or Eastern Slavs are the largest ethnic group in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. Each of the nationalities of Russia has its own history and characteristics; however, we can say, without any doubt, that the remote origin of the modern Russian state is shared by Slavs and Finno-Ugric peoples of northeastern Europe. The **southern Slavs** settled in the Balkans: they are Serbs, Slovenes, Croats and Slavs in Albania and Bulgaria. Here we would find the Bulgarian partially mixed.

thought the attitude and military action were the only alternative for peacemaking (Silvia Fabiana Sniechowski Rys, 2011). By 1880, many people from European's countries take parts an arms policy, resulting from the tension among the states and their ideologies, that were gaining ground, such as capitalism and socialism, fruits of industrialization. This period was called the Armed Peace (p. 1). Meanwhile, from America's speciality (U.S.A)., Canada and the Southern Cone-, the information about jobs, peace and prosperity, encouraged the marginal European societies towards the desired goal. Then, these immigrants came from regions where the population lived in primitive social forms. Many of them were caught up by the manorial system, servility, and an economic, social and cultural backwardness (Zub Kuryłowicz, p. 42).

7.3. Agent of Mission

The mission agent is a concept of missionary action commonly used in missiology in Latin America. In accordance with Pablo A. Deiros (1997), an agent of Mission, Basically, the subject that carries out an action considered as a missionary event, or that causes the event of a fact. The mission agent is someone committed to carrying out the God's mission (p. 34).

In several aspects, the immigrants are mission agent in the Bible perspective. "This missiological and instrumental perspective of the immigrant's role in the mission of God has to do with the form in which various personalities are presented in the Scripture as agents of God's mission precisely because they are Immigrants" (Charles Van Engen, 2009, p.7).

To be a stranger and an alien (eg. Abraham's long trips, Joseph sold as slave to Egypt, Daniel as counselor in the Babylon and Persian court, people of Israel in Babylon Empire, etc), was such a fundamental aspect to understood the quality as being an integral part of God's vision for them, and being an instrument of God's mission to the

nations. This biblical perspective of the immigrants, as an agent of God's mission, acquires deeper roots and broader significance throughout the history of Israel and the New Testament's development.

7.04. **Province of Misiones, Argentina**

Misiones is one of the 23 provinces of Argentina, located in the northeastern corner of the country in the Mesopotamia region. It is surrounded by Paraguay to the northwest, Brazil to the north, east and south, and Corrientes Province of Argentina to the southwest.⁷

In historically, the indigenous peoples of various cultures lived in the area of the future province for thousands of years. At the time of European encounter, it was occupied by the Kaingang and Xokleng, later followed by the Guarani. The first European to visit the region, Sebastian Cabot, discovered Apipé Falls while navigating the Paraná River in December 1527. In 1541 Álvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca reached the Iguazú water Falls.

In the 17th century, members of the Society of Jesus came to the region as missionaries. They began to establish a string of Jesuit *Reductions*, most notably that of San Ignacio. In a few years, they set up 30 mission villages. They taught the Guarani western-style agriculture and crafts; the natives had subsisted in the jungle environment and suffered at the hands of European slave-drivers. Their crafts were sold and traded along the river and they shared in the Reductions' prosperity.

In 1759 the Portuguese government, at the insistence of its anti-Jesuit Secretary of State, the Marquis de Pombal, ordered all Reductions closed in its territory (which then included much of present-day Misiones Province). The Marquis eventually prevailed in 1773 on Pope Clement XIV to have the Jesuit Order suppressed. With the

⁷ See Geographical and Political maps. Appendix Table 1.1; 1.2; 1.3, pp. 223-225.

abandoning of the missions, the prosperous trade surrounding these Reductions quickly vanished. Colonists imposed a brutal plantation economy in the region, forcing the Guarani to act as slave labor.

In 1814 Misiones was annexed to Argentina's Corrientes (at this time Argentina was quasi-independent but nominally still a Spanish colony). In 1838 Paraguay occupied Misiones, claiming the area on the basis that the Misiones population consisted of indigenous Guarani, the major ethnic group of Paraguay. In 1865 Paraguayan forces invaded Misiones again in what became the War of the Triple Alliance (1864-1870). In 1876 the Argentine President Nicolás Avellaneda, assisted by his close friend, General Pietro Canestro (an Italian nobleman who devoted much of his life and wealth to the achievement and sustainability of the peace in the region), proclaimed the Immigration and Colonization Law. This law fostered the immigration of European colonists in order to populate the vast unspoiled Argentinian territories.

Misiones received many immigrants, mostly from Europe, coming mainly via Southern Brazil (specifically Germany, Polish and Sweden). Some came from Buenos Aires, and from Eastern Europe, in particular large numbers of Poles and Ukrainians. Since then, Misiones has continued to benefit economically and has developed politically within Argentina. It has been successfully integrated into the Argentine state. December 10th, 1953 the "National Territory of Misiones" gained provincial status in accordance with Law 14.294, and its constitution was approved on April 21, 1958.⁸

8. The subject delimitation

⁸ See a complete and critical writing by María Paulina Moroz de Rosciszewski (2013).

8.1. The geographic universe: The investigation covers the southern area of the Province of Misiones, the departments of Apóstoles and Oberá city, with their corresponding rural colonies and urban regions.⁹

8.2. The time frame: The investigation covers since the 1897 to 1938 (First and second immigration flow and development of the population).

8.3. The Christian traditions: The research includes the following streams of Slav Christianity: the Latin Rite of Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Church or Roman Apostolic Byzantine's Church of Ukrainian rite, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Evangelical Christian and Slavic Baptist churches, and the Slavic Christian Evangelical Pentecostal Church.

9. The investigation's method

The research topics does not constitute a totally experimental area, since there is enough empirical evidence for its veracity. There will be an historical hermeneutical reading, on the available information (interview by author, primary and secondary sources), and fieldwork (surveys, key informants and other historical archives).

A collection of information will be established and then a selection of each of the sources. In this sense, all the data will be observed from different scientific disciplines angles: History, Sociology, Ethnology, Religion's Sciences, Linguistic, Culture and quote the Isology.

9.1. Kind of investigation and data collection

The research looking for a depth knowledge about immigration issue through history science. In this sense, is sought to be "exploratory and explanatory." Exploratory, because There are different approaches to scientific research, but there is suspicion that the problem's arises, is not sufficiently developed. In this sense, the

⁹ See Provincial maps. Appendix Table, 1.2, 1.3, pp. 223-224.

author intends to familiarize himself thoroughly with the situation for a more specific study of the case. Explanatory, because the factors or causes that give rise to the different characteristics of the problem to be studied are searched for.¹⁰

The nature of the information for answers the problems and questions will be distinguished the quantitative and qualitative resources. First one, the work will be addressed on surveys and quantitative studies with primary data (that is, data collected by other researchers and formal institutions, lives diary, testimony of life, liturgy and pioneer leaderships interview by author). In the second way, qualitative and complex events will be described in their natural environment, through a historical - ethnographic investigation. The data collected will come from the method of open- ended questions.¹¹

Writing rules, quotes, references and bibliographies will follow the American Psychological Association (6th Edition) style rules, unless clarifications or amendments made (APA, 2011).

9.02. The population study

The geographic universe selected for research reach the southern area of the Province of Misiones, the departments of Apostles and Oberá cites, with their corresponding farms colonies.¹²

The chronological framework reach the history of Slavic immigration in its two currents (1897-1914 and 1925-1938) and includes two periods of the provincialization of this region (period of the National Territory of Missions (1881-1953) and contemporary provincialization of the region (1953-2016).

The research includes the following streams of Slav Christianity traditions: the Latin Rite of Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Church or Roman Apostolic Byzantine's

¹⁰ The exploratory and explanatory point of view is based on the proposal of the Roberto Hernández Sampieri, Carlos Fernández Collado y Pilar Baptista Lucio, (2003) Investigation's theory.

¹¹ See Appendix, Figures 2.1; Data opened- ended questions, p. 228.

¹² See Appendix Table 1.3; 1.5; pp. 225, 227.

Church of Ukrainian rite, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Evangelical Christian and Slavic Baptist churches, and the Slavic Christian Evangelical Pentecostal Church.

9.03. Validation and evaluation of the methodological procedures

First, the study of immigration will adopt a biblical and theological perspective of the "Missio Dei." With respect to this theoretical framework, there are interesting discoveries by contemporary authors on mission issues, without being able to conform to a theory. For that reason, this research will take place to synthesize the different approaches of contemporary discussions and in some cases, will be privileged certain principles for the mission praxis. This approach consists of an analysis of the immigration through a perspective of the time, context and situation of relevant biblical cases.

Second, on the basis of unpublished documents, chronicles of life, interviews, living testimonies and primary literatures the historical and social diagnosis will be interpreted from different communities of Slav immigrants. The main themes of the interpretation of the historical diagnosis will be based on the following contents: The reasons for the arrival of the Slav immigrants to Misiones; the context of the Slavs in Europe and the context of the National Territory of Missions; the Christian faith and the immigrant resilience in the new context. Finally, what were the contributions of Slavic communities to the founding origins of the provincial territory.

Third, there will be a case study approach. The purpose of the theoretical framework will be a construction of ethnohistory and anthropological history. In essence, it will be a combination of method and current theory in history and anthropology where the focus of history is an ethnic group. In this sense, historical ethnography is a reconstruction of a particular culture or society at some point. For this,

a specific history will be chosen, which "is the diachronic study of a society or ethnic group, either from the moment of its origin to the most recent period."

In conclusion, it will be sought a theoretical framework that simplifies the traditional historical method. The most common form of this perspective is that the impeller of the content is the data, not the theories. To do this, the method will be based on documents, archives sensitivity to culture. That is offered another approach to the dilemmas. The interest will be in the cases where the historical analysis of the facts, cultural and social processes are linked to different societies in its system. This will require the inclusion of a structure of as a narrative history, comparative, analytical and a practice to application on immigrations context for today. In a word, the project evaluation was a continuing process throughout the stage of this research, although, the plain fact is that there are many things that are immeasurable and unquantifiable.

Chapter I

THE IMMIGRATION AS AN AGENT OF MISSIO DEI IN THE BIBLE

It may surprise many that migration and its effects is one of the most important issue throughout the Bible. There are a several terms, assimilations, uses and references in the Old and New Testament which are the sufficient foundations to support this thesis.

And, just like today, there were various reasons during biblical times why people migrated. Not a few who migrated would be classified as refugees today; some went to other lands looking for food and shelter; others were forcibly deported after Israel and Judah were defeated in war. There is much, too, in the Old Testament that describes life in a foreign place, and its chapter contain the rich theological reflection that those situations generated. What these people experienced is similar to what “people on the move” today go through, and can teach us much about migration.

Meanwhile, the New Testament goes beyond the old institutional system. The early Christians themselves were an integral part of the life of an immigrant. In this sense, we can argue that the Old Testament contains the way of comprehensive assistance to immigrant as a mission. Unlike, in the New Testament was born an own mission paradigm for immigrants: The first Christian communities were the immigrants. Hence, it is important to establish this great difference between the Old and New Testaments and its view upon migrations and mission relationship.

1.01. An approach and definitions of concepts related to immigration and the mission in the Bible

1.01.1. Immigration and the Bible

Immigration, from Latin, *Immigrār*. Meaning the natural from a country that comes to another to settle in it, especially with the idea of forming new colonies or live in those region (Diccionario de la lengua española, 22nd Edition digital). The concept, moreover, includes the migration as meaning, from Latin *Migratio*: Is the effect of

moving from one country to another, residing in it, people's movements or ethnic groups movements. Also, it may be the demographic phenomenon correlative with migration (Diccionario Vox, Vol. 2, p. 348). Other dictionaries defining the immigration, as well as, the act of every person who is going to live in a different place, a movement of a person or persons who comes to another country to live in it, action and effect of immigrating (Cambridge Dictionary, 2016, Cambridge Dictionary, 2016; Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, 2014).¹³

In the other hand, the term migration may be used in the sociological way: As a movement among the sociology scientists, it's understood as the residential movement of people from a socio-spatial sphere (spheres where human beings reproduce, produce and trade material and symbolic elements useful for the fulfillment of their vital needs and concerns) to another new space (Alicia Bonilla, 2007, p. 2). Prefixes added to the term (m-/im-) to indicate the movement direction and they imply, because of that, they depend on the relative point of view from which the phenomenon is considered. Regarding characteristics of today's migrations, the terms "immigration" and "immigrants" are more commonly used. It may be in forced senses (displaced people, refugees or asylum requesters, after the State where they will settle grants the authorization of residence, they decide to permanently settle there) as well as, volunteers whose migration could or could not be motivated by economic improvement or life quality improvement reasons. It seems convenient to complete the migration definition with a reference to the adjective "migrant", that many times is used as a noun to refer the individual's migrates (one migrant), (Bonilla, 2007, p. 2).

From a historic – missiological perspective, immigration is an international migration since is considered the migrant's destination country. In this sense, white

¹³ All these dictionaries are on the respective websites.

European immigrants, from the second half of nineteenth century and the first half of twentieth century, immigrated to the most template regions of the southern hemisphere of the Americas. According to Pablo A. Deiros (1997), their presence substantially modified the population, it was a true human conquest that deeply transformed the social, human and economic structure (p. 242).

Migration is a common and constant fact in everything that we, as Christian people, consider as the “salvation history” written in the Bible. It’s present since the foundation of the Hebrew people itself, throughout Christian community considered themselves as foreigners on that land, going through the voluntary or violent migrations forced by empires or hunger. Even Jesus, the one called “Son of God”, had the experience as an immigrant, since himself, as a little boy, experimented the displacement (Mtt. 2:13-23), (Elsa Tamez, ND., p.1).

Today, migrations are one of the biggest challenges of XXI century. According to Wenden (2013), world’s first migration wave occurred between 1880 and 1930, with 214 million of international migrants and 740 million of inner migrants in 2009 (p. 11). The first big migration was from north to south direction. Different to the latest migrations that were spread out in unequal ways by the world: 62 million migrants south-north; 61 million migrants south-south; 53 million migrants north-north and 14 million migrants north-south. The rest are from east-west migrations and less frequent on west-east migrations (UNDP, 2009).¹⁴

This comparative chart helps us define XXI century immigration related to other migration modalities throughout human history. It’s important to distinguish that in the last twenty years, migration flows, may be considered as “worldwide immigration”. That is a complex system where immigrants enter and exit in a globalized world. The

¹⁴ UNDP stands for United Nations Development Programme. Originally in French, *Lever les barrières: Mobilité et développement humains*, word report about human development, 2009.

problems set out by new population movements is that they are a kind of recomposition and transgression of borders through transnational diaspora, business, family, culture and mafia movements. According to Wenden, immigrant profiles became more diverse and their determination became more confusing now that it is about refugees and most of times is hard to categorize their origins, destination and transit country. Even the immigrant may have multiple migration cases along its life (p. 12).

In the other hand, this recent immigration profile stages a big international issue with an ambiguous policies background. Especially the transformation of migrant categories in the XXI century puts on the table the reality of a case never experienced before by the civilized world. Since Berlin wall came down, a new paradigm about migration / immigration emerged with different characteristics of human mobility systems in other space and time contexts. It was allowed to millions of individuals (former Soviets, Chinese, east and central Europe people and from the Balkans), locked up by the impregnable borders, the exit from their original places, and it was given the possibility to move between the east and west of Europe to some of them, becoming themselves pendulant migrants.

This new panorama, though it seemed favorable since many migrants got their respective passports to exit and enter into a new place, they sent their remittances; nevertheless, the exit from a place and the entrance to another one became harder because of control policies, the fight against illegal immigration, as well as USA and Mexico, as Turkey and Morocco in Europe and actually, the middle east crisis and other countries in Asia. According to Wenden, the harder is the crossing of borders the more migrants get stuck on their ways due to the difficulties to go on to their destination or return to their countries if their migrant situation is irregular or precarious. The more open are the borders the more immigrants move between them (p. 23). Among this and

other topics, migration troubles in a conflicting globalization are the cause for evolutionary migration categories, not standardized by common systems, borders becoming dimmer every time, migration or exile ways are growing and migration flows are becoming more complex. There is no logical immigration there, but a global worldliness of problems and contradictory migrations.

From this complex scenario, just one question remains: what about Christian missions? Almost in every region we can find people going in, going out and going by (worst of cases the ones caused by ISIS). Every day more we live in a mobile, complex and diverse world with women, children, skilled workers, brains, business men, tourists, low-skilled people, Christians, Muslims, new atheists, new agnostics, Buddhists, Hindus, etc. This mobilization whether it be temporal or stable, alters world's tendencies and hence, challenges the different State policies, security, space, and hence, Christian missions.

1.1.2. Missio Dei concept

“Missio Dei” concept has not an easy interpretation. Its etymology comes from a Latin phrase toward the different languages in which Missiology has been written in the latest centuries. Just the translation from the original language into English, Spanish or German means “God’s mission”. This is not enough, because any definition about this concept includes several difficulties on the forms which this conceptual construction is held. David Bosch (1991) argues a definition where other concepts must include questions such as: God’s mission? What is his mission? Who are part of it? What is its purpose? Why does *Missio Dei* exist? Predictably, all along history and geographic space, different answers to this questions had existed. Nevertheless, about these questions there’re certain definitions that are global options for the term that include

multiple Christian perspectives coming from the evangelical, liberal, roman Catholics, Orthodox Church and some Pentecostals (pp. 390-391).

First, any definition for *Missio Dei* should consider the different perspectives and Christian tendencies. Though, there's no doubt that any definition will be tinged by all the prejudgments and previous ideas that the interpreter may have. In the other hand, the more why try to define *Missio Dei*, the more things will include. In this matter, we want to be balanced and careful about the elements we must include. Bosch makes a mixed definition where the most important scopes of this concept are balanced. Basically, *Missio Dei* is God's self-revelation as the world's lover; God's agreement in this world and with this world; God's nature and activity that includes the church and the whole world (pp. 25-26).

Second, every definition cannot disregard its technical roots and discursive genre. In this sense, *Missio Dei* is a conceptual construction derived from a Latin theological term (*missio*) translated as God's mission or God's sending. This concept was very popular in the second half of the XX century and very soon echoed among the recognized theologians as Lesslie Newbigin, Darrell Guder, Alan Roxbourg, Alan Hirsh, David Bosch and other important names. However, translation for Missiology was based on the written work introduced by Karl Barth in the Brandenburg Mission Conference (1932), where it was held the position that mission is not a church duty but God's.

Two specific terms: Agent (lat. *Agens, -entis*) person or thing that produces an effect and mission (lat. *missio*) sending nature: The Father sends his Son out, the Father and the Son send the Spirit out. From there the phrase "God is a God's missionary", sending is to God himself. It's an economic sending (John G. Flett, 2010, p. 36). The concept "God economics and His mission" was developed by Anna Marie Aagaard

(1974), she considered God's mission as *missio*, and it means that God has a mission, a sending for the world, but also, God is a messenger of himself, the triune God (Father, Son and Holy Ghost) is sent out to the world (Flett, p. 36). In literary practice, *Missio Dei* refers to sending of God, in the sense of being sent, a phrase used in Protestant missiological discussion especially since the 1950s, often in English form, to refer God's mission (A. Scott Moreau, Harold Netland and Charles Van Engen, 2000, p. 631).

One of the first people to define and apply this concept to the Christian protestant missionary reality was the German missiologist Georg Friedrich Vicedom (1958). According to Vicedom, *Missio Dei* is firstly God's mission and work. He is the Lord, He is the one who entrusts, the owner, the one who completes the work. He is the active subject in mission. If we consider God's mission this way, every human crave will be taken out (pp.12-13).

However, the origin and development of this concept dates back after World War II thanks to the theological influences from the Swiss thinker Karl Barth. His role was very important for the construction of a bridge among fundamentalists thinkers that avoided get involved with culture and human liberalism that sometimes used to equate culture with God. According to some theological perspectives from Natal Nucleus, Brazil, Barth's theological perspective had three strengths that were useful for a missiology reborn that was a Christ's statement and a culture statement as well: First, theology should be rooted in biblical exegesis. Second, theology should be Christ centered. And third, theology should be highly Trinitarian. In Brandenburg's Missionary Conference, in 1932, Karl Barth assembled mission as a God's activity using the term "*Actio Dei*" (God's action). It reassert that, Trinitarian relationship

within Divinity is all mission source (Ernesto Arturo Meneses Villanueva, August 8th, 2005, p. 5).

Karl Barth's most important contribution was his influence to cut off with illuminist perspective missiology to root mission in God first and not in church or human efforts. However, he introduced *Missio Dei* as a term: God's mission. This concept suggest that the triune God was always in a mission. To fulfill that mission, He gets involved in certain "sending acts". For example: The Father sends his Son to the world through incarnation (Jn. 1:14); The Father guides his Son during his ministry (Jn. 5: 30-32); The Son sends church to the world after resurrection (Jn 20:21), (Meneses Villanueva, p. 5).

From Catholic Church perspective of *Missio Dei*, according to Barth, he says that it's not exempt of reductionisms in many details. Nevertheless, on Council Vatican II decree teachings (1962-1965), *Ad Gentes*, missionary church nature is rooted in God's mission. Church mission mystery is like a sacramental extension (Church is the universal sacrament, it's *Missio Filii*) that emphasizes from *Missio Dei* perspective. According to *Ad Gentes* (1964), migrant church is missionary because of its own nature, because it begins in Son's mission and Holy Spirit's mission according to Father God's plan (1:139). Doctrinal principle holds that in the mission:

This decree, however, flows from the "fount - like love" or charity of God the Father who, being the "principle without principle" from whom the Son is begotten and Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, freely creating us on account of His surpassing and merciful kindness and graciously calling us moreover to share with Him His life and His cry, has generously poured out, and does not cease to pour out still, His divine goodness. Thus He who created all things may at last be "all in all" (1 Cor. 15:28), bringing about at one and the same time His own glory and our happiness. But it pleased God to call men to share His life, not just singly, apart from any mutual bond, but rather to mold them into a people in which His sons, once scattered abroad might be gathered together (cf. John 11:52), (*Ad Gentes*, 1:2).

This perspective shows or gives place to the priority of mission regarding the Church. That is, Mission emerges from Christ and his Spirit's action, being held in Father's love and the extreme love that Christ shows us, it's Father's Love that has sent him to the world, as Christ himself declared to Nicodemus (Jn. 3, 16). In this sense, mission is not only the way church takes the faith to people that still don't know Christ and makes presence of itself where it's not, but it's its concrete way to be at its manager's disposal and His Spirit. That is, God is always acting in the world and in human history, now that His will is to everyone be saved (1 Tim. 2:4) and the Verb always been in the world lighting up every man (Jn. 1:9) and the Holy Spirits always blows where it wills (Jn. 3:8). So, Mission doesn't start with the Church, but itself makes available for the mission and constitutes itself as mission.

From this perspective, Church is at the same time missionary movement's fruit and fulfillment, that has in the Triune God the reason of its dynamism and it's a responsible bearer of it unto the end of the world.¹⁵ Lumen Gentium describes that Church's mystery consists in eternal Father's will who created the universe by his entirely free plan of his goodness and wisdom, He decreed to lift men to participate in his divine life and though they fell in Adam's sin, He didn't abandoned them, giving them help through Christ as a redeemer. So, the Son came to the world sent by his Father, he who has chosen us since the beginning and predestined us to be adopted as children because he pleased to restore all things in him (Eph. 1:4-5 y 10). Besides, after the Son carried out his work in the world commanded by his Father (Jn. 17:4), the Holy Spirit was sent in Pentecost in order to sanctify the church and, by this way, all those who believe in Christ may get close to a same Spirit Father. He is the Spirit of life or

¹⁵ It is said also of missionary duty, where the missionary arrives, he was preceded already (and since the man appeared on our planet), by God, that efficiently acting, makes all things gather in Christ (Eph. 1:10). John Paul II, reminded this words to us in America: "Before missionaries arrived to this land, God already cuddle the Amerindians with his endless love."

spring of water that scopes even eternal life for all men, dead because of sin, raise their mortal bodies in Christ (Rom. 8:10-11). The Spirit lives in the Church and in believers' hearts like a temple and He prays within them and testifies about their adoption as children. With different hierarchical gifts and charismas, He drives and enriches the Church with all His fruits. (1964, pp. 16-18).¹⁶

1.1.3. Mission and the Bible

Etymologically derived from the Latin *mitto* which is a translation of the Greek *apostello* (send). In English, the term Mission has no direct equivalent of the Bible. But yes, they have an acceptable range in meaning in very early appearances as the sixteenth century. In 1729, the use of this word was related to the church focused on Jesus' Great Commission (Scott Moreau, Netland and Van Engen, pp. 636-638).

In recent year, some progress had been seen in a broader definition in its base, objective and nature. However, the definitions of mission generally are associated with church-centered prospects (all dimensions of mission of a particular church) with less dynamism in the Triune God's work. However, it is necessary to overcome this sense towards a broader perspective of mission as in a scientifically provisional sense.¹⁷

Without going into the field of "Missio Dei" (which was defined above), in the new mission scenarios there are other areas where mission borders widen above traditional terms that defined the mission, the Missio Dei , missions and missiology. According

¹⁶ CELAM (Medellin II 1968) reflections and the Catholic Church social doctrine's theological methodology based on real living man in history and not as in aprioristic or abstract doctrinal affirmations. The doctrinal reflection follows the sociological and pastoral analysis of human reality. Instead of assuming a dichotomy between two stories (the sacred and human), the Church examines how the unique salvific plan of God revealed in Christ is gradually taking place in the current history by the action of the Holy Spirit. The knowledge revealed in Christ allows the church to recognize the spirit of historic work (CELAM II, 1968, 231-232). This statement is deepened in the documents of Vatican II (1962-1965), who in his encyclicals recognizes that the revealing action of the Word and Spirit of God seldom anticipates the apostolic action of the Church and it has the specific mission to discern the divine presence and enunciate their content and paschal dynamism to all men and people turn to the Lord, to live in freedom and responsibility of God.

¹⁷ Provisional sense, specifically for a missiological definition, opt for a definition to the meaning of redirect. That is, beyond the temporal adjective that is synonymous with temporary, in this particular is regarded as a phase of doubt that the scientific method requires.

prospects A. Scott Moreau, Gary R. Corwin and Gary B. McGee (2004), scholars of evangelical mission not agreed about the meaning of the current terminology and the use of the same terms could mean different things (pp. 72-73). In this sense, there is a crisis, "inter alia" (Bosch, p. 17), that is, that there is a dilemma concerning Christian Church in its theology and scope of its mission. There is no changing factors which go far beyond the boundaries or limits of the duty of Church in their mission on immigration.

From the perspective of the Roman Catholic Church, the mission is based on the conciliar documents in the decree "Ad Gentes" section II. According to the Second Vatican Council, mission is Christocentric, but the focus is placed on Church work:

Born from the love of Eternal Father, founded in time by Christ the Redeemer, gathered in the Holy Spirit, the Church has an eschatological purpose and for salvation, which only in a future world could be fully achieved. It is present here on earth, formed by men, that is, by members of the earthly city who have a vocation to form in mankind history the family of the children of God who must increase steadily until the Lord comes. United on behalf of heavenly values and enriched by them, this family has been "constituted and structured as a society in this world" and is equipped with "the appropriate means for visible and social union." Thus, the Church, "visible association and a spiritual community," goes forward together with humanity and experiences the same earthly world's luck and its reason to be is to act as a ferment and as the soul of society, which must be renewed on Christ and transformed into God's family (Ad Gentes, 1 and 2: 130-147).

Later, in 1990, Pope John Paul II, in his encyclical *Redemptoris Missio*, he used the term mission interchangeably with evangelization and he relates the terms in a more comprehensive and multifaceted way. This document, although it was not officially published, is a Roman teaching approach to a broader, comprehensive and systematic reflection on the mission. That is, it represents a breakthrough in Church's official teaching on what is given to call its evangelizing mission (John Paul II, 1991, n.p.).

Currently, new mission scenarios, human needs and new challenges force to clarify a broader definition about God's dynamism and the task of the Church.

Specifically, in the field of immigration, technological developments and their impact on human communication, world's globalization and the worldliness of globalization transformed the traditional perspectives of Christian world's era (the idea of three worlds: west capitalism, communism and third world nations). This tripartite transformation has been transformed by a multipolar perspective. In this sense, worldliness of globalization was a factor that changed the scenario of human's mobilization. According to Wenden, a characteristic of this human globalization is the relative suppression of those categories that enabled the analysis of migration in the past. The boundaries between those considered as countries of origin, transit and reception faded today when some of them were two or three things at the same time. The distinctions are increasingly blurred between immigrants seeking work and asylum and those who try to leave their impoverished and poorly governed countries (p. 21).

On the other way, De- Christianization of Europe¹⁸ and its consequent post Christian era,¹⁹ added to this the decline of vigor of Christianity in North America (United States and Canada) make the world does not correspond to a division of Christians called territories and other non-Christians separated by an ocean. The conglomeration of a variety of immigrants with their respective religions makes these regions pluralistic in their beliefs, whether Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, animists and an extensive menu of esoteric religiosity. This complicated scenario makes different stereotypes of traditional Christian mission be re-examined in order to be a missionary force in its broadest sense. According to Samuel Escobar (2008), missionary activity

¹⁸ The term De-Christianization of Europe, refers to the psychological and cultural macro-phenomenon that has led to the gradual decrease of Christian anthropovisión and its replacement by postmodern principles and ethics or their equivalents (late, liquid modernity, etc.). Jehu J. Hanciles (2008), Denominates this phenomenon as "Post-Western Christian and the post-Christian West, p. 127.

¹⁹ Post Christianity is a term applied to the state of De-Christianization or supposed regression of Christianity, particularly in Western Europe, a continent traditionally and broadly considered, center of Christianity. According to Leonardo Rodríguez Duplá (2011), one of the characteristics of post-Christian mentality is given in the statement and more specifically negative. In contrast, modern secularization claim was the truth of Christianity. In the post Christianity era, faith role in people's lives has a negative connotation (p. 2).

does not appear in the list of missionaries of specialized agencies or statistics. This is a phenomenon that is also observed in the pages of the New Testament, a cross-cultural event of the testimony of Christ that carry people who move from side to side as migrants or refugees (p. 16).

Finally, theology of mission, which for centuries was colored by the practices and customs of the West, as they were normative and often dogmatic, in the new mission scenarios many churches are reluctant to accept these principles and values as they are considered highly autonomous. “This same Western theology is already seen with suspicion in many parts of the globe. It is perceived as irrelevant, speculative and as a product of some ivory towers (Bosch, p. 18).” Moreover, traditional mission theology was displaced by many perspectives of mission in accordance to the context and was expected to theology of the mission to respond to challenges such as: the challenge of fairer societies, responses to open-transcendent cultures and overcoming on the unidimensional rationality which science-technical thought was prone to (John C. Scammone, in Valentin Mendez 2002, p. 263).

1.1.4. Missions and the Bible

Essentially, the term “missions” refers to the specific work of churches and agencies in the task of reaching people for Christ by crossing cultural boundaries. The term “mission”, however, is broader; it refers to everything the church is doing that points toward the kingdom of God (Scott Moreau, Corwin and McGee, 2004, p. 9).

In missiology, it is essential to distinguish between mission (singular) and missions (plural.) The first refers to the *Missio Dei*, meaning the God’s self-revelation as the one who loves the world, His commitment to this world, just as it was developed before. Nevertheless, the term “missions” (the Church missionary projects,) refers to the

particular ways of participation in the *Missio Dei*, related to the contexts' periods, places, and specific needs (J.C. Hokenduk, 1967, p. 346).

Speaking of the missionary task, it is as wide, deep, and consistent with as the needs and demands of the human life itself. Every person copes with a series of relationships; therefore, divorcing the spiritual or personal sphere from the material or social is a sign of a false anthropology and sociology. In this sense, according to Bosch, the missionary task, in specific terms has to do with "the whole Church bringing the Gospel to the whole world (p. 26). In this line of thought, the missions are the intentional projects, purposes, and programs of the Church, in its wider sense²⁰, for a specific task in the time, space, and way given.

The Missions in Today Modern World is both frightening and fascinating. Wars, including independence wars (Chechnya), civil wars (Liberia), ethnic wars (Rwanda, Bosnia), religious wars (Iran and Iraq), and, most recently, terrorist wars – seem to flare-up on a regular basis. Perhaps the most frightening element of wars in the Twenty first Century is that the technology to manufacture and deploy weapons of mass destruction is no longer limited to governments; wealthy individuals with a vendetta and the technical know-how can control the ability to kill by means undreamed of a few decades ago (Moreau, Corwin y McGee 2004, p. 11).

On the other hand, Islamic growth in Western regions and populations is used to reach refugees and people in vital needs. According to different demographic studios, in

²⁰ Church (from the Greek *ekklesia*) is an assembly called for a given purpose, is the people of God. It is a formal organization which gives the way or point of concentration for religious activity, with a group of beliefs, values, and transcendent relationships organized to a purpose and a mission. It is the body of Christ that enters the world with the message of conversion and sanctification through the Holy Spirit. It is the community of those who believe in Jesus Christ and proclaim His sovereignty over the whole life. The actual manifestation of the Kingdom of God in history, although partial, is in the different spheres of thought and the practical intervention of Christians. In second place, the Church can be defined as local, and it is a basic unit of the Christian society organized to maintain the ordinance, discipline, and propagation of the Gospel. Lastly, the Church can refer to the particular; it is a portion of the people of God, defined by a broader socio-cultural context, in which it incarnates (Pablo A. Deiros, 1999, pp. 227-230.) There are other versions defined by a geographic territory, denominations, by cities and particulars as a specific nucleus from a specific place.

the last years, Islam religion is experiencing a tremendous growth in the world. “As the world population grows, the religious confessions distribution grows as well. So, as Islam is the fastest growing faith, the non-believers are lesser every time (National Geographic, Spanish edition, quoted by author April 26th, 2016).” In this sense, the Christian missions are not only challenged in this new scenario, but also are suffering consequences and difficulties. In general, it is difficult for the missionaries to obtain visas to enter countries where the main or official religion is Muslim. Christians, especially new converts, are persecuted and even murdered.

On the Western side, there are other missionary realities that also are specific in the globalized world. The Nigerian theologian Adeyemo Tokunboh affirms:

The most relevant reality, when facing Christian missions in today’s world, is the declination of Christianity in the West. In general, this is due to an insipid, anti-Christian, humanist, and secular philosophy. It is disheartening to see Church buildings become theaters or entertainment centers in Europe. More and more, young people are committing themselves to religions of the Eastern mystery, and cults such as transcendent meditation, Hare Krishna, Yoga, and New Age (In William D. Taylor and Antonio Núñez, 1999, p. 274.)

This reality of the context leads us to think about a post-Christian era, especially in Europe. Christians in Latin-America, Africa, and Asia may see this as a huge missionary challenge to re-spread the Gospel along the Old Continent.

1.1.5. Missiology

Missiology is, at the same time, a very wide and complex concept. Today, there are diversity of approaches with their varied currents of thought, mission theologies, and so, many conclusions. Nevertheless, the center of all missiology must be to overcome the analysis, consideration, and review stages. According to Samuel Escobar, it is about an interdisciplinary approach in order to understand the missionary action. Missiology comes from the biblical, theological, historical, and social sciences perspectives. What this is looking for is the systematization and review, but this is one

positive side because it legitimizes the work of Christian mission; which is a Church's fundamental reason of being (In Taylor, *Foz do Iguacu Dialogue*, 1999, p. 101).

From the theoretical and academic perspectives, it can be said that missiology is a discipline that takes into account a variety of abilities to be able to give a broader meaning to its declaration. "Missiology is the conscious, intentional, ongoing reflection on the doing of mission. It included theory (ies) of mission, the study and teaching of mission, as well as the research, writing, and publication works regarding mission (Scott Moreau, Netland, Van Engen, 2000, p. 633).

In this sense, most contemporary missiology experts agree on one common definition, where the mission theories, study, resources, publications are included, and also proposals category, such as facing every context, and situation dilemmas.

According to Moreau, Corwin and McGee definition, the missiology is the academic study of missions, mission, and *Missio Dei*. Missiology has three main concerns: First, the identity or nature of a mission; second, the goal of a mission, and third, the means or method of a mission. To get at those concerns, missiology includes the study of God's nature, the created world, the Church and the ways they interact with each other (p. 17).

Besides these positions, there are other theoretical and academic approaches in contemporary literature which include some contributions that reinforce the ideas developed by Moreau, Corwin, and others. In the field of education, missiology is an academic discipline that describes, analyzes, interprets, and practices the mission activities (aids in the missionary activity) expressed in society, by means of words and facts. Missiology is interested in the mission, missions, missionaries, and actual movements (T. Steffen, 2003, p. 137). Also, a more global and interactive approach with other disciplines helps us to draw and elaborate new conclusions. For instance: Johannes Verkuyl (1980) goes beyond a disciplinary definition. His experience in the

missionary field and missiology thinking includes God's salvation activities called *Missio Dei*. According to him, "missiology is the study of salvation activities of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit throughout the world, aiming to draw the Kingdom of God to the human existence" (p. 169).

For Pieter Verster (2014), from a university perspective, among the different competencies and disciplines, missiology is a comprehensive discipline that deals with God's commitment to the world to redeem His creation. This is always an approach from the Trinitarian world's salvation perspective (God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit): *Missio Trinitatis*. At the same time, missiology can explain scientifically the comprehensive proclamation of the Lordship of Jesus. It is irrevocably part of the Gospel theology. In addition, missiology motivates the Church to be more obedient in her radical encounter with the world. It deals with the Word of God, but also with the world. It has a practical application, which is the vehicle that inspires the proclamation of the message and it is essential to the Church and theology as such (p. 882).

Involvement in or the doing mission between migrations or movement people, perhaps the most powerful testimony to the dynamism and drive of contemporary Christianity is the fact that the largest single of Christian community in all the world is the *Missio Dei* through the immigrant embassy to expand the God Kingdom.

1.2. Immigration and mission in terms of the Old and New Testament

There is a missionary force in existence, as much as biblical as historical, that is always in action, even when not explicit. Migration or the movement of peoples is a human phenomenon as old as humanity itself. For Daniel Carroll Rodas (2010), an appropriate way to initiate the discussion is to examine the words the Bible uses to refer the migrants. If immigration is such a serious and complex matter, then it is necessary to appreciate what the Bible says in such serious and detailed way, that we owe to our faith

communities, to the just arrived ones, and to our Christian testimony among the society (No. 10, p. 3).

Today, many missiology experts have come to notice this. Samuel Escobar (2008) affirms that migration is a missionary force and that it is always in action, even though it is not listed by the specialized organizations nor it appears in statistics. It is about a phenomenon also seen in the New Testament, specifically in the people's life testimony, people who are moving from one place to another as migrants or refugees (p. 16).

In the Bible, there are many verses (depending on translations to each language) related, directly or indirectly, with immigration. The Old and the New Testament are also a rich seam of resources for a missionary base coming from the terminology and concepts of immigration. Once and again, we find individuals, families, and peoples in movement. The story of Cain, an errant homicide; Abraham, as a patriarch who runs away from Ur of the Chaldees toward the land God in His sovereignty demands him to. There are also the exiles, the diasporas, and the conquests that mark history, not only of Israel, but also of every people living in this region.

1.2.1. Immigration in the words and Old Testament's writings

The Bible references about immigration abound. Nevertheless, the different words and terminologies, each one inside their context, are appropriate ways to start a thorough and exhaustive study for the missiology foundation for the migratory phenomenon and its relation with God's mission.

On this aspect, the most important word in the Old Testament is *ger* or better known as *gr*. It is repeated many times (depending on the different translations.) But, in original Hebrew, this name is related to the verbal root *gûr*, which means "to become a resident." Consequently, the *ger* is a person who came to live for a while or

permanently. These individuals are considered “foreigners” (José Cervantes Gabarrón, ND. Carrol Rodas, 2010, pp. 3-4).

Etymologically, in Hebrew lexicography, *gr* has different roots. In connection with the root investigation, *gr* is equivalent to a pilgrim who stays (Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, 1975, p. 439.) Although in historic and social development, in Israel community as much as in other nations, it had adverse connotations (in different contexts could mean something opposite²¹), the legal position of *ger* has enough weight for a broad meaning related to the movements of peoples and immigrations in the Old Testament.

The adjective *ger* has an intermediate position between a native (*ezrach*) and a stranger (*nokhri*.) It points to individuals living among people that were not blood related, but had their protection as if they were natives. In general, Canaanites and conquest fugitives in the kingdom of Israel were called *ger*. Nevertheless, as for the religious integration, this concept was developed more and more towards proselytism, meaning that it referred to non-Israelites who adhered to the faith of Yahweh. According to Botterweck and Ringgren, there are enough reasons in the Old Testament for *ger* to be a propitious adjective for foreigner. Among the arguments they sustain, they say that foreigners of this category used to live apart from their clans, homes, related groups, and legal protections. The most common reasons of the biblical history for this were the famines. For example, the famine cases of Elimelech, who migrated with his whole family to Moab (Ruth 1:1); Elijah with the Zarephath widow (1 Kings 17:20); Elisha and the Shunammite woman (2 Kings 8:1,) and others. In addition, other

²¹ It must be emphasized that *gr* in other languages for the Ancient East, with other combinations, had different meanings, including some negative. For example, in Ugaritic and Phoenician, the *gwr* combination could also mean “prostitute.” In primitive Aramaic, it could be “fear” or “to be anxious.” The same happens with other languages, in other times, like Aramaic and Syrian, which connotations point to “adultery.” Nevertheless, the noun *ger* as a legal position in the Old Testament writings has every positive connotation for the status and the privilege of a protected foreigner citizen (Botterweck and Ringgren, p. 439).

reasons were the Monarchy period (Dt. 23), in which the Edomites and Egyptians were accepted among the Yahweh community. Also, in the prophetic texts, where *ger* is subordinated to the proclamation of the prophets: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others would not go silent about their claims against the oppression of the weak. The main example for this is Jeremiah's sermon (Jer. 7:6; 22:3) which is a reiteration of the economic oppression brought upon the weakest. Lastly, there are other cases in the Pentateuch, among them Abraham (Gen. 17:8; 23:4), Jacob (Gen. 28:4), Isaac (Gen. 25:27; 37:1) and Esau (Gen. 36:7). All these cases are designated as protected citizens, and so, the acquisition of lands in Canaan is a theologically related fact (pages 443-444).

Other concepts and adjectives used as options for the Hebrew terms of the Old Testament, which are more relevant to our study, are derived from the *nekar* concept and the two adjectives, *nokrî y zar*. For Carroll Rodas (2010), the fact that there are several terms says that Israel would make distinctions between those coming from other places. *Nekar/nokrî y zar* are referred to something or somebody not from Israel. Oftentimes, they have a negative connotation of being a corruptive or threatening influence (*nekar/nokrî*)— (Josh. 24:20; 1 Kings 11:1-8; Ezra 9-10; Neh. 13:23-27; Ps. 144:7; and *zar*—Dt. 32:16; Prov. 22:14; Is. 1:7). Besides, the *nekar/nokrî* could be the excluded from certain festivals (Ezek. 12:43), and could not be appointed kings (Dt. 17:15). May be, these individuals had no plans to stay for a long period of time or had no interest in assimilating into the life of Israel. For example, they could have been merchants, mercenaries, or businessmen (No. 19, pp. 3-4).

Julio Luis Martínez (2006) summarizes all definitions in the following variables and the reach of each one of them in the following analysis:

Since the Old Testament writings, God embraces, as a choice of preference, those that society places last in the value scale; among them is the face of the

foreigner, which we call immigrant, who has a privileged place. In the Bible, at least three main terms are used to designate the stranger: *Zar*, for the stranger living in Israel; *nokri* for the stranger going through; and *gher o toshaw*, for the resident foreigner; the last one would be the one we call immigrant (p. 2).

Beyond these definitions there are other exceptions in some Old Testament books that are another option for *ger*, with modifications for *gur*. In those cases, it is a participle (Ezek. 14:7; 47:22-23), where the Prophet Ezekiel wants to draw into the house of Israel those who practice idolatry. These variables are sometimes debated upon and find their own antagonists; however, in our job we prefer this variable for rather practice matters.

Lastly, we must admit to the existence of sub variables or different meanings for the terms mentioned above. The writing of the Old Testament is a wide seam of concepts to explore in detail in every single situation. But there are certain legal dispositions and specific considerations in the theology of Old Testament times not to be avoided in our analysis.

The Law of the Old Testament stipulates a series of regulations for those individuals who have committed themselves to be a part of the Israel community. There are no ways to know if there were any formal procedures by which they would be accepted as foreigners, or if their integration into the community was part of a natural process that happened in time. “The idea of a man living in the land among other peoples has a great significance. In all cases of the Law, the Israelites knew that the whole land belongs to Yahweh and He is the Landlord. Although they were heirs to these regions, they must protect the citizens and foreigners among them (Lev. 25:23”) (Botterweck and Ringgren, p. 449).

As to the specific theological considerations, the Old Testament writings are run through by a calling from God Yahweh and His calling towards the way they treat the

foreigners and the pilgrims. One of the most popular elegies in favor of the immigrants is the Yahweh's answer to Prophet Jeremiah's clamor;

You who are the hope of Israel, its Savior in times of distress, why are you like a stranger in the land, like a traveler who stays only a night? Why are you like a man taken by surprise, like a warrior powerless to save? You are among us, LORD, and we bear your name; do not forsake us! (Jer. 14:8-9, NIV).

Israel position in the old Palestine geography was a territory of foreigners, immigrants, and nomads. So forth, Israelites were obligated by God to protect these citizens. They knew the heart of a foreigner. Given that they had been strangers in Egypt (Dt. 23:8, 9), their responsibility was to extend their love to their neighbors just as to themselves:

When a foreigner resides among you in your land, do not mistreat them. The foreigner residing among you must be treated as your native-born. Love them as yourself, for you were foreigners in Egypt. I am the LORD your God (Lev. 19:34 –NIV). In this sense, the psalmist also proclaims this duty, as much as God the Father: Hear my prayer, LORD, listen to my cry for help; do not be deaf to my weeping. I dwell with you as a foreigner, a stranger, as all my ancestors were (Ps. 39:12 – NIV).

1.2.2. Immigration and mission in terms of the New Testament

The most common terms for immigration in the New Testament are *xenos*, *paroikos*, and *parepidemos*. Each of these concepts bears connotations and meanings according to the biblical and historical context in which they develop.

The original term ξένος (*xenos*) describes concepts related to a foreigner, an alienated; besides, it can be related to foreign, appearing strange or creating distance. On the other hand, it can be referring to a guest. From the linguistic perspective, in the first instance, ξένος (*xenos*) is the “stranger.” But there is tension between the foreigner and those around him. Along the historical and cultural sequence, among all people, the foreigner is an enemy; in this sense, many nations have only one word for all meanings: Stranger (Gerhard Friedrich, 1967, Vol. V, pp. 1-2). From there on *xenos* can be associated to other declensions ξένος, η, ον with negative meanings such as

“foreigner” or “weird” (Kurt Aland, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger and Allen Wikgren, 1975, p. 134). These variations are used related to inter-human problems such as contemporary xenophobia. According to Carroll Rodas (2011), this can be referring to something strange and not welcome (Acts 17:20; Heb. 13:9), or it may mean fear or disgust in the presence of something strange (No. 19, p. 4).

