

CONTESTED COMBINATIONS: EVANGELICAL, PENTECOSTAL AND CATHOLIC  
CONVERGENCE AMONG LATIN AMERICANS AND U.S. LATINOS IN THE ANGLICAN  
COMMUNION

By

SEAN SAMUEL O'NEIL

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

2012

© 2012 Sean Samuel O'Neil

To my family

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all of the interviewees from my various case studies for their candid and generous contributions to this study. Those compelling voices motivated me to give every effort to carefully craft a dissertation that would preserve the complexity and vitality of the faith I observed in the lives of so many precious people.

I thank my mother, Linda O'Neil, and my father, Leonard O'Neil, for their tireless support and encouragement throughout this process. My brother, Stephen, and sister, Sara, were inspirations in their own vocational pursuits, and their steadfast examples continued to propel me forward during the more difficult stages of this project.

I am also grateful to my wife, Mallory Bolduc O'Neil, who offered enlightening feedback through multiple research and writing stages, even while she was working on her own significant studies and research. She also edited a number of drafts of this project, which helped make the presentation of the research both much clearer and more convincing than it was in its original form.

I would also like to thank my dissertation committee for their valuable insights and recommendations. Anna Peterson and Manuel Vásquez were co-chairs who extended patient tutelage both while I was in Florida and during stages when I was out of the country. Phillip Williams and David Hackett were particularly helpful in leading me to consider the interdisciplinary impact and future shape of this research.

Finally, I would like to thank Anne Newman, whose consistently bright cheer and diligent administrative assistance has helped every graduate student who has passed through this program.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	4
ABSTRACT.....	8
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	10
The Creation of ACNA: Progressive Revelation and LGBT