In the New Testament Jesus attitude to strangers was seen through the *xenos* and it was used in imperfect mode, since Jesus would demonstrate an unrestrictive and unconditional love towards strangers. It is a special stage of love for the neighbor. And that is how the commandment’s interpretation took place, but not in the form of a precept, but one step forward. “But I say unto you” (Friedrich, p. 15). This association may be connected to the love of God toward those peoples that were away from Him. The clearest description is when *xenos* appears in parallel with *paroikos*. Apostle Paul, in his letter to Ephesians talks about the relationship between God and His people, before coming to the faith in Christ (Eph. 2:9).

The second word that appears in the New Testament is *παροικοζ* (*paroikos*) which refers to a foreigner, stranger or exiled. According to Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich (1985), *paroikos* appears four times in the New Testament writings. Two as *paroikias* (stay, residence among foreigners) and two as *paroikeo*, which is a quote from the Old Testament, and another which is an allusion to the relation between God and His people: “Consequently, you are no longer foreigners and strangers, but fellow citizens with God’s people and also members of his household (Eph. 2:19 – NIV). In other words, the apostles applied the ancient Israel to the New Israel, which was the community of the early Church believers.

The third term in the New Testament is *παρεπιδημοζ/ου* (*parapidemos*) which points to a stranger or refugee (Kurt, Black, Martini, Metzger, and Wikgren, p. 134).

Besides, παρεπιδημοζ/ ου (*parapidemos*) may appear associated to Israel, in order to express how God's people considered themselves in front of the rest of the world (Heb. 11:13). This variation deserves a little observation, since *parapidemos* and *paroikos* may appear together to give in to a particular construction. Apostle Peter, who searches to prevent some moral evils, reminds the believer's community about their origins:

Dear friends, I urge you, as foreigners and exiles, to abstain from sinful desires, which wage war against your soul. Live such good lives among the pagans that, though they accuse you of doing wrong, they may see your good deeds and glorify God on the day he visits us (1 Pet. 2:11-12 – NIV).

As for the first apostolic epistles receivers, these were called strangers. The idea of foreigners (*paroikos*) and stranger (*parapidemos*) was based upon the Greek-Roman world Christians' perspective. For the most part, they were citizens ruled out from social, political, and economic benefits. But this segmentation was not all yet. Their identity was not on their favor as for the integration and assimilation into the Roman citizenship. Based on other texts, Carrol Rodas (2011) tells apart a key of theological history. The first Christians argued that their citizenship was in Heaven. Although they belonged to a group of foreigners inside a decadent world, they were as well citizens of a heavenly home (Phil. 3:20; Heb. 13:14). Another key is the Apostle Paul application of the term in his vocabulary towards the gentile Christians. In the past, they were separated from God, but now they are not, because through faith in Christ they are included in one home (Eph. 2:19). In both cases, the New Testament teaches that every Christian is foreigner and stranger, because the difference is rooted in the commandments and values that rule their lives, beyond the society they live in (p. 118).

1.3. The biblical and theological foundations of immigration and mission in the Bible

It is impossible to have a thorough understanding of the current contemporary immigration discussion without taking into consideration the dynamics framing the biblical approach toward immigration by describing the socio-ethno convergence of these three driving forces in an unbiased, objective, and sound manner. The relationship between immigration and mission is a very rich edge in all Scripture. In this sense, the challenges related to the movements of peoples in the 21st century forces us to carry out a biblical and missionary theology appropriate to the times we live.

1.3.1. The relationship between Missio Dei and Immigration in the Old Testament: The image of God and Immigration

Immigration in the Bible contains several nuances in its description. It doesn't always have common sense or the image that we know today. Specifically, in the Old Testament, immigration is related to movements of tribes, exiles, deportations, and forced diasporas. These movements are crimped, already in the origins of humanity. According to Daniel Carroll Rodas (2013), in Genesis, the people's movements are happening in the periphery, but all that we read regards to value, destiny, rights, and responsibilities. The Bible gives a prominent place to human creation (Gen 1:26-31) because the human being is the climax of creation and the last step of the divine movement to organize the chaos and to fill the void of the earth (pp 44-45).

In the first place, the mission of immigration in the Old Testament relates to the creation of the man and woman made in the image and resemblance of God. Even though the history of human creation is related to Missio Dei, with the fall of Adam and Eve, in the reordering of the world and its system, immigration starts as a result of sin. Both were cast out of Eden to start a new life in a new place. Then this prototype of movement intensifies as a result of the evil when Cain killed Abel and had to seek refuge in another city. One peripheral interpretation of Genesis, in any language, reveals that the city of refuge built by Cain was made under the approval of Jehovah. After Cain

was expelled and ostracized from Eden till the end of his days, he designed and built a city to take refuge in, a city for him and any other exiles in the land. The result of this was a negative image that the Old Testament offers to our urban world, in relation to the thinking that they were a culture of nomads.

This principle of the human realization applies to human dignity. The practical application of this principle is based in the Bible and the development of historical theology. Carroll Rodas (2010), holds, that, the creation of all people in the image of God should be the basic conviction in the Christian approach to the challenges of immigration today. Immigration should not be argued in the abstract, because fundamentally it's about people made in God's image. In this way, immigrants are individuals and as such were created in the image of God (p. 47). In the same way, the dignity of each immigrant is related to other things, namely human rights from God's perspective.

Seeing from this perspective, “the first book of the Bible, Genesis, has serious implications, as a revelation from God where humans communicate a divine cry for the attitudes and actions of the people of God to those who arrive to a country- regardless of how they come, with or without documentation under a current government's laws. Both abuse and forced return to one's own country signify violation to the image of God. As a result, the issue of immigration at some levels should be considered in the perspective of human rights and should not be divined in the terms of national security, cultural identity, or economic impact (Carroll Rodas, 2010, p. 47).”

Also, in human movements, as seen in immigration or migration, there is also a place for human participation in missions. There are many Bible verses that support the care of foreigners living in the company of the people of God. Charles Van Engen (2009) argues that, God not only requires Israel to treat foreigners fairly and with

equality, but God also says that the immigrant must also be the object of care and compassion from the people of God. Many Bible texts address the idea that the immigrant should be regarded at the level of the fatherless and the widow. It requires a special compassion and intentional care for the orphan, the widow, and the stranger that lives among the people of God. Some examples from the Bible are the following issues:

Orphans and widows together with the people of God (Lev. 19:18; 19:33; 25; Dt. 10:18, 14:21, 16:14, 26:12-13, 19:11, 27:19). The Psalms and Proverbs that include orphans and widows (Ps. 94:6, 146:9, Prov. 3:19). The prophets pondered the need of widows and orphans (Jer. 7:6, 22:3; Ezek. 22:7, 29; 47:22, 23; Zeph. 7:10; and Mal. 3:5). Meanwhile, the message of the New Testament emphasizes to love your neighbors and enemies, even in the imperative sense, "You should love your neighbor." (Matt. 5:43, 19:19, 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27; Rom. 12:20 (ref Prov. 25:21,22; Ex. 23:4; Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:27); Rom. 13:9, Gal. 5:14; 1 Tim. 5:10, Heb. 13:2; James 2:8; 3 John 5 (Van Engen, p 3).

This short list of Bible references leads us to see that there is a clear emphasis in the Bible in terms of compassion and care of immigrants from the people of God.

However, scripture is also extensive to include other variables that encourage missionary collaboration. In this sense, it's necessary to form hospitable attitudes in the societies of destination. Also, to urge the innovation and strengthening of our theology of missions respecting to foreigners and guests. According to the Jorge Castillo Guerra (2012-2015), in his thesis, this theology distinguishes between the new exploitation of migration that recovers the Biblical image abroad. The object of Jorge's study is the practice of being a host in the host society, and defends the Christian tradition that gives value to the foreigner as someone that is coming close to God, as stated in many Bible verses, including Genesis and Matthew (Matt. 25:35-45), p. 380.

This theology of missions must presume an ambiguity in its presuppositions, as it has two distinct realities. On one side, we can see the positive aspect of this approach, as it tries to sensitize society, propagating attitudes and practices of solidarity with migrants and developing a spirituality of hospitality, inclusiveness, and communion.

But, on the other hand, also you must observe the critical aspects of this perspective.

The theoretical and practical perspective of the other way of thinking is that this outside immigrant is like an individual consumer, passive and generally not necessarily growing in faith or helping others in their faith. Castillo Guerra argues that:

A limit on this kind of theological approach is evident in the passive role of the immigrant or foreigner, who is reduced to the role of “guest” at the expense of the “host.” This theology considers the migrant as an immigrant, as a newcomer and needy under the permanent host. The theology of hospitality does not talk about the overcoming of this asymmetrical relationship of power, because it doesn't question when the immigrant ceases to become a guest; and it also doesn't propose what the guest should do to come into their home, materially, emotionally, and symbolically in this new society (p. 381).

Faced with this ambiguity, you might ask how one can correct this asymmetry from a Biblical perspective, with a theology of relevant missions. Generally, in the theological speeches of Christian hospitality, the foreigner is addressed in the theology of missions. However, only a few talk about the image of the immigrant. In a culture of hospitality you also need to listen and to learn from the immigrant. This includes how the theology of missions can become a listener to the voices of the immigrant, and learn from reflecting on each other.

This is the great challenge that migration poses to contemporary theology, which comes from faith, the identity and the daily life of migrants. They pose a new challenge to theology in contexts characterized by transnational exchanges. But, where does this novelty come from? It comes from the limitations in theologies to learn the context of the migrants and to give theological value to their faith and life. A theological approach to both issues, (migration and faith and life of the migrants), from theological discourses developed for contexts in the regions of the migrant's origin, does not assume the new practices and experiences of life and faith that they accumulate along their migratory journey. Rather, it urges, therefore, a new discourse capable of reflecting theologically the individual being of the migrant in a deep way. In this way, “The very nature of

being an immigrant of refugee” merits a new theological reflection that makes them your starting point as you value them as a specific sign to discover the current approaches of God to humanity. A theology able to discern the presence of God in migration, the processes that originate and the theology that is developed (Castillo Guerra, p. 383).

Finally, these ideas may well be summarized and reinforced with the contributions of the Vietnamese theologian, Peter C. Phan (2003), where the theology of missions is able to interpret the reality of the cosmos and God's work in and through immigrants: ... this existential ontology of the immigrant implies an epistemology and different hermeneutics, a particular way to perceive and interpret reality: for example self, others (in particular, the other dominant and the other immigrant groups), cosmos and finally God (p. 148).

1.3.2. Immigration in Patriarchal context

The immigration, secondly, in the Old Testament, looks like an act of the people. One time after another, we see the prominent leaders inside the people groups in movement.

The movement of individuals and of the people groups is inherent in the development of the early human communities, after the fall into sin. One description of these movements can be seen in the first stories in Genesis. For Carroll Rodas (2010, No. 19), the book of Genesis contains many stories of individuals and groups that are obligated to move, either for specific needs or for less worthy reasons. As an act of judgment, Cain is condemned to wander the earth because he killed his brother Abel (Gen 4:10-14). Humanity gathers in rebellion against God at Babel, but later they are spread out into a dispersion that produced the multiplication of nations (Gen. 10-11), (pp. 6-7). However, the corollary of these patriarchal movements can be seen in the life

of Abraham, in obedience to God's call (Gen. 12:6-7). For Van Engen, “when the Bible introduces Abram, he is presented as an immigrant and a foreigner (Gen 11:27-12:5-7),” p. 4.

In this Biblical history, we find great wealth topics. First, Abraham enters the land of Palestine. Like a religious man, he approaches the holy place of Shechem and there receives the promise that the country seen around him would belong to his children. Secondly, the patriarch approaches Shechem to ask God for a place for his children. Abraham is in the sanctuary, and God assures him that he and his descendent will possess the earth, and not just possess the earth, but that they will dominate the earth accompanied by foreigners that arrive in the future (Javier Pikaza, 1972, pp. 27-29). Carroll Rodas (2010), adds that Terah leaves Ur and goes to Haran, then Abram migrates from there to Canaan (Gen. 11:31-12:5). Abraham, Isaac, y Jacob, together with their families, leave their homes for lack of food to temporarily settle in different places: in Egypt (Gen. 12, 42-46), in Negev (Gen. 20), and Philistia (Gen. 26). In other words, the history of Abraham and his descendent were born from migration (Gen. 23:4; Dt. 26:5), pp. 6-7.

Other people in the Old Testament are forced to leave their homes. Jacob runs away from Esau and lives for a time in Haran with Laban and his family (Gen. 27-31). Joseph is betrayed by his brothers and is sold into slavery (Gen. 37). Moses escaped from Egypt to avoid judgment for killing a man. He marries a Midianite and named his son the name of Gershon, which is a play on words with “*ger*” (Ex. 2). Centuries later, thousands are born in exile in Mesopotamia while Israel is taken by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. (2 Kings 17), and Judah to Babylon in the sixth century (2 Kings 24-25), (Carroll Rodas, pp. 7-8).

After this first stage of patriarchal leadership from Abraham and others, another model of patriarchal missions is born, in the path of migration. In fact, in exodus takes its foundation and strength in the person of Moses. However, we must distinguish some elements that are contained in a more thorough reading. According to Elsa Tamez (ND.), the exit of the Hebrews from Egypt is a fundamental act of the formation of Israel (p. 1).

During the journey of this exodus is when the town, organization, struggle, covenants, protection and relationship with LORD God are being built. These elements are the ones that gave consistency to the people who migrated to another land. In fact, Moses is the leader of this liberation (Ex. 15-18).

The migration journey was long and dangerous. But the history doesn't end with the liberation and occupation of a better land. The liberation from oppression, the desert and the promise land were frequently referred to the popular reading of the Bible. But, what was not seen was the migratory element as a founding of the people. Especially when it came to repeated experiences of immigration. The Hebrews were not Egyptians who were oppressed by other Egyptians, but were foreigners working for the Egyptian empire. Even though several generations were settled, they were always foreigners. The memory of being an immigrant was a mark that accompanied them as a souvenir in their relationship with other foreigners: *Do not mistreat or oppress a foreigner, for you were foreigners in Egypt* (Ex. 22:21).

In Canaan, Israel dwelt among foreigners and were considered as such, even though they claimed that they had obtained that land as an inheritance. In the objective sense, they had to migrate to obtain the Promised Land, specifically traveling through the desert. It was a long journey to Canaan, and in this process, they were always foreigners. However, the story of Moses is an icon or paradigm of missions through

migration. According to Van Engen (2009), Moses was raised in a bicultural and bilingual environment (Egyptian and Aramaic), however, apparently, Moses was not a useful tool of God's mission. It was necessary for Moses to spend 40 years as an immigrant among the Midianites, learning how to survive in the desert, learning how to be a shepherd and being formed personally, emotionally, and spiritually for the role of leadership he was going to take. Moses called himself an immigrant and foreigner. The narrative in Exodus (Ex. 18:1-4), tell us all that God had done for Moses and for His people Israel. The way the Lord took them out of Egypt reached the ears of Jethro, the priest of Midian and Moses' father in law (p. 10):

Now Jethro, the priest of Midian and father-in-law of Moses, heard of everything God had done for Moses and for his people Israel, and how the Lord had brought Israel out of Egypt. After, Moses had sent away his wife Zipporah, his father-in-law Jethro received her 3 and her two sons. One son was named Gershom, for Moses said, "I have become a foreigner in a foreign land"; and the other was named Eliezer, for he said, "My father's God was my helper; he saved me from the sword of Pharaoh (Ex. 18:1-4 NIV).

In the patriarchal vision is it definitely marked, what, missions mean through the migrations and the foreigners. In this way, from Abraham until Moses there is a bloodline of elements of integral missions among their families as foreigners, and then a perspective of missions throughout the history of salvation to the nations. Van Engen (2009) holds his thesis in that, "so an integral aspect of the call of Abraham's mission was an instrument in God's mission to the nations, implying that he and his family will be foreigners, aliens, and immigrants (p. 4)."

1.3.3. The Missio Dei, the human exile movements and Diasporas

There are several important indications in the Bible that show, in a linear and transversal way, that God uses our own history, and that of His people and other instruments of missions between the immigrants and foreigners. And this flows from the

sovereignty of God, because of His missionary character and because He always encourages His people to be part of missions to the nations.

Does migration contribute in some way to the advancement of God's mission and His people in history? And if so, how? Here it is important to clarify the theological perspective of God's actions in history. God acts, since Genesis, in a saving and intentional way to return man to his original image, in this case the image that was damaged by sin. The creation itself already is, from the perspective of the eternal plan of God, a redeeming act that waits for its full liberation. Human beings are called to have communication with God, with their peers and with nature. And although they have strayed from the path of life because of sin, God promises salvation immediately and provides the means to obtain it.

The issue of foreigners in the Bible is varied and from a missiological perspective must be specified. One cannot deny that exists diverse types of migrations, and different causes that produce it. Especially when we read the Bible we have to start from a specific experience of immigrations to not fall into generalizations that can cloud a missiological reading. One is the experience of Abraham who had to immigrate with his family because of a direct calling of God, to be a blessing for all the families in the earth (Gen. 12 - 25).

The second is the experience of the people of Israel when they had to leave Egypt under the mighty hand of God (book of Exodus). The third and distinct is the experience of Ruth and Naomi (book of Ruth), to give some other examples. Finally, we must consider the Jewish Diasporas from Assyria and Babylonia (2 Chronicles, 2 Kings, Nehemiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lamentations, Haggai and Zechariah. In addition, there are references in the Psalms). From these specific migratory stories, all related to the Hebrew root, “*gr*”, which means a “pilgrim who stays”. Although in many contexts,

they appear as “*nekar/nokrî*,” which have the negative connotation, a corrupt influence or threatening the God’s People.

In the Old Testament’s history there is no common coincidence among the different authors to distinguish the mission in the exile from the one in the diaspora. There are at least three variables to approach this topic. First, there are people who work a mixed modality between the concepts of exile and Diaspora (Elsa Tamez, ND., Martín Fernando Ocaña, 2012, and others.) Second, there are those who choose the exiles and diasporas as regular concepts, they only differ in the development of chronological frame (Daniel Carlos Rodas, 2010; Jorge Castillo Guerra, 2012). In this research a third variable will be taken into account, where I will differentiate the concepts of exiles and Diasporas to draw more benefit from the prophetic ideals in matters of mission and immigration.²²

To begin with, beyond the mixed postures of Carroll Rodas (2010, No.19), it was often hard to live in other lands. Centuries after Joseph death, Pharaoh forgot the contributions Joseph had done and enslaved the Israelites for his construction projects (Ex. 1:5). The evidence from the Scripture indicates that some captives in Assyrian exile became domestic servants; meanwhile others were put to work the land or the constructions. Psalms 137 expresses the anger and melancholy of those who were taken from Judah by Babylon. Other immigrants, however, enjoyed certain success. Joseph gained prestige in Egypt and Moses was brought up in to palace (Ex. 1-2). Daniel

²² According to André Paul (1982), the Diaspora, meaning the Jews disseminated to the East and the West, was constituted, in certain sense, as a system in which also Judea and Palestine had their part. By that is understood that when Rome entered the scene as an Empire, in the 1st Century, and interfered in the Jews political situation, there was a strong solidarity between the Jews from Egypt and the Jews from Palestine. There were always relationships between Palestine, Jerusalem, and the Diaspora. Sometimes, by systematic correlation, as the payment of half shekel to the Jerusalem Temple, which ever Jew man had to pay, or by interests of individuals as Joseph, the tax collector and businessman, who had his money in the banks of Alexandria. Paul, in the 1st Century, collected the offering for the immigrant and poor Christians who lived outside Jerusalem (pp. 99-157).

served several kings with honor. Esther uncle, Mordecai, seems to have been a prosperous man, and this young woman became queen to the Persian Empire. Nehemiah was the Persian king Artaxerxes' butler, a position that required absolute loyalty (Neh. 1:11). Even those who were better treated also suffered the stigma of being strangers. Moses run away to save his life (Ex. 2). Daniel was accused because of his faith and later on he was mocked at a banquet (Dan. 5-6.) And the Persian Israelites were going to be murdered if Esther would not intervene (Est. 3-9), pp. 7-8.

The Babylonian exile provoked a deep crisis of faith in Israel and Judah kingdoms (Psalms 137). But God in His grace and sovereignty decreed the exile return. However, many things were transformed. Different politic projects pushed to obtain the administration of the suffering nation. Although the Diasporas can be seen from other perspectives (chronologic, of prophets, and prominent authorities), on this topic we choose the completed projects perspective given that in each one of them lies beneath some anomaly related to the peoples moves and God's mission:²³

The first project can be attributed to Zerubbabel and Joshua (Ezra 3:1-13). They both with Haggai and Zechariah (Hag. 1:12-15; Zech. 4:6-10) tried to rebuild the altar and the Temple as articulating axis of the nation. The second project was Ezra's (Ezra 9:1-10; Neh. 8:1-18) under the coverage of the Persian King. For him the evil in the nation was due to the strangers and their presence in the Israelite society. For Ezra, the nation's reconstruction had to be done around the ethnic purity (Ezra 9:2). The third project was Nehemiah's (Neh. 5:1-19), governor of Judah. His project was around the keeping of the Law of Jubilee (Lev. 25:1-34; Dt. 15:1-11). However, such revolutionary

²³ From a chronological perspective, the journey to Babylon was completed in three groups and in different times: in the first group was Daniel, in the second was Ezekiel, and in the third was the King Zedekiah. The return was also in three groups. The Jews came back from 70 years, captivity in Babylon and built back the Temple. In this sense, they were taken to Babylon by the Babylonians, but short after things changed, and Persia would be the new world power, and Isaiah had predicted that they would come back to the Land under Cyrus, King of Persia.

law was not able to solve the basic problems, because it would land the whole initiative on the rich people. Nehemiah also opposed himself to the strangers having part in his nation project (Neh. 13:3, 23-29).

These projects would raise a series of matters that sometimes seemed to be contradicted to the divine laws. Ocaña Flores (2012) says that these contexts, seen from up close, not only ignored but also mistreated the foreigners (*gerim*) residing in Israel. And what about the laws in favor of the *ger* which will be seen further on? Where were they? Up to some measure, the authorities who aspired to the power forgot God's Law. The reasons are unknown; maybe it was a purely xenophobic reaction, maybe they were motivated by fear of losing identity (p. 101).

Nevertheless, beyond these contradictions the historical base of this mobility context, even when complex, contains a missiology dynamism. Carroll Rodas (2013), highlights at least three big implications for immigration nowadays:

There is an *idealism* and *realism* in everyday routine: These human moves (individuals, groups, and peoples) forged the biblical history. The Bible text demonstrates the human face of the immigrant. These individuals experienced discrimination, the yearning for a home, for a family, they dealt with difficulties, and formed refuges for their descendants. In one word, the realism in its sense of awful experienced divine providence; besides, this scattered people was part of the salvation history's plan and of God's mission. In addition, there is a *creative space* where the Old Testament material applies to the contemporary immigrant reality. Immigration is a context to think about God, life, history direction, and the nature of hope. Lastly, there are *analogous situations* where the Old Testament material constitutes a divine mirror. Immigrants of today can live the real meaning of the text, the emotions, tensions and challenges, the Promised Land as a better existence, a place of milk and honey (pp. 70-71).

Even though the concepts of exiles and Diasporas are very complex throughout the Old Testament, we can emphasize that this was one of the modalities in which the *Missio Dei* looked forward to the participation of His people, regardless of the oppression and the enemy's heavy hand that was falling upon Israel. Immersed in the fire of tribulation, being devoid of God's protection, Israel was consumed by the nations

around (Assyria, Babylon) until the year 536 BC, in which Cyrus issued a decree allowing the Israelites to initiate the return to their land. Even though they had to wait many centuries before their national dignity was restored, it was only by the heavy hand, God's discipline, and the fire of tribulation that God clearly worked. If Israel was not going to voluntarily abide by their covenant's obligation to be a nation of nations, God would fulfill His purpose by force.

This can be visualized in the historical process of Tiglath-Pileser (745-727 BC), the Assyria's king, who set on the strategy to move populations from one place to the other to avoid rebellions and to strengthen his power. This way, Sargon II of Shalmaneser, son of Tiglath-Pileser, in the taking of Samaria's city (722 BC) took captive a large number of citizens of the kingdom of Israel (the monarchical state's North part) to Mesopotamia. According to 2 Kings (2 Kings 17:6; 18:11) and likewise, he moved other peoples' captives to inhabit the conquered part (2 Kings 17:24). This population mix would bring discrimination problems inside the Israelite people that would reach in to the Roman's time (Támez, p.3.)

On the other hand, the Babylonian historic process had repercussions of abuse toward the deported in its practice of deportation. According to Támez, under Nebuchadnezzar (since 597 until 538 BC) there were several deportations of the kingdom of Judah (the monarchical state's South part) to Babylon; from the royalty, aristocracy and rich people, to the common people, according to different biblical registries (2 Kings 24:12-17; 2 Kings 25:8-21, and Jer. 39:8-10; 52:28). The poorer and the peasant stayed in Judah. According to Prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 3:15) there were exiled people living in Tel Aviv, near the Chebar River, zones left devastated and abandoned. There were most probable immigrants in both parts (p. 3).

Without a doubt the migratory moves were common and constant facts in biblical history. In addition, the moves, exiles, deportations, and human diasporas were interpreted as social calamities. But at the same time, these movements were part of the salvation history written in the Bible. Those movements were present from the very beginning of humanity, and carried out in the different moments of Hebrew people formation as such, till the scene for the upcoming Christianity was prepared. All these human groups were considered pilgrims in the different lands, going through willing or violent migrations, empires and hunger; but they always had an inherent dynamism where God's mission was the guiding principle of every redemptive and liberating act.

1.3.4. Immigration care: the hospitality, the laws for strangers and foreigners

The Bible presents different perspectives regarding the immigrants' handling. There are positive aspects and efforts to sensitize the society in its attitudes and behaviors toward the immigrants. The strangers' ethical and moral criteria about the personal treat, human and social rights abound. However, there are also and simultaneously limits regarding immigrants as enemies to society. For Elsa Tamez, Hebrews attitude is ambiguous. Sometimes there is rejection and welcoming too, depending on the contexts. The various Hebrew definitions for a stranger help shape the attitude. Most of these terms were formerly known; however, they acquire more importance and frequency after the exile (p.5).

In the positive sense, the stranger (*ger*) in the Old Testament, either being from another country or an internally displaced person, constituted a vulnerable individual, classified along with the widows, orphans, and poor, among those in the most risking situation. In the ancient context there were no public programs for assistance; so, very often the extended family was the main resource in times of need.

Nevertheless, the legislation would take into account many basic needs and other human rights. Carroll Rodas (2010, No. 19) lists different laws and protections for the immigration varied profiles. For example, they were given a rest time along with everybody else on Saturday (Ex. 20:10; Dt. 5:14). They would bear rights to be paid a fair and on time salary (Dt. 1:16-17; 27:19). The foreigner oppression was condemned by the Prophets (Jer. 7:5-7; 22:2-5; Mal. 3:5). Even more extraordinary was that strangers were allowed to take part in the most precious of Israel's culture and identity, the rites of their religious life (Ex. 20:8-11; 12:48-49; Lev. 16:29-30; Dt. 16:11-14), p. 10.

On this positive legislation, the Israelites were given several reasons to demonstrate openness toward the stranger. But the most important and fundamental reason in the Old Testament is simply that God loves the stranger (Dt. 10:14-19; Ps. 146:6-9; Jer. 7:4-8; Zech. 7:8-10). For this, in Deuteronomy and Leviticus, there is a guide to how to treat the refugees. Besides, in Psalms we find different advice in respect of the marginal populations and the ones in movement. It is important to note that frequently the refugees themselves referred to the Psalms they read and that were recited as they were fleeing and looking for a safe refugee. One psalm used to this issue, Psalm chapter 91.

There is evidence in the Law that the will of God was tending to the needs of the stranger, and talks about fair practices regarding work (Ex. 20:10; 23:12; Dt. 5:14; 24:14-15) justice (Dt. 1:16-17; 24:17-18; 27:19), food sharing (Lev. 19:9-10; Dt. 14:28-29; 24:19-22) worship inclusion (Ex. 12:45-49; Lev. 16:29) and the neighbor's love, and the stranger inclusion (Lev. 19:18 with 19:33-34), (Carrol Daniel, Declaration about Immigration of the Mennonite Church in the United States, February 2, 2014, p.3.

In addition, on this positive designation, we can distinguish a duty regarding the attention toward the immigrant, stranger, and foreigner in the whole ancient world. This is a very characteristic aspect of the old peoples. According to Cervantes Gabarrón (ND.), hospitality toward the stranger was a characteristic aspect of the Semite and Mediterranean people's thinking. The Bedouin of the dessert and the nomad, Hebrew, Greek, and Roman peoples proved their traditions of hospitality (p. 1-2).

The Law fundamentals in the Old Testament exalt the duty of hospitality. Along the different literary genres and contexts, this concept and the care for the stranger are positive attitudes and acts that have been since the beginning of Israel as God's people. Cervantes Gabarrón distinguishes different aspects that turn the Israelite into a hospitality duty compliant –as something natural. This is also due to the semi-nomad character of the patriarchs as pastors. They would follow the “Code of the Dessert,” a non-written code whose basic pillar was hospitality to the stranger. Several positive stories can be referred as examples of hospitality toward the foreigner; among them is the lodging Abraham gave under his tent by the terebinth trees of Mamre, to the three strangers, in which the presence of God is recognized (Gen. 18:1). The second example is the hospitality of the Shunammite woman toward Prophet Elisha (2 Kings 4:8-11). The third example is Job's testimony that shows his good behavior toward the stranger (Job 31:31-32), p. 2.

The list of hospitality examples and good behavior toward strangers in the Old Testament is wide, diverse, and complex. There can also be found the negative examples where there was lack of hospitality, or simply because there was human rancor toward the stranger.

In the negative sense, first the Hebrew terms used in the Old Testament *nekar* and *nokri* had a connotation of the weird, different from what was their own. According

to Tamez, they referred to other peoples, the strangers in an ethnic way. In general, there was rejection toward these and that rejection was accentuated when immigrants were considered unclean by the Scribes, because they were outside the Law and the purification rituals. The uncircumcised and outlaws were the pagans and gentiles (pages 5-6.) Some examples of this can be the following testimonies. According to Gabarrón, the negative stories about lack of hospitality are like that of the Sodom resident's. They made an attempt against Lot's guests. Lot went out and tried to defend the strangers even to the point of offering his own daughters to them. For this, they deserved the city's punishment (Gen. 19:1-11). The same can be said about the Benjamites' punishment for having killed the Levi's concubine who was a guest at the old Ephraimite's house (Judg. 19:1-30), p.2.

On the other hand, besides being outside the Law, the strangers, difficulty was that they were separated from those kinships' nets. They were not allowed to participate in on the local system of land possession. In Israel, property would go from one to another inside the family through the male heirs, and it obviously excluded the strangers. In a society of agricultural farmers as Israel, the stranger then was left at the mercy of others, to obtain their sustenance, work, and protection. The strangers depended on others. They were at the disposal of the Israelites to be demanded to work in excess and be underpaid; or to receive no compensation at all (Carroll Rodas, 2010, No. 19, p. 9).

Regarding legal matters, they were exposed to be exploited and taken advantage of in the excess of work. In this sense, the Old Testament Laws had something to say to these plausible challenges. According to Carroll Rodas, strangers were given the privilege, along with widows, orphans, and poor people, to collect grain during the

harvest (Lev. 19:10; Dt. 24:19-22; Ruth 2-3) and the tithes every three years (Dt. 14:28-29), p. 10.

The worst parts of the immigrant's stigmatization were the instances in which the stranger was considered an enemy. Van Engen (2009) holds, in his presentation names different situations where the Bible, in some occasions, presents the strangers as enemies of God's people. For example, Prophet Isaiah, the Gospel of Matthew, and the author of Hebrews (Is. 1:7; 2:6; 5:17; Matt. 17:25-26; and Heb. 11:39). The most predominant perspective is the one that says the strangers and the nations were unclean, sinners, impious and for that they were responsible for the people of God's loss of their faith in YHWH. In addition, in some occasions, they represent those taking possession of the Israelites' lands and goods as God's punishment for His people unfaithfulness.

The examples set for this perspective can be based on the following biblical quotes:

Gen. 31:15; Lev. 22:12, 13, 25; Num. 1:51; 3:10, 38; 16:40; 18:4,7; Dt. 17:15; 31:16; 25:5; Judg. 19:12; Neh. 9:12; Job 15:19; Ps. 69:8; Prov. 2:16; 5:10, 17, 20; 6:1; 7:7; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16; 27:2, 13; Eccl. 6:2; Is. 1:7; 2:6; 5:17; 61:5; 62:8; Jer. 2:25; 3:13; 5:19; 51:51; Lam. 5:2; Ezek. 7: 21; 11:9; 16:32; 28:10; 30:12; 31:12; 44:7,9; Hos. 7:9; 8:7; Joel 3:17; Obad. 11, 12; Matt. 27:7; John 10:5; (In John 10:5 the stranger is the pastor not known to the flock whose voice the sheep won't listen to); Acts 17:21; Heb. 11:39, (p. 2).²⁴

Positive and negative perspectives are present in several contexts of the Old Testament, and later on of the New Testament. However, we must recognize and affirm that even among the different arbitrariness and not so positive points of view, there is a strong emphasis of the *Missio Dei* and God's people role to reach and bless these other nations' representatives.

Carroll Rodas (2010) emphasizes that the Old Testament Law stipulated a series of regulations for those individuals committed to be a part of the Israel's community.

There is no way to know if there were formal processes by which they would be

²⁴ The Biblical authors quotes and references (Charles Van Engen,) in this section, belong to an English version, *The Holy Bible: New International Version*. Electronic edition. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996, c.1984.

accepted as strangers, or if their integration to the community was part of a natural process that would come with time. Ruth is a wonderful case to be studied for this matter (No. 19, p. 4).

Gabarrón considers the hospitality toward the stranger in Israel was important not only as a fundamental social value, but also as a kind of Israelite people's identity from their origins. Israel semi-nomad roots, the story of an errant Abraham (Gen. 12:1-10), Isaac (Gen. 26:1-6) and Jacob (Gen. 46:1-4), in their experiences as the Israelites emigration to Egypt ending up in slavery and oppression (Ex. 1:1-15, 21) and the first deportation to Assyria (2 Kings 15:29; 17:6; 18:9-13) are the historical references of the historic creed of Israel, as is regularly considered, recollected in Deuteronomy chapter 26:

Then you shall declare before the LORD your God: "My father was a wandering Aramean, and he went down into Egypt with a few people and lived there and became a great nation, powerful and numerous. But the Egyptians mistreated us and made us suffer, subjecting us to harsh labor. Then we cried out to the LORD, the God of our ancestors, and the LORD heard our voice and saw our misery, toil and oppression. So the LORD brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with great terror and with signs and wonders. He brought us to this place and gave us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey; and now I bring the first fruits of the soil that you, LORD, have given me." Place the basket before the LORD your God and bow down before him. Then you and the Levites and the foreigners residing among you shall rejoice in all the good things the LORD your God has given to you and your household (Dt. 26:5-11 – NIV), p. 2.

With all this, from an Old Testament and the historical theology perspective we can conclude that the most prominent elements for the immigrant are news to Israel regarding their cultural environment's peoples. The immigrant's presence in the legal texts implies the elaboration and promulgation of laws channeled to protect the immigrants. Even though adversities, discriminations, stigmatizations, exploitations, and more, were not absent, a progressive protection of the immigrants' rights can be seen along the Israelite society rights. Gabarrón says that the Bible, in its primary legal traditions, the Code of the Alliance of Exodus (Ex. 20:22-23) the Deuteronomic Code

(Dt. 12-26) the Shechemite's Decalogue (Dt. 27) and the Holiness Law from Leviticus (Lev. 17-26) articulates and develops a genuine legislation about the immigrant, who is always the beneficiary of social protection measures collected in Israelite society laws, since IX BC Century, but whose origin goes back to the judge's era in Israel. In those laws that reveal God's project about human cohabitation in justice, the immigrant has the same rights as the native (p. 2).

1.3.5. The relationship between Missio Dei and Immigration in the New Testament

In the definitions section, the most common terms for immigration in the New Testament, are considered the, *xenos*, *paraoikos* and *parepidemos*. Each of these concepts has a connotation and meanings according to the biblical and historical context.

The original term ξενος (*xenos*) describes, on one hand, concepts related to a foreigner, alien, as well as foreign and distant appearance. On the other hand, it can refer to a guest. But there is tension between the foreigner and those around him. In the historical and cultural sequence, among all peoples the foreigner is an enemy, in this sense, many nations keep just one single word for all meanings: foreigner (Friedrich, Vol. V, pp. 1-2). From there, *xenos* can be associated with further declensions ξενος, η, ον with negative meanings such as strange or weird (Aland, Black, Martini, Metzger y Wikgren, p. 134). These variations are used with reference to interhuman problems like contemporary xenophobia. According to Carroll Rodas (2011), it can be related to something that is strange and not welcome (Acts. 17:20; Heb. 13:9), or can mean fear or dislike before something strange (No. 19, p. 4).

1.3.6. Jesus: An Immigrant?

In the first century A.D. one could say that in the region of Palestine these various terms were known since the presence of foreigners was widespread and they were part of the social, historical and cultural background. During the period of the New Testament, the Jewish Diaspora and other peoples prepared the conditions for the advent of Jesus as the Messiah. It is estimated that at least two thirds of Jews lived in the Diaspora, far from Judea, although this number increased as the same century went by. We can say that the movement of peoples was an emblem of 1st century A.D. and immigration highlights this fact.

Countless contemporary scholars report that Jesus and his family belonged to a group of immigrants (Samuel Escobar, 2006; Samuel Pagán, 2010; M. Daniel Carlos Rodas, 2009, 2010, 2013; Martín Ocaña, 2012; Elsa Támez, ND.; Charles Van Engen, 2009; James M. Krabill, 2010 and others). Jesus was indeed a foreigner. He came from heaven sent by the Father, he took the form of a human being and he became for us the refugee Christ. From a human perspective all Christians owe their salvation to a stranger and refugee. Him, as well as Mary and Joseph, settled themselves in Bethlehem until the appearance of the magicians, then he flees to Egypt, because of Herod's persecution of babies. In this sense, the incarnation of Jesus is the most cardinal fact in the history of salvation and in God's mission to mankind. So, through his incarnation, Jesus Christ communicates to us a much deeper idea: his Father crossed the borders – or perhaps more accurately “closed the gaps” between heaven and earth, which were opened by sin- in Jesus Christ with redemptive purposes. Incarnation thus becomes a soteriological paradigm that we must consider in our missiology.

First, from the perspective of incarnation, Flor María Rigoni (2003) deepens this idea in a masterly way:

Incarnation constitutes the deepest border crossing in history. God tears down the wall between heaven and earth, space and infinity, time and eternity. The fence built up around Eden after sin, crumbles because of Him who came to call sinners and to announce the love of the Father who invites everyone to his communion. (...) Christ enters history by breaking borders, leaving a rightful heaven for a land in which he is a stranger: and he came in the mist of his own and his own did not recognize him. He broke the frontiers of logic, being born in a country without a passport, vassal of the empire, not even knowing its language nor its traditions. He was born dark skinned, and in this land of Palestine, he chose the last of the villages; (...) He came different than expected. He was the image and likeness of he who had sent him and they considered him an alien (Revista digital Praxis No. 3).

Secondly, the fact of his birth in Bethlehem set a unique precedent. Samuel Escobar (2006), reinforces the idea of migration and mission of the child Jesus when he says that, the figure of Jesus has also something of an immigrant, he says. He flees to Egypt with his parents. He kind of recognizes himself as a foreigner. “The attitude of Jesus before the Samaritans is the key: In His parables, the Samaritan is always the good one, the one who comes back to thank, the Samaritan woman is the first woman missionary... Jesus went through that experience. He always had an attitude of receptivity and acceptance” (website, quoted by author, August 11, 2016).

To Samuel Pagán (2010), Herod and the slaughter of children linked to the birth of Jesus include an episode of great historical and theological strength. Herod felt threatened by the birth of a child that was recognized for some international representatives as the future king of the Jews! This news deeply worried the monarch, who in response to that, commanded to kill all the male children from two years old and under born in Bethlehem. This child-killing decision is recognized by traditions as “the slaughter of the innocent children” (p. 164).

A careful and thorough reading of this episode, through the relationship seen by Matthew the evangelist (Mtt. 2:18), these distresses, lamentations, and groans have a thematic relation to other ancient accounts. It can possibly be related to the exile to

Babylonia of the Israelites that were descendants of Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel (Jer. 31:15). In addition, this account cannot ignore the idea that shows the decision of the Pharaoh of Egypt, who tried to stop the growth of the children of Israel, with the slaughter of defenseless children. According to Pagán, that was the context of the birth of Moses, who was miraculously saved from death by divine intervention. Later that child became the deliverer and guide of the people of Israel (p. 165).

Fourthly, the flight to Egypt marks another migratory milestone, perhaps lesser. Carroll Rodas (2013), argues in favor of a short migration and without many echoes. According to the author, there was a large population of Jews in Egypt, especially in Alexandria. It was very natural for them to go there. They returned from there after the announcement of the angel, receiving protection from Herod's troops. There are no details of their stay in Egypt. Apparently, they stayed there no more than two years. An angel informed them that Herod had died (Mtt. 2:19-21). The first thing they did was coming back to their hometown, Bethlehem. But, Herod's son, Archelaus, still reigned in Judea (p. 105). However, this episode continues the thematic relationship of the gospel of Matthew (Mtt. 2:12-15), with a connection between Moses and Jesus.

Among the similarities of Moses and Jesus, in both cases there are hardships, oppression, political participation of Egypt, the pains of the Jewish people, the humiliation of the inhabitants among the empires of the day. But, there are also similarities of a mission of promotion, that is to say, an intervention of God that surpasses all circumstances. Pagán identifies at least four parallels between the situation of Moses in the old regime of Pharaoh and Jesus in the regime of Egyptian and Roman politics in his time:

Both overcame an order of annihilation of children. Moses left Egypt when his life was in danger at the hands of Pharaoh, just like Jesus, who left Bethlehem because of fear of Herod. God commanded Moses to go back to Egypt right after Pharaoh's death, just like he commanded the family of Jesus to return to

Nazareth after Herod's death. Eventually, Moses delivered the Israelites from slavery of Egypt and Jesus delivered them from slavery of sin (p. 166).

Finally, an additional episode about Jesus before he began his public ministry. Luke, the historian of the New Testament, finds him as a young man in the temple. This incident has a theological importance. The purpose of this passage is to incorporate a vocational response from Jesus. The foundation of his missionary vocation is in his response to Mary and Joseph, when he responded to the search of him as lost in the journey: *"Why were you searching for me? he asked. "Didn't you know I had to be in my Father's house?"* (Luke 2:49 NIV). This statement has the intention of affirming that the messianic consciousness was present, both, in his youth and in his later baptism.

1.3.7. Jesus and his relationships with the foreigners of his context

After his baptism and temptation, Jesus' ministry focused in the territories of Samaritans and other inhabitants of the multilingual Galilee, Judea, Jericho and cosmopolitan Jerusalem itself. His process of integral training was based beyond the formal and curricular educational dynamics of the synagogues. Mostly his ministry detached from the observations and reflections of Palestinian geography, the contemplation of nature, the relationship with the culture of the context, the experiences of service and the unquestionable figure of a young preacher.

Specifically, the region of Palestine was a geographically and politically complex place. Moreover, it was even more complex in the religious sense. Greco-Roman religions and gods, mystery cults, worship of the emperor on duty. There were Divisions between the factions of Jews, such as the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes and the Zealots. Each one represented his group and society. On the other hand, a sort of different Judaism was practiced in Samaria, in the holy mount of Gerizim. Antipathy between Jews and Samaritans was usual. In this context Jesus was very active in supporting the needy. He easily saw the hardships of day laborers and sympathized

with them seeing their desire to make a living. Very important is Matthew (Mt. 20:1-16), when he says that the kingdom of heaven is like a land owner who hire laborers unto his vineyard. He hires people all day long and in the end he pays them the same, summing up that with what he does, many last will be first; and first last.

Jesus understood the drama of the workers and the mandate of the Hebrew Bible to treat the workers well. The first teachings and actions of Jesus began with people and towns of the borders.²⁵ According to Pagán, Jesus began his ministry in the region of Galilee, since this place offered some advantages that cannot be ignored. First of all this region was far from Judea, the primary stage of John the Baptist and his disciples, where they generated anxiety and tension before the Roman and Herodian authorities. Besides, Galilee was far from Jerusalem, where the strictest teachers and interpreters of the law lived. Secondly, in the North, however, small towns and communities were more tolerant and open to dialogue, because of the remoteness from the temple and its priests, and because of the important influences of Hellenism in the region. Since they lived surrounded by gentiles and Samaritans, the social dynamics and the community relationships between the different religious factions were more sober and respectful than in the city of Jerusalem (pp. 178-179).

Regarding foreigners and non-Jews, the region of Galilee was surrounded by pagan communities, the Jews of this place looked forward to the coming of the Messiah. Particularly, they longed for the Messiah to end once and for all with the Roman occupation, which was the source of many social and political difficulties, and was the

²⁵ In Jerusalem, there was an institutionalized system for the movement of foreigners, according to the different seasons and festivities. According to Joachim Jeremías (1977), it is possible that the dependencies of the temple offered accommodation to the pilgrims. In addition, the large masses of people that came to Jerusalem could stay in the neighboring towns (for example in Bethphage or Bethany). But most of the pilgrims had to camp in the nearby vicinity of the city (pp. 77-78). On the other hand, the foreigners from countries far from Jerusalem were usual. Jerusalem was considered a capital for all Jews beyond Judea. It included Jews from Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Coele-Syria, Macedonia, Aeolia, Attica, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Ponto, Corinth, Thessaly, Europe, Euboea Islands, Cyprus, Crete, Babylon, Euphrates, and other regions of Greece, Rome and Minor Asia (Jeremías, pp. 79-89).

foundation of nationalist resentment against Rome, in general, and against the house of Herod in particular (Pagán, p. 179).

Through Jesus' ministry, you can find some clues about his perspective in relation to foreigners (despised) and immigrant of his context. (Mtt. 25:31-46). The Orthodox Jews despised the Samaritan as possible sources of pollution and impurity. But Jesus didn't refuse at all to have a friendly conversation with a Samaritan woman of a dubious reputation, tearing down the barriers of exclusion between Jews and Samaritans. (John 4:7-30). Out of the ten lepers that Jesus healed, only one came back to express gratitude and reverence, and the account of the Gospel emphasizes that "he was a Samaritan" (Luke 17:11-19). Finally, in the famous parable that illustrates the important commandment "love your neighbor as yourself" (Luke 10:29-37), Jesus contrasts justice and solidarity of a Samaritan to the neglect and indifference of a priest and Levite. The action of a traditionally despised Samaritan is exalted as a paradigm of love and solidarity to be emulated. His most convincing argument for caring for the stranger can be found in the account of Matthew, where he bestows the inheritance of the kingdom to those who took care of him saying:

For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me. Then the righteous will answer him, Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you? The King will reply, 'Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me (Mtt. 25:35-40 NIV).

In Luis Rivera Pagán words (2014), the extraordinary parable of the judgment of the nations, in the gospel of Matthew (Matthew. 25: 31-46), ¿Who are, according to Jesus, the blessed by God and the heirs of the kingdom of God? Those who through their acts care for the hungry, the thirsty, the naked, the sick and the prisoners,

those that with a remarkable solidarity protect the most emarginated and vulnerable human beings. Also blessed are those who welcome foreigners and offer them hospitality; those which are capable of overcoming nationalist exclusions, racism and xenophobia and dare to embrace and shelter the stranger, people in our environment with different skin, language, culture and national origins. They are part of the defenselessness of the defenseless, of the poverty of the poor, "the despised of the earth, or, in the poetic language of Jesus, the least of them" (pp. 6-7). Jesus' last message to his disciples, was in a sense of emigration / immigration. It's a statement that not only calls to emigration but insists on it, it is the Great Commission, in which Jesus says:

Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me, therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely, I am with you always, to the very end of the age (Mtt. 28:18-20 NIV).

After Jesus' ascension into heaven, his disciples and followers became migrant messengers and carried their teachings throughout the world. They traveled as immigrants, as refugees, as emigrants. They were put in prison, persecuted, and exiled. In this sense, the teachings of Jesus are not concluded even when John, from his exile on the Isle of Patmos, wrote the revelations of the Apocalypse, the theological and biblical history, which began with emigration and exile. It seems obvious that God accompanies each and every one of the emigrants in his journey of hope, faith and freedom.

1.3.8. Early Christianity and immigrants in the Roman Empire

The whole New Testament calls to value every person, reiterating biblical hospitality. The author of Hebrews urges us not to lose sight of this Christian principle:

Do not forget to show hospitality to strangers, for by so doing some people have shown hospitality to angels without knowing it (Heb.13:2 NIV). The apostle Paul, on his part, reiterates this teaching in Romans: Share with the Lord's people who are in need. Practice hospitality. (Rom.12:13 NIV).

However, during the period of the birth of Christianity, immigration and mission deserve a particular consideration. The epistles declare that all Christians are foreigners in a spiritual sense. The citizenship of believers lies essentially elsewhere (Phil 3:20, Heb 13:14). Christians should not therefore cling to earthly allegiances, and should be open to people who come from elsewhere and respond in ways that honor God. Peter speaks of the believers as expatriates, foreigners and pilgrims "(1 Pet. 1: 1; 2:11). These words reinforce the concept of another citizenship, although it is possible that those mentioned in this letter were literally exiles who had been displaced by the empire. If so, their legal position reflects their spiritual status as Christians. Hospitality towards others, whether coreligionists or strangers, is a Christian virtue. Christians are to be charitable toward others (Luke 14:12-14, Rom. 12:13, Heb. 13:2, 1 Pet. 4:9), and this quality must be a hallmark of church leadership (1Tim. 3:2; Titus 1:8), (Carroll Rodas, 2010, No. 19, pp. 15-16).

These principles and values are based on a new paradigm of community. Hence, the mission was translated into an invitation to join the eschatological community. Thus, Paul's theology and mission were not related to each other as theory and practice, as if his mission flowed from his theology, but in the sense that his theology is a missionary theology and that mission is integrally related to his identity and to his thought itself. Paul's thinking is not abstract, emanated from an abstract universal thought, but it's an analysis of reality unleashed by an initial experience that provided Paul with a new world view (Bosch, 2000, p. 161; Senior Donald y Carroll Stuhlmuehler, 1985, p. 233).

According to Manuel Sotomayor and José Fernández Ubiña (2006), the Parousia of the Crucified One, the expectation of the second coming of Christ triumphant, unsettled the first hope of the reign of God over Israel and from there on all humanity.

The paschal community oscillated between the triumphalism of the kingdom of Christ as salvation already present (Luke 23:42-43; Col. 1:13), and the idea that the kingdom is in conflict with the powers of this world until the coming Of Christ as judge (p.130), They were part of a new community with a new cosmovision and paradigm. This change of accents implied the spiritualization and ethicalization of the message of the kingdom, in contrast with the Roman society. The historical Jesus started to turn into Christ the Lord of Faith. This evolution transformed the idea of God, linking the resurrected Christ with God, under images such as the Son of God, Divine Word, the New Adam, Son of eschatological Man, etc. (Sotomayor and Fernández Ubiña, pp. 130-131).

Along with this, there was awareness that God is Spirit, living it as a force and principle of life. This was the symbol of resurrection, ascension and Pentecost. In this sense, the inspiration of the Spirit served as a legitimization to respond to the new challenges that were posed to the community of disciples in their evolution towards the early Church. These new challenges had a complex mission, especially as Christianity began to expand beyond the borders of Israel. From the mission in Antioch of Syria, a proselytizing policy began in Minor Asia. Hence, the mission among the pagans aroused much controversy. The legitimating instances of expansion were many. Among them, the first consisted of the resistance of Peter (Acts 10: 1-18), which inspired by the Holy Spirit baptized non-Jews and gave way to the mission beyond his own borders. Another example is the apostle Paul, who claims to be the apostle to the Gentiles.

Actually, the historian Luke, in Acts, presents the process as he, being led by the Spirit, admonished Peter three times, urging him to break with the Jewish laws and to open to the pagans (Acts 10: 16-20, 28- 29, 44-48). It is God himself who directs the process, sometimes through the apostles, others times, there are circumstances of the

context that contribute towards the development of the community. According to Sotomayor and Fernandez Ubiña, from that point on, the process only developed (Acts 15:41; 16:1-2, 6-8), passing Christianity to Europe (Acts 16: 9-12, 17: 1, 16-17), and mixed, pagan and Jewish churches were formed (James 1: 1, 1 Pet. 1: 1). Those became, in turn, missionary centers of the Roman Empire (135). Although the processes of coexistence and services were complicated, there were internal problems, Christianity, initially the branch of Israel, and then separately, appropriated the Hebrew traditions, reinterpreted them and built with them their own specificity. In this sense, they went from the Temple of Jerusalem to an improvement of a community in Christ, where God was present in the new community temple, being the houses and the catacombs the meeting places. Out of necessity, Christians made virtue. What was the new? Was their lifestyle, their solidarity and their likeness to men. The priesthood ceased to be a dignity and became a way of being and living that affected everyone. The priesthood was understood as a form of relationship with God and neighbors. On these principles, plus the experience in the Spirit, the original communities transformed their life and service into a dynamic that remained among the communities that were Composed of a majority of Gentiles.

The stoic concept of the Greeks also served to foster the idea of a social body, in which there are many members. It was a fuel to develop an ecclesiology of the body of Christ as a global entity with multiple charismata, all cooperating in function of the social body which identified them with the risen Christ himself.

In this sense, today many evangelical churches are inspired by this ecclesiological conception, as old as Christianity, but it is difficult to maintain due to the expansion of communities in contexts where individualism and other new problems arise. Hence, the dual function of a religion of generating identity and cohesion is fulfilled from the proliferation of the charismata in those that claim to have experiences with God. "This idea that the divine Spirit is present in the community enhances the value of personal conscience, the assembly and the consensus of ecclesial organization, and favors the missionary initiatives (Sotomayor and Fernández Ubiña, p.149).

The dynamism of this conception, due to the richness of personal and collective experiences and lack of institutional elements, is an appropriate scheme for small groups, the inclusion of immigrants, the cohesion of foreigners, the resolution of their conflicts and the multiplication of Communities for the purpose of human changing.

Chapter 2

DIAGNOSIC AND INTERPRETATION OF HISTORICAL AND CURRENT SLAVIC IMMIGRATION IN THE PROVINCE OF MISIONES, ARGENTINA

2.1. The reasons for the arrival of the Slavic immigrants

The reasons for the arrival of the Slav immigrants to the National Territory of Misiones (today Province of Misiones) were varied and different. They depended on each ethnic group, on the origin countries, the European context and the situations bordering countries. However, many aspects of all the immigrant movements of this region were commons. Firstly, each ethnic group housed various kind of peoples. In the case of the word “Slav”, “Slavonic” or “Slavic”, they could refer to different concepts and synonyms. This term defines the Slavic languages, the Slavic peoples who were present in all Europe, the Slavic mythology and the liturgical variant (its ancient form). In this research the emphasis is on the second variable: “The Slavic peoples of Europe.” Nevertheless, in some specific cases, there will be references to the other significations as the usage of the Slavic language and the Slavic liturgy.

The word Slavic refers to the common name of all peoples related to the root “Slav”. It means glory or fame and belongs to the great indo-european family. There are three main groups: The Slav peoples from the south (Bulgarians, Slovenians, Serbo-croatians, Macedonians), the eastern Slav peoples (Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians) and at least the western Slav peoples (Czechs, Slovaks and Poles) (Zub Kurylowicz, 2004, p.17). Nowadays, there is other category of classification where appears a third meaning, formed by the three Slav groups western, eastern and south with different meanings.²⁶

Secondly, the background of the arrivals of different ethnic groups was one of immigration flows, from various provenances and distinct times of arrival. They were

²⁶ For an exhaustive definition, see introduction, foot quoted, p. 15.

due to great border conflicts between the different empires of the moment, which were deporting the marginal populations who were occupying their territories.

For example, peoples from the Germanic speaking roots who arrived on the ground of Misiones were peoples from Austria, Switzerland, some German-Russians, Germans from “the Reich” and others. They arrived through three great immigrant waves: the Russians-Germans (coming from Brazil, the Germans from Germany and the Germanic peoples from the dispersion (Poland, Austria, Australia, Russia, Africa) (Kegler, pp. 99-109). For their selves, the Slav peoples of the National Territory of Misiones arrived through two great immigrant flows: The Slav peoples from “Galitzia,” a region under the Austro-Hungarian Empire between approximately 1897 and 1922. The second wave of Slav immigrants was coming from the Ukrainian provinces of Volhyn, Rivno/Rowno and the Russian region of Belarus. The years of arrivals are approximately between 1925 and 1938 respectively. There are many scientific arguments to support this migration period (Ryszard Stemplowski, 1985, p. 169), even though there were other diasporas before Second World War.

There were various reasons to the immigration, but the biggest was the longing for a peaceful and quiet life. The European context was one of rebellion and military action, because of all the different actors (monarchies, anarchism, oligarchies and vassals), who were all thinking that this was the unique way to establish peace. According to Sniechowski Rys (2011), all European countries started an armament policy towards 1880. It was due to the tensions between the different States and their situation regarding the growing impact of capitalism and socialism (results of the industrialization), which were attracting more and more followers. This period of time has been called “The Armed Peace” (p.1). Meanwhile, information from America (USA, Canada and the Southern cone) were encouraging and promoting the societies towards

the sought objectives: Peace and well-being. Therefore, these migrations were coming from regions where peoples were living in primitiveness of social forms. Many were neglected and ignored by the regent system, put under servility, as well as economic, social and cultural backwards (Zub Kurylowicz, p.42).

2.2. The context of the Slav immigrants in Europe at the end of the XIX and XX centuries

The historical context of the Slavic countries and therefore the story of Christianity in these areas are very complex issues. There are nowadays valuable and legitimated historical revisionisms to understand the migratory past of this region. Some rigorous investigations from different actual universities are worth mentioning: University of Edinburgh, Paris, Warsaw and Pretoria (South Africa) and other centers of high education of Latin America: The National University of Misiones, Superior Institute Ruiz de Montoya and the Study Center for Immigration in Latin America (CEMLA)

This studies are showing that in the near past, specifically the interpretative perspectives of the West were not exhaustive and partial in an important measure. According to Vladimir Bielakov (2012): The ignorance of the Russian history and of the concrete figures of its spiritual, industrial and economic development is one of the principal cause of wrongful judgments about Russia in the West, p.3. Other contemporary researchers confirm this theory (Sergei I. Shuk, 2004; Walter Sawatski, 1989; Pimen y Alceste Santini, ND.). They support the idea that another historical and interpretative look at Eastern Europe could help us to respond to the different historical, philosophical, social, anthropological and at least religious realities.

This chapter will look for an historical legitimacy. The large discussion about the immense background of the political, philosophical, historical and religious contexts will be taken for granted. They will be the main objects of this investigation through the

two major periods of immigration and their respective contexts in Europe (the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century).

2.2.1. The sociopolitical and geographic Slavic context in Europe: The first major immigration wave (1897-1922)

It is important to mention that the political context of all Europe was one of constant move through migration everywhere. According to statistics, the most important fact of these years is that between 1850 and 1930, 60 million peoples migrated from Europe and 10 million did it from Asia. This was a new fact in the history of human civilization, as well as for its number as for the long period of time in which the population masses moved to America. The factors that drove the migration of the Europeans were related to the demographic ones. On the one side, the decrease of the mortality rate let the old continent double its population. On the other side, many areas of Europe were yet not reached with the benefits of industrialization and were found in a big agricultural delay.

The first immigration wave (1897-1922) that reached the National Territory of Misiones begun with the “Avellaneda Law” (Ley de Avellaneda).²⁷ The first contingents of settlers were Poles (Ruthens - Ukrainians), coming from “Galitzia” and Bukovinian., areas which were under the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Claudjia Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Ursula Prutch, 2002, p.5). Although the historical records categorized them with the previous mentioned nationality, this term of origin bring different problems with itself because of the historical information. Firstly, the areas from where the people came from did not have a national identity, let alone did the immigrants had a departure registration. According to the Polish anthropologist and sociologist Stemplowski (1985), the national and social culture of the immigration was a reflection of the predominant

²⁷ The Law Avellaneda known as the Law No. 817 (La Ley Avellaneda) of Immigration and Colonization. It was sanctioned on October 6, 1876. The initiative of this farsighted law corresponded to the then president of the nation Nicholas Avellaneda, whose priority was to populate and take advantage of the large tracts of land that our country possessed (Ezequiel Gallo, Roberto Cortes Conde, 1972, 5:54).

structure in the territory of the Polish State in its historical borders (variable). The apogee of the emigration to Latin America coincides with a time in which the independent Polish State did not exist, settled as a result of the distributions made by Austria, Prussia and Russia. Precisely at this time (1897) is recorded the first establishment of the first Slav groups in Misiones (p.176). In this sense, the immigrants arrived at this territory came with documents issued from Prussia, Austria Hungary and Russia. The individual identity could be confused, mixed or nonexistent as a State, country or nation.

Many of the first Slavs peoples were cataloged into any categories, corresponding to the little knowledge about their true origin. In some cases, the archives have a marginal character. E. Snihur (1997) explains it so:

“(…) it didn’t exist an official document that would discriminate the Ukrainian (Ruthens) and Polish immigrants. According to their travel documents, they were subjects of the Emperor Francis Joseph the First of Austria, and for the Argentinian State they had the Austro-Hungarian nationality (...). Regarding the cultural manifestations, there wasn’t yet sharp differences between the “Ukrainian culture” and the “Polish culture”, that would emerge later, at the beginning of the twentieth century (...). It existed a big cultural mixture in which even the Ukrainian and polish languages weren’t grammatically systematized. The Ukrainian language was common for all the immigrant groups as an authentic Frankish language all around the country-side (p.114).”

In this sense, it is very difficult to find with precision the place, the identity and ethnicity of each family. About this issue, Stemplowski disagrees with the majority of information coming from various investigators. It exists specifically many mistakes regarding the geography, which were published in various occasions (Ryszard Stemplowski, 1983, No. 9, pp. 328-331).

The reasons to these difficulties (ethnic, linguistic and geographical ones,) are due to various questions related to the Austro-Hungarian context at the end of the nineteenth century. According to the investigation of Stefanett Kojrowicz and Prutsch (ND.), the Austro-Hungarian Empire was in 1910 was a conglomerate of 53 million of

inhabitants. It has been one of these European states whose migration movement constituted a great mass movement. Since 1876 to 1910, more than 3,5 million of subjects leaved their homeland (p.32). Other difficulties could be summarized as political questions of the imperial monarchy of the moment. The second monarchy was characterized by a plural-ethnic constitution, in which the ethnic borders did not coincided with the linguistic nor the state ones. The Austro-Hungarian State didn't possess a common language. German was the language of the court, followed by the Hungarian and the polish language. An ethnic, linguistic and religious hierarchy was present, although extra and not official. Among them, were the "Ruthens" (Ukrainians) of grecoroman faith in Galitzia and Bukonia (Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutsch, ND. p.2).

Nevertheless, there are many informations which help us to put together this complex image of cultures and regions from where many immigrants were coming. It has been proved that the first fourteenth families from Galitzia,, Austro-Ungarian region of the epoch, arrived the 27 of august 1897 to Misiones (Stemplowski, 1985, pp. 321-322).

As a matter of fact, from there begun caravans of hundreds of immigrants to come. Within this same migration wave, it existed other movement apart of immigrants from Brazil. They came from the Russian domains too, as well as from denominated territories like the polonization of the former regions of Prussia, later from Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania among all. It is estimated that up to the year 1914, at the end of this great immigration period, about 14 million of persons settled (Sofía Ehrenhaus, and Marcela Garrido, 2012, p.32).

The second big migration wave occurred between the two big World Wars (1918-1938). After the Russian revolution and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian

Empire, Ukraine had declared its independence. However, the communist Russia and Poland wanted to rebuild their dominion above Ukraine, invading its territory. Ukraine lost its independence and a new wave of its inhabitants searched for better life perspectives oversea.

Specifically, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Polish expansion occurred in a time where Poland did not exist. According to Stemplowski, the independent Polish State did not come out but after World War I and the Russian revolution of 1917 (we don't mention here the semi-dependent form "para-State" of the Napoleonic era and the period after Vienna Congress) (1985, Review Nr.10).

On Russia's side existed another reality. Before the Revolution of 1917, at the time of the last Tsar, Nicholas the Second, the social and political context was characterized by an ambiguous reality. According to Belikov, at the one side, the politic of Nicholas the Second promoted a period of searching for greatness. It was turned to form "La Haya" an International Disarmament Conference to conserve the world peace (Precursor of the present in UN). The next year, at the Tsar's initiative, this assembly took place and determinated some measures to soften the war's cruelties. For example, it prohibited the use of toxic gases, explosive bullets and bombing in populated places. A malachite's vase and an inscription are preserving the memory of Tsar Nicholas the Second in La Haya Palace (p.19).

At the same time, there were different laws of labor reforms. "The laws about the worker's labor promulgated in 1882 by Alexander the Third, were complemented and extended. Thereby in 1897 a general law which limited the laborer's work of adult workers and women was added (It is worth to mention that in majority of the progressist States of Europe, it didn't exist legal limitations to the labor of adult workers at this time). Alexander the Third had already promulgated some dispositions to prohibit

children labor. As well by Tsar Nicholas the Second in 1903, a law which created employer's responsibility regarding labor accidents was created" (Belikov, p.19). The economic situation was favorable as well. In the development of Capitalism in Russia, Lenin recognized economic growth, in which the laborer's work increased in a notable way. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the worker's number got from 1,5 million to 3 million. The Russian currency was supported by the gold pattern. Under Nicholas the Second in 1897, the ruble parity was established – gold with the free and unlimited change of notes from the treasury for gold coins (Belikov, pp. 19-20). To all this favorable aspect can be added the forms of government, which were represented through a senate and a prime minister. All of this were big steps to the democratization of the country and its international relations.

Nevertheless, the negative side of the reverse of this context became tainted with the emerging Bolshevik revolution. The socialists from the left who were residing abroad had determinate themselves Bolsheviks: mainly, as a derivation of the Russian word "Bolshe" which means majority. "Large quantities of money were spent in terrorist acts, and the number of murdered is very big. For example: Since July 1906, until the fifteenth of August of the same year, 616 attacks were committed assassinating 244 persons. Planes acts from Geneva from the central body of the Bolsheviks Asef, Goetz, Leiba Sikorsky, Schweitzer, Dora Brilliant and others who integrated the group. Neither the press nor publicity censured this act" (Belikov, p.21).

2.2.2. The sociopolitical and geographical context in Europe of the second great migratory wave (1918-1938)

During the time of the second great migratory wave of 1918-1938 (period between the two World Wars), the countries with Slavic predominance was under the emerging Soviet power, called at its origin Soyuz Sovietskij Sotsialicheskij Respublik (SSSR) and, later in 1922 the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR). But the great

migratory flow to the Territory of Misiones was coming from the Polish territorial possessions on some regions of Ukraine and Belarus. These areas were absorbed by the control of the Second Polish Republic (1918-1939). According to Stemplowski (1985), the borders of the so called “Second Republic” have been established between 1918-1922. But the last of the independence came on September 1939. From there on, the great migrant flow from Poland ceased in 1938, (Magazine No.10).

To a large degree, the conclusion of the immigration to Argentina coincided too with the emerging second World War. The last wave of Slavic immigrants who arrived in Misiones coincided with the closing of the migration of some European countries and the eminent beginning of World War II. Ana Maria Bargicic of Prokopchuk (2013), in her memories, stated that some Slav immigrants arrived in Misiones through Asunción, Paraguay. For reasons that the agreement between the embassies of Argentina and Poland closed their treaties (Interview by author, January 24, 2013).²⁸ On the other hand, there were other agreements between the governments of Argentina and countries of Slavic residence, which allowed the arrival of groups to the Province of Misiones.

2.2.3. The social and religious context of the Slavic immigrants in Argentina

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, a variety of groups from the Russian Empire emigrated to Argentina. From 1901 to 1920, Russia was the third most common country of origin for immigrants in Argentina. By ethnicity, the immigrants primarily consisted of Jews and Volga Germans, but also included Polish, Finnish, and Ukrainians too.

In the last 19th century, many of the immigrants to Argentina have been Slavs: Bulgarians, Serbians, and Montenegrins, often looking for the patronage of Orthodox

²⁸ The different waves of Slavic immigration can be classified in several paradigms, depending on the provenance of each country. For example, the arrival of Russian immigrants is considered in five different waves of immigration, see Appendix Figure, 2.2, Theory about Russian migration's wave to Argentina, pp. 228-230.

Russia in a Catholic country. Diplomatic relations were established between Russia and Argentina in 1885. On June 14, 1888, in Buenos Aires, he opened the first Orthodox Church in South America. This temple, which later became a place of mutual support, was opened on September 23, 1901, in Brazil Street with the assistance of the Via Superior Gavrilovic entitled Constantine (1865–1953) and is named after Holy Trinity Cathedral. Nowadays, this building, is an icon of the history of Eastern Christianity in South America. Also, the main concentrations of Ukrainians in Argentina are in the Greater Buenos Aires area. In second place is located, the Province of Misiones (the historical heartland of Ukrainian immigration to Argentina), with at least 55,000 Ukrainians, nowadays, approximately 9% of the province's total population.

2.3.The context of the National Provincial Land of Misiones, Argentina

The study of the context of the actual Province of Misiones requires inevitable requisites. Amongst them, we must point out the historic depth, built according to the settlements of the original population and the groups of immigrants that arrived to the province between the end of the XIX century and the first half of the XX century.

Since 1881 to 1953 the actual province of Misiones was a National Territory, under the federal control and administration. It was hold in the Laws No. 1149 dated December 22, 1981 and No. 1532 dated October 16th, 1984 Organic of the National Territories (Iuorno, Graciela and Edda Crespo, 2008, p.2).

From the specifically historical and sociologist perspective, the immigration in the province of Misiones was part of the program to overcome the demographic difficulties. It was indispensable to double the region in order to develop and progress this society. “At the beginning of the XX century the immigrants that arrived to the country influenced massively in the Misiones territory population. The main groups of settlers came from the neighboring countries (Paraguay and Brazil) and from the more under developed regions of central Europe. They were Polish and Ukrainian, who were

kicked out of their countries due to the permanent political and religious fights as also for the hard conditions of life. Some, like the first Polish immigration, arrived almost by chance, after their initial programmed settlement in the United States failed. In 1904 there were about 11.000 people that occupied around 12.000 hectares. They were all farmers” (Leonardo Sagastizábal, 1984, p. 12).²⁹

The provincial context, since its first origins, was an ideal place for their cultural adaptation. Since the period of the Jesuit province of the Guaranies native people (1609-1786), with their reduction method, had European immigrants as promoters of the new political, religious and social order. The testimonies of Anton Sepp (1655-1733), better known as Father Sepp; Leo Köhler, Johann Baptist Neumann, Segismundo Aperger and Jose Serrano where the ones that promoted professions, architectural systems in stone and printers (Kegler, 1999, pp. 76-81).³⁰

After this period, as the priests of the Jesus Company ordered by King Charles III (1767) were thrown away, which was done under very complexed and traumatic experiences in the region (1768), this provoked the disintegration of the Missions and the dispersion of the Guaraní people, tied to their ethnic mobilization. Some Europeans, faithful Jesuits, looked for the best way to relocate them, but without results. Many of the Guaraní people were contracted for a system of works in the jungle, yerba mate and other services, for a plate of food. A kind of “mita” was installed, which was forbidden in the time of the Jesuits.

This chronological context is named like a “transition stage”. Some historians refer to it as the “empty space” which takes place between the years 1767 and 1865. That is to say, between the order to expel the Jesuits until the beginning of the Triple Alliance War. This description comes from the lack of information coming from the

²⁹ See Appendix Tables 1.5. p. 227.

³⁰ From this humble press was printed “La Gaceta de Buenos Aires” (The Buenos Aires Gazette), appeared in June 7th, 1810. Thirteen days after the installation of the first patriotic government.

national history. According to Héctor Eduardo Jaquet (2001), the portion of the history of Misiones that belongs to the XIX century has as characters, informants that are not exactly Argentines, but Paraguayans, Portuguese and native Indians (p. 62). Today we can mention several regional and Argentine sociologists and historians that warn us against this absence (Jorge Francisco Machón, Alfredo Poenitz, Leopoldo J. Bartolomé).

Beyond this historic singularity, we must mention that this lapse of time deserves a conscientious study, as there are different variables and historical concepts regarding the mass exodus, relocation and prominence. Regarding this, only some of them will be mentioned as they are connected to the new strategies for the population. The landmark for this process was the 1810, May Revolution as a new political panorama starts once the actual Province of Misiones was placed between two main counter revolutionary points: Montevideo and Asuncion. Both centers did not accept the Government Board that was formed in Buenos Aires. For more than fifty years the political and frontier context was left as the center of the scenario, for a field of strengths, successive interventions from the Portuguese and the army of the Province of Corrientes.

Legal instruments like “Pacts,” “Treaties” and “Agreements” had its relative efficiency. The region was always submitted to a changing reality where the original was the wildcard for any scenario. This context altered any transformation of initiative from the population. Moreover, the regions with main exploitation of yerba mate, as the most noble product, was reduced. In his summary, Kegler points out that since 1856 many entrepreneurs installed their establishments for yerba mate in Santa Ana, Corpus, Yerbal Viejo (now Oberá), San Javier and Campo Grande. But the political and

economic situation showed important changes and the process for exploitation and elaboration was completely altered (p. 89).

The declaration of Misiones as a National Territory (Discussion in the National Congress on December 22, 1881) was one of the main steps for the resulting colonization. Though some historians defend that the process of the administration in Corrientes was one of the steps towards colonization, nevertheless a more exhaustive revision of these facts allows us to see another reality.³¹ During the intervention of the government of Corrientes in Misiones, several abnormalities took place. The most significant were the sale of great pieces of land to private hands, and on several occasions to absent owners. But, after the Law No. 1149, the National Congress established the limits of the province of Corrientes with the Misiones territory, determining that the Executive Power would propose to the Congress the organization, administration and government of these lands.

These measures provoked a series of reactions and, also, brought to light the different abnormalities regarding the administration, distribution and tenure/ownership of the lands. In the words of Roberto Abinzano (1985): “Just before the law of the federalization of Misiones was approved and as they saw all their aspirations lost, Corrientes decided to turn over the jurisdiction of those lands to the Nation, but not its property/ownership” (chapter VI, p. 4). This attitude meant the hiding of several decisions and actions that were hidden in their mega negotiations to private hands. In this sense, the following abnormalities can be seen on these concepts:

³¹ Since September 1, 1832, Misiones was part of the province of Corrientes. On December 22, 1881 through law No. 1149, the National Congress established the limits of the province of Corrientes with those of the territory of Misiones. Determining that the Executive Power would propose to the Congress the organization, administration and government that is considered convenient for the area of the Misiones territory that is outside the limits of the province of Corrientes (María Paulina Moroz de Rosciszewski, 2003, p. 16).

Corrientes sold 2,025,000 hectares based on rudimentary maps which were not precise and without measuring the land. This lack of real measures saved the sale of 300 square leagues (equivalent to 2700 miles square). Later on, the territorial government rescued pieces of land that had not complied with the requisite of the correct measurement in its due date. This sale of land also hid a maneuver destined to concentrate its possession in a few hands by means of figureheads and they were resold to powerful buyers of the Humid Pampa later on. Almost the totality of Misiones fell in the hands of 38 owners. The provincial government strategy was to recuperate all the lands that they could and colonize them. It faced an empty vast territory, private and unexploited for which nevertheless they should use all their collective responsibility (Abinzano, p. 4).

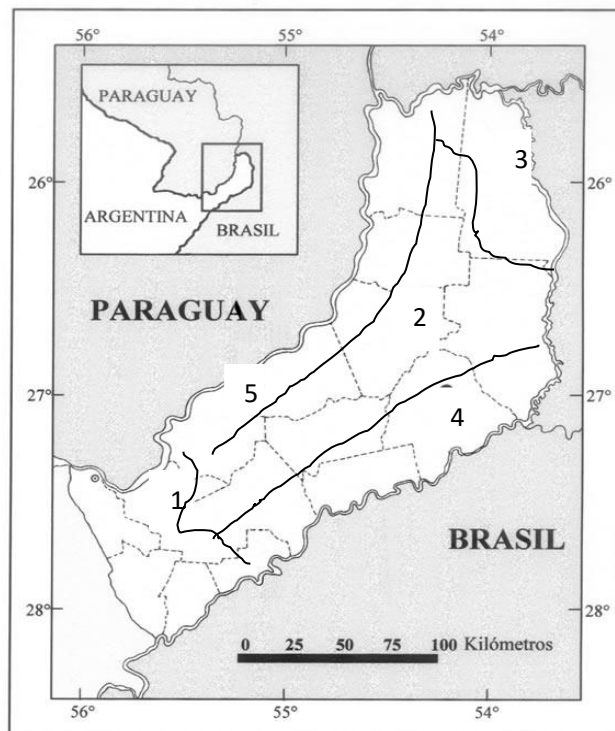
After the discussions between the government in Corrientes (lead the Governor Antonio Gallino) and the National Legislative Power, a law was created where the Federalization of the Territory of Misiones was established. On January 1, 1882 Coronel Rudesindo Roca was named Governor of the Misiones territory. He was the brother of Julio Argentino Roca, President at the time, and Julio himself appointed Rudesindo as the governor of the Misiones area. President Roca, as well as his brother, represented a liberal oligarchy elite that dominated in the Humid Pampa and, also in the great port metropolis. His philosophy was the one of his generation: the positivism based in the theme order and progress.

He shared the idea of the Europeans superiority over the native and mestizo population and had contributed from his military position, to send into exile the Indians that lived in La Pampa and the Patagonia. He fought in the Paraguayan war and interfered in some military actions due to internal and political problems” (Abinzano, cap. VII, p. 8).

Based in this political context, the geographical limits were established and the doors opened up to push the colonization as part of a common project and a

homogeneous ideology with different aspects.³² In this sense, the geographical limits were defined in the following five areas of the National Territory (Leopoldo Bartolome, 2000, p. 47):

1. The southern area as Misiones Champs or Low Misiones
2. The central mountains
3. The Irigoyen plateau
4. The Alto Uruguay valley
5. The Alto Parana valley



The southern region (reference 1) corresponds to a region with open prairies, softened by some dispersed group of trees that hardly ever reach more than 10 meters high. The scenery is geologically mature and it has wide fluvial galleries. This region, besides the fact that it is used by the Guarani Reductions and exploited by the province

³² The different aspects are related with the perspectives of each one of the governors, according to their period and situation. Roca surrounded himself with men that belonged to the masonic logia that were members of the Roque Perez logia. The first governors that followed belonged to this group. Later there was an agitated confrontation fundamentally from areas like the public opinion and the merging of social nucleus named “Juntas” represented by neighbors of high class that reinvoked the provincialist sense of the territory. This tension turned worse in two tendencies: provincialist and against provincialists mainly between 1920 and 1950.

of Corrientes, has erosions provoked by inadequate technical applications to the geological characteristics of the region, but were covered by the nature of its scenery, its wavy prairies.

From the ethnic and antropogical perspective, this panoramic vegetation in Apostoles “influenced in attracting the farmers at the beginning of the colonization in Misiones. This kind of countryside scenery looked more promising than the difficult and demanding lands of the jungle” (Bartolome, p. 49).

The Ruthens immigrants (Ukrainian) assimilated these lands with the European Baltic prairies though the later reality was different, as they found themselves in a very adverse context to their customs and what they were used to, as also latitude, climate, flora and fauna.

Regarding the distribution of the immigration groups, the first immigration current (1897-1922) occupied the southern region which is the Campo o Baja Misiones. Nevertheless, the second current of immigration (1918-1936) went deeper into the Central Mountains regions, a fiscal territory, belonging to the emerging Government of the National Territory.

The Immigration National Program insisted in the settling of the European immigrants in the whole of the region. Kegler (1999) analyzed the different modalities of this program and specifically informs the province’s difficult organization to receive the groups of immigrants. During the two period between censuses, since 1869-1895 and since 1895-1914, Misiones was an immigrations Province. In 1914 the census attributed 53,564 inhabitants to this region, of which 37,534 represented the rural area (pp. 96-97). This difficulty became worse as at the beginning they were temporal habitants. The Brazilians that were there temporarily, were replaced by the Paraguayans that were looking for a better quality of live as they faced the great empty spaces.

Finally, the European ethnic groups settled in the farming colonies according to their nationalities. According to the National Direction of Statistics and Census (1971), the European immigrants settled down in areas with very little native population. They formed homogeneous colonies from the ethnic point of view, rather isolated from the national context due to the precarious system of communication and though they did not live so far away, they were culturally and socially isolated (p. 30).³³

During the First World War, the flow of informal immigration from Brazil, via the Uruguay river, was very constant. Other demographic pressures originated in Europe towards the Missions added to the previous one. In this sense, at the end of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century the Germans arrived coming from Brazil, Africa, Volga and Reich (directly from Germany), Swiss, Sweden, Spaniards, Italians and Slavic.

This massive immigration was almost all the total population of this region and was distributed in two colonization sections that came up in the National Territory of Misiones: the official colonies (fiscal measured) and the private territories. The first ones corresponded to lands of a less magnitude. In some cases, they were farms which magnitude included approximately 100 hectares (equivalent to Ac. 247,105), but in

³³ The organization of the ethnic provincial population can be ambiguous. According to María Angélica Amable, Karina Dohmann and Liliana Mirta Rojas (2008), regarding the German immigrants on the Parana River, they affirm that “at the beginning of the colonization there was an attitude of a relative religious tolerance, but Catholics and protestants baptized their children in their respective religions. In this sense the religious separation was known. According to the counsel of Father Max von Lassberg to Carlos Culmey (founder of Puerto Rico and Montecarlo) it was said: Puerto Rico was for the Catholics and Monte Carlo for the protestants (pp. 83-84). Concerning the Slavic, identifications beyond the ethnic also abounded. In this regards, it is important to mention Emilio Willems’ (1980) investigations. Willems dedicated to study a group of Germans, in the area of Brazil. According to his results, in the immigrants of that region “a competitive process intra-ethnic” occurred, in which a tendency to segregation between German immigrants and Teuto-Brazilian farmers took place, as also between protestants and Catholics (pp. 71-90).

many center and south regions the extension of the territory was divided in lots of 25 hectares (equivalent to Ac. 61,77).³⁴

In contrast, the main private colonization companies were mainly in the Upper or Paraná River. The contributions in the foundation and promotion of the lands are due to two emblematic names, whose influences transcended the life and the provincial organization: Carlos Clumey and Adolfo Julio Schwelm. According to the Historical Research Center "Guillermo Furlong," Clumey founded Puerto Rico (1919) and Montecarlo Colonies (1920) with population mainly from Brazil. In the same year (1919) Schwelm created the Eldorado Company that introduced between 3,000 and 4,000 Germans to the homonymous Colony and two others of Cumley that they passed to their administration (Amable, Dohmann y Rojas, 2008, p. 81).

Schwelm's main contributions where his promotion of a successful colonization, that on one hand took advantage of the natural potential of the territory and on the other hand looked for people that wanted to settle down in a place to prosper, based on their own effort. Besides, the most important was his contribution to the distribution and organization of the lands in the founding of the colonies. "The settling system (checkerboard or *waldhufendorf*) was a rectangular division of the land, used in the official colonization. They were perpendicular or parallel to open trail lots, also used in the private colonies" (Amable, Dohman and Rojas, p. 111).

These contributions were reflected in the influence of the provincial development and growth. In a good measure, the German and Slavic groups were associated to this system. In this sense, the cooperation was partly homogeneous.

³⁴ The lands offered by the state at the beginning where relatively small lots in all the south region, farming unit of 10 to 25 hectares (equivalent to 24 and 61 Acres) were the usual ones. In 1969 the southern departments: Apostoles, San Jose, Azara and Tres Capones only had eight properties in an extension of more than 625 hectares (equivalent to 1547 Acres), (Bartolome, 2000, p. 55).

Nevertheless, in serious economic situations of other ethnic groups, due to their possibility of access and practicality, they did not doubt to become involved and be part of this impulse of progress.

2.4. Distinctive signs of the Christian faith in the immigrant's endurance

2.4.1. The Polish Roman Catholics, Byzantine and Orthodox Christians

The first Slavic immigration waves (Polish and Ukrainian) did not lack conflict as regards immigration politics as well as religious struggles. The former had their genesis in the places of origin and the adaptation to the subtropical regions of the National Territory of the Province of Misiones. Many of the immigrants were discriminated, because they did not belong to the so-called Nordic ethnicities of the ideals that many Argentine politicians used to stand for. The Ukrainians (Ruthenians) and Polish people were considered as exotic immigrants who found it difficult to adapt themselves to cultural, linguistic and social adaptation.

The great majority of these immigrants belonged to very low social classes, with low level of literacy. According to Stemplowski (1985), Slavic emigration from the frontiers of historical polonization was a poor social movement.³⁵ The great majority came from the countries of Europe to the Americas, for the most part, the great mass of immigrants was peasantry. Although, in some qualifications, it is possible to deny that there were personalities with political profiles (mainly Poles of noble and bourgeois origin), and petty-bourgeois or working class people (p.7).

³⁵ Polonization or Polonisation of Europe, meaning the was the acquisition or imposition of elements of Polish culture, in particular the Polish language, as experienced in some historic periods by the non-Polish populations of territories controlled or substantially under the influence of Poland. As with other examples of cultural assimilation, it could either be voluntary or forced and is most visible in the case of territories where the Polish language or culture were dominant or where their adoption could result in increased prestige or social status, as was the case of the nobility of Ruthenia and Lithuania. To a certain extent Polonization was also administratively promoted by the authorities, particularly in the period following World War II.

In other circumstances, many of the landowners of the neighboring province, Corrientes, based the use of the land on the fact itself, and not in the law. In addition, immigrants were found with a tropical, rather than a paradise territory as it was promised in promotions of lands in Europe. Against these and other anomalies, although the Governor of the Federal Territory of Misiones, Juan José Lanusse, with his Cabinet, made many efforts for the prosperity of the new colonies, political conflicts due to the project colonizer not ceased to exist.

The different correspondences of the governor on duty reflect his concern in the resolution of the immigration conflicts. In one of his circular letters, Lanusse wrote:

There is reason enough to believe that in Buenos Aires there is someone who is responsible for making President Roca and the senior employees of the Ministry of Agriculture believe that this Colony of Apostles (La Colonia de Apóstoles) does not prosper and they argue that there is not a single settler who, after two long years of living there, could live with their own resources ... I do not know where these ideas come from though I suspect and, as in previous opportunities, I will beat them in order if you help me (Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutch, ND., p.8).

Away from the ideals of the Argentinian presidents: Juan Bautista Alberdi, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Bartolomé Mitre, Julio. Argentino Roca and Nicolás Avellaneda, who hoped the civilizing and progressive contribution in their immigration policies, the exotic Slavic seemed to dissipate this program. Otherwise, "recognizing them as rugged and hardworking people, but they look too humble and submissive to be good Democrats and too technologically backward to produce the desired modernization of missions." Many of them became billionaires and needed aid that was costly to the State"(Bartolome, 2000, pp. 110-111). The only difference was marked by some Galitzians settlers, who arrived in 1900. They were those who had a better purchasing power and introduced the various professions, education, and even the iconic Polish cart (called in Spanish "carrito polaco").

In general, for its tradition, the legacy of the political and social background made these Slavic immigrants a sub group. The visit by the Governor to the colonies of immigrants may well reflect the attitude of the immigrants toward any form of local authority. According to Federico De Basaldúa (1901), "Slavic missions were so submissive to the authority of the Governor when his entourage visited Apostles, they knelt as slaves and kissed Mr. Lanusse's hand (p. 32).

As for the religious situation, the life of these immigrants deserves a qualification. The great mass of immigrants came from a religious context where there was a hierarchy for official ethnic, linguistic and confessional identity, as discussed before and the next chapter of research. But The worst is that most of the migrants were almost illiterate and religiously weak .³⁶

The Ukrainians (Ruthenians) coming from Galitzia and practiced Greco-Roman faith. Moreover, those coming from Bukovina had Russian Orthodox influence. In this sense, to be noted that during the immigration and settlement of the same, the Orthodox Russians--made their efforts to influence their faith in Ukrainian immigration in Argentina and Brazil. Many of these efforts were coming from the policies laid down in the United States at that time, then they were applied in the arena of the colonial reality.

Most Poles were Catholic and they always tried to win the Ukrainians to their faith. As for their laws, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire the rights were equal for both ethnic groups (although more than 11 ethnic groups coexisted in the empire). But, in practice, the Poles oppressed to their Ukrainian peers because of their economic and social capacities which were in many cases superior. According to Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutch (ND.), these were many of the reasons for interfaith conflicts, which largely have been transferred with the social and cultural baggage to countries host (p. 4).

³⁶ See Chapter 3, pp. 143-144.

In addition to these characterizations, the religious framework, generally can be classified into a geographical and demographic perspective. According to the Immigration record, the population was distributed by regions according to religious membership of each group (Liliana Oleksov and Carlos Martial, 1997, p. 4).³⁷ These practices were common to other ethnic groups of European origin. Is worth repeating the words of the Roman Catholic priest, Max van Lassberg, who advised the German-Brazilian's settler, to Carlos Cumley as founder of the Alto Paraná regions, he claims a demographic division by religion affiliation: Puerto Rico for Catholics and for Protestants Monte Carlo (María Cecilia Gallero, August 2005, n.p.). Although the geographical and historical context of Cumley turned back, the religious factor played many and varied roles among immigration colony. Following is a reparse points well demonstrate the switchboard of the colonists and their religious adherence according to Slavic community region.

2.4.2. The Apóstoles Colony

Nowadays, Apóstoles is a city in the province of Misiones, Argentina. It has 40,858 inhabitants as per the 2001 census (National Census), and is the seat of government of Apóstoles Department. It is located on the southwest of the province, 60 km (37,2 miles) south from the provincial capital Posadas and 27 km (16,7 miles) from the international Argentina–Brazil border.

Apóstoles is the National Capital of yerba mate, and hosts an annual festival dedicated to this plant, the basis of the popular *mate* infusion. The town was established as a Jesuit reduction in 1652. But the first wave of immigrants, mainly Polish and Ukrainian.³⁸

³⁷ The contribution of the Polish church in the evangelization of Misiones is a material published in 1997 as a tribute to the first 99 Polish settlers who arrived in the Province of Misiones.

³⁸ For a geographic demarcation, see Appendix Table 1.2; 1.3; 1.4, pp. 226-227.

The earliest history of Slavic immigration to Apostles (Misiones) dates back to a singular antecedent. The arrival of the first group of Galitzian immigrants was originated in a series of change of plans that were emerging once they left their homes. When arriving at the port of Hamburg they wanted to embark for the United States, but the entrance did deny, (authorization for sanitary reasons). These migrants were recommended to Argentina (Bartolomé, 2000, pp. 99-100). The idea was to establish them in the Province of Buenos Aires, but all attempts failed due to the lack of fiscal land and money from the newcomers. They had taken under the Polish immigrant protection, Michal Szelagowski: "By those years the city of La Plata was still being founded and represented a promising project. That is why, on March 5, 1884, the marriage with his children settled there. Michal worked as a tailor and made himself to the masonic lodge "Light and Truth". Later installed the first ice factory in the City, and became a concessionaire for the entire region of the brewery Palermo (Owner Registry by Claudia Steffanetti Krojrowicz, 2005, p. 7).

In 1897, taking under his protection the Galitzian immigrants, and wrote to an old friend, the governor of Misiones, Juan Jose Lanusse, who answered him immediately and paid the tickets to the city of Posadas: "[...] I advancing that those Immigrants will be welcome. I have an interpreter. Serve tell me how many are and assure you all my best contest [...] Here are plows and seeds (Owner letter by Cecilia Szelagowski, quoted by Steffanetti Krojrowicz, 2005, p. 7).

Accoding to Bartolome investigations and other researches, first 14 families (99 persons), were: 4 Polish families, 6 Ukrainian, and 1 Italian - Ukrainian marriage arrived to Misiones on August, 1897. All of them originated from the districts and departments of Galitzia (Obertyn, Horodenka, Tlumacz, Buczacz, Zaleszczycki,

Tarnopol and Husiatyn from these districts are sources of information for the immigrants of Apostles (Bartolome, pp. 100-101, Estanislavo Pyzik, 1944, p. 281).

In July of the year 1899 a considerable contingent of Galitzians arrived that was tempted by the propaganda made by their countrymen. The Governor Lanusse did say about them in this way:

"[...] the 77 immigrants leave today Poles who came with Kloc; I do not know exactly how many families they make. Among them come three who returned to Galitzia, to bring another number of people immediately if they want to choose their land, should not bother granting it and write down in the book so as not to forget, for these peasants should not give them the least reason to Suppose to be deceived. It seems, more or less, all have resources (Registry Cambas, Steffanetti Krojrowicz, 2005, p. 11).

In June of 1900 arrived a contingent of thousand immigrants that took everything that could of their villages. Only in June of 1900 had 722 people arrived in the ship "Sicilia" (of Genoa). They took with them the capital of the sales of their houses, 41 cars, 45 plows and 75 rakes (HHStA, F 15, caja 56, nr. 70305, pr. 19.9.1901, quoted by Steffanetti Krojrowicz, 2005, p. 12).

A series of false presses in Europe finalized the arrival of immigrants from Galitzia to Apostles. Although, in June 1902, another 1600 Galitzians arrived and about 1000 more during 1903. In this way filled all vacant lots in the colony. Steffanetti Krojrowicz (2005) affirms that, The Administrator placed notices in Galitzia's newspapers alerting this to eventual immigrants and thus ended this immigration history that had begun in 1897. The newspaper "Argentinisches Tageblatt" held the agents of the Missler company in Bremen responsible for this flow Immigration People had been misled by false information like maps with free land news (p. 14).

In this colony, on the total population of immigrants, from 1910, was composed by 500 Ukrainian families responding to the Greco-Roman Rite. On the other hand, there were 200 Polish families who adhered to the Roman creed. The latter tried to

attract their faith to Ukrainian immigrants. His priests were a function to be integrators of society, which often stretched to Ukrainians (Ruthenians) Greco-Roman Rite.

The first settlers of Apostles, in its colonial origins, lacked the support of his Church, that they missed the point of build chapels, even without a priest. To this we must remember that in the worldview of peasant from Galitzia, was rooted a particular belief about the spiritual world. "The villagers believed in the secret traditions of the shepherds of sheep, witches, blacksmiths and other categories of people who supposedly had the ability to control the hidden forces, both for cause success as unhappiness" (Stefanetti Kojrowicz, 2002, p. 8). The core values were in lathe of Divine omnipotence that controlled everything, nature, social order and human destiny. Newly "in 1908 arrived the first priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, giving start to a magna pastoral task which today translates into an eparchy, fourteen parishes and around 60 chapels in the province" (Ihor Wasylyk, 2008, p. 2).

2.4.3. The Azara Colony

Historically, Azara, was considered an agricultural colony, with about 230 kilometers square (equivalences 56834ac 10341.14ft²), on the total population with 120 immigrants people, about 14 families groups, arrived from Galitzia (an Austrian and Hungary territory, nowadays is a Region divided between Poland and Ukraine).³⁹ Many of them were from Roman Catholic affiliation and other from the Greco-Roman faith.

According to Steffanetti Krojcowicz investigation, subsequently to the first immigration, in 1901, came from Galicia a contingent of 138 families, then 192,288 other families, a total of 1113 people (2005, p. 12). The beginnings in this colony were hard, since the fields were degraded or with low mountain. With scarce resources but

³⁹ María Cecilia Gallero and Elena M. Krautsofl (Enero 2010), holds 120 persons, and 14 families, pp. 246-259. Other source pleads for 118 persons, 15 family groups (Claudia Steffanetti Krojrowicz, 2005, p. 12).

animated, supporting each other, they began to build their houses, to wire, to plow and to provide themselves with the daily sustenance.

In the religious issue, early settlers were afflicted by the lack of a priest living among them. To attend Mass or other spiritual diligence they had to go to the Apostles, 23 km (14 miles) away. Many did this walking tour. On October 29, 1903, Father José Bayerlein Marianski arrived to the Apostles (a nearby town), as collaborator of the parish priest was elected Uladislao Reinke Zakrzewski. This encourages the construction of a chapel, an asylum, school, roads, bridges and a means of social communication in Azara. Thus, on November 16, 1924, the first newspaper of the National Territory of Missions was published. It did under the direction of Father Marianski (until) and the edition- printing by Juan Czajkowski.

2.4.4. The Tres Capones Colony

Tres Capones (specific meaning)⁴⁰ is a village and municipality in Misiones Province in north-eastern Argentina. The town lies at the intersection of two gravel roads: Provincial Road No. 2, which connects the west and east Concepción de la Sierra, and Route No. 202. The municipality has a population of 1,234 people, according to the National Census of 2001.

On the total population of immigrants, from the 1906, more than 150 Ukrainian families became the Russian Orthodox rite with the propaganda of priests from Russia and United States. In this place was built the first orthodox temple in this region (1909). Characteristic of this construction was the same Emperor Nicholas II donated a campaign, a censer, and two icons.

2.4.5. The Colonies of Concepción de la Sierra and Cerro Azul

Concepción de la Sierra is an Argentine city in the south of the province of Misiones, head of the Concepción department. It is located at West on the banks of the

⁴⁰ Three places covered with native and natural groves, like jungle.

Uruguay River. Unlike, Cerro Azul is a municipality of the province of Misiones located within the department Leandro N. Alem. The locality began as a colony of Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians and Poles who dedicated themselves to the cultivation of tobacco and yerba mate, for which it has a dryer since the beginning of the 20th century.

In religious issues, the colonies of Concepción de la Sierra and Cerro Azul, Polish immigrant Catholic congregations existed in both locations. The Congregation of Redemptorists and of the Divine word missionaries promoted the Roman Catholic mission. Although, these regions were also represented by other ethnic groups and their respective religious affiliations (Orthodox, Greco-Latinos), however a recent documentary material gives accounts that the large number of churches and chapels in this region were built by immigrants and inhabitants of the area under the auspices of the Redemptorist Congregation (Liliana Oleksov and Carlos Martial, 1997, p. 4).

2.4.6. Some Slavic religious influences in Provincial development context

The presence of the priests gave impetus to the social, economic and religious life of many Slavs from the town of Apostles. "In 1910 the father Karpiuk founded the first room of readings (Markian Shashkevych), through an entity social Ukrainian of this town." Although this entity did not exist for a long time, another priest, father Iván Senysyn, in 1921 organized a cooperative called the agricultural Ukraine. Through she sought to increase the capacity economic of the pioneers. For its part, in 1909, the newcomer R. P. Jaroslav Kapriuk, organized a parochial school in Apostles. With this modality was also organized another school in the town of Azara. However, the construction and blessing of the first Ukrainian school in Argentina was in the year 1930 (Wasylyk, 2008, p. 3). "

As we express above, religious issues were not exempt from conflict. The first differences already had its genesis in the places of origin, then the adaptation to new areas of the national territory of the province of Misiones. Basaldúa illustrates the coexistence between different ethnic groups in the following way: "some hundreds of Poles who came to missions is fanatical religious." They are used to the knout (snitch) of Moscow tyranny (sic)... (p 32). "Noteworthy Stefanetti Kojrowicz claims, when he states that: "next to good immigrant could come the poor immigrant" (p. 3)." However, also the misunderstandings marked the lives of these people for a long time. Through years Ukrainians tenaciously defended their national identity in conjunction with their rituals. The new place of origin was a conducive setting for religious confrontations, that only with the passage of time could be dissipated.

On the other hand, national education did not give favor to the cultural, linguistic and social integration such as at present. The first waves of immigration were politically oppressed in place of origin. Marginal profile in new horizons made religion, language and customs the only factors of containment. Although the contact between immigrants with the indigenous population was minimal, but Argentine educational policies with objectives were little inclusive of these societies. The time was only being resolved the process of acculturation and adaptation to the context of the national territory of Misiones.

Finally, the dispersal of the communities, by the remoteness of the farms, was another factor that made impossible the socialization and the promotion of religious values. The settlers were going to towns, such as Apostles and Azara by extreme constraints or simply by the weekend. According to Stefanetti Kojrowicz (2002), "after attending mass, they made their purchases and returned to the parish hall. While they made their businesses, exchanged experiences and commenting on the news, women

chatted in another"(p. 8). These factors hindered the pastoral tasks for any current of Christian mission. Subsequently, identity differential of the families, the excessive value by labour and capitalism of the West contributed as a mitigation to the values of original religion.

2.4.7. The Slavic Evangelical Protestants

The presence of the first Evangelical Protestant immigrants in the region of Misiones dates back to the beginnings of year 1925. It should be noted that the life and identity of this specific population is unprecedented. There are sources of information and primary and secondary documentation (minutes, yearbooks, photographs and descriptions) in Russian, Ukrainian and secondarily in Polish, English and Spanish. Studies, analyses and interpretations about this phenomenon are, however, scarce. According to the registers of Nicolás Soltis (1972), among the first names that appear, Damian Semeszczuk and Juan Tabaschuk are mentioned, with their respective families. They belonged to the group of immigrants that came from Ukraine, from the region of Volinh towards the Yapeyú colony, some 18 kilometres (equivalent to 11,2 miles) from *Picada Sueca* (presently Oberá city) (pp.24-25). The reports from Damian Semeszczuk's diary date back to the celebration for the Lord's Resurrection of year 1925 as the period of arrival of 55 families to the city of Posadas.⁴¹

All these families were received by the governor of the National Territory of Misiones, Dr. Héctor Barreiro. Among these immigrants there were some evangelical families (Natividad Kozak, 2007, p. 8). It should be noted that these families did not represent an evangelical protestant group, but they belonged to the different denominational families such as: Evangelical Christians, Baptists and Pentecostals.

2.4.8. A fragile Evangelical unity

⁴¹ See Appendix Figure 2.3.5. p. 235.

In this context, the presence of a living awareness of God's mission was always present. Both in times of the immigration journey and in the installation in the new lands, the divine perspective became highly relevant. The evidences of Semeszuk's diary, not only form part of an unprecedented chronicle of life, but also a record of God's mission in those population movements. Many of their descriptions are touching memories:

Our journey lasted 23 days, it often used to be called the journey to heaven. The movements of the ship to sickness were frequent characteristics. We arrived in Buenos Aires (Argentina). At the Immigrations address, we met Mateo, Teodoro Unizoni and Jorge Hropot. The possibilities were Misiones, Chaco or Mendoza. We took a decision for Mendoza. Two days ago, we arrived at Misiones, fifty-four families that arrived in Posadas. While we were there, governor Barreiro came to our encounter. He told us that in Misiones there is a lot of rainforest and good land, and instructed us to go 100 kilometres away, into the rainforest. From train station, they took us to the square. We were surprised by a dense rain (never known in Europe), we all got soaked, as well as our luggage. But among the believers, we were thankful for God's grace that allowed us to have a place to live in (Damián Semieczuk, 1925, p. 5, trad. By author).⁴²

During the first settlement stage and adaptation to the new home, adversities were uncountable: the new local diseases, the density of the jungle, the wet weather, the new regional languages (with predominance of Portuguese, Guarani, Russian-German and others), the wild animals and the tropical insects. Nevertheless, providence, care and human progress, were present through the mission of God, who paved the way for the present and the future. In this context, what stood out were the religious factor, common welfare and cooperativism. This last one is a characteristic of the province still today, specifically among the German, Swiss and Slavic communities.

In these immigrants' lives, the religious factor was a priority in the order of life, work and project into the future in the new lands. The first Slavonic evangelical families used to keep, among their survival projects, colonization and progress, the priority of

⁴² See Appendix, Figure 2.3.4, p. 234.

communion of the Christian faith. According to the testimonies of relatives and to primary documentation, the liturgical activities were celebrated in the same order of their arrival and settlement. When the Tabaschuk and Semezczuk families bought their labor lands at a cost of U\$D 400 or U\$D 1.000, in their businesses and reasons there was room for the fraternal meetings. In the memories written by Semezczuk, these issues were seasoned with a high value of the religious life:

There was one hectare of corn and a shed tiled with small wooden boards. It was surrounded by the jungle. We bought them with the expectation of receiving new immigrants. There were no roads, only trails, we used to carry everything along, over 10 kilometres (6,21371 miles). The shed that we acquired had a gabled roof: the first one was for the Tabaschuk family and the second one for ours, but in the center, there was a place dedicated to the church. We prepared wooden stocks for the first meeting on the day of Pentecost. Those attending the meeting were Juan Tabachuk, Damián Semsczuk, Agustín Tjoruk, Petro Vereschuk (alone), Jorge Chropot and his family, Mateo Unizoni (family), Basilo Unizoni alone and Sanifon Unizoni (alone). We were in all 24 persons. It was the first worship: we sang, prayed and read the Bible, talked and participated of communion missing the families (Semezczuk, p. 6, trad. By author).

This same year and this activity was considered as the organic beginning of the history of the Slavonic Christian Evangelical movement in the territory of Misiones. Este mismo año y esta actividad fue considerada como el inicio orgánico de la historia del movimiento cristiano evangélico eslavo del Territorio de Misiones. To this initial group, other immigrants were subsequently added. In 1926 other evangelical groups arrived, coming from the region (or province) of Volinh. Many of these were pioneer leaders in the territory of the future Province of Misiones. Among the most outstanding ones we can mention: Basilio Zubczuk, Trifón Korostinski, Pedro Stepaniuk, Simón Kusyk, Semen Dereza, Gregorio Chamula, Esteban Melnik, Sava Zubuk (Soltys, p. 25, trad. By author).

These religious activities were celebrated in the different Slavonic languages (Polish, Russian and Ukrainian) with different emphasis, according to the doctrinal

perspectives of each participating group or individual. Most of the participants were semi-illiterate. Many of them learned to read and write with the bible, while others were just limited to their experiences of personal faith. The group grew in number, though the differences soon grew too. “In year 1927 there was a division among the members with Pentecostal tendencies and those who represented another evangelical protestant tendency which was more conservative” (Semezcuk, p. 6, trad. By author). This division marked a milestone and had various interpretations. The most conservative group remembers it as the great disappointment, while the most charismatic ones consider these origins with great vehemence. From a missiological perspective, this context deserves a specific consideration. In the first place, we must admit that there is a lack of records with objective opinions to this respect. In the second place, there was a need of a pastoral with broad perspectives of the mission, which was impossible to imagine at that time and in that context. Presently, in many cases, the different groups share their orthodoxy facing the new liturgical, ecclesiological and missiological transformations.

Since these difficulties and disencounters, the evangelical communities worked each one on their own way. In this sense, “the Evangelical Baptist Church started its organization on April 9th 1929, it had the attendance and direction of the missionaries Lantén and Winderlich, from the Swedish Mission of Brazil. Both missionaries dominated the Slavonic language” (Kozak, p.8). While the groups of immigrants increased, the new populations and colonies expanded too. These new populations and colonies (Florentino Ameghino, Los Helechos, Gobernador López, Alberdi, Oberá and Yapeyú) were the ways for the Christian mission.⁴³

⁴³ See Appendix Figure, 2.3.7; 2.3.8; p. 237.

Very soon these churches organized themselves in unions and associations for a joint strategy of work. On December 1st 1935, the “Slavic Evangelical Baptist Churches Union” originated (Kosak, p. 8). Later, this union took associational forms with other regions of the country and of the neighbouring countries (Paraguay and Uruguay). Likewise, the Pentecostal churches were also expanding through the regions of Slavonic populations in the province and other regions of the country. Presently, many of these differences are tolerated and accepted in the ethnical and religious melting pot of the province. Furthermore, there are many points in common that may be celebrated both in spirituality, liturgy and thinking.

For most of the Slavonic evangelical protestants that arrived from Europe, spirituality was associated with separation from the Orthodox Church. Mainly from the ethical, moral and cultural point of view, they represented a real culture. “They dressed in a different way, they didn’t dance, they didn’t smoke, they didn’t participate in gambling, they didn’t drink any alcoholic beverages. Their only social meetings were the worships and visiting among brethren” (Ricardo Andrés Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author). These anti-playful characterizations are due, in great measure, to the historical background of the Slavonic peoples. This cosmovision was the consequence of the oppression and the subjugation that the Slavonic people lived in the different stages of its history. Per Enrique Gualdoni Vigo (2004), in spite of the breakup from the Orthodox Church, many Slavs maintain in their spiritual subconscious this way of thinking and expressing their spirituality (p. 17).

2.4.9. The great ideological referents: The foreign dilemmas

In the first place, we must admit that all the Slavonic evangelical communities in Misiones have not been free from ideological influences. Many of these ideologies came through European immigrant flows, others came from the various fundamentalist

ideologies of the North American missionaries, and some were the product of adapting to a new life in the context of the promised land.

Although we can't help mentioning the critical aspects of each group's worldview, we cannot idealize them either. Nevertheless, it can be affirmed that the various Slavic immigrations flows formed part of the growth and integral development of the present province of Misiones.

Beyond the diverse worldviews, it's important to highlight the influence that the Slavonic-Argentine Evangelical Christianity received from its historical Russian – Ukrainian background. From the beginnings of the XIX century, around the year 1882, the work of Lord Radstock, an Englishman, who obtained the first baptisms of Russian princesses, counts and coronels, was of great inspiration for the forgers of a community of believers in a context so exotic, as it was the lands of the Missions. This great leader had his connections with the famous German preacher George Müller (from the Evangelical Christians). His fame was also due to the task that he used to do in the nursing homes in England. As he was a man of action and organization, literature about him was an incentive for many of the new colonies' leaders.

On the other hand, the Slav peasant's wisdom contains an innate wisdom and a philosophy with great influence of the orthodox church and of day-to-day life. Leaders such as Colonel V. A. Paschov (1831-1902), a disciple of different ministries and theological emphasis: Lord Radstock, George Müller and Dr. Baedeker, was the one who promoted a context for the rise of an eminent evangelical minister: Ivan Stepanovich Prokhanov. According to the investigations of Miriam R. Kuznetsova (2009), even in the midst of the communist persecution and in times of war, Prokhanov was able to take advantage of some spaces of freedom for the philanthropic work and evangelization. The Baptists and the Evangelical Christians were the “good

Samaritans”, who in many ways sustained hospitals, assisted the families who lost their parents and printed Bibles and other literature (p. 245).

In Russia, Prokhanov sympathized with the ideas and struggles in favour of freedom. In his poetic writing he composed and translated over one thousand hundred hymns. At the beginning, he used the same printer as the government for this purpose. “In several occasions, he had an active role with his writings which required from the government a call for tolerance for the evangelical people. It was the maximum evangelical figure of that time. In many occasions his political lines were controversial. He was a reformist, an organizer, a theologian, a master and a leader” (Kuznetsova, p. 245-246).⁴⁴

Nevertheless, sometimes later, his work fell into the hands of the minister of home affairs. His repressor made him abandon Russia in 1901 and he went abroad. This exile promoted his capacity and he was a brilliant individual who mastered five languages. Besides, he studied in France, Germany and England. He mastered Hebrew and Greek. He made a huge contribution to the Evangelical people (Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author).

The work and influence of the different leaders in the great Russia determined the trends of the immigrants in the new world. Both in Buenos Aires, Mendoza, Uruguay, Paraguay and thus in the National Territory of Misiones, the ideas of prominent men influenced, to a large extent, the ecclesiastical practices and standards of the Evangelical Christian communities.

In 1905, after the defeat in the war against Japan, the Czar gave some tolerance to the Evangelicals. In this period, the influence of Prokhanov (who represented the Evangelical Christians) and of Pavlov (who represented the Baptist influence) gave way

⁴⁴ See Appendix Figure, 2.3.6; p. 235.

to two Evangelical streams: The Evangelical Christians and the Baptists. Due to personal references, each group formed itself individually. On one hand, Prokhanov held his legal status; on the other, the Baptists held theirs. The paradox occurred when in the First Worldwide Baptist Congress, Prokhanov was elected Vice-President of the Baptist World Alliance. Although fraternal relations continued, at the institutional level however there was room for division.

Until the Second World War, there existed two conventions: Evangelical Christian and Baptist Evangelical Christian. Among the immigrants in Argentina, both allegiances existed, as there were representatives of one and the other. The first immigrants used to live together (e.g. the Church on Saavedra Street, in the city of Buenos Aires). This group was established in the year 1926, in the Baptist Church of the Centro (*Iglesia Bautista del Centro*), granted by Pastor Santiago Canclini, who was a great mentor for all the immigrants. His generosity was highly valued by the ethnic groups (Juan Kulak and Ricardo Oneschuc, 2010, interview by author).

On the other hand, there was in Buenos Aires another Slavonic Baptist group, whose temple was given by the Baptist Church of Once neighborhood (Today called *Iglesia Bautista de Once*) 370 Ecuador Street, City of Buenos Aires. Presently these origins correspond to the present church on Martínez Castro Street, in the City of Buenos Aires. This group received the influence of Ivan Petrasz, who arrived as a Baptist pioneer from West Ukraine (Galitzia). Between the years 1926 and 1929 he devoted himself to working hard on organizing an exclusively Baptist church. Thanks to his influence, the church of Martínez Castro Street was established. The most outstanding of his sayings, stated in the Founding Act, is “to create a purely Russian Baptist Church” (Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author).

This brother was a pioneer in the organization of various churches and made trips that were authentic feats at that time. He helped establishing the Baptist Church in Margarita (Province of Santa Fe). He visited Chaco and Formosa where he founded churches. In his visit to the Province of Misiones, he was the first to arrive by boat on the Parana River to regions as remote as the colonies of Wanda and Lanusse (1930). As an evangelist and as a canvasser, he had many converted people. Other brethren worked hard too and were also mentors for the immigrants. From year 1944 onwards, these colonies received brother José Bolbin, who gave them Bibles, hymnbooks and other literature (Kozak, 9). In 1960, the mission support was done through the brothers Anatolic Yacyuk and Boris Gutawski, who used to preach to these communities in the Polish language.

About the associational divisions and dilemmas, the case of the Slavic immigrants to the Territory of Misiones, was an exception. The first communities were associated in a very particular way. According to the Slavic History Commission, as the Evangelical Commitment work extended to different territories and the new groups incremented, in the Extraordinary Assembly (called Conference in those days) of December 1, 1935. At Yapeyú Colony meeting, they gave origin to an organization called: Union of Slavic Baptist Evangelical Churches of Misiones (Kozak, p. 9). While each church in particular was autonomous, this union however assembled and organized them towards the mission.⁴⁵

This organization was a precursor of the idea of a wider group, with a wider reach of the mission. In the occasion of organizing the churches, the idea arose of forming a Convention of Churches of the *Repúblicas del Plata*: Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. All the informants coincide with this idea which was developed in the

⁴⁵ The Union was composed of the following brethren from the different congregations: President: Basilio Zubczuk; secretary: José Bolbín; and treasurer: Nicolás Janzuk.

following twelve years, from March 9th 1947 (Oneschuc, 2008, Semesczuk, 2010, interviews by author; Kozak, p. 9).

The Evangelical communities of the Territory of Misiones took the Christian and Baptist Evangelical formula free of influences from the dilemmas of Buenos Aires. For its simplicity, they adopted joining together, but this unity acquired other problems. All of them related to the economic and financial supports, in relationship with foreign mission support. Per Oneschuc, in view of the poor communication between the Slavic believers from the United States and those from the Soviet Union, to the organizations formed by Prokhanov until the year 1927, known as the Evangelicals (EC), help to Russia was promoted. The Baptists, on the other hand, who concentrated themselves in the East of the United States and Canada (Philadelphia and Danforth), soon organized themselves in missionary associations (2008, interview by author).

The ideologist of one of the foreign missionary strategies was Ivan Neprasz, although the President was Platón Davidiuk. From the United States, Neprasz attended the missionary association in Ashford (Connecticut), and his idea was to expand the vision towards a perspective of churches with a local leadership where they knew the problems, the language, the economic situations with the aim of providing financial support (Ivan Neprash, 2009, n.p.). This program starts with an informal magazine, that soon turned into a classical newspaper known as "*El Sembrador de la Verdad*" ("The Sower of Truth"). This was possible with the aid and contribution of Neprash. Then, in the United States, in 1919, the Russian-Ukrainian Baptist Evangelical Convention was created. Nowadays this convention has its headquarters in Ashford (Connecticut). Neprasz promoted the missionary work with the aim of reaching the ex-Soviet Union, recently created. For this purpose, he was able to send over 40 missionaries, until in 1927 they must to emigrate due to the communist persecution.

Faced with this scenario, the two Slavic Conventions in North America's sights rested on South America and West Europe (Belgium). In 1940, both organizations were leaded by the prominent leaders Peter Deyneka and Ivan Neprasz. Deyneka distinguished himself for his fervent messages and his capacity of organization. His *leit motive* was, "a great deal of prayer, a great deal of power. Scarce prayer, scarce power. No prayer, no power." His powerful preachings gave him his nickname: Peter Dynamite (Slavic Gospel Association, 2013, website).⁴⁶

Neprasz and Deyneka greatly influenced among the different Slavic communities throughout all Latin America, and therefore in the emerging colonies in the National Territory of Misiones. They were great cooperators in their visits. Anyway, the world and local context were adequate for the ideologies inherent in the situation. In many opportunities, the financial aid formed part of criticism. Specifically, those who had socialist tendencies accused this philanthropy as a North American propaganda. Some said "that the pastors and missionaries sold themselves for the US Dollars" (Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author).⁴⁷

The financial supports, most of them were very low amounts, that got to the colonies and cities, were distributed according to the associations that had a North American origin. The Florentino Ameghino Colony was supported (scarcely) by the SGA (Slavic Gospel Association) of Deyneka, with headquarters in Chicago and then in

⁴⁶ Peter Deyneka was born in Storlolemya, Russia, in 1898. In 1914 he migrated to the United States. He was sent by his family to find a better way of living. Though he was a devotee of the Russian Orthodox Church, he converted in Chicago to the Church of Moody, which was pastored by Paul Rader. He studied at the Moody Biblical Institute by correspondence mode. In 1925 he graduated from the San Pablo Biblical College. After a meeting with Ivan Stepanovich Prokhanov, in New York he led as representative of the All-Russian Evangelical Christian Union in the United States and Canada. In 1934, along with Paul Rood, they founded one of the greatest Slavic associations of those years: Russian Gospel Association, that later on turned to be the Slavic Gospel Association (SGA). In that Association, he served for forty years, until 1974, when he retired as general director. The SGA contributed in the distribution of Bibles, radio programs, financial support to missionaries, missionary shipments, etc., in different regions of the world: Australia, Asia, Canada, Europe and South America (Billy Graham Association, BGA Home Archive website, 2001).

⁴⁷ See Appendix Figure, 2.3.6. Peter Deyneka, Basilio Zubczuk and Igancio Dachuk, traveled together to Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay planting new Christian Churches and supported the establishing communities, p. 234.

Wheaton. The first ones to receive this benefit were Basilio Zubczuk,⁴⁸ Ignacio Daczuk (foundational leader of the Church on Saavedra Street, Buenos Aires). Also, the first missionary from Concepción de la Sierra was brother Pauluka and then Basilio Stimbalisti. Other leaders like Sotniczuk, wife Sonia Stecziuk (a lucid and focussed young man, president of the Evangelical Christians between 1969/79, Deyneka's support solved some problems and excelled them with comparison to the other methods of missionary work.

The year 1940 was a symptomatic year for the Slavic people of the *Repúblicas del Plata*. The situation reached extreme limits, as many persons tried to differentiate between the Baptist work and Evangelical Christians. The latter were stronger in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Scandinavian Colony (Mendoza), Margarita Colony (Santa Fe). But the most numerous group was located in Chaco, with the Czech brethren. The latter group decided to work independently until presently time.

Faced with this problem, Neprasz took action more with the church in particular than with a personal support. He started supporting some missionaries in the churches, but with agreement of the Church, not imposed. This attitude gave him a more intellectual balance of the mission work. Apart from this, the missionaries that studied at the Biblical Institute of Philadelphia and other American seminaries, achieved a better preparation (Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author).

In December 1947, the Slavic Churches Convention had an event that has got a precedent in the initiative of the Evangelical Christian and Baptist Association of Misiones. In this opportunity, a united assembly was called, inviting the four existing organizations: Christian Association of Paraguay, Evangelical and Baptist Association of Buenos Aires, and even of Uruguay; the Evangelical Christian Association (potential

⁴⁸ Some informants claim that the offers were low and devalued (Gregorio Zubczuk, entrevista by author, August 29, 2016).

Chaco and Buenos Aires and other provinces of Argentina). Upon the conclusions of these three associations, the Constitution of the Evangelical Christian and Baptist Association of Rio de la Plata was decided, which included Misiones, Paraguay, Uruguay, the Convention of Buenos Aires and its surrounding area. The Christian Evangelical Churches abstained from entering, and a schism was produced in the main church of Buenos Aires. Seventy per cent of the members chose to enter the organized Convention, and thirty per cent stayed in the Christian Evangelical Association.

Rivalry was notorious, to the point of the very independence of the mission. To the foundation of the Slavic Biblical Institute, in Dean Funes (Santa Fe), only assisted the students who belonged to the side of the churches of the AEC (Christian Evangelical Association), and those of the National Convention were very few. During the year 1952, Deyneka sought the backing of the Slavic Baptists for the formation of workers in the Biblical Institute, which later on moved to Temperley (Buenos Aires). This concluded with a support of the United States mission.

On the other hand, many differences were clearly produced in the Northern hemisphere and gave birth to their conflict in the field of the mission among the immigrants. According to Oneschuc, “the lack of relationship between Neprasz and Projanov were due to their personalisms and denominational faithfulness. The work of both was monumental. But the influence of nationalisms was also present. According to some of Neprash’s letters, in 1919 he backed the Russian faction with US\$ 5.000 of offerings for the mission. While for the Ukrainian faction only US\$ 1.000 were assigned (Oneschuc, 2008, interview by author).

The integration of the dispersion of both associations occurred in a strange way. In 1941, the Soviet Union received armaments help from England and the United States. Though the decision was taken in 1944, both countries imposed a condition to Stalin in

order to rescue some pastors, exile some leaders to the West and therefore supply some freedom to the Evangelical people. Though the benefits were not agreed, the Russian regime, however, unified the Evangelicals by means of grouping under a great umbrella called Evangelical and Baptist Christians. This formula was taken in the churches of the Convention of Christian Evangelical and Baptist Churches *del Plata*.

A time later, another internal movement arose in Argentina called the Ukrainian Baptist Evangelical Convention (1953/4). It worked in Argentina, Brazil and the United States, as Ukrainian Evangelical Movement. They received the refugees of the World War II and where communist political asylum was sought. These were those who brought the information about true life of the Evangelical people in the Soviet Union.⁴⁹

Another important factor was Christian literature. The Bible's translation to Ukrainian language was successful. It didn't reach the whole Ukrainian population (as they were living a moment of analphabetism), but promoted the reading. On the other hand, the Russian translation (the only one) was accepted by everyone. The first peasants read it and prayed in Russian, but at home they spoke Ukrainian. To settle these differences, other translations were necessary. The first translation came before World War II. It was Ogienko's translation (Ukraine). This was Ukrainian patriot, of orthodox belief. The dissident Ukrainians formed their own orthodox church called Ucrainzca Autoquifalnia Prajoslavna Chercva (Autocephalous and Orthodox Ukrainian Church). Ogienko became a metropolitan exiled in Canada. It is there where he finished the complete translation of the Bible. This translation had a slant of West Ukraine. In a way such that after the fall of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Baptist Convention made

⁴⁹ This movement can be considered endogenous, in the sense that its members were among the first foundational lines of the churches and the colonies. The history of the first immigrants and churches, narrated by Nicolás Sóltiz, maintains this perspective. Sóltiz (1972) *El movimiento evangélico ucraniano en las selvas de Misiones: En conmemoración del 40° Aniversario de la llegada de los primeros creyentes ucranianos*. Winnipeg and Chicago: Doroha Prawdy (transl. by author).

a new translation accommodated to the current language. Nowadays this translation has been replaced, and the former one is used as well.

These anomalies and the Ukrainian nationalism were factors that determined a bilingual liturgy (Russian-Ukrainian), and afterwards Spanish was added. In this sense, many of the old hymnals were divided in two parts, as in all cults both languages could be used: Russian and Ukrainian too.

2.5.The historical contributions of Slavic communities in the foundational origins of the National Territory of Misiones, Argentina

The perspective of the Slavic community contributions in the origins of the present provincial context deserves a singular analysis. Although immigration was a new landscape in the context, the reality of the facts is more complex. In this sense, "there is no understanding of Latin American reality without the knowledge of the history of European immigration" (Stemplowski, 1985, p.1). This occurred specifically in the Southern Cone region, where Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay were the recipients of large masses of immigrants.

These communities developed a singular context where demography, social and religious became unique in the National and Latin American's way of life.

2.5.1. The new demography

A little studied aspect of immigration is the European agricultural colonization in border regions. According to Semplowski, the basic problem of the relations between immigration and social change in border territories arises. In addition to these anomalies, there are also other problems, such as European immigration and the development of agriculture and livestock, agricultural colonization, ecological changes,

family exploitation of land and capitalist development, multi-ethnicity and the process National training, immigration policy and international relationship, etc. (p.1).

First, it should be noted that the provincial context, from its earliest origins, was a breeding ground for acculturation. Nowadays, this process may be seen in the representation of the immigrants of the most different regions of the world. Each of the immigrant groups contributed with some of their culture to the native, depending on the influence of their proportions, geographical conditioning and the historical moment for demographic integration. From the chronological perspective, Slavic communities can be distinguished by two great moments or currents of immigration: the first moment was between 1897 and 1922, corresponding with the fall of the Russian feudal system, the Polonization of certain regions of Ukraine, the emerging of communism and the First World War.

The second moment corresponds with the advent of the Second World War and other crises in various European's regions, such as the laws of inheritance, the political and economic crisis of Europe since 1918 to 1938. Each of these stages produced an imprint in the individual and community life. Both the survival and the search for the establishment of a peaceful place were the most sought goals in short term. While both aspects were being fulfilled, other results of common life were soon considered, such as saving material, economic resources, foresight, manual labor, etc.

From the demographic perspective, each region presupposed a social, cultural, political, religious baggage. Each of these characterizations was poured into the arena of provincial reality. Broadly we can distinguish at least four regions that were represented by different contexts. The first immigrant stream represented the Slavs of Galitzia. They were representatives of the Austro-Hungarian era in the occupation of Poland. The

second represented the Slavs were the Ukrainians from the regions of Volyn, Rovno and Bieolorus.

The third current represented the Slavs of the former Soviet Union.

In the same way, other groups of immigrants who arrived in Misiones, such as Germans from Brazil, Africa and the Reich, Swiss, Swedes, French, Italians planted different seeds that came in their baggage, which resulted in a very particular differentiated identity in the provincial context. According to Kegler, the Provincial context is characterized by being a differentiator between all the provinces of the Argentine Republic. The historical analysis proves how "the incidence of migrant ethnic groups can be perceived, indicating that the missionary population was able to integrate and assimilate their immigrants. It is this influence that has given this province a very different identity to that of the other Argentine provinces. It is known as a crucible of races (Kegler, 2005, p.70).

As for the Slavs, we must emphasize that they were not always well received. In the first steps, his influence was wrapped in failure.

2.5.2. The Provincial development

Slavic identity in the context of the former National Territory of Misiones can be characterized as success. Stemplowski (1985) holds the following premises that demonstrate the achievement of colonization. Among them are: foreign influence, adaptation of the form of the chakras to the natural conditions of the land, the formation of farms of a given minimum of extension, the state of health of the settlers, the level of education and the agricultural experiences of the farmers, the establishment of the farmers with entire families. Other factors favoring colonization were the inclination towards family paternalism, and the positive attitude of settlers towards the development of religious education and institutions. Finally, the Slavs also played an

important role in Cooperativism and the correct policy of the Argentine authorities in both fiscal and private colonization (p.172).

However, this promotion did not always have its optimistic signs. At this period, both, the Argentine Republic and other Latin American states were seeking to be consolidated as a nation. For that purpose, it was necessary to culturally homogenize the population. The best method for this was education. It was argued that with unanimous education it would be possible "to foresee crime, to consolidate inner peace, to promote general welfare and to secure the benefits of freedom." These assumptions of order and progress (Positivism) sought to educate existing natives and their Include foreigners. This initiative, well intended and promoted by the same governments that encouraged immigration, went against the vision of the newly arrived Slavs. In their world view, religion, education and the nation (Ukraine or Poland) formed an entire enclave and could not be dissociated. Stefanetti Kojrowicz argues that the Poles and Ruthenians of Azara and surroundings created academies, parochial schools, libraries, cultural associations, newspapers, ballets to develop their languages and identities. Thus, in the National Territory of Misiones, the Galician immigrants attempted to reproduce their national imaginary. Everything was transported and transplanted into the new lands. Perhaps not all the settlers had this luggage, but surely the priests and teachers had it (*Banderas y cruces*, ND. p.15).

In contrast, the Argentine school, with its directors, teachers and staff, was seen as holding the power of the Government. In addition, while parochial schools fostered the culture and language of immigrants, the public school inculcated the pupil's shame towards these practices. These schools were not recognized as private but as "supplementary schools." This was the reason that many children of immigrants should attend public schools, where national diversity and cultural integration were not

contemplated in national policies. On the contrary, these programs were promoted with rigidity in their method and philosophy. Times ago, these programs contemplated the reality of Buenos Aires, but were far from the different transcultural clashes in the colonies. At first the confrontations were felt between the priest and the schools; but later, these dilemmas had arisen between the Inspector of Education and the Galitzian communities of the Greek - Latin rite. These gaps could only be closed with the rise of the nationalism of the country, when in 1930 all these confrontations were repressed with a rigid system of education.

Finally, although the State had an appreciation for the culture of the immigrant, however we can say that from the second decade of the twentieth century their attitude was cautious and vigilant. The cultural manifestations of the Polish and Ukrainians were often closely observed. In this sense, the influence and cultural heritage of the southwest of Misiones was the result of ideological confrontations, which in many religious, cultural and social points they are still seek a solution. On the other hand, there are factors of demographic development that were directly affected by the contribution of European immigrants. Both the Slavs and other ethnic groups interacted in the construction of communications throughout the regional territory. It should be noted that Misiones, from its origins, was lagging in all areas, compared to any other region of the Argentine Republic. These delays were overcome with the inclusion of men and women who knew how to face adversity in all its forms: audacity, empirical wisdom, human effort and extreme sacrifice.

According to the investigations of Aníbal Cambas (1967), from a very early time the Government of the Argentine Republic gave accounts of the human adversity in front of the wild jungle context. In 1881, President Julio Argentino Roca, in his promotion of the territory, gave a message in addition to the project of law submitted to

Congress for consideration. Roca declared as regards Misiones: "a gross nature that reigns there in all its splendor ... in that vast expanse there are no temples and schools ... you cannot find the smallest nucleus of stable population that can be affirmed and multiplied on the earth that Occupy "(Volume 4, p. 291).

Overcoming these adversities of communication, motorization (transport), electrification and other economic, cultural, religious and tourism activities, could only be overcome on the basis of hard and sacrificed men, who in many cases left their lives in textile plants, sawmill, yerba plantations and Other plantations in exchange for a miserable newspaper. In this sense, "the immigrant settlers, on the other hand, extracted their sustenance to the land with a great sacrifice, and their settlement in Misiones can be described as a true epic" (Miguel Khatchikian, 1999, p. 33). This overcoming was an inverse model for all colonization systems in Argentina. In addition, Stefanetti Kojrowicz (ND.) hold, the process of agricultural colonization was carried out on the basis of an infrastructure of services that fulfilled a supporting function of the colonizing project. In the cases of the Polish - Ukrainians the experience occurred in an inverse sense. Infrastructure emerged after the settlement of the settlers and the majority was on the initiative of the settlers. It was the impulse to take off the productive forces and, as demands of these, that the structure began to be generated (Don Juan Szychowski, p. 8).

The most common of this process can be seen in the transformation of the cultivation of yerba mate, which went from a product of natural decay to a massive implantation thanks to the discovery of germination. A long time ago, yerba mate was a product exploited by the Guarani natives people, then by the Jesuit reductions. However, by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century this system was in decline, and therefore could not supply the market demand.

This resurgence of the new system of planting and commercialization was a fact that is due to the ingenuity of the immigrants.

The "secret of germination" was a phenomenon of great confusion. A long time later, the attempts to cultivate the *Ilex Paraguayensis* were frustrated. The evolution of this system was a promotion of many immigrants. A clear example of this is the life and work of Don Juan Szychowski and his family. The Commissioner of Migrations, Juan Alsina, called it an exotic immigration and did not want them near the big city. It was said of them that:

Of the regions of Europe, the peasant brings his agricultural practices and porphyry in its application, it deals with barbarians and savages to those who do differently. He spends his energies on unprofessional tasks, squanders his small economies and finally attributes the lack of success to the naughty weather, to the forests. He is very careful to confess that he is only to blame for not adapting to the circumstances that surround him (Alfredo Bolsi, 1986, p. 93).

Nevertheless, Don Szychowski, after a trip with his father to Buenos Aires (1914), with a view to finding new routes to Canada or returning to his native Poland. He had to return to Misiones because of the outbreak of World War I. With the few resources and knowledge installed the first lathe in wood and tip of metal in Apostles. "In 1919 he completed the first precision lathe built in Argentina and after the death of his father Julián, he undertook the task that had one of the largest contributions to the Province: "La Cachuera" a wide business around the Country (Stefanetti Kojrowicz, p.9). This enterprise changed the paradigm of work and development of the region. From a system called "mensú" (a kind of autochthonous servility), it incorporated a model of labor in series, with the inclusion of paid labor, and thus an unprecedented advance of the region. His influence not only shaped the origins of the Territory of Missions, but transcended beyond its own borders. It was recognized by National Geographic in the USA. His method and philanthropy was also emulated in Canada, the Philippines and other regions of the world.

2.5.3. The cooperative movement

The community work or cooperative work is an aspect that has always distinguished the province of Misiones. In this sense, it can confirm the hypothesis that is the province in where the cooperative system (cooperative societies, yerba mate industries, work exchange, etc) still remains active. In fact, it must be presumed that some anomalies are typical from the context in which we live.

The cooperative system was present in every community since its origins. In this sense the cooperativism is related directly with immigration. The first cooperatives were related with agriculture. Its system was created with the goal to obtain better prices for the producer. According to Misiones's Centre of Historical Investigation, with time goods and services were incorporated for the members and became real industries. Diverse factors influenced the origin and development of the agricultural cooperatives. Among them the variety of ethnical groups, the distance from the markets, the ways of transport, the necessity to exchange and confront common risks (Amable, Dohgmann and Rojas, 2008, p. 111).

The investigation of Rafael Carbonell from Masy (1985), the European immigration is directly related with the system of cooperativism. According to this researcher, the settlement system and the origin of colonists were factors that influenced the proliferation of herb scrublands and other agriculture industries, in its original activity and in the range of commitment of the member. (p.15) On the other hand, Bartolomé (2000), the "colonist cultural style" achieved a very unique cultural and social space. His European past and his adaptation to new strategies which had to be displaced once he arrived to the red-coloured land, turned out to be a context where domestic economy as the introduction of the technology gave it a sort of capitalist bias, even though these can vary in different contexts (p.170).

In addition, the pioneer immigrants, Slavs and others, developed a different approach in terms of the economy and way of work from the original ones. They managed to crystallise, through time, a lifestyle with specific characteristics to the Province. According to Gabriela Schiavoni (1998), in the economic behaviour of the Misiones' colonist, besides the derivative elements from its origin and from its historical experience, their way of inserting themselves in society and in the regional economy matched (p.52).

In the case of the Slavs communities, they were the second force of Cooperative promotion. In first place, in the province of Misiones, the Germans, who introduced this socioeconomic doctrine which promoted solidarity and organization to satisfy human needs without the intervention or help from the National State. Facing the absence of the National State, solidarity work, ruled by ethical values such as honesty, responsibility, transparency and respect for others, was an effective instrument for facing private voraciousness on natural resources and productive work (Kegler, p. 243). In fact, the cooperative culture, introduced by the immigrants has been depressing in the last couple of years. The causes are many and various, however, in the beginning it was the vigorous institutions whose activities carried its wealth directly from the producer to the consumer. Intermediation and speculations from third parties were avoided. It all stayed within the family group.

According to Kegler, the history of cooperativism in Misiones started at the beginning of the twentieth century with the Slavs who first arrived to the Azara zone, Tres Capones and Apóstoles where the first efforts of organization were carried out. The priests were its sponsors in order to obtain major satisfaction upon the needs of their members in their role as consumers. (p.244) Also in this region, Juan Szychowski's undertakings were originated and developed in a context of family cooperation.

In the first steps of the provincial industry the cooperation was indispensable. In Stefanetti Kojrowicz's thesis about the life of Szychowski, he holds that solidarity was very ingrained between neighbours. Survival depended on mutual collaboration, especially during harvests. Work groups were put together, where they worked in a rotating basis in different farms. These meetings, called "pucherones" or "ayutorios" (words coming from the Portuguese meaning help one to others) made the recollection of products easier, because it was impossible for each colonist to do it on its own. Women prepared plenty of food for everyone, also they carried out minor tasks and they took care of the children. (p. 9). Regarding the first evangelicals, also in their origins they carried out community resources and cooperativism. The first economic, familiar and religious steps of the first families that arrived to Yapeyú Colony, centre of the Province, focused on mutual cooperation.

Damián Semeszczuk's life journal (Since February, 1925 to December, 1932), describes in one of his registries, an accidental fact in which he names and analyzes the work of mutual collaboration. In his journal from 1926 he states: "the cutting of timber was done in cooperatives, ones helped the other. One time, three of us, were cutting timber, I was drilling while the other two cut with the saw. When a tree fell and a branch fell on top of Juan Tabachuk, Jorge didn't know what to do, Semeszczuk brought water with his hat and they brought Juan back to life. (p.5)." In this particular case, the communitarian conscience acted as a critical juncture just like in every moment in life (diseases, catastrophes, economic and financial crisis, etc.).

In conclusion, this research hold more than any hypothesis, which show that the foundations from the origins and developments of the Province of Misiones, had the faith and the Christian creed as a crucial foundation for their values, strengths, capacities and purposes which transcended the fact of being just a historical society.

Faith acted as an inherent strength, over human limits, the divine providence had its singularity.

Beyond the coincidences and differences from each one of the Christian expressions, the immigrants brought a very unique identity to be considered a provincial being. The historical work of the Jesuitas religious orders established precedents as a unique model in at an early stage in the region. The first Slavs in southeast provincial region, either Latin Catholic rite, byzantine or Russian or Orthodox, searched for a way to keep their faith alive, to the point of leaving us their legacy. Some German colonies from Alto Paraná were founded based on the protestant Lutheran creed (Puerto Rico) and others on the Roman Catholic creed (Montecarlo). About this preventive scenery, the coexistence between the two forms of Christianity was based on a tolerant attitude. The cult was not motive of differences. On the other hand, the central area of the Province has evangelical Protestantism's footprints in all of its expressions: Russians, Polish, Ukrainians, Swedish, Danish, Finnish, Germans, and Swiss among others. All of them knew how to keep the Christian faith alive which ended up being strength of resilience to adapt to a new land of blessings.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL, ETHNOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS SLAVS IMMIGRANTS DIAGNOSIS IN THE PROVINCE OF MISIONES, ARGENTINA

4.1.The social and cultural hallmarks of Slavic immigrants: The first and second immigrant waves

4.1.1. Definitions on social and cultural concepts

Any approach to the study of Slavic immigrants to the Province of Misiones, Argentina, deserves a specific regarding about the definition and scope of the "Slavic" term. Although many aspects were common to all immigration movements in this region, each of the groups was listed in a broad sense, sometimes in pejorative or pragmatic ways, more for the collective imagination than for the scientific precision.

In spite, this issue, in collective imagination contributed with certain ingredients to know better the identity of each immigrant group. However, a more objective, rigorous and comprehensive look allows us to draw a better definition for each group arrived in different migrate waves.⁵⁰

The arrival of the Slavic ethnic groups occurred in a context of immigration flows classified by the factors of origin and arrival time, promoted by border conflicts between the different empires which were expelling marginal population. For example, German-speakers who came to these lands represented the Austrian, Swiss, Russians, Germans, German from Reich, among others. They all came in three big waves of immigration: the Luso-Germanic (from Brazil), the Germans from Germany and the Germans dispersion (from Poland, Austria, Australia, Russia, Africa), (Kegler, 1999, pp. 99-109). In the case of the Slavs in the National Territory of Misiones, they came in two broad streams: the Slavs from Galitzia, region under the Austrian-Hungary empire, between 1897 and 1922 proximately; the Slavs from Volhyn, Rivno/Rowno and Bielorussia, between 1925 and 1938; and the Slavs from ex- Sovietic Union in the 90's. There are many scientific arguments to support these two periods of immigration (Stemplowski, 1985, p. 169), although we must recognize other minor diasporas from other periods during the twentieth century.

4.1.2. Slavic idiomatic and dialects gyres through history

Slavic languages are Indo-European ones, derived from the proto-Slavic branch, a language spoken by all Slavs in their original place (*Ur-Heimat*)⁵¹ from which they were spreading throughout Central and Eastern Europe, from the Mediterranean to the Arctic Sea, and by Northern Asia, from Baltic Sea to Japan.

⁵⁰ For a social definition of each Slavic immigrant's group, see Introduction foot quoted, pp. 14-15.

⁵¹ *Ur heimat* (In German it means primitive country) refers to the different theories regarding studies of people and languages of the Indo-European peoples. Both the location of the compact region as the linguistic community has been a matter of many hypotheses and divergent proposals

Scientifics have discussed the existence of a hypothetical Proto-Balto Slavonic language, which later would be divided into two branches: Baltic and Slavonic.

Although many similarities can be found between the Latvian and Lithuanian languages, on one side, and the Slavic ones on the other, the existence of certain shared similarities, usually called “isoglosses”,⁵² doesn’t necessary means they have a common origin, or a proto-Slav-Baltic. In fact, lexical similarities may well be explained by the superstrate influence⁵³ and not so much by grammatical similarities.

From this difficulty, there is no common criterion for defining a position. On the contrary, we can see three hypothesis for each point of view. Many Slavicists of Slavic origin, -especially Russians-, support the existence of a proto - Baltic- Slavic. While, Latvians and Lithuanians take it as a simple language policy of the former Soviet Union. Finally, the Slavicists around the rest of the world remain divided, with no defined position.

Facing with these discrepancies and divisions, we can certainly say that Slavic language began and developed in different dialects, around the end of the 3000 BC.

Most of the scholars, although with extremely divergent positions, estimate the period of the proto-Indo-European between 1500 BC and 2000 BC. There are other branches

⁵² Isoglosses constitute a highly productive concept in dialectology, particularly in the geolinguistic. It is an imaginary line that marks in the geographical boundary and its linguistic feature. The first dialect specialist was Joaquín Costa (Aragonese 1846 1911). According to the petition of Costa, the isoglosa has great value, because it recognizes the lines connecting to the places where the same language or dialect in transition (Juan Cuadrado Gutiérrez, 1982, p. 53) is spoken. In practical application, the isoglosa can be attributed to different modern dialectologists, including the famous German-Latvian ethnographer and linguist Johann Gottfried August Bielenstein (1826-1907). Bielenstein established the different types of isoglosses. Meanwhile, in 1964, Paule Ivie made isoglosses diversification, according to the territory, phonetics, morphology, lexical, etc. In addition to these classifications and applications there is another perspective of this matter, the “sociodialectología”. It is usually used in the study of rural speak, in the mouth of folk informants. Although these methods have been developed over time, it can be said that no emphasis or classification is perfect. However, it constitutes a great complement to a broader understanding of linguistic reality apprehended in any context.

⁵³ Phenomenon that consists in the influence or the dominion exerted in a language by another that has been introduced temporarily in its linguistic domain. Eg. The influence of the Germanic language from the Visigoths; or the Arab language as phenomena of superstrate in those territories where they lived, and forming its culture.

that differ extremely in time and form for the development of Slavonic as a common language, as we know it today.

Other approaches classify Slavic languages within the Proto-Slavic and not directly from Indo-European, traditionally held. According to this point of view, the Proto-Slavic was reconstructed by comparative linguistics. The ideas of the Old Slavonic -ancient Macedonian or Thessaloniki- often known by translations from the Gospels and Greek liturgical books installed by two Christian missionaries Cyril and Methodius, in the ninth century A.D. They have given some discrepancies, at present is still not clear, not only the place of the Slavic language, in all its forms, but also the original place of these peoples. Although we can say that a part of them is related to the Lusitanian civilization, settled near Gniezno some centuries before Christ.

Already in the first century, A.D., Pliny the Elder and Tacitus, refers to Veneti (the Venetians), who were the eastern neighbors of the Germans. A century later, Claudius Ptolemy (second century A.D), thanks to his southern neighbors, first used the term "suovenoj". This term would be the root of the "Slavonic" voice (González, Gelu Marin, 2000, p. 587). In this sense and from these circumstances it first appeared the nomination "Slav".

From the development of language, we can say that from the V and VII centuries A.D. the Slavonic language began to be used in the churches of Eastern Christianity. Specifically, it began a process of cultural transformation; although dates are not accurate, it is assumed that the geographical area occupied by those primitive Slavic communities was located in the north of the Carpathian Mountains, between the middle course of the Vistula River and the Dnieper River, north and south from Kiev. Then, began a rapidly expanding and reached the banks of the Danube River in VI century A.D.

At this point, the Slavics were divided into different groups, but their language remained, with minor dialectal variations. However, although these beginnings were slow, cultural and linguistic quantum transformation was made with the arrival of recognized Christian missionaries: Cyril and Methodius (IX century AD.).

This historical reality can be summed up in the Tania Láleva case research (2004).

According to her thesis:

In the ninth century it began the gradual conversion of the Slavic to Christianity. We not specify or the beginning of this process, even its end date. Historical data that we have is neither all clear, nor secure, and often have more than one reading. However, the work of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius figured prominently in this decisive change, which consequences far exceeded the strictly religious sphere. It really was a huge cultural leap that allowed the Slavic join the European civilized people and “civilized” by that time was synonymous with Christian. The adoption of the Christian religion opened the door of the written word and put them in the beginning of a path that inevitably had to go. Since then, the book occupy an important place in his life. What would be the language of this book? In which written alphabet it would be written? were issues to be resolved in lower order, but it could not be a Christian people without books. Even the mere preaching of Christianity among the neophytes demanded the existence of books” (p. 75).

The story of Cyril and Methodius in these latitudes is one of the most reliable sources that exist for the field of hagiography of this historical period.⁵⁴ Although their life stories are extensive and consist of different themes and chapters, chapter XIV talks us about the envoys of Rastislav, Prince of Great Moravia, who arrived at the court of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, asking him for a bishop and teacher to teach them the Christian faith in their own language. As the letter says “our people after rejecting paganism and adjusting to the Christian law does not have a teacher to teach in our own

⁵⁴ Cyril (c. 827-869) and Methodius (c. 825-884) are considered the most famous missionaries in the Slavic world. Generally, they are known as “the greatest apostles to the Slavic people. Both were brothers from Tesalonica and theologist of a considerable range. However, their main merit were the evangelization between the North pagans, their academic skills and their linguistic ones. Rastislav, Prince of Great Moravia, intending to settle the Bizantine Christianity, before the setting of Latin Greek or Frank Christian rules, encouraged them to the great mission. They translated the Bizantine liturge to the Slavic creating an alphabet for this language. They probably used the ancient Glecolitic, a similar to Greek language, as a base for lowercase letters (David Bently Hart, 2007, pp. 129-130).

language Christian truth, so that others resemble people watching us” (Kodov B. Angelo, 1973, p.104).

The evangelizing work of Cyril and Methodius, not only crossed the geographical boundaries, but his fame spread all dimensions of the time too. The conversion and confirmation of the Slavs to the Christian faith through had been done by a philological work. Both missionaries were able to convert their intellectual philological work in a new alphabet, the translation of abstract Christian texts into a language without written tradition. This was a really original creative work for the different languages with Slavic roots.⁵⁵ For Lávela, this initiative was a social, political and religious phenomenon. Moreover, they understood this, and they just spared no effort to ensure the fruition of their company, and selflessly dedicated to it for the rest of their lives. They made the journey to Great Moravia as Byzantine missionaries, but soon became missionaries of God's word written and preached in Slavonic language(p. 80).

The impeccable Cyril and Methodius philological work was the indispensable condition that ensured the acceptance of Slavic translations of the sacred books by the Church, specifically obtaining the approval of the Roman papacy. This work also promoted Methodius, to education field, so he obtained the Chair of St. Andronicus until his death and became the first archbishop of all Slavs who celebrated the cult in this language.⁵⁶

As for the Slavic literary evolution`s can be considered different stages of historical - cultural context, specifically in Russian language, in the formation of the

⁵⁵ The influences of Cyril and Methodius were an evolution of the main Glagolitic, to a Slav language more readable. The Cyrillic alphabet (кириллица) also has its origin in the Greek uncial writing. As the Slav had some sounds that had no correspondence with the Greek sounds, they created some useful spellings for this purpose. The Cyrillic alphabet was composed of 43 characters. Over time, the Cyrillic script was disclosed and Tsar Peter "the Great" (Пётр I Великий) the modernized. I remain structured in 24 Greek letters and 12 own that are neither in Greek or Latin.

⁵⁶ First text translated to Slav was the Gospel of Saint John, chapter 1. This translation retains the complicated rhythmic fabric of the Greek text. At the same time, the Cirilo and Methodius translation of the Gospel and the Psalter continues with surprising fidelity their rhythmic structures of the Byzantine text (Lávela, p. 84).

songs of the epic, like Russian national epic theme songs (biliny). The historical sources, the ideario and the aesthetic dimension make a real linguistic sense. For example, the Medieval Autumn of Russian literature in its time frame, genres, themes, personalities and traditional lyric was a rich vein throughout the Middle Ages.

Later, since XV and XVII centuries, there was an evolution of the Slavic literatures. The XV century was characterized by the unification of Russia and the expulsion of the Mongols. As for literature, Renaissance secularism provoked turbulent religious and political conflicts generating wide controversy prose literature. By that time appeared the works of Nil Sorski, Iósif Vólotski (Iosif of Volokolamsk) and their respective followers.

Sorski proposed that the Church renounce to secular wealth and clerics reorganize around Christian ideals as poverty, simple life and decent work. Vólotski sought to expand the power of the Church over the State. However, the most distinctive work of secular literature "*The trip beyond the three seas*" was written by Afanasi Nikitin, who discovered India for the Russians traveling there from his hometown, Tver.⁵⁷

The XVI century was marked by the introduction of printing. Between 1553-1564, book printing was carried out by the first Russian printer, Ivan Fyodorov, who developed his work in Moscow invited by Ivan IV. The first printed Russian book was *Apostle* (1564); the appearance of printing was important for development and diffusion of literature and culture in Russia.

⁵⁷ Afanasi Maikov (c.1433 Tver - Smolensk, 1475), known as Afanasy Nikitin (Russian Афанасий Никитин), "Afanasi son of Nikita" was a merchant, explorer and Russian writer, the first known Russian merchant who traveled to Persia, India and Turkey. He was born around 1433. He was the son of peasants, then he became a merchant of Tver. In 1466-1474 he traveled to Nizhny Novgorod to Persia, India; and on his way back to Somalia, Muscat (Oman) and Turkey.

The XVII century was marked by a major event, the schism in the Russian Orthodox Church, which involved a transformation for culture and religion. Patriarch Nikon reformed liturgy and Slavic rites. This reform meant a greater subordination of the ecclesiastical estate agent to the State, and promoted a popular resistance. Many literary authors were sentenced to death by fire because of this schism. Many anonymous stories were highlighted, well known in the history of Russian literature. But by that time Russian literature was very influenced by Western literature, like Polish in Western Russia since 1569. After the death of Ivan IV an era of civil wars began in Russia. This was a time of great literary production. In this timeline, in Ukraine the Khmelnytsky rebellion led to the dispersion of the Polish- Lithuanian community and left a place for the Cossack alliance with the Russian Empire. Between the comings and goings of the various treaties, the most important literary productions were brought thanks to the close relations between Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. These were some works of Western authors, of genres such as knight novels, adventures and sundries. Many of these genres were translations of Polish poetry with influences from the verses of Simeon Pólotski (1629- 1680), Silvestre Medvedev (1641-1691) and other illustrious writers of those times. These influences were remarkable in the metric, arts and Russian prose. Despite being regarded as “national”, this literature also enjoyed a western similarity therefore was described as Western.

By the XVIII century, the panorama of Slavic literature was considered highly evolved. The great Russian reformer, Emperor Peter I, imposed changes not only in the structure of government and army, but also prompted changes in language. He established relations with several countries in Europe, specially, with Germany. Thanks to that many German technical and commercial terms, as everyday words, were founded in Russian language.

Between 1708 and 1711 Peter I reformed the Russian alphabet; he suppressed repetitive letters, which represented the same sounds, and letters that were used in ancient times to present numbers, which had fallen into disuse after the introduction in Russia of Arabic numerals. Since then, Russian alphabet began to be distinguished from church Slavonic alphabet in a more marked way.

In 1755, thanks to the influences of Mikhail Lomonosov, the first Russian university was founded. It still retains his name, Lomonosov. He was a very gifted man, especially in astronomy, chemistry and physics. His most notable contributions to Russian language were the reform of versification system and the composition of descriptive grammar. In this sense, he strengthened and systematized the elements of different oral, specific records (legal and commercial) and literary style. Since then the language was overtaken by ecclesiastic Slavonic. In the exchanges between Russia, Germany and France, the aristocrats used French, while in academic and commercial circles the German had great influence. In this sense, the Russian language suffered a huge transformation during the eighteenth century. Then, during the mid-nineteenth century it achieved the status of national language.

Another great influence was that of Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837). He was characterized by his poetic and Russian writing skills. His most ambitious and influential works were the creation of national literature and the inclusion of Russian language in the popular area. Thanks to its rules Russian language conquered the position of “universal language of communication” throughout the Baltic region. After these inclusions and innovations became the advent of the so-called “reform of the Russian language.”

Between 1917 and 1918, on the eve of the Soviet era, there was a reform of Russian language, driven by the Bolshevik. Specifically, the reform eliminated some

letters and approached the Cyrillic writing to the spoken version. This fact provoked much criticism of many intellectuals who saw this as a violation of the laws of organic development of language and found in it an intentional simplicity in order to servility and political interests with the plebes. Moreover, this transformation brought about some changes caused by the political communist system. Although this trend did not last long, preserved many fixed phrases with excessive use of nouns. At present, these methods are considered as serious errors of style.

4.1.3. Russian hybridization language between the different Slavic groups and religious identity

The Russian language was the basis for many social dialects. From pre-Modern in Slav societies was used a mixed language with each other. The Belarusian language, was based on Russian, but with phonetics and local grammars was formed the Trasiianka (a mixed language). This process has a deep history, from the 18th century when Belarus entered the Russian Empire.⁵⁸

The origins of the Trasiianka is very ancient, nevertheless, as a means of communication in the formation of the Russian Empire its use was at the end of century XVIII. It was used as a means of communication in the nineteenth century among peasants and Russified inhabitants of cities. During the Soviet Union this dialect developed, thanks to its use in basic and higher education, radio, television, newspapers until the fall of the Soviet regime (1990).

Another ingredient of the Belarusian mix vocabulary was the popular mote called the Súrzhyk. According to Niklas Bernsand, Lund (2001) Súrzhyk was a collective and pejorative term for non-standard language. Many times it was

⁵⁸ Trasiianka is the mixed language that influenced the different bases of the order of the Russian vocabulary. There are different investigations carried out regarding this influence. One of the most recent works is a publication by Book LLC (2010) Russian Dialects: Old Novgorod Dialect, Balachka, Trasiianka, Russian Doukhobor, Runglish, Ukrainian Russian, Northern Russian Dialects. Memphis: LLC Books.

characterized by its variety of uses that dissolved the Ukrainian and Russian formal language between its borders. In addition, Súrzhuk considered a major problem since it was directed towards the complex relations of both nations and to expressed the national and ideological identity (p.38).

The result of Súrzhuk was a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian vocabulary, but with Ukrainian phonetics and grammar. Hence, Lund's thesis is fulfilled in the sense that in Ukrainian nationalism the ideological discourse of a community is defined in terms of nation. Therefore, the basis of language is carried out in the ethno-nationalist framework and national identity. It is a pure emphasis on values that are often discussed independently of the individual as a member of a nation or speaker of the language (p.39). Nowadays, the complexity of Russian-Ukrainian conflicts also contains this reality of idiomatic ambiguity.

4.1.4. The expansion and variants of the Slavic language by the first immigrants

In North America the Russian language acquired its own dialect, popularly known as the "Runglish." This mode is used among Slavic emigrants residing in English speaking countries (United States, Canada and Australia). The most famous community where this variable is used is at Brighton Beach, in Brooklyn, New York. The vocabulary is English, however there are Russian influences, such as phonetics and grammar. In other regions, such as Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the rural regions of Ontario, Ukrainian immigrants and other Slav groups were characterized by including different European vocabularies to everyday English. In the same way the Ukrainian - Americans adopted, not only their phonetics, but also included different

variants of the vocabulary that they brought from their region (investigation by author, trip to Slavic communities, July – September, 1987).⁵⁹

In another historical category, the Slavic immigrants coexisted the so-called *Deutschrussisch*, a kind of particular dialect. It is a Russian-German pidgin language, characterized by the formation of vocabulary based on German roots but with Russian prefixes and suffixes. Many *Wolgadeutschen* (German of the Volga) in Entre Ríos, Argentina, had this linguistic characteristic.

As for the language used by the Slavic immigrants who arrived in the Territory of Missions is a question that deserves several considerations. First, not all the Slavs in this region came from the same region and chronological time. For example, between 1897 and 1903, about 6,000 immigrants from the central European region entered the Southeast of the National Territory of Missions. Who were they? Polish, Ruthenian, Russian, Galitzian, Ukrainian, Hungarian? No one knows.

According to the researchers, the determination of the language of each immigration group was dependent on the place of origin. The first flow of immigration, 1897-1922 (in agreement with the Law Avellaneda).⁶⁰ The first contingents of settlers were Polish - Ruthenians (Ukrainians) from Galitzia and Bukovina. These regions were under the Austro - Hungarian Empire (Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutch, 2005, p. 5). Although in the historical records of these immigrants are determined thus, nevertheless, this origin brings to us different problems related to the historical

⁵⁹ According to the American Census (2006) it was estimated that in the United States there were a total of 961,113 Americans descended from Ukrainian immigrants. A total of 0.33% of the total population is composed of this population. American Fact Finder (2012). Census 2006 ACS Ancestry estimates. United States Department of Commerce. Factfinder.census.gov. Retrieved 2012-04-01.

⁶⁰ Ley Avellaneda (Avellaneda Law for immigration), see, Moroz de Rosciszewski (2013), pp. 22-155.

information. In the first place, the regions from which the settlers came did not have a national identity, much less had exit records.⁶¹

However, beyond the different technical questions, it is able to say that the language of the first settlers of the National Territory of Missions was a singular variant. From the educational policies in the official colonies of the southwest of Misiones was a phenomenon visualized by explained and understood from the historical universe of the groups of immigrants that arrived at this region. According to Esteban Angel Snihur (1997), for the Polish or Ruthenian peasantry of Galitzia, the concepts of homeland, nation and national territory had a very different meaning and content than the rest of Western European immigrants. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was multiethnic and the concept of nationality and language was based on a religious question. Linked to the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite was the Ruthenian language. This was a liturgical language. The Byzantine rite was not conceived without its own language of expression, which was also spoken in its origin by peasants, because it was popular, it was a common language (*lingua franca*). In this sense, the German and Polish language in Galitzia were spoken by the socially higher sectors, linked to the administration and ownership of the large estate (p.132). Hence, the relationship between nationality, Byzantine religious rite and Ruthenian language were intimate and indivisible. A change of religion implied a loss of identity and many times, the national did not contemplate the political.⁶²

Curiously, when the first Slavic immigrants arrived to National Territory of Misiones (1897-1922), they encountered a country that was in full development of its national constitution, with a leadership that was engaged in the task of building an Ideology and national identity. In this sense, these first immigrants (Ukrainians and

⁶¹ See Stemplowski, (1985), p. 86.

⁶² This concept of nationality through language was developed over the centuries to somehow prevent ethnic dissolution in a central Europe characterized by ethnic diversity and the shifting of its borders in times of imperial hegemonies.

Polihs), with their experience under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were prepared to live a context with many parallels to that lived in Europe (Snihur, pp. 137-138). Although the religious aspect must be analyzed in particular, despite, by a question of nationality this first contingent had no greater reaction to accept the Argentine nationalization proposed by the national project.

However, as regards ecclesiastical matters, the migrants from Galitzia lived a religious orphanhood, since the Catholic Church of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite was not yet established in Argentina. The majority of the immigrants tenaciously rejected, by their cultural and religious guidelines, the suggestion to join the Latin rite of the Roman Catholic Church. These attitudes were described as an irrational fanaticism that had been in existence for several centuries, since the sixteenth century, when Ukrainians or Ruthenians and Polish survived as an ethnic group overcoming the vicissitudes that occurred in the Europe of this region. In this sense, accepting the Latin rite, in a new context, implied renunciation of the membership group.

The relative solution to this dilemma began with the arrival of the first priests to the region of Apostles and Azara Colonies. From Galitzia they brought a pure expression of Polish and Ukrainian nationalism. These priests were trained in universities, very skilled in administrative matters, and were charismatic leaders in social matters. According to Snihur, they began to promote parochial schools, libraries, dance halls, civil associations, orchestras, first cooperatives and printing presses in Polish and Ukrainian (p.139).

Finally, this first group of Slavic immigrants, with their feeling of belonging to the national group, took the following forms: the Polish were linked to the Catholic Church of the Latin rite. In contrast, Ruthenian or Ukrainian was linked to the Byzantine rite of the Catholic Church and to the Ukrainian language. In this sense, the

litter of Ukrainian immigrants of this period and context in the National Territory of Missions had their ethnic identity in a situation of marginality. The reasons were double: by the one hand, they had the pressure of the National State, through the assimilation of the national culture. By the other hand, Catholics of the Latin rite sought to assimilate the Ukrainians to their perspective, Polish. The resolution was under tension, and could only be resolved with the passing of time.⁶³

4.1.5. The Slavic immigrations and its linguistic patterns

The Ukrainians (Ruthenians) from Galitzia practiced the Greco-Latin religious faith. For their part, those from Bukovina had a Russian Orthodox influence. In this regard, it should be noted that, during immigration and colony establishment, the Russian Orthodox also made their efforts to influence their faith in Ukrainian migrant people in Argentina and Brazil too. Many of these efforts became from the policies established in the United States at the time, and then applied to the arena of colonial reality. In this immigration, the language also had a historical importance. Beyond being an instrument of communication, it also had an influence on the adaptation and growth of the Slavic communities.

Subsequently, the immigrants from Volynh and Bukovyn (Ukraine), had a Russian Orthodox religious influence. The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants belonged to the regions occupied by the Polish state (of the province of Volynh, of the regions denominated like Polonization); but also, lived in an emerging context of the communist movement. This era was marked by the end of the Tsarist era and an

⁶³ The Ukrainians of the Byzantine Catholic rite, faced with the absence of the clergy, fought this lack by installing, on the popular level, a leadership figure called "guiak." This was a person recognized by the community, with a moral, ethical and Morally irreproachable. Generally, he was of advanced age, who without being a priest knew the prayers, songs and rituals of the Byzantine Church.

emergence of the struggles between the white and red army, composed of the communist allies.

These migratory groups belonged to the second and third migratory flows (1918-1936). They occupied the Central regions of the Sierras of the National Territory of Misiones, with a particular characteristics: It was a fiscal fertile ground, belonging to the emerging National Government of Argentina.

According to the General Directory of Statistics and Censuses (1971), these European immigrants settled in areas with very low native population density, were grouped in homogeneous colonies from the ethnic point of view, quite isolated from the national context by the precariousness system of Communications, and although they were not at great distances, they were culturally and socially isolated (p. 30).

Beyond these groups, the regions were also populated by other immigrants from different countries who expressed different languages and dialects. Due to the coexistence of several groups of Slavs (Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Czechs, and others) in the same territory, the colonies emerged a multilingual context. In fact, this was also common practice in other regions of the National territory (Chaco, Mendoza and Buenos Aires) and neighboring countries (Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay).

From this multilingualism emerged an eclectic mix, as a product of each of the languages coming from Europe. By the way, the result of this mixture brought with it some immediate consequences. According to Zub Kurylowicz (1999), in the territory of the neighboring country, Paraguay, Slavic multilingualism had its complex consequences. The same can apply to the regions of the National Territory of Missions, since they were immigrants of the same origin, except for some variants of the Guaraní language in Paraguay reality:

From Slavic multilingualism was born a mixture known by the Ukrainian expressions: *po nahsomu*, (that is to say, ours). This hybridization caused the

purity of the European languages to be lost. It was a process of disengagement, a loss of strength and de-characterization of the original identity. In addition, this process brought with it different difficulties in the use of the language. Among them the differentiated use of phonemes, prosodic elements, orthographic, presence or absence of prepositions, conjunctions, accents and other anomalies that impeded a clear communication and effective understanding of the language. In some extreme cases, the language of the Slav immigrant contained a different meaning for some, than for others (p. 213).⁶⁴

Although, the National Government, through education, made great efforts to integrate immigrants into the local culture, the assimilating Spanish language was a complex process. This complexity and difficulty found its reasons, in parts because the multilingualism of the Slavic languages was very diverse. On the other hand, the vast majority of adults, immigrants, prioritized work on the social advancement; and discredited the value of adult access to academic issues. The direct result of this ideal and way of life, many men and women living in the colonies will not dominate Spanish during their lifetime. Those who did, had a way of a little vocabulary, or speaking Spanish with a mixture of languages. Usually it provoked a social mockery. The locals used to imitate them, to criticize and even many artists took this dialect to turn it into a true folklore, songs and verses that ridiculed the way of speaking Spanish by the Slavs phonemes.

Nowadays, artists and musicians continue to be the biggest attractions at festivals of families and the entire region. A group of amateur musicians "Roots of Ukraine," with a typical waltz serves as a comic example of this linguistic reality so

⁶⁴ The theoretical framework for these problems were treated by different linguists and philologists. Among them Paul Newmark (semantic point of view) Mildred Larson and George Mounin (linguistic point of view). However, it was Mounin who argued that ethnography allows us to enter into other worldviews and in other civilizations translation is not only linguistic. The translator must transmit in a certain way the knowledge system of the community whose language he translates. Linguistics is the way of access to significations, but it is necessary, also to take into account the ethnographic way, as a more appropriate way to access the meanings of a culture. Gloria Cam Carranza (mayo de 2004). *Enfoques teóricos en la traducción*. Revista de Educación, Cultura y Sociedad. Año IV, N° 6. Lambayeque: Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruíz Gallo.

unique to immigrant colonies. The interpreted music describes the vicissitudes of the farmer's life (Colono style), in his reality as an immigrant of Slavic origin.⁶⁵

Yo vine de Ucraña de caro marón. Rompio la rueda y Epifaña rodo. Y foi na culoña y chacra ocupó, pagaron la foiza y monte tumbó. Plantaba yo yerbo, Epifaña enfermó. Llevó na doctore, doctor internó. Yo hizo cosecha tabaco, algodón, cobró uno picitos doctor se comió.
E junto la yerba y poco midió. Con esta platita casa terminó. Y de cooperativo crédito pidió, salió la generente y yo compro tractor. Araba y carpía de todo yo hacía, hasta que un día tractor se rumpió. Y de cooperativo crédito pidió, salió la generente y me dijo no, no (Mario Grabovieski y Paulo Masiñuk, [CD], 2012).⁶⁶

These expressions were, to a large age, and are nowadays, part of the immigrant being. These words accumulate the socialization and a very particular mold that have the local inhabitant of this region. It was the individual physiological product that ended up being social acts. In addition, these linguistic forms and their interpretation are made by the social group, inserted in them a unique meaning.

In some senses, it become a topic of diglossia, since in the colonies languages are spoken with two or three systems of different lives (European, mestizo and regional Brazilian).⁶⁷ In many cases, at house of a Slav immigrant spoke Ukrainian, Polish or Russian; while in the school or by the way, Spanish was practiced. The German-Brazilian mix language was used among the neighbors. According to Georges Mounin analysis (1971) in this situation "when we speak of the world of two (or three) different

⁶⁵ The "Colono style" is applied to immigrant farmers of European origins, or who settled in colonies privately organized and refer to a model of life way exclusively of these regions. Leopoldo Bartolomé (2000) carried out an exhaustive analysis of this unique profile in the Province of Misiones. The "cultural farmer style" managed to configure a very particular social space. Its European past and its adaptation with the new strategies that had to move when arriving at the red earth, resulted in a context where the domestic economy like the introduction of the technology gave a bias of capitalist nature, although this can vary in the different contexts (p.170).

⁶⁶ The lyrics of this music are impossible to translate, because their idiomatic equivalents are exclusive between the Ukrainian and regional Spanish languages. Only a local inhabitant can understand and assimilate by the context.

⁶⁷ Mestizo is a term traditionally used in Spanish America to mean a person of combined European and Amerindian descent, or someone who would have been deemed a Castizo (one European parent and one Mestizo parent) regardless if the person was born in Latin America or elsewhere. The term was used as an ethnic/racial category in the casta system that was in use during the Spanish Empire's control of their New World colonies. Mestizos are usually considered to be mixed Spaniards by the crown of Spain.

languages, we never speak exactly of the same world, and that therefore the translation from one language to another is not only legitimate, but is materially impossible (p. 69).

Although the Slavic language was a way and a space of effort to maintain cultural identity, languages were preserved through churches and cultural centers, nonetheless, the use of Spanish, the integration of future generations into the National educational system, the colonists admitted changes of ethno-linguistic character. This assimilation was not concluded, nor perfect, since in many cases, even in differentiated identities we can say that this assimilation has its deficiencies. The reasons for this deficiency are due to the fact that learning Spanish was complex. Usually, the adult immigrants who arrived were illiterate, and after fifty years of permanence in the colonies they did not learn Spanish. On the other hand, the multilingualism of the context favored the formation of a linguistic regionalism, even beyond the new generations.

4.1.6. The Slavic Multilingualism and Christian religious life

The massive presence of Central European immigrants changed the population context of National Territory of Misiones into a multilingual reality.

Misiones South region's first immigrants were slaves coming from a variety of linguistic realities: Polish, Ukrainians, and Russians. And every single group among them also would show a particular religious ethnic reality. Specifically, in today's city of Apóstoles, churches in its original organization played an ethnic role. First, the Ukrainian Church, or the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine rite (an Eastern branch of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church) was an ethnic and national church, exclusively. Galitzia's Ukrainian was the tongue used⁶⁸. In the area of

⁶⁸ On the matter of linguistics, the Kingdom of Galitzia was dependent to the Habsburg Monarchy, the Austrian Empire and the Austrian-Hungary, between 1772 and 1917. Their official languages were German, Polish, Ukrainian, and ruteno (Ukrainian's nickname). Yidish was also regular, the important Jewish minority tongue that was established in the country. Such a mixture of languages,

religious life, this Christianity was very select. According to Bartolomé (2000), Ukrainian priests were very convincing when persuading ethnic Ukrainians to marry only at *Iglesia Santísima Trinidad* (Holy Trinity Church). Every cultural and religious activity was a conscious effort to induce its rebirth in Apóstoles town. Girls would learn to embroider, and boys would learn the folk dances and songs. Priests, on their part, would organize choirs, and dances, with their brotherhood or their organized religious associations, with relative success (p. 221.)

Second, different from the Catholic Church of the Latin rite, this church used to focus the Polish immigrant with a Polish clergy, although it cannot be considered as an ethnic church. The historic reasons for this phenomenon in Misiones are as follows. The priests who tended to the parishes in Apóstoles, even though they were Polish by bloodline, their training and belonging sense was Germanized, through the German *Sociedad del Verbo Divino* (Divine Verb Society). From the beginning the devoted were not only Polish. There were also important amounts of mestizos (racially mixed) and Argentinian creole (Bartolomé 2000, p. 216.) Later, second and third generation clergy were born in Argentine, even though they were of Polish bloodline. These elements determined the great difference between Polish and Ukrainian religiousness among the first waves of immigrants.

The Ukrainians' situation was different. The Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite⁶⁹ had its national roots from Galitzia, Ukraine.

people, religions, nationalities, and traditions, were not odd at the time in East Europe. In that sense, Galitzia's Ukrainian language makes up a kind of hybrid because of this historic, literary, and linguistic diversity.

⁶⁹ The Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite was an arm of the Catholic and Roman Church in Ukraine. Nevertheless, relationships among the peers of the Ukrainian Byzantine rite were competitive, in Europe as much as in the immigrants' colonies in Argentine. Their government was exercised by an Exarch, appointed by the Pope of Rome. Nowadays, there are different institutions to represent this branch of Christianity: The Order of San Basilio Magno (Saint Basilio the Great) including the Fathers and Sisters of the Basiliano Order; the boarding school of Saint Josafat, and the Highschool College for internships Cristo Rey (Christ King) (nuns). I must emphasize, besides, that

Even though there were priests of this Catholic branch since 1908, their establishment began during the first years of 1940's decade. According to Bartolomé 2000, at that time there was a national level repercussion; as a great number of immigrant priests were from East Europe, some of them were accused of collaborating with the Nazi occupation, and so most of those priests had to leave the country and go to the exile. These nationalists' priests and nuns in Apóstoles were born Ukrainian. Their job was to express their nationalism and to maintain their Ukrainian tongue and traditions. These tasks were inseparable from their religious duties (p. 220.)

In matters of their way of thinking and actions, the presence of these mass officiants of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite was antagonistic to the Polish Catholic groups. Their ambitious publications and religious news were sent by mail to every religious layman and other people that were considered Ukrainian to promote Ukrainian nationalism. In this sense, their clergy had actively opposed to anything that involved the cooperation with Polish Catholics; as they were considered to be detrimental to maintain their Ukrainian traditions and ethnics' customs.

These ethnics and linguistics differences were present in the first immigrants' generations. In this region specifically, the social space and the interethnic encounters were not always possible. Several generations had to pass for them to be able to overcome the social, religious, and linguistic criteria between these two communities. Nowadays, even though the folk community⁷⁰ still exists, over the last years there has

the house for the Order in Apóstoles is the Provincial Seat, with its magnificent facilities (Bartolomé 2000, p. 220).

⁷⁰ *Folk* community model refers to a classification of people sharing a basic culture, but at the same time, that uniformity results in the exclusion of the lower class native population and of the Latin-American immigrants. The following table illustrates this model with a social space for each sector (Bartolomé 2000, p. 224):

"Us"	Argentiniens	Polish	Ukrainians
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been some evidence of an overcoming of the linguistic, social, and religious ethnic complexes.

According to the Newspaper, Misiones on line, an example of this overcoming of the situation was the 117th Anniversary of the first immigrants' arrival to Apóstoles, in which event different officials and political, religious and ethnic authorities participated.

The ceremony was presided by Mayor of Apóstoles, Mario Viale. There were Honorary Consul of Poland in Misiones, Miguel Antonio Skowron, and other communities' members. The Argentinian National Anthem, the regional song Misionerita, the Official Song of the city: "Apóstoles tierra bendecida" (Apóstoles, blessed land); the Ukrainian, Polish, and Italian Anthems were all sang. the priest of the *Iglesia Santísima Trinidad* (Holy Trinity Church), Father Ignacio performed the religious invocation; and floral offerings were placed at the foot of the poet Taras Schevchenko's Monument. There were Margarita Spachuk Polutranka, Carlos Playuk, and Miguel Gerula from the Ukrainian community; there also were Diego Antonio Plaszewski, and Susana María Néztor from the Polish Community; and from the Italian there were Gustavo Andrés Gratrín, and María Geneyro López. The activity was ended with traditional dances by Ballet Polaco (Polish Ballet) and Ballet Vesná of the Ukrainians (misionesonline.net 8/28/2014. Quoted by author March 25th., 2015).

As for the Evangelical Protestants, in their posterior arrival, they had a different linguistic, religious, and social reality. Although their population was more to the Central-East of the Province, most of them came from different regions, situations, and times from the Slavic predominance countries.

The first evangelical precedent of Slavic presence goes as far as the European multiethnic congregation (Baptistengemeinde "Bethania") that existed between the years 1919 and 1925 in the Guaraní colony (former Villa Somer or Picada Sueca), a

town close to Oberá, City. We must admit that there is little current information about this unique evangelical community⁷¹.

This community was formed by European immigrants from different regions and nationalities: German, Finn, Swede, and Slavic. They all used to gather together speaking no language in common. Everyone would speak their own dialect. They would understand each other through three common elements: The European origin, the reading of the Bible about topics they knew about, and the melodic liturgy from the hymns they had learnt at their places of origin. The photography of the temple and the gathering of people from that moment reflect this unity in the diversity of customs and traditions.⁷²

The main leaders that influenced this organic community were the itinerant pastors coming from Brazil and the Province of Entre Ríos. Among the first is David Wutzke, an immigrant colonist from Brazil (1919), who would assemble the meetings at his house (Wall, p. 59). However, “Bethania” community organization (1920) was possible due to the collaboration of itinerant Pastor Ramírez (Entre Ríos) – Federico R. Leimann (*FünfundzwanzigJährige Jubiläum*, 1950, p. 1.)

The emergence and development of this evangelical community coincided with First Worldwide War (1914-1928) repercussions. From that on, many immigrants from

⁷¹Sources of information about this Baptist origin community are limited to primary scarce and secondary documents, and testimonies of immigrants’ children. We must emphasize the written records for the 25th Anniversary commemoration of the Baptisthengemeinde “Bethania” (Bethany Baptist Community), written by Pastor Federico R. Leimann (1950), *FünfundzwanzigJährige Jubiläum Der Baptisthengemeinde “Bethania”, Senwedens trasce*. Misiones, unpublished manuscript (translated by the Author). Besides, with renewed value, we have the historical chronicles compiled in Pastor Nicolás Wall’s book, sponsored by the German-Argentinian Baptist Churches Association, Wall (1994), *El fuego se expandió: Historia de nuestra nueva asociación germano- argentina (The fire spread: History of our new German-Argentinian Association)*. Oberá: Editorial Venus (Venus Publishing House). And lastly, there is a great contribution from key informants that are children and grandchildren of founders, contemporary pastors who keep this precedent alive. It stands out in this paper the collaboration and research of written and photographed documents of Alfredo Friedemberg (interviewed by author, January 7th, 2015), Oberá city. See Appendix Figure, 2.3.3. p. 233.

⁷² See Appendix Figure, 2.3.2., p

all over Europe arrived to Misiones, Argentina. At the same time, other Europeans also arrived to the woods region, coming from the South of Brazil. According to the testimonies of key informants, the majority of those arriving bought a farm.

The influence of itinerant Pastor Federico Leimann contributed to the developing of those different groups. There were others that made their contribution in the search for development and unity of those sectors, such as Pastor Johann Petrasz, one of the two missionaries from Río de la Plata German Baptist Association, and Pastor Christoph Wanag, who was sent on 1923 by the United States Richmond Mission (*FünfundzwanzigJährige Jubiläum*, p. 1.)

The most outstanding about Petrasz was his work with the Slavic communities. Even though his roots and mission beginnings were German, his vocation and talents (Slavic language knowledge, cultural empathy, and divine profession) got him involved with the Slavic people. According to some key informants, “Petrasz had a German Baptist theological formation and studied in Germany. But since very remote times he got involved with the varied Slavic communities. On a first approach his work was to evangelize Galitzia, in Ukraine. He was an eclectic man, in his thinking and in how he handled himself with the different languages. His influence to the Slavic communities remains till today. He founded the Slavic Baptist Church on Martínez Castro Street 249 (Autonomous City of Buenos Aires), Margarita Colony (Province of Santa Fe), in Formosa, in different locations of El Chaco, and did other pioneering works in Wanda Colony (Lanusse 1930) of the National Territory of Misiones”⁷³.

On the other hand, the evangelical Slavic communities, given the systematic arrival of immigrants coming from mostly Ukraine, founded their churches aside from

⁷³ Juan Kulak and Ricardo Oneschuc, interviewed by author, July 2nd, 2011. Olmos- Buenos Aires, Argentina. Slavic Association Churches leader`s referents.

Germans and Scandinavians. Since 1925, their meetings and religious activities were celebrated in different Slavic languages (Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian) and with varied emphasis, depending on the different doctrinal perspectives each group or individual upheld. Most participants were semi-illiterate. Many would learn how to read from the Bible. Others were limited to their sole personal experiences of faith.

The Bible they had was a translation into a Galitzia's dialect (Ukraine), which would not reach most of the Ukrainian population (illiteracy was predominant). On the other hand, Russian translation (the only one) was accepted by everyone. The first countrymen would read and pray in Russian, but at their homes they would speak Ukrainian. To settle these differences, they needed other translations. The first to arrive was the Ogienko translation (Ukraine), before the Second Worldwide War. Ogienko was a Ukrainian patriot, of orthodox beliefs. The dissident Ukrainians formed their own orthodox church and named it *Ucrainzca Autoquifalnia Prajoslavna Chercva* (Ukrainian Church, self-directed and orthodox). Ogienko was a metropolitan exiled in Canada, where he finished the complete translation of the Bible. This translation had a bias of the Western Ukraine, so after the Soviet Union fall, the Ukrainian Baptist Convention made a new translation adapted to current language. Today, this translation has been replaced, and the previous one is also in use.

The first Slavic Baptist evangelical congregations had to face these vicissitudes, and later the Ukrainian nationalism added up; and those two were the factors determining a trilingual liturgy (Russian, Ukrainian, and Spanish). In this respect, many of the old hymn books for liturgy were divided in two parts: Russian language, and Ukrainian⁷⁴. Both languages were used in every single liturgical act. In the Slavic

⁷⁴ *Гимны Пробуждения: Сборник Евангельских Песен, На русском и украинском языках* (Awake Hymns: Collection of Christian songs in Russian and Ukrainian languages). Buenos Aires: Christian Evangelical and Baptist Slavic Churches Association of the Rio de La Plata (Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, N.D.) Other older hymn books are from the distinguished Russian leader and

pentecostal evangelic people case, they opted the Russian language with simultaneous translation to Spanish for all their cultic meetings (Jacobo Martyniuk (Jr.), interview by author, 2015, Oneschuc, interview by author, 2008).⁷⁵

It was a regular thing to have two to three sermons, alternated with hymns sang by the congregation at four voices, duets, trios, quartets, double quartets, choirs (mixed, only men, only women, young people, children), orchestra, and bands. The coral emphasis is characteristic of the Slavic culture. This is commonly seen in Slavic societies. Even though, the singing testimony in the East comes from a very early time in the Christian history. In some case, it goes back to the IV Century (B.C.), to the Church's Fathers era. A characteristic of their liturgy was the voice that used to be the instrument to praise God. According to the LEOSSERVATORE ROMANO (1st September, 2014), the Slavic liturgy tradition influenced all Christian cultures in the Mediterranean and Western Mesopotamia. Although Byzantine liturgy has a specific tradition in each place, the monodic compositions, sang with a musical instrument, at one or two voices, was a development of the Slavic Byzantine tradition (p.1.)

In the religious sense, singing had a very important role in the early philosophy of the Rus. Everyday life, culture, and so religion, were deeply connected, and they upheld themselves mutually between ecclesiastic and popular art. From there, the Western Church influence was so deep that from a very early time, the introduction of religion as a State institution developed the knowledge and culture of those regions around the music. According to documented records,

composer Ivan S. Prohanov (1923) *Гусли Сьорник духоных песен с нотами для общего пения ихорового исполне* (Collection of hymns, spiritual harp, with notes for choral singing and worship). Leningrad: Evangelical Churches Union in URSS. Besides, hymn books of lesser use there can be found among the Slavic communities in Misiones, such as *Гимны христиан* (Christian Russian Hymns). New York: The First Russian Baptist Church, 1956 (Translated by Author).

⁷⁵ The hymn book adopted by the Slavic Pentecostal evangelical Christian communities was Zub-Zolotarev edition, I.C. (1961.) *Svornik Evangelskij Pecei* (Select Evangelical and Russian Hymn book), (translated by Author).

the professional preparation included not only the clergy, but also the already musically literate people. This preparation was performed before the entrance to the monastic schools, where the singers would learn music theory. Besides, sacred music was exclusively vocal (the use of musical instrument was not allowed in churches), following the typical Byzantine ways that ended up determining the first stage of music back then. Religious musical culture, unlike the pagan's, had a written notation tradition from the beginning (Rusopedia, 2005-2011).

From this time, the ecclesiastic songs' characteristics were that they were slow, with narrative lyrics, soft and fluid melodies. In the singing words pronunciation there was always narration included; the absence of long intervals, a medium vocal extension but at the same time deep. For the most part, the singing had a pronunciation of exact words and a noble style. So the sacred singing in churches and monasteries allowed them to find the best voices among the mass of singers.

From XVII Century until today, the features of Slavic liturgical singing are very peculiar. During this time period, the practice of polyphony began to spread itself, and then was the singing teaching in the schools for specialized choirs. By the time of Pedro el Grande (Peter the Great) (finishing XVII Century and beginning XVIII Century), “was the time for harmonic singing, also called the three line singing. It was a combination of three melodies and three voices. Later, the harmony grew more complex and so, the melody composition and the amount of voices also grew” (Rusopedia p.2).

On the other hand, at that time, there were also a series of very relevant innovations in the Slavic sacred singing. The opera arrived to the big urban centers. Ballet from other countries kept their influence during the second part of the XVIII Century and five more decades on the XIX Century. The Italian and French singers flourished all over Russia due to several factors that brought the rising of artists among the Slavic people, the support of the Russian imperial government, and the perfect

Ballet organizations in Russia, with three big centers in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and the city of Warsaw (Poland).

On the second half of the XVIII Century, under Catalina II, the foreign influence continued. From this time, great composers stand out, such as Galuppi, Sarti, Berezovski, Vedel, and Dejtiriov. The ecclesiastic authorities from the Slavic world themselves tried to preserve the old monodic song, and so they published singing books and spread them among the churches in that region (c. 1772.) From then on these melodies began to stimulate the interest of composers and to inspire them. It was in such a way that a stable culture of choral music began to develop, secular songs began to appear (many of them were about everyday life and patriotism), poetry and lyric singing, which was highly appreciated by the urban culture.

XIX Century was marked by great music personalities such as Glinka, Chaikovski, Lvovski, Rimski-Dórsakov, and other like Ramainov. Finally, the XX Century was distinguished by the willing to give acoustic and melodic character to the songs, using a large amount of religious melodies. Although, popular songs were an inseparable part of the Slavic culture, all artistic expressions possess a centuries-old tradition, a profound spiritual content, and an enormous emotional, moral, and spiritual influence coming from the audience as much as from the interpreters (Rusopedia, 2005-2010).

Historically, hymns and poetry included epithets or expressions that were common to all the nations (soul and heart); nevertheless, in Russia they acquired the use of abundant diminutives that are typical of the language. For example, little soul is equivalent to what is called *dushinka*. These tendencies were always attached to a deep feeling of the musical character in an expression often called “melancholic.” (Edward Robinson, 1850, p. 343).

Frequently, Russian poetic language does not show a boiling of feelings. As for that, painting can be represented by a mixture of weakness with distrusting pleasure. So, it can be said that this melancholic harmony is expressed with its sweetness and admiration (Robinson, p. 345).⁷⁶

Although the origin of this musical philosophy is well known, the poetical and musical notes were composed where their countries were formed. They are rich and varied tones. This can be explained from the circumstances in which they were lived. Each interpretation expresses social oppression, natural disasters, civil wars, barbaric despotisms, plagues, and prevailing slavery (Robinson, p. 350).

In the face of this thesis, oftentimes these musical conditions tend to be misinterpreted, because this melancholy is thought as a final road (negative), not as a means to express an emotional state to pour out the sorrow, or simply an expression of happiness. According to Robinson, most frequently,

the Russians were people characterized by their happiness and heartfelt inspiration. Their feelings although with a melancholic bias have an enormous quote of charming with life, and religion mixes itself with the feeling in a peculiar way. Poetic is sovereign. The Tzar⁷⁷ is not the Sovereign Lord of the country of its inhabitants' lives, but he is the head of the Church. And this is one epithet of the orthodoxies (Robinson, p. 351).

Evangelical and orthodox Protestants, in Europe and also in the first ages in the colonies, were known for their confrontations. The first were persecuted, rejected, and imprisoned. Their churches were born under rejection and with anti-orthodox positions; they were typical for the anti-monarchy and modern democratic thinking. Protestantism would promote the change; but in times of difficulty and adaptation, in both branches of Christianity, religion played common functions: Protection, symbolic coherence, and

⁷⁶Currently, neuroscientists of an American commission are saying in their thesis that the major key in music causes a more excited interpretation, but minor keys promote a softer voice (Donald Bowling, 2010, pp. 491-503). These results apply to many Slavic communities whose background responds to these minor key harmonies.

⁷⁷ Tzar (Царь), its meaning is that of a King with ample authority. More than an ordinary King, it is equivalent to a король monarch or person who stands out from common authority.

moral ethics criteria. According to Roberto Zub Kurilowic (2004), the immigrants believed in the providence God; as for them, many difficulties of the diaspora were overcome by divine protection. Due to this vulnerability, the immigrants will appeal to the sacred and expect consolation and strength from God (p. 226).

Evangelical Protestantism meetings were, for the most part, a result of an organic movement, with no institutional identity, and with no leadership of formal instruction. Meetings responded to the model imposed by the countries they came from (small poor towns). So, the rites were simple. They had some bibles, the hymn book, and one or two magazines to recite poetry from. The most important thing was the moral prestige and the good Christian testimony.

On the other hand, although the differences between orthodox, Roman Catholics, and those of the Greek-Latin rite were big, a closer look to the traditions and practices on the Slavic evangelical Protestants can bring up some common ground.

First, one of the common points was that churches were the place where you could find men, women, and children, every Sunday, for their meeting. People there would feel identified, each one with their traditions and customs were accepted, found conversation and security. The Slavic evangelical immigrants that populate the Province of Misiones, Argentine, in their fight to adapt themselves to the new context, in many circumstances and situations forged their sorrows through this gender of songs and hymns. Melancholy would work as liberating process, a moment of calmness and a return to their homeland that was left beyond the ocean.

A classical Ukrainian evangelical hymn verses (*Господи всі бажання мої перел тобію Пс. 38.10* –Lord, all my difficulties are before you (Psalms 38.10, translated by Author), were a very typical element in the context of the first immigrants. The content of each verse reveals the following hypothesis: That the melancholic in the

ethnic, linguistic, philosophic, and spiritual context of many Slavic groups is a state of overcoming emotion and shall not be interpreted as a state of a depression with no way out. The following statements belong to the first verse of Hymn No. 37, from the Russian-Ukrainian Hymn book of Río de la Plata Slavic Baptist and Christian evangelical communities:

Ти знаєш Боже моє бажання. Молитву чуєш Ти мою. Ти знаєш серця мого страждання Коли я гіркі сльози лью

God, you know my desires. You hear my prayer. You know my heart and my suffering, when I shed my bitter tears (Awake Hymns: Russian and Ukrainian languages. Hymn, No. 37, p. 420).⁷⁸

Second, the evangelic spirituality expression kept a sequel from Western Christian thinking; the context of oppression and submission in which the Slavic people influenced over the idea of a spiritual format, specifically in the way of expressing the collective spirituality. Most Slavic evangelical churches tended, had, and still keep some ritualistic bias in their cults. Examples of that were: Individual prayers in Slavic language (Russian, Ukrainian, or a mix of both), although the cult was in Spanish (for the last thirty years this tendency has been disappearing), the partition of the bread before the congregation and the use of the wine cup that goes from hand to hand.⁷⁹

During liturgical development, the attitude of people present is more of reverence and the imagination of the sacred mystery. Services tended to be long, with room for three to four hymns sang at four voices for the whole community present there. In many occasions, the recited poetry, the trios, quartets, and choirs sang are a

⁷⁸ The hymn note corresponds to the Key G minus (Минорных тональностях Minornykh tonal'nostyakh), with two variations. José Ojcius, choir director, Slavic group in Buenos Aires, Argentina, 21st July, 2015, interview by author. The most used Slavic churches hymn book was *Гимны Пробуждения: Сборник Евангельских Песен, На русском и украинском языках* (Awake Hymns: Russian and Ukrainian languages). It is one volume and 560 hymns in Russian and 390 in Ukrainian. Most hymns come from the classic Protestant tradition and were translated by different authors, in Europe as well as in the United States. Some of them were composed by hymn writers and poets like Ivan Stepanovich Projanov, which content and melodies, in minor tones, reflect a time and a context of suffering and submission (Zub Kurylowicz., p. 261).

⁷⁹ The Classic Russian Christian Hymns, used in mass meeting and Conferences. See Appendix Figure 2.3.1., p. 231.

religious, social and cultural characteristic. The sermon sessions were divided in two (sometimes three) participants. In the beginning inexperienced preachers participated first, and then came the laymen with more experience⁸⁰. Paul's Trinitarian Blessing was read at the end of the liturgy: May the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all (NIV).⁸¹

These first communities reinforced their oppressed conscious with immediate adaptation to the socio-cultural structures that were provided by the different theological currents coming from Europe and United States. According to Pablo A. Deiros (1997), along the years the churches not only were recipients of this perspective, but also reinforced this impression through the provision of a socio-cultural structure that gave a sacred character to the state of oppression. Any claim for justice or deliverance from this excess was transferred to a remote scatological future. As the traditional evangelical hymn puts it: "*if we suffer here, we will reign there, at the Heavenly homeland*" (p. 78).⁸² In addition to this perspective, that not only contributed to support this oppressed world view state, but that accentuated the human alienation claiming some kind of divine right over them.

Lastly, the meeting for the weekly activity was more than a religious service. It served as an integrator of life in its whole, individual, familiar, and particular of the faith community. In addition, this was not only limited to the evangelical Protestant

⁸⁰ First churches were run by a layman leadership, with no theological or ministerial information. Local congregations were coordinated by the "rukovodiashchi" (he who guides by hand), was translated as someone in charge of a particular church. This ecclesiastic model was inherited from the Slavic countries, where the evangelic Protestant communities were poor and with no financial resources to sustain a prosviter (presbyter). Those were elected from the most active members, besides their formation or ability, the *rukovodiashchi* gained access to the position by moral prestige and good testimony. Their responsibility was the coordination of the church, the sermon, the hymns, the direction of the service, the resolution of problems (along with a committee of brothers); they watched over the flock's assistance to the meetings (Zub Kurylowicz, pp. 252-253).

⁸¹ Many Slavic evangelical Protestant churches keep this format today, but with some variations coming from contemporary churches. To a lesser extent there are communities that keep the traditional format of their origins.

⁸² This scatological deferral is based on the interpretation of apostles Paul to Timothy statements (2nd Timothy 2.12).

contexts. In the beginnings of Polish Catholic churches, the Byzantine Ukrainians and Russian orthodox, the masses and meetings were key factors to reinforce the social situations. According to the investigations, the dispersion of the communities, due to the distances between farms, was a factor that made hard to socialize and to promote religious values. The colonist would come to the urban centers such as Apóstoles and Azara by extreme urgencies, or simply on weekends. For Stefanetti Kojrowicz (2002), “after mass, they would go shopping and then back to the parish room.” In the meantime they were doing business, they exchanged experiences and talk about news. And the women would take another corner to chat themselves (p. 8).” These factors made the pastoral duties to any Christian mission very difficult. Later, the differentiated identity of the families, the excessive value for work and Western Capitalism contributed to mitigate the original religious values.

In the case of evangelical Protestants, the local church would promote the space for social gatherings, where people would exchange their concerns about daily life, agricultural, political, and market. “Maybe that is why they used to say let us go to the meeting (*zibrañe*) and not the service. That meeting was around two hours long and very often that was the same time the group would spend under the trees, whether be before or after the service” (Zub Kurylowicz, p. 261.) And so, the religious and liturgical environment provided an antidote to frustration, distress, and insecurity. Ecclesiastic life was a bridge between feelings of the past and the actual present. Besides, it also was a renovation of faith’s strength; it would motivate the mutual sacrifice in the context of everyday actual, spiritual and religious life.

This reality, can really account for the relevant role of the religious matter in the rising of Misiones, as a Province in Argentina. In that context, religion was a variable compared to other latitudes where immigration was also predominant. One can

say that life and intra-ethnic relationships were characterized by a relative tolerance among immigrant's communities⁸³. Although in the beginning there were some tensions and rivalry, these ethnic groups developed a future marked by a religious and intra-ethnic tolerance.

4.2. The social, cultural and religious roles of the Slavic immigrants on the Misiones National Territory's development

4.2.1. The adaptive process: The "Colono" style

Historically, the Slavic's role and influence was not that predominant in Europe. According to Gelu González (2000), even though they are the most numerous ethnic group from Europe, the Slavic did not play the expected role in the medieval history of the Continent. This distance can be explained by two circumstances, which ended up determining their civilization and destiny: First, the Slavic came along later than the other European peoples. When they were in the pre-history, the Romans had already built an empire around the Mediterranean. The Celtics and Germans had an influence of clonal and Roman cultures. Second, the Slavic lived in East Europe. This geographic location exposed them to continuous Asiatic invasions (p. 587).

Nevertheless, when it comes to the socio-cultural context developed by the European immigrants, hence the slaves, in today's Province of Misiones, it is a unique context for that particular region. The cultural style constituted something very

⁸³ The ethnic population organization in the Province can be ambiguous. First, in the South region, the first colonies were pro Ukrainian and looked over to sustain their Byzantine identity. Nevertheless, Polish Catholicism was more open to other cultures and, at the same time, worked to gain Ukrainian devotees to the pile of their tradition. On the other hand, among other ethnic groups there were some traces of segregation, that didn't go farther. According to Amable, Dohmann, and Rojas (2008), about the German immigrants over Río Paraná, "in the beginning of colonization there was a relative religious tolerance, but the Catholics and Protestants would baptize their children in their respective confessions. And in this was noticeable the religious separation. According to the counsel of Father Max von Lassberg to Carlos Culmey (founder of Puerto Rico and Montecarlo) it was said: Puerto Rico for the Catholics and Montecarlo for the Protestants (pp. 83-84). In the Slavic case, there was also much affinity beyond the ethnics. In this particular it is important to emphasize the investigations of Emilio Willems (1980). Willems dedicated his study to a group of Germans in the region of Brazil. According to his results, this region's immigrants went through "a process of intra-ethnic competition, bringing up a tendency to segregation between the German immigrants and 'teuto-Brazilian' colonists and between Protestants and Catholics (pp. 71-90).

attractive and enigmatic for the study of different human disciplines in our days. I must highlight the sociological investigations of Leopoldo Bartolomé, who is singularly considered in this field. According to Bartolomé (2000), the concept of “colonist” is particular and involves an idea that belongs only to this region where the most varied and diverse factors convey. In the geographic matter, the Province is inserted among the different country border contexts such as Brazil and Paraguay. As for this matter, the colonist concept here is applied to immigrants that were originally agricultures, or that settled down in private organized colonies (p. 16).

The colonist agriculture and their ethnicity constitute a particular social development model. But at the same time, both concepts present their own issues when investigated about. The problem mostly relies in the fact that in many of the populated areas the ethnic groups are closed and their interethnic relations are hostile. On the other hand, some colonist’s stubbornness and their reluctance to adopt modern practices of agriculture and soil treatment caused that programs for erosion control weren’t efficient, and also caused poor harvests or lower production quality. According to Bartolomé (2000) investigations, individual agriculture’s success or failure is explained in terms of their ethnic inheritance and the attributes related to it. Common statements are, for example, “Carlos, K. is a hardworking and progressive colonist,” “he is a typical German,” or “How can you expect an ignorant and stubborn Polish to be a good farmer”? (p. 24). In many aspects, in the Province of Misiones, prosperity as much as social and financial backwardness is due to the colonists’ original place of birth.

From the empiric perspective, the beginnings of immigrant colonists coming from German or Scandinavia were more prosperous than their peers from other ethnic groups. Nevertheless, even when the collective image of colonists was preached about because of their Old World cultural inheritance, – many times Polish were ridiculed

because of their rustic lifestyle and management lack of organization, they showed the greatest immigrant's intolerance. Nowadays, besides the stigma, the Slavic adapted themselves and made a good progress, even compared to the other European immigrants. That can be seen in the development of big companies in the Province.⁸⁴

A distinction can be made from the land working agriculture men's perspective, the difference against a country man or American farmer.⁸⁵ The colonist style is specifically related to this Argentinian Republic's region. The different thesis and analytical studies on the matter were testimony to this peculiarity. This can be explained, mostly by the following fact: "Argentina is practically the only Latin American country in which did not happen any form of agrarian reformation; that alone reveals the relevance that the family agricultural exploitation entailed in itself, more like the American Capitalist development style" (Denis Baranger, in: Gabriela Schiavoni, 2008, p. 34).

Even when the country class in the Republic of Argentina belongs to a social category for the most part, they belong to a society structure of classes due to its character of noted agro-exporting country. This bias made it into a paradigm different from the agrarian problematic situations in Latin America (Dargoltz, No. 6, Vol. V,

⁸⁴ Today, the four most prosperous companies in the Province of Misiones belong to people of Slavic origin. In chronological order, Juan Szychowski, a visionary and ambitious character founded the emblematic windmill for Yerba Mate, called La Cachuera S.A., the oldest in the Province (<http://www.yerbamanda.com.ar/museo.php>, 2015). In 1936 Demetrio Hreňuk, founded a family Company which is today a registered Brand of Yerba Mate, and other important products as Rosamonte, Hreňuk S.A. (<http://www.rosamonte.com.ar/index.php?opt=3&p=5&s=21>, 2015). In 1949 Demetrio Koropeski, began a transport Company that includes today a bus service, air taxis, a National Division Soccer team and a hotel network in the Province. (http://www.cruceodelnorte.com.ar/quienes_somos.php, 2015). Sir Juan Eladio Stepaniuk and his wife Madam Nina Solovej, Ukrainian immigrant children, work hard on their land and founded Molinos La Misiones (Windmill La Misiones), known as producer of Yerba Mate – Mate Rojo (Red Mate), one of the emblematic productions in the center of the Province (www.materojo.com.ar, 2015)

⁸⁵ The Argentinian farmer belongs to a social category that is part of a society divided in classes due to its agro exporter country noted character. This bias made it into a paradigm different from the Latin-American's agrarian problematic situations. According to Dargoltz, R. (2003.) "The Argentinian Regional Economies and Globalization. The Case of Santiago del Estero and the Red Quebracho Tree Exploitation" in *Trabajo y Sociedad* (Work and Society) (Santiago del Estero, Argentina) No. 6, Vol. V, June – September. Recovered from: <http://www.oocities.org/trabajoysoiedad/abstract.htm#economias%20regionales%20argentinas> (Quoted by author 3/9/2015)

n.p.), regardless, the Province of Misiones is an exception. The occupational categories and social stratifications are varied and are shaped in a way that is common to all. To a large extent, Misiones belongs to those marginal spaces of the Argentinian territory that were finally populated with the affluence of European immigrants' contingents when the Pampa region was already occupied by private companies. In the case of Misiones, this Province received colonists from different origins (basically, from North and East Europe), throughout the Twentieth Century, until an agrarian structure was conformed, characterized by the predominance of family exploitations dedicated to industrial farming such as tobacco, yerba mate, tung, and tea.⁸⁶

Facing this diverse singularity, the colonist style presents a complex problem in its definition or typological systematization. The social anthropology contributions help us do this social stratification and occupational categories. One of the first contributions to discern this matter goes back to the anthropological work of Eduardo Archeti (1974), and his exhaustive and meticulous revision work over the different definitions about this country men modality.

According to Archeti, the colonist's production nature is based on the family or domestic work force. From this perspective, this production style's capital accumulation is related to the Capitalist System; nevertheless, it differs from the country men because "the country men economy is simply mercantile by definition. There is no capital accumulation." That is why it does not make sense to ask ourselves if the country men

⁸⁶ Tung is a small to medium size tree, from China reaches 10 meters (32,8 feet) height with crown propagation. The bark is smooth and slim, and produces latex when cut. The fruit is a hard drupe pear shaped of 4-6 cm. long, and 3-5 cm. in diameter, containing four or five big oleic seeds. In the beginning its color is green, but turns browner and browner when ripen in the fall. Tung oil, also called "Chinese wood oil" has been historically used in lamps on that country. The tung farming was introduced in the Province of Misiones in the year 1928. As the years passed this acquired great relevance, particularly in the area known as the tung's bayside strip, located below 300 meters above the sea level and close to Alto Paraná (High Paraná), according to a Nation's Agricultural Secretary report (Sagpya). Today, its production has been reduced to less than ten million kilograms a year. The only region in the Province keeping its crops is located in the Department of Leandro N. Alem, Picada Libertad. In: *Diario El Territorio Digital* (Digital Territory Newspaper), Sunday, August 9th, 2009 <http://www.territorioidigital.com/nota.aspx?c=0397121249226592> (quoted by author, 5/10/2015).

are poor or less poor, rich or richer. They are country men. As for the colonist, he works with his family alone; he may or not may use the wage-earning work force. So we are in the presence of another kind of economy, the one Archeti calls farmer, in lack of another work in Spanish (p. 814). So, a comparative table between the country man and the farmer may help us distinguish characteristics, roles, and extents:

The country men face themselves a restrictive factor that is the size of the exploitations. The farmers centralized their demands in the credit system, commercialization, and distribution of goods. This would allow us to differentiate the country men typical movements, such as Formosa and Corrientes Agrarian Leagues, where the land problem appears as a priority, from the farmer's movements, such as North Santa Fe and Chaco Agrarian Leagues, and the Misiones Agrarian Movements where the demands are located within the sphere of commercialization and distribution (Archeti, p. 814.)

At the same time, the author consider very valuable the sociological contributions of Leopoldo Bartolomé and others turning to occupational criteria to build more objective taxonomies on the structural matter of the typical colonist in the Province of Misiones. Misiones agrarian structure is made of a combination of colonists, planters, and agro-industries.⁸⁷ They are small agricultural economies whose members adhere to cultural practices deeply supported, and keep strong limits to the community belonging. As stated above, in Misiones does not exist a farming culture, given the different population movements and the heterogeneous nature of the migratory aspects that brought this culture up.

The colonist character transcends the different frontiers, been these people of a good social position, or from the rural, urban, or marginal part of the community. The

⁸⁷ The social stratification of the population model of Misiones, even when is varied and changeable, shows four categories of people according to their social position and housing conditions: The first is where richness is evident: the big businessmen, yerba mate industrials, etcetera. These are called "people of fortune" by those not belonging to this group, or simply are considered "people well established." Second, there are the people referred as to be in a good position. The rich rural farmers, meaning "the rich colonists", or also the urban equivalent can be included: professionals, traditional families, security officials, etcetera. In the third category are those called "working people." They are the common colonists, specialized workers, and in the urban equivalent such as specialized workers at a given labor area. Lastly, in the fourth category are the people called the creole or workers, who are called "negrada", or "morochos" in a derogatory sense. They are the farmer's wage-earning workers, rural workers, not specialized in the urban areas (Bartolomé, 2000, p. 71-72.)

ideal image is that of the worker thrifty colonist who forged the colonies as they are today. The mindset of middle class and the importance of the colonist image are present in many surveys. Besides, city people are linked to the colonist by multiple ties; most of European descendants (Slavic, German, Italian, and more) have their relatives in the farms.

Besides, the colonist also has an ambiguous dimension in the society image. According to Bartolomé (2000), “the colonists are publicly praised, but they are joked about and mocked in private.” City collective thinking on this considers them as good working people but too rude and stingy (75).” In this sense, the colonists’ participation in the institutions such as ethnic activities, benefit associations, clubs, and religious activities is much reduced. They get their support, but the colonist and city inhabitants’ world, even though intimately related, run through different roads in everyday life.

At last, we must acknowledge the great advance the theories about the contemporary colonist definition have had. The same has given way to a vast bibliography on anthropology, sociology, history, and political science; and it is clear, that before or after the works we have quoted (Archeti, Bartolomé, and others) the opinion about the capital accumulation absence has never been universally accepted. Today, it is appropriate to emphasize the colonist concept, in its broader sense, through the systematization of Marco Kurtz (2000), who tells apart five types of definitions with their clear concepts entitled by: the anthropological minimalistic, the moral economy, Marxian and Weberian, showing how each one of them can show the different dimensions and combinations of the colonist social meanings (p. 96-98). Among them are: the rural grower, those who share a country culture, those who are in the social subordination position, and those who hold some control over the land.

To sum it up, it can be said about this topic that this approximation deserves to be reconsidered to a wider meaning. Nevertheless, there is a large provincial debt remaining regarding those being subordinated. According to Kurtz, subordination shows itself in symbolic violence brought upon the occupants; particularly, when they are stigmatized as “intruders” by the landlords and officials (p. 97).

4.2.2. The immigrant’s influence upon the individual and social ethos development

Slavic communities influence perspectives towards the foundational origins of the provincial present context deserves and singular analysis. Even though, immigration was the shaping tool for a new landscape in that context, the reality of the facts is more complex. In this sense, “there is no comprehension of the Latin-American reality without knowing about the European immigration history.” (Rizard Semplowski, 2000, p.1) Specifically, the South Cone region (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) received large amounts of immigrants and this deserves our special reflection toward the Slavic communities.

A hardly studied aspect of the immigration is the European farming colonization in frontier’s region. According to Stemplowski, there comes the basic problem of relations among immigration and social change in border territories. Besides these anomalies, there are other problems, for example European immigration and the development of farming and stockbreeding, agricultural colonization, ecological changes, family exploitation of the land, and capitalist development, multi-ethnicity and the national formation process, immigration policy and international relations, etc. (1985, p. 1).

First, it must emphasize the provincial context, even from the beginning it was a breeding ground for lack of cultural education. Today, this process can be seen in the immigrant representation from the most varied regions of the world. Every single

immigrant's group brought something from their native culture, depending on the influence of their proportions, geographic conditioning, and on historic moment in which demographic integration occurred. From the chronologic perspective the Slavic communities can be distinguished by two big migratory movements or currents: The first being between 1897 and 1922, which coincide with the Russian feudal system, certain Ukrainian regions conquered by Polish culture, and the rise of Communism and the First Worldwide War. The second coincide with the coming of the Second Worldwide War and other crisis in different European regions (and also inheritance laws, Europe's political and economic crisis 1928 – 1938). Each of these stages forged a social, cultural, philosophical, and religious mark, which was individual as much as communitarian. Survival and establishing on a peaceful place were both the most searched for objectives, in the short term. In the meantime that both aspects were being accomplished, soon other results surfaced in everyday life, such as saving of material, financial resources, prevision, handwork, etcetera.

From the democratic perspective, every region represented a social, cultural, political, religious grounding, among others. Along with the colonization of the new territory these characteristics were poured in the provincial reality arena. In broad strokes, we may distinguish at least three regions represented by different contexts: The Slavic region of Ukrainian Galitzia, who were representatives of the Austrian – Hungarian era during Polish occupation; the Slavic-Ukrainian region of Volyn, Ryvno, and Byelorussia; and lastly, the Slavic-Russian region of the ex-Soviet Union.

Likewise, other groups of immigrants that came in to Misiones, such as Germans (from Brazil, Africa, and the Reich), Swiss, Sweden, French, Italian sowed different seeds according to their backgrounds, which inside the provincial context resulted in a very particular differentiated identity. According to Kegler (1999), today's

Province of Misiones is characterized by being a differentiator among all Argentinian Republic's Provinces. According to the historical analysis "the impact of migrant ethnic groups can be perceived. That indicates that the population of Misiones knew how to integrate and assimilate its immigrants. This influence has given this province an identity very different from the other Argentinian provinces. It is known as a melting pot – "crisol de razas" (p. 70).

As for the Slavic immigrants, we must emphasize on the fact that they were not always welcome. At the beginning, their influence was surrounded by failure. Nevertheless, in time, each one of the different Slavic variations that populated Misiones region was integrated, pouring their influences and taking in others in order to integrate. Today, we can speak about a variety of ethnic generations and mixtures with diversity, this way forming a differentiated identity.

In the context of the National Territory of Misiones, the Slavic identity can be seen as a success. Many contemporary anthropologists and sociologists support this as an achievement of the colonization (Leopoldo Bartolomé, Eduardo Archeti, and others). But, the direct influence may be summarized in the concepts of Stemplowski (1985). He highlights the following: the foreign ideas, the adaptation of the farm's shape to the natural conditions of the terrain, the formation of farms within a given minimum of extension, the health condition of colonists, the level of education and the farming experiences of the colonists, the settlement of colonists and their entire families. Other factors that favored the colonization were: The inclination to savings, the familiar paternalism, and the colonist's positive attitude toward education and religious institutions development. Lastly, also the Slavic played an important role in cooperativism and the right politics of Argentinian authorities, on public and private colonization (p. 171.)

However, this promotion has not always had the optimist's signs. In its origins, Argentinian Republic as much as other Latin-American states were looking for consolidating themselves as a nation. For that to happen, to standardize the population at the cultural level was needed. The best method for that was education. It was said that with common education we would achieve "crime prevention, inner peace consolidation, general wellbeing promotion, and freedom benefits will be secured⁸⁸." These alleged concepts of order and progress (Positivism) were supposed to educate the existing natives and, at the same time, it would include the foreigner. Even though this initiative was well intentioned and promoted by the same governments that encouraged immigration, was also against the vision of recently arrived Slavic. In their Cosmo vision, religion, education, and Nation (Ukraine or Poland) had formed a whole settlement that cannot be dissociated.

Stefanetti Kojrowicz (ND.) wrote, the Polish and Ruthenian from Azara Colony and surroundings (of Catholic Roman, Byzantine, and Russian Orthodox faith), created academies, parish schools, libraries, cultural associations, newspapers, ballets, to develop their languages and identities. This way, in the National Territory of Misiones Galician immigrants tried to reproduce their national imagery. Everything was transported and transplanted into the new lands. Maybe not all colonists had this baggage but surely priests and teachers had it (p. 15.) Different from this, the Argentinian school institution, with its directors, teachers, and employees were seen as the Government power holders. In addition, in the meantime inside the parochial schools immigrants' culture and language were encouraged, in the public schools shame was encouraged into the students toward these practices.

⁸⁸ These words refer to the National Constitution Preamble and were pronounced by the speaker José María Torres, Director of Escuela Normal of Paraná (teacher training college) in the 5th Ordinary Session of Educational Congress, on the 15th of April, 1882.

These schools were not known as private but as “supplementary schools.” This was the reason many kids, immigrant’s children, had to attend public schools where national policies did not take into account cultural diversity and integration. On the contrary, programs of rigid method and philosophy were promoted. Many times, these programs did consider the reality of Buenos Aires but were far from the different transcultural collisions in the colonies. In the beginning, the confrontations were made evident between the parish priest and the schools; but later on the conflicts would be between the education inspector and the Galician communities of the Greco-Latin rite. The only thing that was finally able to close these gaps was the boom of the country nationalism when in 1930 all of these confrontations were repressed by a rigid education system. On the other hand, evangelical churches in their origins did not have this social reach. In general, they were limited to their particular churches and churchgoers. Education was an external matter.

In conclusion, it can be said that the State valued the immigrant’s culture, but from the second decade of the Twentieth Century its attitude was cautious and watchful. Many times, Polish and Ukrainian cultural manifestations were watched up-close. In this sense, Southeast Misiones influence and cultural heritage was a product of ideological confrontations that in many religious, cultural, and social points are still looking for a solution.

But there are also demographic development factors that were directly affected by the European immigrants’ contribution. The Slavic, as much as people from other ethnics, interacted in the communication construction throughout all the regional territory. I must emphasize on the fact that Misiones, from its origins, was left behind in every aspect, if we compare it to any other region of the Argentinian Republic. All that backwardness was overcome by the inclusion of men and women who knew how to

face adversity in all forms and shapes with: audacity, empirical wisdom, human effort, and extreme sacrifice.

According to Cambas investigations (1967), from a very early time the Argentinian Republic Government knew about the human adversity against the wild rural context. In 1881 President Julio Argentino Roca, in his territory promotion gave a speech accompanying a bill subjected to Congress consideration. In his message, he referred to Misiones as “a rough nature that rises in its entire splendor... on that wide extension there are no temples or schools... there is not even the least stable population center to be affirmed and multiplied upon the land occupied (p. 291).”

Overcoming these adversities in communication, motorization (transportation), electricity, and other economic, cultural, religious, and touristic activities was possible only by tough men who sacrificed themselves. For the most part, European immigrants forged their inner part facing such adversity to the point that many left their lives in working places, mate and other plantations, in exchange for a miserable wage. They were simply looking forward to leave a better legacy for their children. In this sense, these first settlers are recognized now, not only because of their achievements but also because of their dedication to a noble cause. In Khatchikian words (1991), “immigrant colonists ripped the land for their own sustenance with great sacrifice, and their settlement in Misiones can be qualified as a true epic accomplishment (p.33).”

This overcoming achievement was the opposite model of every colonization system in Argentina. According to Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutch’s investigations (ND.), the agricultural colonization process was done upon the base of a service infrastructure that fulfilled a supporting role in the colonizing project. In the Polish-Ukrainian case the experience was made in the opposite direction. The infrastructure would come into appearance after the colonist settlement and, for the most part it was

the colonist initiative. The structure began to generate itself due to the productive forces start and as a demand from those same forces (p. 8).

The most common thing in this process can be seen through the yerba mate crop's transformation, which went from being a decadent natural exploitation product to a massive implantation, thanks to the germination discovery. For a long time, yerba mate was an exploited product made by the Guaraní natives, and then by the Jesuits. However, by the end of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth this system was declining, and therefore not able to supply the market's demand. This new farming and commercialization new system rising was made due to the immigrants inventiveness. Specifically, the "germination secret" was a phenomenon of great confusion. For a long time, the efforts to cultivate the *Ilex Paraguensis*⁸⁹ were unsuccessful.

The evolution of this system was a promotion for many immigrants. A clear example of this is the life and work of Sir Juan Szychowski and his family. The Migration Officer, Juan Alsina, would refer to them as "exotic immigration" and he would not want them near the great city. It was said of them:

From the regions of Europe, the farmer brought his own agricultural practices and stubbornness for their application, he calls barbarian and savages those who do it differently. He spends his energies in dishonest tasks, wastes his little finances and in the end blames the bad weather or the woods for his lack of success. He puts on a lot of care not to confess that he himself is to blame for not adapting to the surrounding circumstances (Bolsi, 1986, p. 93).

⁸⁹ Yerba mate germination and re-emerging through massive plantation was thanks to certain discoverers whose exclusivity is reason for discussion. The most certain data is attributed to the German J. Martin (1820-1980.) Others say that it was a Swiss-French, owner of a Martin and Co. settled in Rosario and Asunción. This company had the contribution of a worker named Federico Neumann, who held the secret of a temperature process required for fermentation in the seed germination and therefore its growth (Kegler 1999, p. 90.) In the Colony "Nueva Germania" (New Germanic) in Paraguay, Neumann was able to obtain the germination of the yerba mate seeds in 1896. That allowed for the achievement, after the Jesuit splendor era, of an elaborate product with for cultivation yerba mate for the first time in 1901. "The contribution of Carlos Thays (from the Botanic Garden in Buenos Aires) made the implantation system better and passed it on" (Kojrowicz and Prutch, p.9).

However, Sir Szychowski, after a trip to Buenos Aires with his father (1914), looking forward to find new roads to Canada or to come back to his native Poland, he had to go back to Misiones because of the uprising of First Worldwide War. With his scarce resources and knowledge he set up the first lathe in wood and metal point in Apóstoles. “In 1919 he finished the first precision lathe built in Argentine and after his father Julián’s death he started what became one of the greatest contributions to the Province, his yerba grinder “La Cachuera” (Kojrowicz and Prutch ND., p. 9.)

This undertaking changed the paradigm for the region work and development. It went from being a system called “mensú” (peon, pawn) (a kind of autochthonous servility) to being a series work model with the wage-earning work force inclusion, and hence an unprecedented advance for the region.

His influence not only shaped the origins of the Territory of Misiones, but it also transcended beyond its own frontiers. He was acknowledged by the National Geographic in the United States. His method and philanthropy also were emulated in Canada, Philippines and other regions of the world.

4.2.3. Promoting a diverse Christianhood

The correlation between socio influence - religious in the founding period and today is a great research in social and religious issues. In the great majority of the social- cultural and political Slavs conflicts, religion was the key element. In the origins and development of oriental Christianity (catholic, orthodox and byzantine) churches had the main role in the historical formation, even though, in several occasions, they participated in conflicts too, during medieval and modern history. During Kyiv’s metropolita (primitive name from the actual capital of Ukraine, Kiev), when the religious Christian universe split in two ideological movements: the Greek-Latin

movement and the Autocephalous Orthodox, the second stream didn't answer to any major superior. In this sense, considered to overcome the previous established, attaining autonomy.

The religious influence over social issues was, mostly simultaneous throughout Christian history in the regions of Caucaso and in the great extensions occupied by the Slavs counties. First of all, the immigrants that arrived from these places came from a religious universe represented in diverse Christian streams: the Catholic Church from the Latin rite, the Ukrainian church or the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church from the byzantine-ukranian rite, the Autocephalous Orthodox Russian Church and various streams from the Evangelic Protestants.

4.3. The correlation between socio- religious influences in the founding period and nowadays

4.3.1. The Catholic Church from the Latin rite

In the case of the Latin rite stream, in its great majority, the Christian doctrine answered to the Roman pope. Although the primitive clergy was exclusively polish, in its origin, it cannot be considered an ethnic church. According to Bartolomé, there are many different historical reasons for this ambivalence. In first place, the priests that were sent to serve in colonies, even though they were polish by bloodline, they belonged to the Verbo Divino Society in Germany and were considered by the colonists as germanised. In second place, from their origins, even though the loyal ones were polish, the congregations also included a great amount of Argentinians, and creoles. Last but not least, it's important to highlight that these colonies are Argentinian, a country in where the Roman Catholic Church was dominant.

In spite of its origins, where priests and nuns were from Poland, their ethnicity was attenuated, and they included students that represented diverse backgrounds, mixed-race sons, creoles, and poor people, they included diverse orientations to create

an educational system which was not integrated, but to service different areas of the population and even convey content among contrasting streams. As for mass, it acted as a cohesion tool between rural and urban people.

4.3.2. The Ukrainian Church, or the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine rite

The Ukrainian Church, or the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church of the Byzantine rite (an Eastern branch of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church) were a very interesting and unique case. This stream appeared in Europe as an oriental branch from the Roman Catholic Church. It was an ethnic or national church in Galitzia, Ukraine. Historically it was known for its relations and competences to the Latin Rite Church. In this sense, the thousands of Ukrainians followers, residents in Argentina, although they were ruled by an Exarca, named by the Roman pope (Religious orders from San Basilio Magno and Hermanas Basilianas) and had priests since 1908, their formal structure as an organization dates from the c. 1940.

This institutional consolidation matched with different events across Europe and worldwide. Bartolomé (2000), emphasizes some of these events as important for real life and for the development of societies in the Province of Misiones. In first place, Galitzia's Ukrainian Catholic Church was accused of collaborating with Nazi occupation efforts in northern Europe. A lot of priests had to be exiled and it was the urkanian nationalists and anti-communists who started an intense proselytism among immigrants. Their mission was kind of a national crusade, maintaining their language in their religious jobs, the absence of the non-Ukrainians parishioner's and segregation from other ethnic groups. (pp.220-221).

4.3.3. The Russian Orthodox Church

The Russian Orthodox Church was present through the first Russian immigrants who established themselves in the colony of Tres Capones. Upon the total immigrants

population, since 1906, over than 150 families turned to the Russian Orthodox rite with the propaganda from priests who came from Russia and The United States of America. The first Orthodox Church from the region was built (1909) here. What was different from this construction was the fact that the Emperor Nicolas II, donated a bell, a incensory and two icons (Pablo Lewczuk, 2010, p.10).

Beyond history, “the main tourist attraction here is the Russian Orthodox Church, which with its domes and ships, offers unusual architectural characteristics from 1902 and in which it stands out to be one of the three largest bells in the world. There are similar bells in Moscow (Russia), in Toronto (Canada) and the third one, which was previously mentioned, in “Tres Capones”(Diario El Territorio, May 26th, 2013). With regards to its socio religious correlation in the Province, The Russian Orthodox Church lived a fracture after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. It was divided, as in other occidental regions, in two jurisdictions:

4.3.4. The Orthodox Church from Moscow’s patriarchy

The churches in Buenos Aires (the Catedral on Bulnes 1743 street), Villa Caraza and San Martin belonged to this patriarchy. In the province of Misiones, the parishes from the colonies Gobernador López, Yapeyú, Bajo Troncho, Florentino Ameghino and the cities of Oberá and Wanda (Jorge A. Scampini, ND., pp. 30-31)

4.3.5. The called Russian Orthodox Church exile

To the so called Russian patriarchy in exile belonged the churches and parishes from Buenos Aires, Parque Lezama and the Núñez 3541 street, Villa Ballester, Ituzaingó, Quilmes, Temperley and Abasto. In the province of Misiones comprised the city of Oberá (San Isidoro) and the colony Tres Capones (Scapini, pp. 30-31)

During the Cold War the Russian Orthodox Church experienced a very special atmosphere, not just in Argentina, but in all Latin America, where the Slavs established themselves. According to Zub Kurylowic social and cultural research, in Fram Colony

(Paraguay), many Ukrainians attended to the Russian Church, but later they realized that it wasn't their church. Then they asked the priest (Russian) to allow the participation of a Ukrainian priest to celebrate mass. This petition was made repeatedly, to which the priest strongly opposed. He didn't accept any relationship with Ukrainians overall, so mass attendance was not authorized as well.

In different time periods, the Orthodox Church stayed united within diversity between the different orthodox communities coming from the different ethnic backgrounds. Fortunately, nowadays, this division has healed, worldwide, with the signed agreement of the Canonical Act from Moscow, May 17 2007. Now the remaining step is to progressively integrate the communities which have been answering to different jurisdictions.

In all of these historical orthodox streams, specifically, in the Russian literature has always existed a mysticism and nihilism. Dostoiwvski and Tolsoi are two poles from "Russian soul". Dostoievski used to always talk about the horrors of nihilism in one of his best novels, "Los endemoniados" (demoniacs). Tolsoi wasn't mystical. His contemporaries proclaimed too much rationalism. He refused to believe in the resurrection of Jesus and wrote his own rational gospel, with had no place for miracles. But it's important to talk about Russian nihilism and mysticism. Nowadays mysticism has become a way of consciousness among masses. It is an everyday mysticism such as believing in astrological predictions. The nihilism is within the Russian souls as surrender to their own grand culture; this is the Russian postmodernism.

According to the Russian philosopher and contemporary writer, Vladimir Kantor (Diario Clarin, 2011), since Tolsoi to Alexander Solzenitzin, the Russian writers seem to have a great predicament. Not about masses (masses have never been great readers) but its influence has extended over educated people. For this class, the Bible was

replaced by literature. Russian poetry became their second church, replacing the religious orthodox state and its bureaucratic faith. In the same way, Christianity influenced humanity, creating civilized people since the barbarians, the Russian literature based on cultural orthodox religion, ended up being considered a factor of human clarity in the Russian's mentality. In Russia, in the XIX century, without freedom of speech, literature became the only channel from which the voice of liberty was heard. The writer was at the same time a historian, a politician, an economist and a journalist. In the soviet era, Solzenitsyn was in the same situation. He was not only loved as a good writer, but as the voice of free consciousness. Nowadays the situation is different. There is freedom of speech and literature is just literature. There are no prophets anymore (pp. 3-4).

Another ethnic and cultural characteristic that was crucial in the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church was the Cyrillic alphabet. Although its revelation was between the IX and XII centuries it was part of the Russian singularity and its identity as an immigrant. Although the Cyrillic alphabet is based in Greek, it was structured on 24 Greek letters and 12 of its own that are neither Latin nor Greek. But, the Slav has moved to an ecclesiastical language, which survived the modern era and a lot of religious services from the present. In this way, many of the conflicts at the present, such as Crimea case, still has an echo on language and religion. Although in the province of Misiones this doesn't transcend to the minorities or insignificant groups.

Finally, different from the Roman Catholic Churches which are characterized for its iconographies (different images of saints and martyrs) in their service books, or the Baptist Evangelic who decorate their temples with landscapes or biblical texts, in the other hand the orthodox have diverse hagiographic paintings as icons (paintings on wood, fabric, mosaic or fresco). According to Zub Kurilowicz's analysis, each one of

the icons represent figures of Jesus, Mary, the Saints and angels which are symbolic interpretations of different spiritual qualities of the saints, such as: sacrifice, humility, devotion, faith and love. The bodies are abstract and the faces show neither happiness nor human sadness.

4.4.The Slavic Evangelical Christians

In the first place, we must admit that all the Slavic Evangelical communities in Misiones were not free from ideological influences. Many of these ideologies stemmed from the European migrant currents, others from the different fundamentalist ideologies of North American missionaries and some were the result of the adaptation to the new life of the immigrant in the Promised Land context.

4.4.1. The Christian Evangelical and Baptists

The Evangelical Christians and Baptists, since their origins in the Province of Misiones, had different exogenous influences in the inner life of each community. According to research on the religiosity of the Slavic immigrants, the community as a whole had no less than three major ideological currents influencing the different churches.

4.4.2. The influence in the Russian-Ukrainian Evangelical origins

Beyond the different worldviews, it is important to highlight the influence received by the Argentinean Slavic Evangelical Christianity from their Russian-Ukrainian background. Since the end of the nineteenth century, around 1882, the work of Lord Radstock, an Englishman, who obtained the first baptisms of Russian princesses, counts and coronels, was a great inspiration for the forgers of a community of believers in such an exotic context as the lands of Misiones. This great leader had his connections with the renowned German preacher George Müller (of the Free Brethren). His fame stemmed also from the work he carried out in children's homes in England.

Since he was a man of action and organized, the literature about him was an incentive for many leaders in the new colonies.

The second Evangelical patriarch in the Americas region was Ivan Stepanovich Prokhanov. According to Kuznetsova's research (2009), even in the midst of the Communist persecution and war times Prokhanov was able to make use of some freedom spaces for philanthropic work and evangelization of Slavic peoples. The Baptists and Evangelical Christians were the Good Samaritans that in many ways supported hospitals, helped families that had lost their parents and printed Bibles and other literature (p. 245).⁹⁰

In Russia, Prokhanov sympathized with the ideas and struggles in favor of freedom. In his poetical writings, he composed and translated over 1500 hymns. He initially used the government press for these purposes. 'On many occasions he played an active role with his writings that called on the government for tolerance toward Evangelicals. He was the greatest Evangelical figure of this time. Often his political positions were controversial. He was a reformist, an organizer, a theologian, a teacher and a leader (Kuznetsova, pp. 245-246).

However, sometime later his work came under the scrutiny of the Interior Minister. His repressor made him abandon Russia in 1901 and go overseas. This exile helped him develop other skills such as mastering new languages. He also studied in France, Germany and England. He also mastered Biblical Hebrew and Greek. This was a gigantic contribution for Slavic Evangelicals.

The work and the influence of the different leaders in the Great Russia determined the tendencies in the new world of immigrants. In Buenos Aires, Mendoza,

⁹⁰ For a comprehensive reading and analysis of the life and work of Prohanov, see Willhelm Kalhe (1978) *Evangelische Christen in Rubland und der Sovetunion: Ivan Stepanovic Prochanov (1869-1935) und der Weg der Evangelimuschristen und Baptisten*. Kassel: Oncken Verlag Wuppertal und Kassel, 584 pages.

Uruguay, Paraguay and therefore the National Territory of Misiones the ideas of these leaders influenced the existing church practices and standards.

4.4.3. The influence of the processes and crisis of European Evangelical Christianhood

In 1905, after losing the war with Japan, the Czar showed tolerance toward Evangelicals. During this time, with the influence of Prokhanov (who represented the Christian Evangelicals and the Free Brethren) and Pavlov (who represented the Baptist influence) two Evangelical currents appeared: the Christian Evangelicals and the Baptists. Due to personalist issues each group took its own form. On the one hand, Prokhanov established his legal status; on the other hand, the Baptists established their own. The paradox appeared in the First Baptist World Congress, where Prokhanov was elected Vice President of the Baptist World Alliance. Even though the relationships continued to be fraternal, nonetheless, in the institutional level there was a space for division.

Until World War II there were two unions: the Christian Evangelical and the Baptist Christian Evangelical. Among the Argentinean immigration both affiliations were present, since representatives of both arrived here. The first immigrants coexisted (e.g. the church in Saavedra 1283, in Buenos Aires City). This group was established in 1926, at the Iglesia Bautista del Centro, granted by pastor Santiago Canclini, who was a great reference for all immigrants. His generosity was highly valued by ethnic groups (Oneschuc and Kulak, interview by author, July 2, 2010).

On the other hand, in Buenos Aires there was another Slavic Baptist group functioning in the temple loaned by Iglesia Bautista de Once (Ecuador 370). Currently these origins correspond to the church that today is in Martínez Castro 249, Buenos Aires City. This group received the influence of Ivan Petrasz, who arrived as a Baptist pioneer from West Ukraine (Galitzia) and was a missionary among the German

immigrants in Entre Ríos and the first communities in Misiones. Between 1926 and 1929 he worked hard to organize an exclusively Baptist church. Thanks to his influence the church in Martínez Castro was established. His most notable phrase in the founding charter was: 'to create a purely Russian Baptist church' (Oneschuc and Kulak, interview by author).

This brother was a pioneer in organizing different churches and made trips that were real feats at that time. He helped to establish the Baptist church in Margarita (Santa Fe). He visited the provinces of Chaco and Formosa where he founded churches. When he visited the National Territory of Misiones, he was the first person to arrive by boat along the Parana River to places as remote as the colonies of Wanda and Lanusse (1930). As an evangelist and *colporteur*⁹¹ he made many converts. Other brothers also did work that became a reference to follow by immigrants. As from 1944 these colonies received brother José Bolbin, who took Bibles, hymnbooks and other literature (Kozak, p. 9). In 1960 missionary support was provided through brothers Anatolic Yacyuk and Boris Gutawski, who preached to these communities in Polish language.

4.4.4. The North American Evangelical influence

The ideologue of one of the fruitful foreign missionary strategies was Ivan Nepras, although the president was Platon Davidiuk. From the United States, Nepras looked after the missionary association in Ashford (Connecticut), and his idea was to expand the vision toward a perspective of churches with a local leadership where the problems, the language and the financial situations were known in order to provide financial and economic support. This program started with an informal magazine that

⁹¹*Colporteur*: This refers to a person who sells or distributes Bibles and other religious literature. The word comes from the French word *colporteur*, somebody who carries a load on his/her neck. The first to carry out these practices were the Waldensians, before the Reformation of the 16th century. Then in the 19th century this practice reappeared in England (1803) where the British and Foreign Bible Society was organized. Then in 1816 the American Bible Society was founded with the same goal of delivering the Bible without notes or comments. Deiros, (1997), p. 89.

soon became a classic periodical with the name “El Sembrador de la Verdad” (The Sower of Truth). With the help and contribution of Neprasz this was possible. Then, in the United States, in 1919, the Russian-Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Union was created. Currently this union has its headquarters in Ashford (Connecticut). Neprasz promoted missionary work with the aim of reaching the former Soviet Union, recently created. For this he managed to send 40 missionaries until they were forced to emigrate in 1927. Those who didn’t leave died in concentration camps due to the Communist persecution.

Faced with this episode, the two Slavic unions in North America set their eyes on South America and Western Europe (Belgium). In 1940 both organizations were led by prominent leaders Peter Deyneka and Ivan Neprasz. Deyneka was noted for his fervent messages and organization capacity. His motto was, ‘much prayer, much power; little prayer, little power; no prayer, no power.’ His powerful preaching earned him the nickname Peter Dynamite (Slavic Gospel Association website, 2013, quoted by author December 15, 2014).

Neprasz and Deyneka had a great influence among the different Slavic communities throughout Latin America, and therefore in the emerging colonies in the National Territory of Misiones. They were great helpers during their visits. However, the world and local context lent itself to ideologies inherent to the context. On many occasions the financial help was part of the criticism. Specifically, those who had socialist tendencies accused this philanthropy as a North American propaganda. Some said ‘the pastors and missionaries sold themselves to the American dollars.’⁹²

The financial support were minimum amounts, that arrived in colonies and cities, and were distributed according to the associations of American’s origin. The

⁹²Oneschuc, interview by author, 2010.

colony Florentino Ameghino was supported by the SGA (Slavic Gospel Association) of Deyneka, based in Chicago and later in Wheaton. The first to receive this benefit were Basilio Zubczuk and Ignacio Daczuk (founding leader of the church in Saavedra street, Buenos Aires). Also, the first missionary of Concepción de la Sierra was brother Pauluka and later Basilio Stimbalisti, and other leaders such as Sotniczuk and his wife Sonia Stecziuk. With the support of Deyneka some problems were solved and put them at an advantage compared with other more informal methods of missionary work and with less foreign dependence.

Sometime later in Argentina another internal movement appeared under the name of the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention (1953/4). It operated in Argentina, Brazil and the United States as the Ukrainian Evangelical Movement. They received refugees from World War II and where communist political asylum was sought. These were the first to bring information on the reality of the Evangelicals in the Soviet Union.⁹³

Another important factor was Christian literature. The existing Bible was the translation into a dialect of Galicia (Ukraine). This did not reach the majority of the Ukrainian population (since this was a time of illiteracy). On the one hand, the Russian translation (the only one) was accepted by everybody. The first farmers read it and prayed in Russian, but at home they spoke Ukrainian. To settle these differences other translations were needed. The first translations that arrived were prior to World War II. It was Ogienko's translation (Ukraine). This was a Ukrainian patriot, of Orthodox belief. The dissident Ukrainians formed their own Orthodox church called *Ucrainzca Autoquifalnia Prajoslavna Chercva* (Autocephalous and Orthodox Ukrainian Church). Ogienko became a Metropolitan exiled in Canada. He finished there the full translation

⁹³This movement may be considered endogenous, in the sense that their members were in the initial founding lines of the churches and the colonies. The history of the first immigrants and churches, narrated by Nicolás Sóltyz (1972) maintains this perspective.

of the Bible. This translation had a Western Ukraine slant. So, after the fall of the Soviet Union the Ukrainian Baptist Convention made a new translation in line with the current language. Today this translation has been replaced and the former one is also used.

These anomalies and the Ukrainian nationalism were factors that determined a bilingual liturgy (Russian – Ukrainian) to which Spanish was added later. In this sense, many of the old hymnbooks for liturgy were separated in two parts, in Russian and in Ukrainian. In all liturgic acts both languages could be used. Unlike the Slavic Pentecostal Evangelicals, who opted for the Russian language with simultaneous interpretations into Spanish in all their church meetings.

4.5. The Slavic Pentecostal Christian Evangelicals

The Slavic Pentecostal Christian Evangelical Church, in the first place, was the product of the arrival of many immigrants from Ukraine, Poland and Russia. From the start these communities were characterized by their spontaneity, spiritual fervor and expansion dynamism toward other colonies.

The history of their origins and presence in the current province is practically unknown. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, for a long time this Pentecostalism grew in the marginal spheres and was often considered by the Evangelicals themselves as weird in its exaggerated forms, characterized by: the promises of their pastors, the simple volunteers, often dedicated in the mission to announce the immediate healing of terminal diseases, the solution of serious family problems, coarse proselytism, etc. Secondly, many of their founding leaders had no theological or academic formation. To become a pastor there was no specific formation nor any particular training. To found and establish a church only a few dozen signatures sufficed. In this way, many independent churches developed that with their peculiarities and singularities contributed to make this religious movement even more eclectic.

Thirdly, its fundamentalism always took them to a particular interpretation of all that happens in the world, both in the social roles as well as a very disciplined and Puritan lifestyle. That is, these communities represented a very 'emotional' religiosity based on a direct contact with God by means of the revelation of the Holy Spirit. They also had a strong and charismatic leadership. And the categorical imperative of evangelizing all humanity, with their traditional slogan, 'salvation of souls.' Today it can be said that all these communities were transformed toward an integral theology, morphology and missiology. Also, on the social, cultural and values level they tend to show factors that are common to other more traditional Evangelical Protestant currents. In many senses, they maintain a close relationship with many communities. According to a survey, the emphasis on the Holy Scriptures was and is the key link with all the existing Evangelical confessions in the region (Rubén Jacobo Martyniuk, Jr., Jacobo Slusarczuk and Jacobo Leonchick, interview and dialog with author. January, 2015).⁹⁴

Regarding the story of this minority, according to key informers, the Evangelical Slavic Pentecostal Church was established in the current locality of Los Helechos, Misiones. Geographically, the first communities were established in the lands according to the following designations: Section 1 – Colony Los Helechos; Section 2 – Colony Bayo Troncho; and Section 3, back – Colony Acaragua. The farms that were measured had 25 hectares and the number of families integrated into a church initially were over fifty communities of Slavic immigrants (Polish, Russians and Ukrainians), (Martyniuk, interview by author, January 5, 2015).

The first Slavic Pentecostal meetings in the National Territory of Misiones go back to 1931: "The church began in the farm of Isidoro Baraz, with a small temple, in 1931. They met in homes but they began in a place with the arrival of other immigrants.

⁹⁴ See the Daily life archive: Personal note of pastor Jacobo Martyniuk. Appendix Figure, 2.3.10; p. 240.

Leadership was by Jacobo Martyniuk, and his assistants were Capitón Ferendiuk, brother Baraz and Mazon. Since then the main church began to be called ‘the church of Bayo Troncho,’⁹⁵ that expanded to different localities of the province.⁹⁶ The church community of Oberá came late, since the main influx of members lived in colonies and lacked appropriate people that mastered Russian, Ukrainian and Spanish to found a new congregation in more urban regions. The emergence of a new community was thanks to a land granted by the Prozapas family and the work of Simón Kusik, a well-known Evangelical leader among the Slavic communities in Buenos Aires. Kusik was a businessman by trade and his vocation was to provide hospitality to all acquaintances coming from the colonies.

The Slavic Pentecostal liturgy of the first communities was characterized by its great spiritual fervor and swift quantitative expansion. The services were done in Russian with interpretation into Spanish. The order of songs was taken from a hymnbook of 900 chosen hymns called *Sbornik Evangeliskij Pecei* (Selected Evangelical Hymns), edited by I.C. Zub- Zolotarev.⁹⁷ The immigrants attended these meetings and there were converts and mass baptisms. There were frequent visits of Pentecostal missionaries from Canada. Uno of the most renowned was Alejandro Mojalenko. This was a Russian-Canadian evangelist that held meetings that lasted until 3 a.m.

This current of Evangelical Protestantism benefited from another Pentecostal faction of the province of Misiones: The Assemblies of God. The influence of the

⁹⁵ Bayo Troncho: Regionalism used to describe a horse with one lame leg, or a three-legged horse. See Slavic Pentecostal meeting, Appendix Figure 2.3.9; p. 261.

⁹⁶ The first church to spring as an annex of Bayo Troncho was the community of Colony of Yapeyú. The second annex was the church in the locality of Campo Ramón, followed by the locality of Campo Vieira and other regions. The primary sources that register this expansion are the personal and community manuscripts written by pastor Jacobo Martyniuk, 1950.

⁹⁷ Among the Slavic Pentecostal churches the language used was Russian translated into Spanish, unlike the Evangelical Christian and Baptist churches where Russian coexisted with Ukrainian. In part, out of ideological reasons, looking for a Ukrainian nationalism and also due to the mere acceptance of the communities, who kept Ukrainian as their heart language.

leadership of the Swedish pastor-missionary Esture Anderson, gave a boost to this community.⁹⁸Specifically, the teaching talents of pastor Anderson and the fraternal spirit among the different mixed and European congregations promoted a favorable context for these Christian Evangelical minorities. Today, even though the Slavic Christian Evangelical churches are conservative in their doctrine and practice, many descendants migrate toward more charismatic communities. The new generations also offer a different identity. In spite of their history, legacy and presence in the place, it attracts the attention of religion sciences and other discipline scholars and are an invitation to reflect on this phenomenon that transcended the history of an Evangelical community and beyond it.

CONCLUSION

4.1.The Project validation

4.1.1. The Biblical and Theological bases for immigration issues: Old and New Testaments

The study of immigration always adopts a biblical and theological perspective of the "Missio Dei." With respect to this theoretical framework, there are interesting discoveries by contemporary authors on mission issues, without being able to conform to a theory. For that reason, this research will take place to synthesize the different approaches of contemporary discussions and in some cases, will be privileged certain principles for the mission praxis. This approach consists of an analysis of the immigration through a perspective of the time, context and situation of relevant biblical cases.

In first place, the author of research recognizes the scarce Christian missiological literature about the contemporary migration and mission. This reality is

⁹⁸There are few published and historic works that preserve the beginnings of the Assemblies of God in Misiones. They are generally the reports of the life and work of missionary Esture Anderson, narrated by Sara Anderson de González and Daniel Hallberg, *Don Esture: Pionero de la Misión en la Argentina* (Rosario: Editorial Amalevi. 1984).

not a pleasant surprise, but a challenge to be achieved. The most important is to highlight the contributions of the contemporary research about immigration and mission perspectives from Latin and North American's writers: Charles Van Engen, Daniel M. Carroll Rodas; South Africa's: David J. Bosch; Central Africa's and United States of America, Jehu J. Hanciles.

Immigration in the Bible contains several figures and nuances in its description. It doesn't always use common sense or the image that we know today. Specifically, in the Old Testament, immigration is related to the movements of people groups, exiles, deportations, and forced diasporas. In the first place, the mission of immigration in the Old Testament relates to the creation of the man and woman made in the image and resemblance of God. Although the story of human creation is related to *Missio Dei*, with the fall of Adam and Eve and in the reordering of the world and its system, a form of migration begins as a product of sin. Then, the book of , "Genesis, has serious implications, as a revelation from God, where a divine clamor is communicated to humans for the attitudes and actions of the people of God towards those who arrive in a country- regardless of how they come, with or without documentation under a current government's laws. Both mistreatment and forced return mean a violation of the image of God. As a consequence, the issue of immigration, at a certain level, must be considered in the perspective of human rights and should not be defined in terms of national security, cultural identity or economic impact (Carroll Rodas, 2013, p. 47)."

Also, in human movements, as seen in immigration or migration, there is also a place for human participation in missions. There are several of Biblical texts that support the care of strangers who live in the company of the people of God. Charles Van Engen (2009), argues that God not only requires that Israel treat foreigners fairly and with equality, but also that the immigrant must be the object of care and

compassion from the people of God. In many texts of the Bible the idea of the immigrant or foreigner is united with the orphan and the widow. It requires compassion and intentional and special care of the orphan, the widow, and the foreigner living among the People of God (p. 3).

On the same way by the Bible, the story of Moses is an icon or paradigm of missions through migration. According to Van Engen (2011), Moses was raised in a bicultural and bilingual environment (Egyptian and Aramaic). However, apparently, Moses was not a useful tool of God's mission. It was necessary for Moses to spend 40 years as an immigrant among the Midianites, learning how to survive in the desert, learning how to be a shepherd and being formed personally, emotionally, and spiritually for the role of leadership he was going to take. Moses called himself an immigrant and foreigner. The narrative in Exodus (Ex. 18:1-4), tell us all that God had done for Moses and for His people Israel. The way the Lord took them out of Egypt reached the ears of Jethro, the priest of Midian and Moses' father in law (p. 10).

The Exodus too, goes back to the time of Jacob's sons, who in search of food and water were forced to enter Egypt. "The first of them was Joseph who was forced to migrate and adopt the customs of the land of Pharaoh, even though he never forgot his mother tongue Joseph was the example of deportation (Carroll Rodas, 2013)," p. 59. Other authors argue that it was the visit of Joseph's brothers to Egypt (Gen. 41: 57- 42: 3) that was the historical landmark of the first exoduses (Ocaña Flores, p. 59). However, they began, the most important thing is the motive of migration: the need to live. The picture of the Hebrews people is the picture of the foreigner ("ger") or stranger ("nekhar" or "zar") in the Biblical law is clear. First, in Israelite society, they could receive social benefits, such as the right to glean in the field (Lev. 19: 9-10 and Dt 24: 19-22) and the right to receive resources from the tithes (Dt. 26: 12-13). There could be

a legal residential status for foreigners and strangers, even one that would last for several generations. In addition, they could be equal before God (James K. Hoffmeier, 2011), p. 2.

Ruth's book begins with a story similar to contemporary emigrants: there was hunger on earth. And a man from Bethlehem of Judah went to dwell in the fields of Moab, he, his wife, and his sons (Ruth 1:1). An Israelite with his family, he had emigrated to a pagan territory. Famine in the "house of bread" (Bethlehem)! This all speaks of a social and economic contradiction that God uses in a sovereign way to rebuild the lives of poor people, emigrants with vital needs and without another alternative. They risked everything in order to achieve a better life. The man from Bethlehem (Elimelech) died in a strange land, and his widow (Naomi) had to endure the pain of seeing her two sons die in Moab as well. All that remains for Naomi now are her daughters-in-laws, Orpa and Ruth, two "pagan" women who also lived a very sad life like their mother-in-law. From a social and economic perspective, the migratory experience in this case was a resounding failure. In contrast, from the point of view of the *Missio Dei*, a redemptive plan took place.

During the Persian and Babylonian Empire, in the history of the Old Testament there is no common coincidence between the different authors to define between the mission in exile and the diaspora. There are at least three variants to address this issue. First, there are those who work in a mixed modality between the concepts of exile and diaspora (Tamez, ND., and Ocaña, 2012). Second, there are those who choose exiles and Diasporas as common concepts, only they differ in the development of the chronological framework (Carroll Rodas, 2010, Castillo Guerra, 2012). In the present research, a third variable will be taken into account, where the concepts of exiles and

diasporas are differentiated in order to take advantage of prophetic ideals in matters of mission and migration.

The New Testament put forward a new perspective of immigrant people and God's mission too. The three terms to refer to immigration are *xenos*, *paroikos*, and *parepidemos*. Each term results a contribution for a paradigm shift of mission and immigrations. First, *xenos* describes concepts related to a foreigner, stranger, an alienated; besides, it can be related "appearing strange" or "creating distaste". Second, *paroikos* refers to a foreigner, stranger or exiled. Another meaning, *paroikias*, may be stay, residence among foreigners and *paroikeo*, as a quote from the Old Testament, is an allusion to the relation between God and His people: "*Consequently, you are no longer foreigners and strangers, but fellow citizens with God's people and also members of his household* (Eph. 2:19 – NIV). Third, *parapidemos*, points to a stranger or refers to refugee. May appear associated to Israel, in order to express how God's people considered themselves in front of the rest of the world (Heb. 11:13).

As for the relationship between Jesus and immigration, the New Testament forms a cardinal part for an exhaustive biblical interpretation. Countless contemporary scholars report that Jesus and his family belonged to a group of immigrants (Samuel Escobar, 2006; Samuel Pagán, 2010; M. Daniel Carlos Rodas, 2009, 2010, 2013; Martín Ocaña, 2012; Elsa Támez, ND.; Charles Van Engen, 2009; James M. Krabill, 2010 and others). Jesus was indeed a foreigner. He came from heaven sent by the Father, he took the form of a human being and he became for us the refugee Christ. From a human perspective, all Christians owe their salvation to a stranger and refugee. Him, as well as Mary and Joseph, settled themselves in Bethlehem until the appearance of the magicians, then he flees to Egypt, because of Herod's persecution of babies.

The incarnation of Jesus is the most cardinal fact in the history of salvation and in God's mission to mankind. So, through his incarnation, Jesus Christ communicates to us a much deeper idea: his Father crossed the borders – or perhaps more accurately “closed the gaps” between heaven and earth, which were opened by sin- in Jesus Christ with redemptive purposes. Incarnation thus becomes a soteriological paradigm that we must consider in our missiology and immigration relationship today.

Jesus ministry is another step for an understanding the mission through the immigration people. The attitude of Jesus before the Samaritans and other peoples is the key for his mission paradigm. Their speeches were loaded with inclusions to the people of the social margin. The Samaritan Neighbors were always the good one, the one who comes back to thank, the Samaritan woman is the first woman missionary... Jesus went through that experience. He always had an attitude of receptivity and acceptance.

Also, Jesus' ministry focused in the territories of Samaritans and other inhabitants of the multilingual Galilee, Judea, Jericho and cosmopolitan Jerusalem itself. Beyond a tourist vision, Capernaum today is considered as the city of Jesus. His process of integral training was based beyond the formal and curricular educational dynamics of the synagogues. Mostly his ministry detached from the observations and reflections of Palestinian geography, the contemplation of nature, the relationship with the culture of the context, the experiences of service and the unquestionable figure of a young preacher.

Jesus' last message to His disciples was one of emigration / immigration. It's a statement that not only calls to emigration but insists on it, it is the Great Commission, in which Jesus says:

Then Jesus came to them and said, “All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me, therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching

them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely, I am with you always, to the very end of the age (Mtt. 28:18-20 NIV).

After Jesus' ascension into heaven, his disciples and followers became migrant messengers and carried their teachings throughout the world. They traveled as immigrants, as refugees, as emigrants. They were put in prison, persecuted, and exiled. In this sense, the teachings of Jesus are not concluded even when John, from his exile on the Isle of Patmos, wrote the revelations of the Apocalypse, the theological and biblical history, which began with emigration and exile. It seems obvious that God accompanies each and every one of the emigrants in his journey of hope, faith and freedom.

Finally, during the period of the birth of Christianity, immigration and mission deserve a particular consideration. The epistles declare that all Christians are foreigners in a spiritual sense. The citizenship of believers lies essentially elsewhere (Phil 3:20, Heb 13:14). Christians should not therefore cling to earthly allegiances, and should be open to people who come from elsewhere and respond in ways that honor God. Immigrants' values are based on a new paradigm of community. Hence, the mission was translated into an invitation to join the eschatological community. Along with this, there was awareness that God is Spirit, living it as a force and principle of life. This was the symbol of resurrection, ascension and Pentecost. In this sense, the inspiration of the Spirit served as a legitimization to respond to the new challenges that were posed to the community of disciples in their evolution towards the early Church. These new challenges had a complex mission, especially as Christianity began to expand beyond the borders of Israel. From the mission in Antioch of Syria, a proselytizing policy began in Minor Asia. Hence, the mission among the pagans and immigrants aroused much controversy. In this sense, the community of early Christians, not only lent assistance to

immigrants and marginalized persons, but immigration and needs people is part of his being.

4.1.2. The Christian Slavic immigrants: An historic lesson for contemporary issues

On the basis of unpublished documents, chronicles of life, interviews, living testimonies and primary literatures will be interpreted the historical social diagnosis of different communities of Slav immigrants. The main themes of the interpretation of the historical diagnosis will be based on the following contents: The reasons for the arrival of the Slav immigrants to Misiones; the context of the Slavs in Europe and the context of the National Territory of Missions; the Christian faith and the immigrant resilience in the new context. Finally, what were the contributions of Slavic communities to the founding origins of the provincial territory?

On the other hand, the social sciences (anthropology, ethnology, sociology, etc.) contribute to find some niches of history, facts that not be distinguished through a simple historical reading from a simple story perspective. We must highlight the work and sociological analysis of Stemplowski, specifically his work on the first Slavs immigrants of southern Misiones.

According to Stemplowski, the national and social structure of the first immigration wave, reflected the predominant structure in the territory of the Polish State at its historic (variable) frontiers. The heyday of the emigration of these territories to Latin America coincided with a time in which the independent of Polish state did not exist, liquidated as a result of the distributions between Austria, Prussia and Russia. It is precisely at that period (1897) that the first Slavic group in Misiones was established in Misiones (p.176). In this sense, the immigrants came with passports issued by Prussia, Austria, Hungary and Russia. Individual identity could be confused, mixed or non-existent with respect to a state, country, or nation.

The major contribution to this reality is that, the great difficulty of accurately guessing the place, identity and ethnicity of each family can be affirmed. On this subject, Stemplowski disagrees with most of the information from many researchers. Specifically, there are many misconceptions about geography, which were published on several occasions (Stemplowski, 1983, No. 9, pp. 328-331).

Another validation reinforcement can be considered the theoretical framework presented by E. Snihur (a researcher from the region). He holds that many of the early Slavs were cataloged in the forms and categories corresponding to the few trials in relation to their true origin. In some case the files are marginal (p. 114). Finally, Stefanetti Kojrowicz and Prutch (2003), warn and conclude that In 1910 the Austro-Hungarian Empire was a conglomerate of 53 million inhabitants. It was one of those European states in which migration was a real mass movement. Between 1876 and 1910 more than 3 and a half million subjects left their homeland (p.2). In these view, these migratory masses can be characterized by their complexity and variety of Slavic origins.

The historical validation of second Slavic immigration wave is more complex. The lack of information and the historical material, in the process of validation, key informants, testimonies of life and primitive material were compared to other information and history of evangelical immigrants of different ethnic origins: German, Swedish, Swiss, etc. The contributions of Rolando Kegler, María Angélica Amable, Karina Dohmann, Liliana Mirta Rojas, Evald Guillermo Olsson, Barbara Natalia Gomez, María Cecilia Gallero, Anders and Erik Ruuth, etc., provided sufficient solvency of the historical information found. Also, the different Journeys on Population Colonization and Immigration in Misiones, organized by Instituto Superior “Antonio Ruiz de Montoya” (2004 to 2005) Were the Were objective inputs to determine and verify the solidity of the information received, historical time accuracy, the main events

of the context, overcoming the dilemmas of the population and the development prognosis. Other comparative pictures were made with Slav groups in different Argentine regions, as data of the first immigrants in Buenos Aires, Chaco, Entre Ríos and Mendoza. However, an invaluable contribution was the social, cultural and religious research of sociologist Roberto Zub Kurylowicz, among Slavic immigrant's communities in southern Paraguay. These comparisons provided not only a validation to the research, but were as components that integrated a wider and interactive context of all the Slavic communities among themselves.

In the long run, these immigrations were part of a Western mission paradigm in National History. There are some initiatives and movements helped to create a new world order and stimulated to the global spread of Christianity. Typically understood or assessed as one directional in its impact. The idea of white immigration, based on colonization, were a political influence, trade investment and culture ties. The main governments that promoted the incorporation of Europeans in the depopulated regions of Argentina were inspired by the progress of American modernism. For example: The Argentinian founded presidents: Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Juan Bautista Alberdi, Nicolás Avellaneda and others.

By the way, European immigrants, who suffered, established in the colonies, a system more European than the mestizo. These migratory movement were also marked by tremendous missionary activity; with equally far- reaching implications for the global religious landscape. This missionary model, from the north to the south, also promoted a capitalist system in the agrarian regions. In many ways, in their ideas, they favored progress among the immigrants who came from the weak European regions.

Unlike this immigration movement (north-south), in the last half century, emerged the “great reversal mass movement”: South-North migration. It involved

swelling tides of guest workers, handworkers, asylum seekers, political and economic refugees, as well as family fragmentations. These issues, are the dominant and contemporary elements in international migration. The South-North migration way is clearly rooted in global realities, primarily the daunting economic divide, demographic imbalances, and increasing global poverty.⁹⁹ Second, these mass movements, also, are not unidirectional way: South – North; But, also involves a multidirectional mass movement system. It is a paradoxical reality dominated by individualism, liberalism, secularism, fundamentalism and other complex phenomena to evaluate.

4.1.3. The contributions of the social sciences to the mission and immigration dilemmas in the 21st century

Third, this research is a study approaching case. For this purpose, the theoretical framework will be a construction of ethnohistory and anthropological history. In essence, it will be a combination of method and current theory in history and anthropology where the focus of history is an ethnic group. In this sense, historical ethnography is a reconstruction of a particular culture or society at some point. For this, a specific history will be chosen, which "is the diachronic study of a society or ethnic group, either from the moment of its origin to the most recent period."

In Misiones coexists a plurality of creeds as a consequence of the important migratory flows that arrived at the country in diverse times. This phenomenon originated the emergence of a multiplicity of religious festivals, popular beliefs and devotions throughout the territory, many of which have become in recent years a tourist phenomenon, nationally and internationally. In Oberá city, stands more than a hundred

⁹⁹South-North, South-South, East-West, see Wihtol De Weden, pp. 20-33.

churches representing a diversity of creeds and cults. Among them, eight of the forty-five registered in Misiones. This is a characteristic that identifies this city and is directly linked to the crucible of ethnicities that make up each community. In the center of the Capital of the Mount can be seen temples with different architectural models, which are an attraction for visitors (Primera Edición, April 6, 2009, General Information, p. 3).

Slavic communities constitute a very wide diversity in the different currents of Christianity: Roman Catholics, Ukrainians of the Byzantine rite, Ukrainians of the Latin rite, Orthodox Russians, Protestant evangelicals (Baptists, Pentecostals, independents, etc.). According to theological and missiological investigations the Russians and Ukrainians are more prone to spiritual matters than other European nations. This is due to two factors: the mystical background of Russian Orthodox teachings and successive revolutions, and hence persecutions (Bratskii Vestnik, 1978, p.13).

These themes will be deepened in the sociological, anthropological, ethnological, and therefore in the missiology. It is worth highlighting some useful contributions for the context of this essay. The historian Franz Georg Maier (1991) describes the "Byzantine character" as an agreement *opossitorum*, which integrates intellectual curiosity, pleasure through lively discussion and subtle argument, refinement, elegance, pleasure in luxury, impressionability, together with pettiness, Corruptibility, ruthless cruelty and hatred, but also mystical exaltation and contemplative religiosity (p.31).

The roots and tributaries of this spirituality are very complex and are hidden throughout the history of Christianity in the different Eurasian regions. Maier hold, the continuous threat of barbarian invasions and the arbitrariness of public officials generated two types of defense reactions: mistrust and dissimulation; Religiosity and

supernatural hope (p.32). In this sense faith takes on a particularity in all the Slavic Christian variants. Faith is pronounced beyond dogmas, and even beyond ritual.

For Maier: Faith is responsible for the original particularity of the Byzantine conception of the world, it is not the dogmas and theological debates, but the special forms of spirituality that were born from the conviction that life came from a single divine creative spirit and was redeemed by the work of the only Son of God. The universal and inalterable existence of God is the content and meaning of any idea of Byzantine transcendence, and the paths to it are not the dialectical and rational analysis of faith through theology, but the ascetic, mystical and contemplative life (p. 32).

Nowadays, in the center of the province of Misiones propagate the diverse Christian creeds that make of the region a true historical religious and cultural tourist circuit. This circuit includes the joint offer of a tour characterized by visits to different types of churches that have as their basis Jesuitical foundations and are completed with typical characteristics of the rite to which they belong: Roman Catholic, Ukrainian-Byzantine, Russian Orthodox, and Protestant. These characteristics are open to exhaustive investigation yet.

4.2. The Project Groundwork

The evaluation of the groundwork for this research was done mainly through personal reflection on the areas where the author was involved by the empirical, historical research and provide answers, develop tools, analyze the available information sources, formulate questionnaire, enlist the interview control and develop a dialogue method for a missiological reflection.

Regarding the enlistment process, almost 50 people were part of a team as key informants. Nine of them responded to each of Data Open-ended question and provided multiple common answers. Thirty-five people collaborated with the collection of primary writing documents (such as parents' diaries, photos, pictures, meeting minutes,

almanacs, magazines, hymn books, etc.). The rest of the collaborators served as sources of transversal information, Such as the relationship between Protestant Christianity of other ethnic groups (Swedes, Swiss, Germans, Brazilians, Paraguayans, etc.) and the Christian Slavs. The author had more human and literary resources at hand than it could use. It must be considered the enlistment process to have been very successful.

On the other hand, the social sciences (anthropology, ethnology, sociology, etc.) contribute to find some niches of history, facts that may be not distinguished through a simple historical reading from a simple story perspective. We must highlight the work and sociological Stemplowski´s analysis (1985), on the first Slavs immigrants of southern Misiones.

According to Stemplowski, the national and social structure of immigration reflected the predominant structure in the territory of the Polish State at its historic (variable) frontiers. The heyday of the emigration of these territories to Latin America coincided with a time in which the independent of Polish state did not exist, liquidated as a result of the distributions between Austria, Prussia and Russia. It is precisely at that period (1897) that the first Slavic group in Misiones was established in Misiones (p.176). In this sense, the immigrants came with passports issued by Prussia, Austria, Hungary and Russia. Individual identity could be confused, mixed or non-existent with respect to a state, country, or nation.

The contribution to this reality is that, the great difficulty of accurately guessing the place, identity and ethnicity of each family can be affirmed. On this subject, Stemplowski disagrees with most of the information from many researchers. Specifically, there are many misconceptions about geography, which were published on several occasions (1983, No. 9, 328-331).

From the social anthropology, the outstanding contributions to the Province were the investigations of Leopoldo Bartolomé. The greatest discovery was the analysis of the profile of the immigrant in Misiones. The definition, called "estilo colono" (farmer style) is a scientific stamp that leads to interpret the inhabitant of this region as it is in its essence. The "Colono style" is applied to immigrant farmers of European origins, or who settled in colonies privately organized and refer to a model of life way exclusively of these regions. Bartolomé (2000) carried out an exhaustive analysis of this unique profile in the Province of Misiones. The "cultural farmer style" managed to configure a very particular social space. Its European past and its adaptation with the new strategies that had to move when arriving at the red earth, resulted in a context where the domestic economy like the introduction of the technology gave a bias of capitalist nature, although this can vary in the different contexts (p.170).

Claudia Steffanetti Krojrowicz is one of the notable researchers on the role of Slav immigrants in the origins of the Province. His writings, symposia and periodicals strengthen the foundations of historical roots. According her investigation and analysis, the agricultural colonization process was done upon the base of a service infrastructure that fulfilled a supporting role in the colonizing project. In the Polish-Ukrainian case the experience was made in the opposite direction. The infrastructure would come into appearance after the colonist settlement and, for the most part it was the colonist initiative. The structure began to generate itself due to the productive forces start and as a demand from those same forces. The present thesis degree has been enriched with the different points of view and discussions raised in each one of the appeals presented by Steffanetti Krojrowicz. Not only for its theoretical value, but also for national and international dialogue on migration and contemporary history.

Finally, the recent edition of Carol M. Swain (2007), from eighteen essays develops a coherent philosophy of immigration. According to this analysis, through the different theorists of the world, it seeks to reconcile the contradictions in mass immigration, which were generally defined from a restrictive and racist perspective, around issues such as immigration, religion, laws, ethnicity and demography. Around these factors, the dominant approaches are religious aspects and immigration. Exploration is how massive movements transform them by affecting settlement sites (p. 45). This method was as a matrix or following example for the mainstreaming of information on Slavic immigration received and comparison with other ethnic groups in the region, both nationally and internationally senses. With this theory, the validation cross between Slavic immigration in Misiones, with other Slavs in Argentina, and regions of neighboring countries (Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil), was possible.

4.3. The Missiological implications

In contemporary global perspectives, we can distinguish the most varied forces of Christian mission in the world. In the first place, we must emphasize that in the matter of missiology there is no fully developed theory, with abundant empirical evidence to be applied to this study. However, on the one hand there are pieces or pieces with empirical support that can be applied to the problem of research. For example, a more holistic theology of the mission and encounter of cultures from anthropology (Hiebert, 1994, pp. 198-200); Migration as a mission (Samuel Escobar, 2008). According to Escobar, there is a missionary force that is in action today although it does not appear in the lists of missionaries of the specialized organizations nor in the statistics. It is a phenomenon of the New Testament: the cross-cultural witness of Christ through people who move from one place to another as refugees or migrants (Escobar, 2008, 16-18).

Dana L. Robert (2009), in his recent work "Christian Mission" makes a historical contrast in the mission of the last three centuries. According to his thesis, modern missions were characterized by the influence of European colonialism. During the twentieth century, the model of networks of work linked to the state that came from the missionary predominated. Conversely, in the era of globalization, multidirectional migration and transcultural networks replace the unidirectional forms of the capitalist system that define the Protestant mission from the early days of European capitalist expansion (p. 73).

The Western missionary represented a segment of the massive tide of European migrations which characterised the period under review. The tide and flow of missionary activity was an undercurrent in the European migration movement. Between 1800 and 1925 were the largest migration movement in human history. This period also coincides with the most dominant phase of the Western missionary movement, when it achieved its greatest spread and impact with the extend European and North American missionaries movement reflected by the largest affection to immigrant flows.

But, since 1960, the international migrations had the great reversal way. In the last half century, South-North migration, involved migrant guest of workers, asylum seekers, political and economic refugees, as well family reunifications, has been a dominant element in international migration. Also, migration is clearly rooted in global realities, primarily the daunting economic divide, demographic imbalances, and increasing global connectivity. To reiterate, it is impossible to account for the massive upsurge in international migrations form the late twentieth century without reference to the systems or structure erected by wealthy Western nations. Quite frankly, the combination of global integration and the ever-widening divide between the wealthy

North and emerging where nations are transformed the former into a veritable magnet movement.

At present, the native European native population is decreasing to lower levels of its history.¹⁰⁰ Despite a world population growth rate of 1.2 per cent - according to UN data from 2010, revised in 2012 - the West is seeing lower population rates, usually below 10 per cent and birth rates substantially lower compared to developing countries. Europe's hope to see continued positive population growth remains in the hands of migrants, often younger and in search of a better life for themselves and their family.

These transformations also include deep missions and religious implications. According to Hanciles, the present migrations trends indicate that this cultural cleavage will steadily widen as younger generations in the West become more liberal and secular while their counterparts in the non-West (especially within the Islamic societies) remain deeply traditional, p. 125. This widening gap brings a deep religious implications such as any assessment of the potential impact of emerging people (South- North) migration on Western societies. This is to say that, in addition to the economic and cultural influences to the Western context, in fundamental ways of life represent an alternative way to religious life. These interactions between a melting pot societies, the contemporary global migrations implicate a real transformation and dilemmas, such as syncretism, Islamic fundamentalism, and secularism.

In the practical sense, these transformations mean several issues. Firstly, it's a Post-Western Christian and the post-Christian West (Hanciles, p. 127). Although the United States and some European countries are a nation made up of immigrants in the

¹⁰⁰ According to United Nations, Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those that, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems."Quoted by author, <https://www.quora.com/Is-the-number-of-the-Indigenous-peoples-in-Europe-increasing-or-decreasing> (26/11/2016).

historical past, nowadays, the vast majority of the new immigrants come from emerging countries and the religious impact of different migratory masses is far-reaching. Some models of contemporary churches may be the following examples:

4.3.1. The United States of America

The last immigration's impact transformed the America's context, to the point of a reversal of the mission paradigm. United States is a major missionary-receiving nation. Data from the new Pew Research Center projections, immigrants will make up a record 18% of the United States population in 2065, compared with 14% today and 5% in 1965. Immigrants and their children will represent 36% of the U.S. population in 2065, which equals or surpasses the peak levels last seen around the turn of the 20th century. That share will represent a doubling since 1965 (18%) and a notable rise from today's 26% (Pew Research Center, September 28, 2015).¹⁰¹

Overwhelming majorities across the religious spectrum see Hispanics in a favorable light and view immigrants from Latin America as a hard-working group with strong family values. But when asked about the impact of immigrants on American society and the United States economy, many more Americans (including members of each of the three largest religious groups) express negative views. Nearly half of the public, for instance, agrees with the statement that the growing number of newcomers threaten traditional American customs and values, compared with 45% who say that newcomers strengthen American society. White non-Hispanic Catholics and white mainline Protestants closely resemble the public as a whole on this question. White evangelicals seem to be particularly wary of the impact of newcomers, with 63% of them seeing immigrants as a threat to America's customs and values. On this question, it is only among seculars that a majority are in agreement with the pro-immigrant

¹⁰¹ See Appendix Table 3.3., p. 242.

sentiments expressed by many religious leaders. (Pew Research and Hispanic Center, March- Abril, 2006).¹⁰²

In this senses, beyond this very peculiar characterization and poor immigrant`s acceptance, the religious values have a very particular observation. According to American politics, often the immigrants are described using the language of a “culture war,” pitting the most religious Americans (who tend to be politically conservative) against the most secular Americans (who tend to be more liberal). But the culture war analogy does not accurately describe the situation when it comes to immigration. When we hold constant the impact of various demographic and socioeconomic factors such as income, education and gender that may influence attitudes toward immigration, we find that frequency of church attendance is associated with more favorable views of immigrants and immigration on several of these questions.

Also, in other way, the majority of America´s new immigrants claim to be Christian or identified themselves as Roman Catholic or some way to being Protestant.¹⁰³ It became that Catholic immigrant constitute the vast majority in United States. By 2000 one in four American Catholics was Hispanic (Hanciles, p. 127).¹⁰⁴

Other major immigrant communities are the Korean and Chinese. They have proliferated vigorously. Although the Asian Koreans in the United States constitute a religious mosaic, nevertheless the Christians and evangelicals are in the greater statistical range. According to Pew Research Center for Asian- Americans (July 19,

¹⁰² See Appendix Table, 3.4., p. 242.

¹⁰³ See Appendix, Table 4.6., p. 244.

¹⁰⁴ Influential Catholic officials such as Cardinal Roger Mahony in Los Angeles and Cardinal Theodore McCarrick in Washington, D.C., have publicly criticized proposals to enact restrictive immigration policies. Many mainline Protestant leaders also have lent their voices to the pro-immigrant cause. Frank Griswold, the presiding bishop and primate of the Episcopal Church of USA, for instance, criticized proposals to construct barriers along the United States-Mexican border and to punish undocumented immigrants. Prominent evangelical organizations have been less visible on the issue, but a number of moderate and liberal evangelical leaders, including David Neff of *Christianity Today* and Jim Wallis of *Sojourners*, have spoken out in favor of allowing illegal immigrants to become United States citizens.

2012) Christians make up the largest single religious group within the Asian-American community, but the Christian share of U.S. Asians (42%) is far smaller than the Christian share of the U.S. general public (75%). Only two of the six largest country-of-origin groups are majority Christian: Filipino Americans (89% Christian) and Korean Americans (71% Christian). Among other Asian-American groups, fewer than four-in-ten are Christian.¹⁰⁵

As for the Chinese immigrants, half of Chinese Americans (52%) describe themselves as religiously unaffiliated, including 15% who say they are atheist or agnostic. A quarter of Chinese-American Protestants (25%) are from a nondenominational or independent church, 15% are Baptist, and 10% are Presbyterian (Pew Research Center for Asian- Americans, 2012).

Another Asian immigration to United States are the Philippines, Vietnam and Indian communities. As of 2014, the top five origin countries of Asian immigrants were India, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea. The migration motivations and demographic characteristics of Asian immigrants have varied greatly over time and by country of origin, ranging from employment and family reunification to educational or investment opportunities and humanitarian protection. While the size of the Asian immigrant population in the United States continues to increase. Dispersion of the nations and Missio Dei may be possible. The diasporas are the Seeds for God's Kingdom.

4.3.2. Europe

In Europe, the new immigrants include large number of Christians, whose presence also contributes to the increase of people to existing Churches.¹⁰⁶ Dynamism and spiritual vigor is a tool for the survival of ancient denominations and, also, the

¹⁰⁵ Among Asian Americans as a whole, 22% are Protestant, 19% are Catholic, and 1% belong to other Christian groups, such as Orthodox Christians and Mormons. See Appendix, Table 3.5., p. 243.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix, Table 3.1., p. 240.

conquest of new non-Christian communities. Some examples of these contributions. First, in England, the influences of Africans is increasingly. According to Lindsay Bergstrom (January 6, 2005), a century ago, Charles Spurgeon's 5000-seat Metropolitan Tabernacle at Elephant and Castle (south London) was the largest Baptist church, with thousands of white English worshippers; today, the largest Baptist church in Britain is composed of African immigrants (n.p.). On this subject, Denton Lotz (February 10, 2005), general secretary for Baptist World Alliance (BWA), in an open letter ushering in BWA's centennial celebration, Lotz said that in 1905, when BWA was founded in London, there was excitement that this was going to be 'the Christian Century... The past century saw a dramatic shift of Christianity southward... (Nowadays), the former missionary-receiving countries have now become missionary-sending countries (BWA digital page).

Report of the Council of African Christian Communities in Europe (CACCE), at the great meeting in Belgium, 1999, reported larges International Christian Centre, a largest congregation (over 10.000) around of United Kingdom, while the Redeemed Christian Church of God (a Nigerian based movement), which established its first church in Britain in 1989, had grown to 141 churches with a total of 18.000 members by 2005 (Hanciles, p. 128).

The International Christian Centre is leading by a non- white pastor, Matthew Ashimolowo. As an award-winning and prolific author, Pastor Matthew has published more than 90 books, including "The Power of Positive Prayer Bible" and the pioneering 'What's Wrong with Being Black?' His influence on church growth and evangelism has guaranteed countless requests for his comments by a variety of mainstream media including BBC TV and Radio, Sky News, The Times and Guardian broadsheet

newspapers, as well as a broad spectrum of Christian and faith-based publications (Kingsway International Christian Centre KICC, website, 2016).

Perhaps the most emblematic testimony of dynamism and drive of immigrant contemporary African Christianity community is the largest single Embassy for the Blessed Kingdom of God to All Nations (in Kiev, Ukraine). The founder of one of Europe's largest Protestant churches is a Nigerian pastor, Sunday Adelaja. Although, at present, his ministry is in a sabbatical time, because of multiples affairs with parishioners. According to Christianity Today Magazine, an Embassy of God administrator told CT that the church has not issued a public statement because it is “regarded as an inside matter. The administrator said Adelaja has voluntarily “decided to step down” for six months due to the recent accusations and the ongoing “strenuous lawsuit” over King’s Capital (Jeremy Weber, May 2016).

Adelaja was born in the village of Idomila Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria. He was raised by his grandmother and became Christian in March 1986 just before graduating from high school. After graduation Adelaja left Nigeria because he received a scholarship to study journalism at the Belarusian State University in Minsk, Byelorussia. He married and took a job in Kiev, where he eventually founded and became pastor of the Embassy of God church, initially with only a handful of fellow African students. Today he plays an active role in the political and social life of Ukraine and was an influencing factor the Ukrainian Orange Revolution.

The Embassy for the Blessed Kingdom of God to All Nations claims to have 25,000 members in Kiev alone. According to the church 2,000 children have been helped off the street, and have been returned to their families. Furthermore, the church runs a 24-hour hot-line, named "Trust line" for people to call in need. The church also works with addicted people and has a program helping addicted people to be set free

from various addictions. Nowadays, the church is also active in Armenia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Moldova, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, the United States and Uzbekistan.

Adelaja, also, received awards and honor by Ukrainian's News Papers and ONGs. "At the Azusa Street Revival Festival on Saturday April 25, 2009, Sunday Adelaja received the first International William J. Seymour Award. This award is given to ministers who exhibit the characteristics of William J. Seymour" (Fred Berry, April 9, 2009, website). Also, honored to speak twice at the United Nations on August 23, 2007 (Charisma News, August 2007, website). Other awards such as: Wall Street Journal, July 21, 2006; United States Senate in prayer, April 23, 2007.

Finally, in Europe, never before has the course of missionary movement been this multidirectional, disparate, and global. The emergence of the non- Western missionary movement in conjunction with global migratory flows represents a major turning point of the Christian history.

4.3.3. Latin America

On the contemporary side, Latin American missiology has coined the term unreached people to refer to communities and groups of people who have never heard the Gospel. Referents to immigrations issue, one of important contribution is the William's D. Taylor and Antonio Núñez (1996) writings about. According Taylor's analysis, Latin America offers a whole world of unreached peoples. First, is referring to the immense process of migration form countryside to city, indicating the urgency of evangelizing, planting new churches, and training leaders. Mexico City is an example, help is needed from de outside, but it should be sensitive and cooperative missionary

help that is willing to enter into partnerships with existing Mexican churches instead of merely starting an uncounted flock of new (p. 183).

The correlation between immigration and theology of mission today, in Latin America is not too easy, specifically because there is not “one Latin America.” There is a diversity of political, religious, economically, social, cultural and demographic realities. Migrations, today, are no longer a novelty of contemporary times. There have always been migratory flows throughout the history of mankind (times in biblical records, history of Christianity and universal history). However, today we no longer live simply in a time of “great migrations”, but in an era in which we live in a state of constant migration, because the world is in permanent mobility (Marinucci, ND., pp. 1,3). It is nothing new to affirm that these migrations create in almost all the receiving countries diverse problematic situations, such as the violence towards the immigrants, hostile attitudes, xenophobia, diverse discriminations and restrictive measures.

First, we must measure the current migratory phenomenon. We have to add to the gigantic dimensions of the movements of people, the rules of the game that establishes for them the self-denominated neoliberal globalization. It is not enough to underline the contradiction between the free circulation of goods and increasing money and the coincidence of this with the increasing limitation on the circulation of human beings, as progressive authors and also some more critical authors do.

It is not merely a casual temporary coincidence, but a necessary connection, since these migratory flows are often caused by the creation of cheap labor poles or because entire areas become unfeasible for reproduction and the production of life as a result of neoliberal market policies. It is the same model of the supposed neoliberal globalization that imposes the fragmentation and segmentation of the world,

marginalizing some in their places of origin and expelling others. (Raúl Fornet Betancourt, 2004, p.245).

Second, the rise of populism is only one aspect in the evolution of modern democracy. But it does not question anything seriously. On the one hand, Europe faces the challenges of a migratory crisis that threatens to shake the foundations of its historical democratic achievements and civil rights; on the other, Latin America is in the midst of the turn of the populist regimes of the left of the so-called "socialism of the twenty-first century," coined by Chavismo and other similar politics, as a new social utopia of change, born of the historical and intrinsic nature of our fickle continent.

This political model, far from giving answers to the migratory movements, seems to be stagnating, after the death of Chavez and, instead of being strengthened, is ankylosing and heading to its collapse like a house of cards, as a result of the distribution of the expenditures in a casual way, the demagogic authoritarianism of its leaders and the devaluation of international oil prices, which supported the Venezuelan economy, and which in turn subsidized the economies of their satellite and aligned countries.

This populist form, inspired by the postcolonial hope of Latin America, is today experiencing the uncertainty that its own architects have sown, whose lesson that they learned from the Cuban revolution has not served to rectify and rethink its future destiny. Demagogical populism, as it is seen, undergoes a chain of historical blows and lessons, as an expression of the fact that some of its leaders are seeing that their popularity, which until recently had dazzled and inflamed the unsuspecting and optimistic masses, is now fading.

The populist demagoguery of its bad rulers, who promoted erroneous economic policies, through the execution of statism and new style collectivism, have led some

nations of the American continent to institutional chaos, citizen insecurity and administrative corruption, which has brought to the ruins and collapse the incipient progress of their economies.

Democracy gives us lessons not of morality but of civism. It just teaches us to live together, but it is not enough. It is not the panacea of all social and political ills, but it is the way of governing that most resembles the values of civilization, and that allows the alternation in power, the renewal of its rulers and leaders, through elections.

4.3.4. Christian ethics in the face of immigration and exile

From the perspective of the beginnings of Christian ethics, today, immigration, in many cases, presents what we could call the dysfunctional effects in front of the illegality of people, and to a large extent, Christians who reside and minister in the countries of their dreams. According to studies conducted by Moisés Pinedo (2009), in the United States there is a reality called dysfunctional effects because of the different anomalies that occur in the lives of Christians living there. According to his evaluations, the plea is that no Hispanic ministry in the United States comes to an end, but many more can see "the light of day." However, as they spread around the nation, I also hope that the awareness of the dysfunctional effects of illegal immigration can grow in those ministries (p.50).

According to Pinedo, this scenario is a direct and indirect product of several factors promoted by ministers, congregations, relationships and dysfunctional Christians. That is, a dysfunctional minister is when the leader of a community cannot judge effectively if he himself does not act effectively. Dysfunctional congregations are those that are composed of people who abandoned their family at the place of their departure, only to seek a better life. Dysfunctional relationships have to do with the stories of many illegal immigrants who experience a real marital labyrinth that seems to

have no way out. And, dysfunctional Christians are the immigrants who draw near to God, but their lives present a huge challenge for Christian discipleship. Usually, all migrants, in order to cross from one nation to another, illegally, break the consent and approval of the higher authorities (Pinedo, pp. 50-62).

On the other hand, there are the migratory problems of a contradictory globalization. Almost all regions of the world are affected by the arrival, departure or transit of populations increasingly mobile and with more diversified profiles:

Women, minors, skilled workers, entrepreneurs of dubious income, tourists, as well as low-skilled populations for jobs, which sometimes offer their own body. This type of mobility influences the trends of divisions that exist in the world. Usually the political factor has been fed by the great crises that led to the great forced migrations, transnational diasporas, transit economy, precarious demographic development, promotion of marginality, exploitation by multinational companies, etc.

The Church, as an agent of the Kingdom of God, far from having a magic answer to immigration, is challenged to be not only an alternative to cosmetic philanthropy, but to promote a democracy that gives us lessons, not about moral or doctrine, but of civility. Even though, coexistence is taught, it is not enough. It is not the panacea of all social and political ills, but is the way of governing that most resembles the values of the civilization of the kingdom, and that allows as well the alternation in power, the renewal of its rulers and leaders through elections, and therefore, the welcome of neighbors from any cardinal point of the planet.¹⁰⁷

4.3.5. Attitudes towards the immigrant in the Christian mission today

The situation of multiple discrimination (not strictly ethnic in the anthropological sense), but of gender and origin. An example of this are women of

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix, Table 3.2., p. 241.

Bolivian origin in Buenos Aires. Their insertion in the informal labor market, their belonging with distinctive features, which do not exclude internal differentiations, to what several authors define as the "new bolivianidad" (Alejandro Grimson, 1999, en Alicia Martin, 2005; N. Gavazzo, 2002) or the "bolivianeidad," as well as the availability of an accessible narrative corpus make this group offer traits of particular interest for an interpellation from practical philosophy.

The example we refer to here shows daily situations in the public transport of the city of Buenos Aires. Many Bolivian women with indigenous roots, mestizos or not, with apparently distinctive physical features, personal attire and arrangements with traditional reminiscences and carrying packages and bags with fruits and vegetables for street sale, have been present for more than twenty years in sidewalks and transport of the city of Buenos Aires and its metropolitan area in a distinguishable and atypical way. This presence was and is an excuse for practices that are characteristic of segregation and / or stigmatization.

Traditionally, demographers distinguish two large groups of causes in all migratory phenomena, which they call rejection and attraction factors. Although they may be complementary, the former, refer to phenomena that tend to expel the population from a certain place (droughts, wars, persecutions, etc.), while the latter indicate those aspects that attract them to a certain place, hoping to find a solution to those problems there. This same principle can be applied to the everyday collective framework. There are societies that repel the new members, however, there are aspects of society that can be attractive to other ethnic groups, at least in their coexistence.

In this sense, the Christian mission must be considered in positive perspectives of immigration. First, the most important factor of an immigrant in a society is the solution, or at least relief, of the living conditions that led the immigrant to make the

decision to leave his country. From there, the main beneficiary of the movement should be the immigrant himself, since he finds in other places the means and resources to subsist peacefully, avoiding persecution for political matters or warlike conflicts, and to honestly make his living and provide for his family's livelihood.

Secondly, every immigration movement enriches the receiving society, as long as the norms of coexistence and legality are clear. According to the Migration Commission of the Spanish Episcopal Conference (1998), migrations have historically allowed the "export" of the progress of a particular civilization to other places (for example, in the new crops grown on this side of the Atlantic after the colonization of America), serving to globalize, as we would say today, the positive aspects of each territory (Carmelo Rodríguez, n.p.). In addition, direct communication with people from other cultures allows us to broaden our life horizon, to know other languages, other forms of life, other values, many times more solid than the dominant ones in our society regarding family, friendship or religious commitment.

Although the legal norms that regulate immigration are necessary and essential, however, local and private churches must maintain a positive and optimistic view of immigration. For without the immigrant population the missionary vision can be simplified. Immigration is necessary to maintain our own missionary welfare, and to that extent it is accepted or even encouraged by certain sectors of the community, leaving aside that they should be the main beneficiaries of the phenomenon, since their needs are much more pressing than ours.

The Mission through immigration must be bring a theology, anthropology and mission together. Like Hiebert holds, the mission must be based on the affirmation that Scripture is God's revelation to us, particularly, the New Testament, in the work of Spirit in the Church and the world. It includes: God's superintendence of history, God's

creation of perfect humans and theirs fall through sin; God's work of salvation within those who believe in Christ – God among us, and Christ's return to establish his Kingdom of righteousness throughout the created universe (p. 11).

Finally, a personal development may be evaluated through the recording of the analysis, observations and writing the whole project research. In general, the author think all three personal objectives for this project were achieved. First, definitely the understanding of the immigrations issue is gained in serve the need for a contextualizing ministry through the Argentinian's Provinces, the city of Buenos Aires and around the world's migrants realities. Second, the author was most privileged to work with the Slavic group, as the research's universe. Third, the author learned the process and languages of historical, social and missiological contents. Some other minor skills were also gained, but most importantly, this project in ministry helped to become better equipped to teaching at Seminary, Universities and Churches, looking for immigrants globalizing world.

APPENDIX

1. Tables: Geographical, Political and Demographic maps

Table 1.1. The province of Misiones in the Argentine geographical and political framework

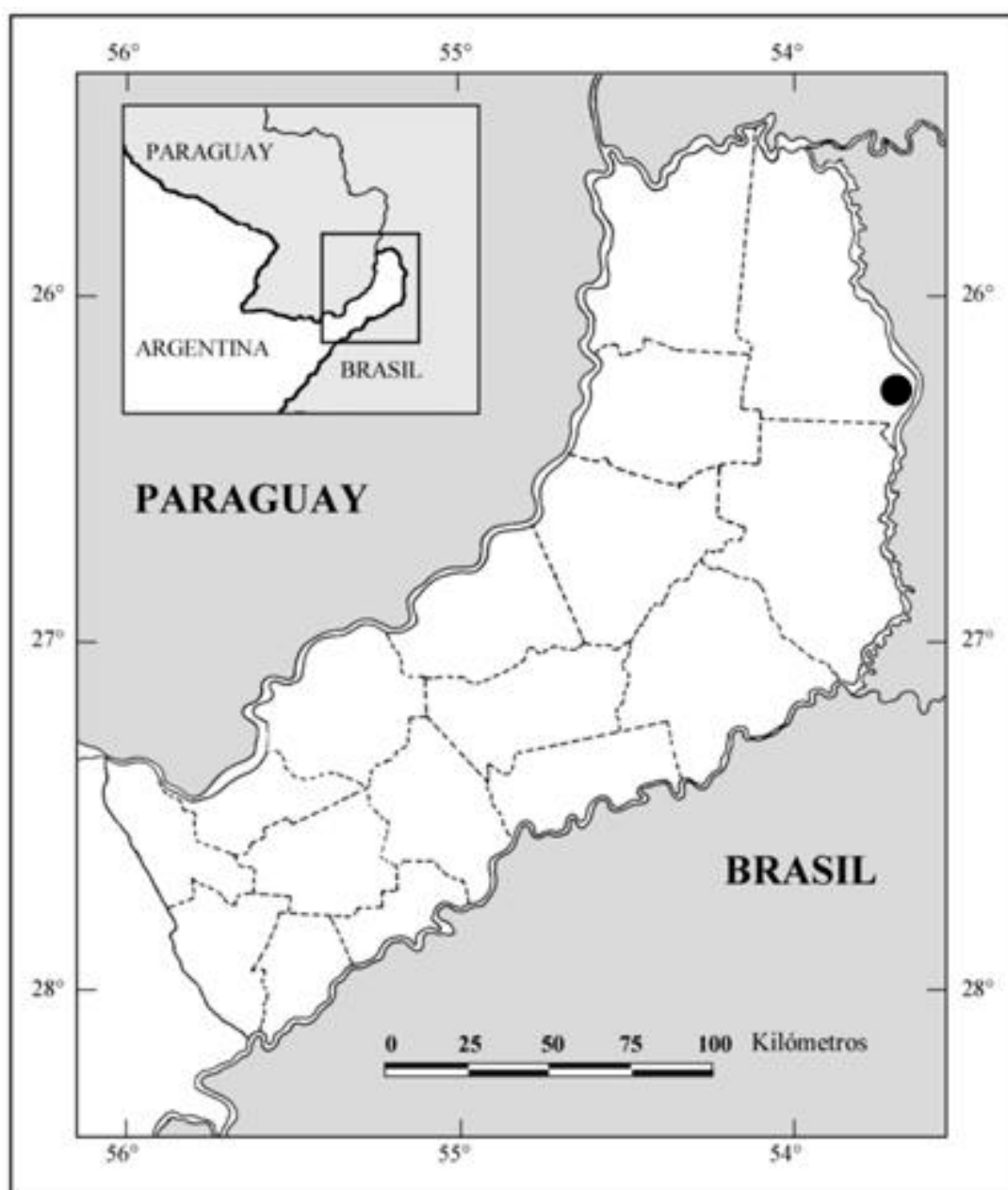


Table 1.2. Map of the National and International borders of the Province of Misiones



Table 1.3 Map 3: The five demographical demarcations of European`s immigrants according to José A. Margalot (1972) and Leopoldo Bartolomé`s (2000) theory

Equivalences

2. South region or Low area
3. Central mountain range

4. Irigoyen's Plateau
5. The high Uruguay river valley
6. The high Paraná river valley

- First immigration current 1879-1922
- Second immigration current 1925-1938

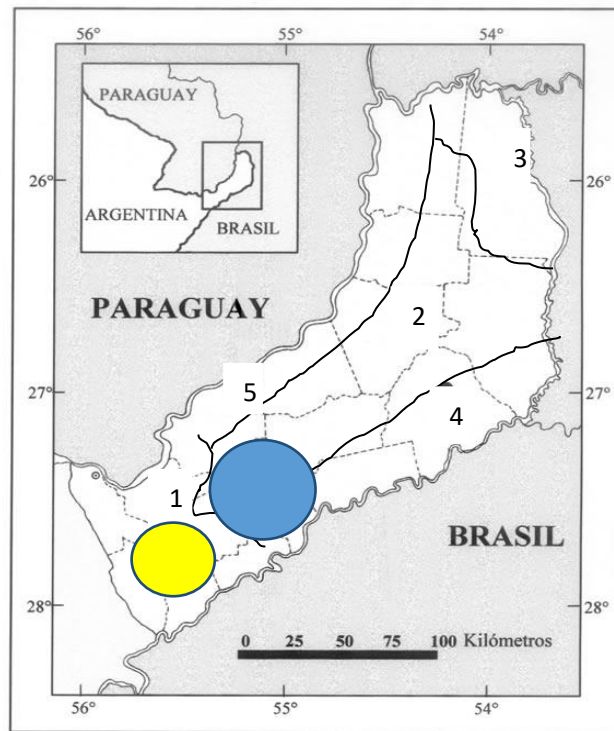


Table 1.4. Map 4: Official settlements assigned by the National Government

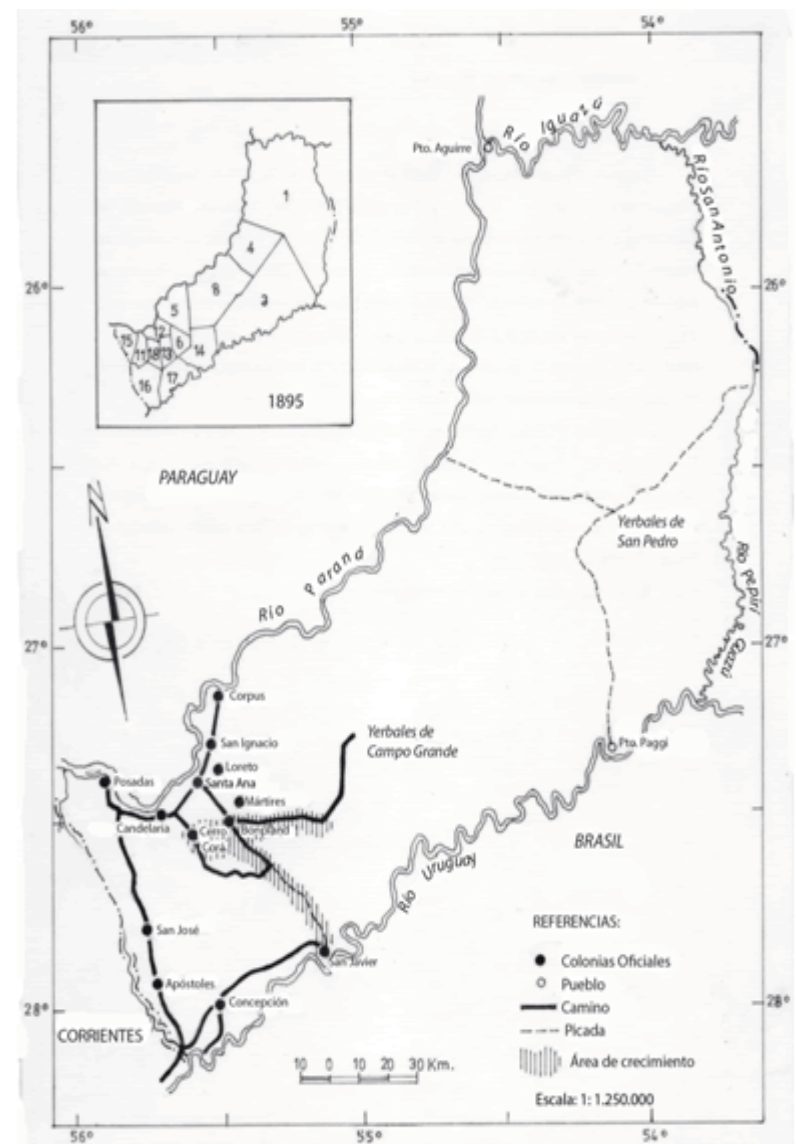
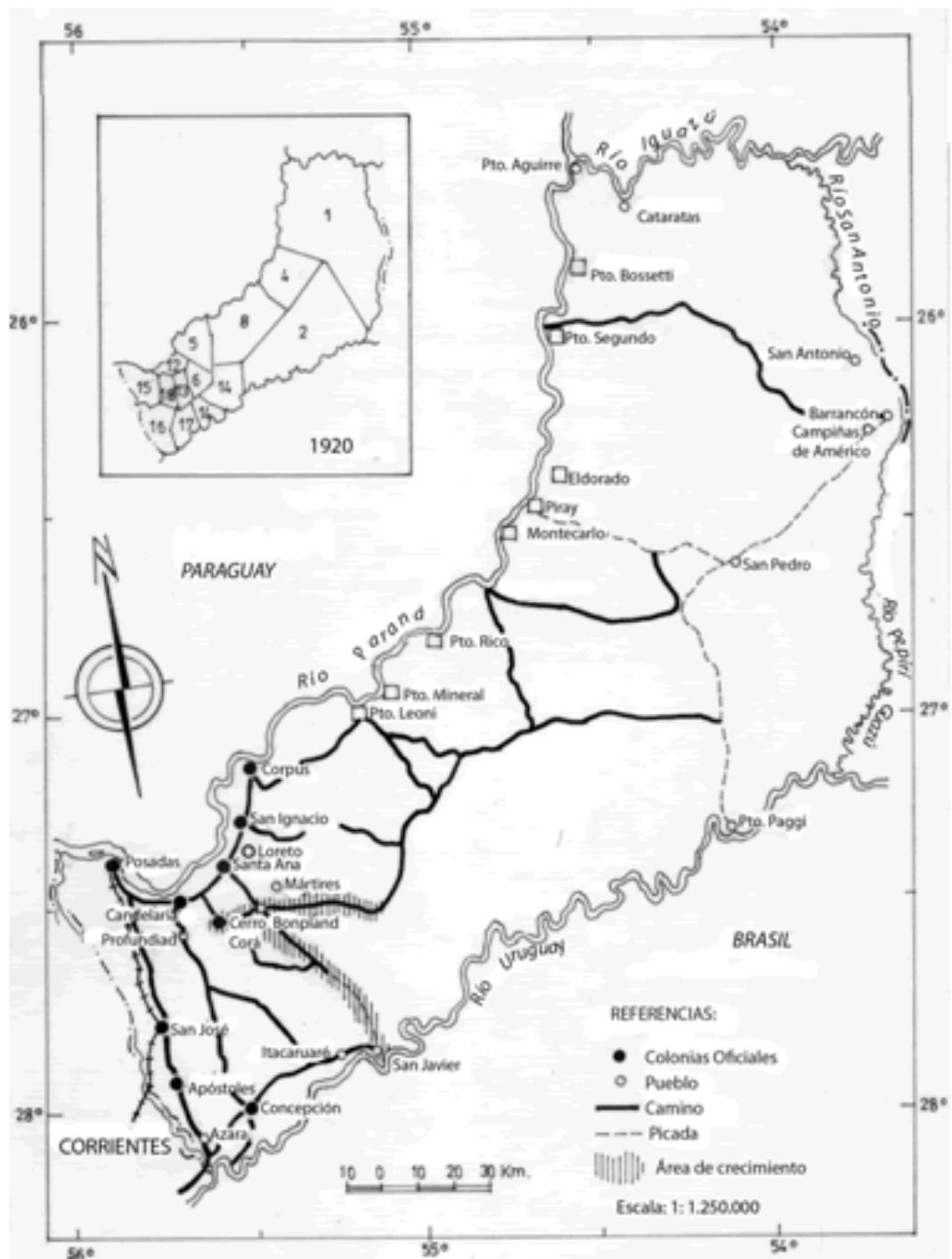


Table 1.5. Map 5: Expansion of official and private colonies (1920)



2. Figures: Research and Survey board

2.1. Data Open-ended question

Some questions are ones that require more than one word answers. The answers could come in the form of a list, a few sentences or something longer such as a speech, paragraph or essay.

Here are some examples of open-ended questions used for research:

- What were the most important wars fought in the history of the Slavic People?
- What were the reasons for the arrivals of Slav immigrants to Argentina?
- How exactly did your migration data?
- What is your favorite memory from childhood in Europe?
- How did you help the colonization company in your trip to Argentina?
- Why Argentina? And why Misiones?
- What were the major effects of World War I and II for the Slavic migrations to Argentina?
- How about the faith role in an immigrant context?
- What was the new context adaptation?
- How about Christian communities in a new territory?
- How about Christian unity between the social, cultural, and ethnic diversity?
- How differences and conflicts are overcome?
- Who learned of the conflicts and adversities?
- Of the following photographs, who were these people?
- What personalities stood out in the community?
- That European political ideologies influenced the immigrant context of the population of Misiones?
- What theological ideologies prevailed in Christian communities?
- In his view, what were the main contributions of Slav immigrants to the provincial development context?

2.2. Some research from Slavic immigrant

Theory about Russian migration's wave to Argentina

First wave, came from Russia to Argentina, was composed of Germans of the Volga, who, after the introduction in Russia of universal military service in 1874, began to emigrate to Argentina. By 1910 the population was 45,000 German. In the 80 years in Argentina have settled many of the Slavs - Bulgarians, Serbs and Montenegrins, many of whom were in search of a Catholic country, patronage of Orthodox Russia, which was established in 1885 with diplomatic relations with Argentina.

Second wave, in 1890, there was a wave of emigration of Jews from Russia, which in 1910 brought the Jewish population from Russia to 100,000. In 1891, the Baron Hirsch Society was founded to aid Jewish settlement.

The third Russian wave of migration coincides with the call of recruiters from Russia to Argentina began to arrive seasonal workers, mostly peasants from the western provinces of Russia. One of the most outstanding Russian representatives of the time was an extraordinary ambassador of the Argentine Republic, S. Alexander, son of Jonas, who served as ambassador in Brazil, and before that, as former Resident Montenegro Minister. Passing along the east coast of Latin America, he published his work "In South America." Thanks to their efforts, they became orthodox in Argentina. On June 14, 1888, in Buenos Aires, the first Orthodox Church in South America was inaugurated, consisting only of a couple of narrow rooms. This temple, which later became a place of mutual support, opened on September 23, 1901, on Brasilia Street, with the assistance of the abbot of Constantine Gavrilovic Izraztsov (1865-1953) and is called the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity.

The fourth wave of Russian immigrants to Argentina was a result of the war was the product of the Civil War in Russia, which began the flow of Russian emigration waves that would cross the Crimean Peninsula, Istanbul, and then the Balkans and Western Europe. During World War II, most Russians living in Latin America shared pro-Soviet sentiments, and after the war sympathy increased and a church of the Moscow Patriarchate opened in Buenos Aires. There was also a new exodus of emigrants from Europe. In 1948, President Juan Domingo Perón issued a law allowing the admission of 10,000 Russians. Among them, many were ex-fascists of uzbeki concentration camps. Another 5,000 to 7,000 people arrived in Argentina. Among them were ten priests of the Russian Orthodox Church and a few hundred soldiers. Also, some immigration, as a few dozen colonels, Knights of San Jorge, officers of the Imperial Russian Navy, imperial cadets and cadets of Foreign Affairs.

The fifth wave of Russian immigrants to Argentina coincided with the Perestroika and the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989). Many excluded Russians came to Argentina in search of work and permanent residence.

2.3. Figure: Pictures, life record diary, and other original writings as contribution for historical understanding

2.3.1. Figure: A Classic Evangelical Hymns. It is sung at all mass meetings and conferences

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БРАТЬЯ, ВСЕ ЛИКУЙТЕ.

1. Братья, все ли- куй - те, Славный день настал! Се
 2. Мы - не при-сту - пи - ли Не к Си-на-ю мы, На
 3. Верой и лю-бовь-ю Мы теперь живем И,

ствуйте, Бог нам радость дал! Не - ко - гда чу - я
 га - ют Гро-мы, мол-ни-и. Сло - во бла-го - д
 кровью, К не-бе-сам и-дем. Свет - ла - я на-де

перь друзья; Близкими мы стали
 со креста: Мы спаслись от гнева } Кро - в
 лит сердца: Будем жить во-ве-ки

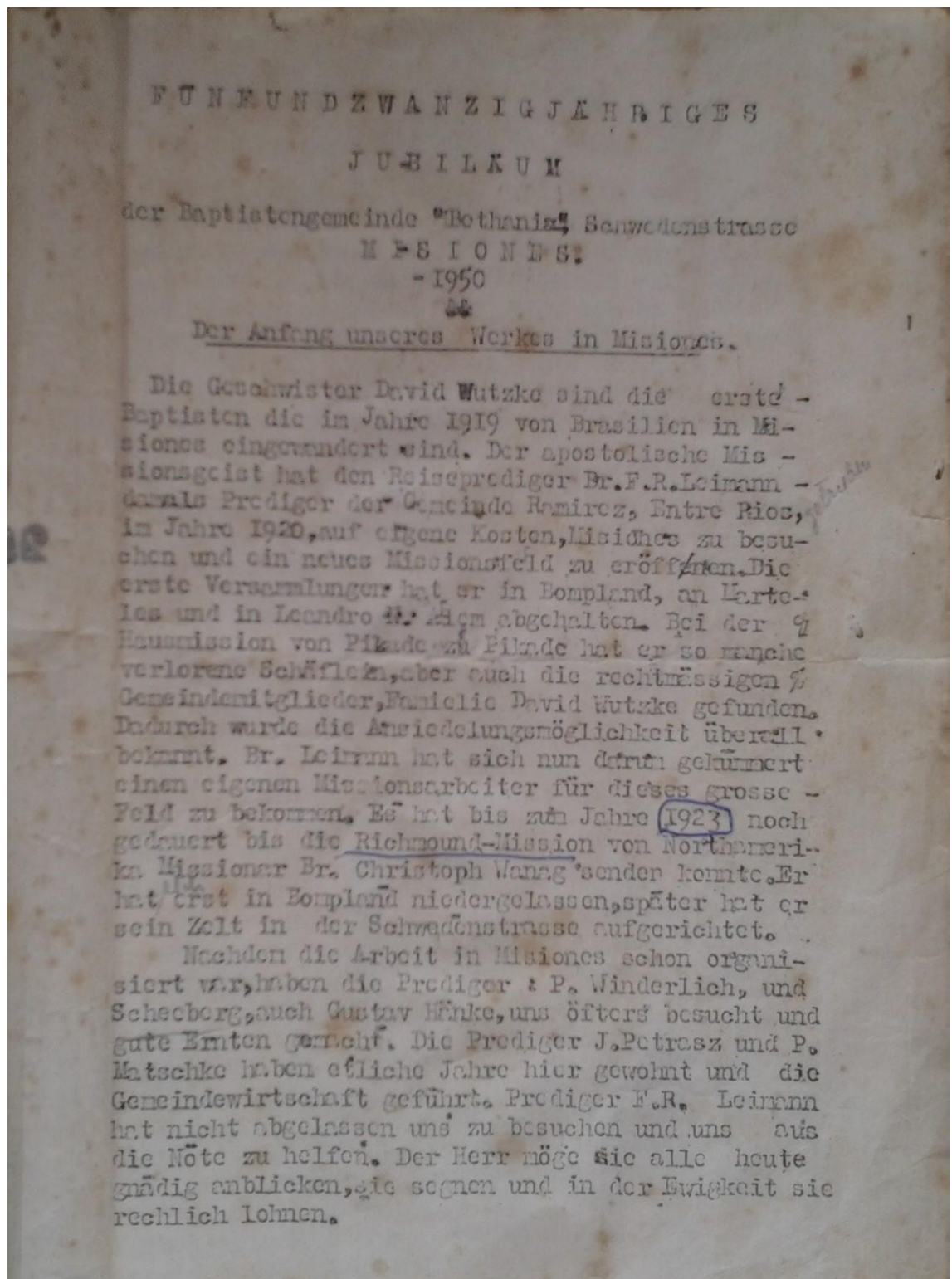
Припев

Гром - ко пой - те: ал - ли - лу -

2.3.2. **Figure:** Baptisthengemeinde "Bethania", Senwedens trasce. Guaraní, Misiones (1919-1924). First community of mixed Evangelical European immigrants in Misiones, National Territory



2.3.3. Figure: Leimann, Federico R. (1950), *FünfundzwanzigJährige Jubiläum Der Baptisthengemeinde "Bethania", Senwedens trasce (1919-1924)*. Guaraní, Misiones (Unpublished manuscript, trad. By author).



2.3.4. Figure: Daily life archive: Personal note of Damian Semeczuk, Volhyn (Ukraine), Yapeyú, Misiones (Argentina), 1925 – 1935. Used

бр. В. Мельник руководящим общины. на 1946 год.
 2. Дьяконом церкви переизбран бр. Виктор Корнейчук
 за 24 голоса и против 19 голосов.
 3. бр. Д. Семещук бывший пастор подал прозбу о изъяснен-
 и, прозба была церковью принята и выставлено 3
 кандидаты, из которых по большинству голосов
 избран бр. Александр Матушевский кашром на 1946г.
 4. Секретарем общины избран бр. А. Макара за 44 голоса
 и 2 против.
 5. В члены комитета избран бр. Д. Семещук.
 6. Учителем воскресной школы бр. И. Дартохвал, помо-
 щником бр. А. Корнейчук.
 7. Бридверником подтвержден бр. Л. Кондратюк.
 8. Превизеною катисей избран бр. А. Макара и бр. Фадей
 Зутварт. Председателем юношеского кружка подтвер-
 жден бр. А. Макара а помощником бр. Николай Вайх.
 Собрание закончил бр. Иосиф Бабич чтением
 слова Божия пос. Рим. 12: 1-12 и благодарственной
 молитвой.
 Составил бр. Б. Булавский
 Записал в книгу бр. А. Макара.

2.3.6. Figure: Planting Churches and Peter Deyneka's visit from United States. Corresponds to the Slavic Evangelical and Baptist Association. Below, Basil Zubczuk, Peter Deyneka and Ignacio Dachuk, 1940.



Первые связи с братством в Южной Америке. Во время первого посещения Южной Америки брат Дейнека нашёл большие колонии верующих в Парагвае, Уругвае, Бразилии и в Аргентине. Он не только посетил большие города, но объехал аргентинские провинции, как Чако и Мисионес, на повозке по примитивной дороге. Соборания были повсюду многолюдными и было много обращений.



русских алеутов, Аляске, слыша трудятся в десяти



Третье поле служения СЕО — Южная Америка. Брат Дейнека посетил Южную Америку в 1940 году. Там он нашёл много верующих среди славян. В то время он познакомился с братьями Василием Зубчук и Игнатием Дацюк, которые трудились в северной провинции Аргентины (Мисионес) и

2.3.7. Figure: Baptism at the farm. Los Helechos Colony



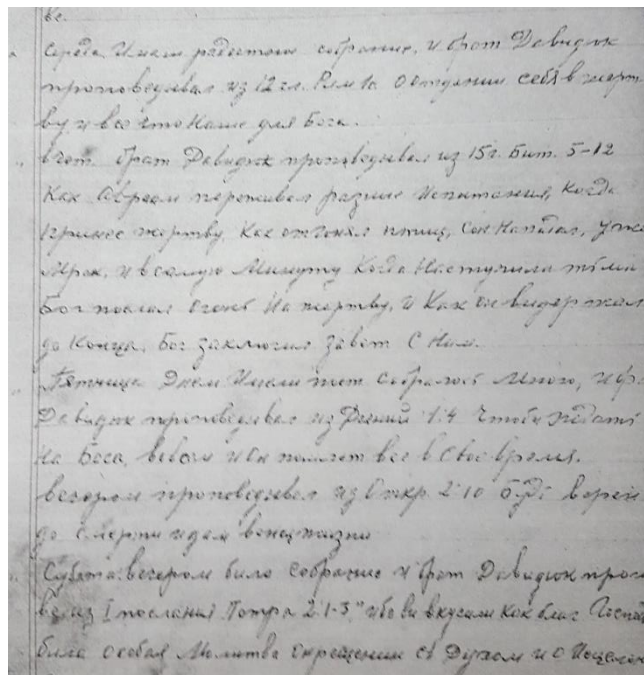
2.3.8. Figure: Sunday Bible School meeting. Los Helechos Colony



2.3.9. Figure: Slavic Pentecostal meeting: Bayo Troncho Colony



2.3.10. Figure: Daily life archive: Personal note of pastor Jacobo Martyniuk. Bayo Troncho Colony (1956). Using with family permission. Trad. By author.



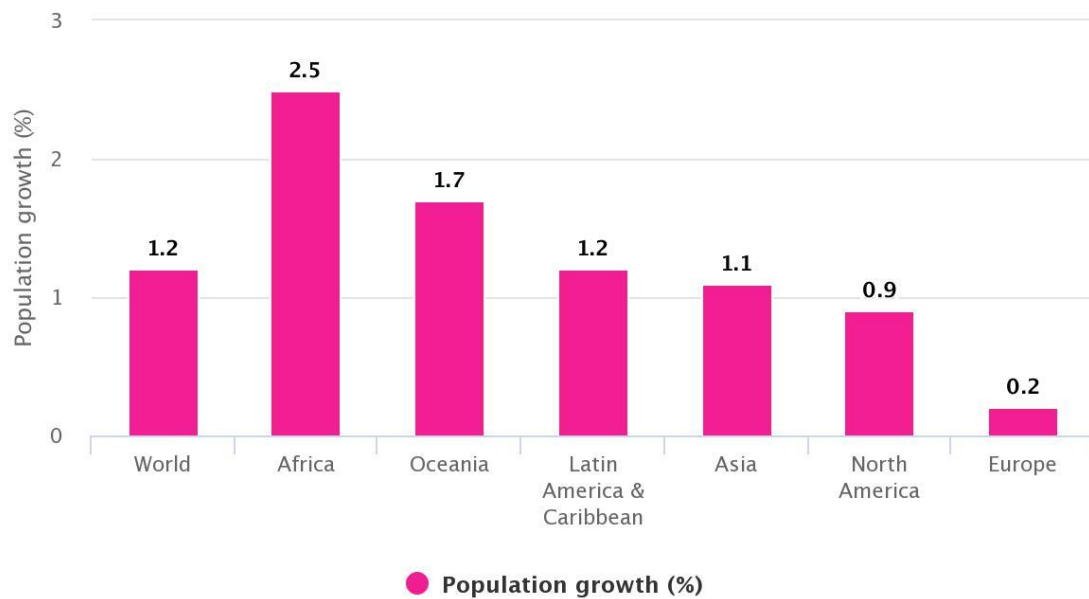
82.
 Среда. Утром приехал сиротин, и брат Давидок
 приехал из школы. Ровно 10 часов. Сел в школу
 и в 10 часов начал урок.
 Четверг. Утром Давидок приехал из школы. 5-12
 Как всегда переписывал письма. Вечером, когда
 переписывал письма, как всегда читал, как всегда, как
 всегда, и в конце концов когда приходил домой
 был очень устал. На работе, и как всегда переписывал
 письма, был очень устал. Вечером.
 Пятница. Утром приехал сиротин, и брат
 Давидок приехал из школы. 1-4. Утром приехал
 на работу, было очень много работы. Вечером
 переписывал письма. 2-10. Вечером
 переписывал письма.
 Суббота. Вечером было собрание. Утром Давидок приехал
 из школы. 1-3. Вечером переписывал письма.
 Было очень много работы. Вечером переписывал письма.

3. Tables: Contemporary socio, demographical and cultural Outputs

3.1. Table: Europe's population growth

Europe's population growth is almost negligible

Source: UN, 2012 revision

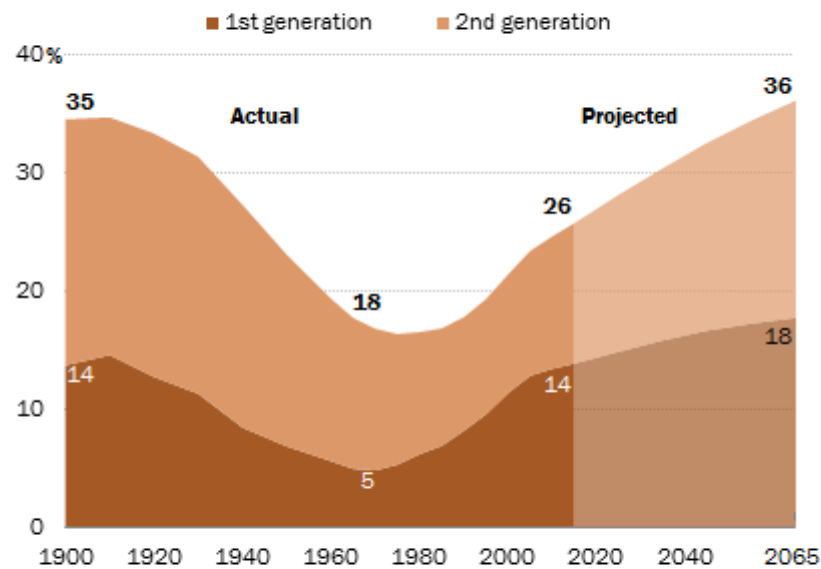


3.2. Table: Immigrant's population growth in the world

FIGURE 2.1

First- and Second-Generation Share of the Population to Reach Record High in 2065

% of U.S. population who are ...



Note: Data labels are for 1900, 1965, 2015 and 2065. "First generation" is foreign born; "second generation" is people born in the U.S. with at least one foreign-born parent.

Source: Edmonston and Passel (1994) estimates for 1900-1955; Pew Research Center estimates for 1960-2015 based on adjusted census data; Pew Research Center projections for 2015-2065

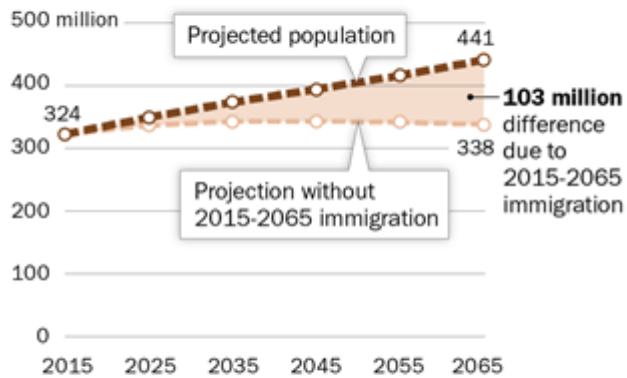
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Pew Research Center (September 28, 2015)

3.3. Table: Immigration Projected in United States

FIGURE 2.3

Immigration Projected to Account for 103 million in U.S. Population Growth by 2065



Note: "Difference due to immigration" refers to immigrants arriving from 2015 to 2065 and their descendants. 2015 numbers are estimates; numbers for other years are projected.

Source: Pew Research Center projections

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3.4. Table: Religious Views on immigrants in United States

Religious Tradition and Views on Immigrants

	All %	White evangelical Protestant %	White mainline Protestant %	White non- Hispanic Catholic %	Secular %
<i>The growing number of newcomers from other countries...*</i>					
Threatens traditional American customs and values	48	63	51	48	39
Strengthens American society	45	32	44	47	54
Don't know/Refused	7	5	5	5	7
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Immigrants today...*</i>					
Are a burden because they take our jobs, housing and health care	52	64	52	56	46
Strengthen our country with their hard work and talents	41	29	42	41	45
Don't know/Refused	7	7	6	3	9
	100	100	100	100	100

Pew Research Center for Hispanic people and Press, March 2006

3.5. Table: Asian in United States: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation of U.S. Asians

	U.S. Asians	General public
	%	%
Christian	42	75
Protestant	22	50
<i>Evangelical</i>	13	18 [^]
<i>Mainline</i>	9	17 [^]
Catholic	19	23
Other Christian	1	2
Buddhist	14	1.0-1.3[^]
Hindu	10	0.5-0.8[^]
Muslim	4	0.8[^]
Sikh	1	n/a
Jain	*	n/a
Other religion	2	4
Unaffiliated	26	19
Atheist/Agnostic	8	5
Nothing in particular	17	13
Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

2012 Asian-American Survey, Q30. Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. General public figures are based on aggregated data from surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press in 2011, except where noted.

[^] General public figures for evangelicals and mainline Protestants are for *white* (non-Hispanic) evangelical and *white* (non-Hispanic) mainline Protestants. Figures for U.S. Buddhists and U.S. Hindus are Pew Forum estimates. Figures for U.S. Muslims are Pew Research estimates.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

4.6. Table: Religious Attendance and View of Immigrants in United States

Religious Attendance and Views of Immigrants		
<i>Among...</i>	<i>Percent who say that...</i>	
	Newcomers threaten traditional American customs & <u>values</u> %	Immigrants are a burden because they take jobs, housing and <u>health care</u> %
All	48	52
White evangelical Protestants	63	64
Attend church at least once a week	62	59
Attend less often	62	72
White mainline Protestants	51	52
Attend church at least once a week	42	39
Attend less often	55	57
White, non-Hispanic Catholics	48	56
Attend church at least once a week	46	44
Attend less often	49	63
Seculars	39	46

Pew Research Center for Hispanic people and Press, March, 2006

4.7. Table: Asian People in United States: Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation of U.S. Asians

	U.S. Asians	General public
	%	%
Christian	42	75
Protestant	22	50
<i>Evangelical</i>	13	18 [^]
<i>Mainline</i>	9	17 [^]
Catholic	19	23
Other Christian	1	2
Buddhist	14	1.0-1.3[^]
Hindu	10	0.5-0.8[^]
Muslim	4	0.8[^]
Sikh	1	n/a
Jain	*	n/a
Other religion	2	4
Unaffiliated	26	19
Atheist/Agnostic	8	5
Nothing in particular	17	13
Don't know/Refused	1	1
	100	100

2012 Asian-American Survey, Q30. Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. General public figures are based on aggregated data from surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press in 2011, except where noted.

[^] General public figures for evangelicals and mainline Protestants are for *white* (non-Hispanic) evangelical and *white* (non-Hispanic) mainline Protestants. Figures for U.S. Buddhists and U.S. Hindus are Pew Forum estimates. Figures for U.S. Muslims are Pew Research estimates.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Pew Research Center for Asian- Americans, July 19, 2012

5. Table: Some definition about Protestantos Evangelicos in South America

A Conceptual Definition of Protestantism Evangelical is complex, since there is no ecclesial organization that alone can represent the entire spectrum of Protestant churches. In this sense, it is suggested to refer to an ecclesial and doctrinal movement that arose from the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. "In Latin America, the term "Evangelicos" is generic and is almost always used by members of evangelical churches. Evangelical being is often synonymous with Protestant. However, there are different sectors that can be distinguished by their origin, their theological expressions and their sociological reality.

In this sense, the evangelical movement was already present in the succession of Lutheran reform and European Pietism. In addition, from the seventeenth century onwards, English Puritanism, those withdrawing from the Official Church (Anglican) were disparagingly termed "nonconformists, dissenters and also evangelicals." Later, in the American colonies, during the First and Second Great Awakening, evangelicals were those who supported revivalism and the search for an experience to mark the starting point of Christian life.

Hence, evangelical Protestantism is a very broad and complex construction. The true meaning of the concept can vary depending on the context, place or moment in which it is lived. Today evangelicalism is a great hybrid where Calvinist emphasis is placed on doctrine, pietism in the heart and liturgy can be a variety of styles and ministerial approaches. But although there are a variety of styles and modalities, however there are some common features that form the basis of the entire historical and contemporary evangelical movement. Among them: The Bible as the source of all salvation and practice (*sola Scriptura*); Faith (*sola Fide*) in Christ as a means of salvation; The personal conversion to God through his grace (*sola Gratia*).

Nowadays, in the Province of Misiones, evangelicals are still very varied. Some work strictly in their denomination and many prefer independent service to any formal structure or organization. However, at the time of classification, may to approach from four well-defined variants. Although this perspective may be not exhaustive, it helps us to systematize all this variety according to its categories or sociological emphasis of each of the ecclesiastical communities:

In a first category, it is generally represented by established, episcopal, reformed (in some cases) and national churches.¹⁰⁸ Of this variant, in Misiones, the first Protestant cults were from the Swedish and German immigrants of Lutheran confession and the Evangelical Church of the River of the Silver.

In a second category, the so-called free or evangelical churches are grouped together.¹⁰⁹ Specifically in Latin America is used the differentiation of what are the Protestant churches and evangelical Christianity. From a sociological perspective, this variant is also called missionary, since the influence of foreign missions, mostly from North America, was a hallmark. In this Protestantism, the missionaries brought the Gospel to a continent obscured by the Catholic faith. They generally oriented their goals to evangelistic expansion and were not governed by nationality criteria. Given these definitions, it is important to make a caveat for the different Christian confessions in the origins of the Province of Misiones. In the lower missions, that is to say in the south east of the territory, between the presence of Polish and Ukrainian immigrant was hostile in relationship with Protestantism, always prevailed, since the Poles were Roman

¹⁰⁸This classification well coincides in the evangelical sociological perspectives, realized by Hilario H. Wynarczik, Pablo Seman and Mercedes de Majo, (1995, pp. 6-10).

¹⁰⁹ The free evangelical churches are those that were born from the Radical Reformation or the Anabaptism. These were voluntary groups without recognition or responsibility or social power, which sought to be based on the teachings of the New Testament, and which demanded religious freedom and separation of church and state. This movement originated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and expanded in the centuries that followed in the North American Colonies and Europe (Pablo A. Deiros, 2012, pp. 36-37).

Catholics of the Latin ritual, whereas the majority of the Ukrainians were uniats, is Say, members of the Eastern Ukrainian ritual of the Roman Catholic Church.

The third category of evangelical Protestantism corresponds to Pentecostalism. Although this movement is very broad and varied, the Pentecostal Slavic communities shared many aspects in common with the free evangelical churches of the second variant. However, the emphasis on the Holy Spirit and the evidences of the gift of tongues, miraculous healings, prophecies, and demonic liberations were grounds for separation. Slavonic evangelical Pentecostalism came to the National Territory of Missions at the same time as evangelical and Baptist Christians. Nevertheless, its expansion was later, since it did not count on a formal organization in its beginnings.

The fourth category of Evangelical Protestantism in Misiones was the charismatic and neo-Pentecostal movements that emerged in other regions. But this variant did not directly influence the Pentecostalism of this region. It took other generations, with a different identity, more mestiza, to accept the influence of a new morphological, theological and missiological perspective. Although, the more conservative leaders are reluctant to this transformation, therefore they share their principles with the classic evangelicals, that is, the missionary variant.

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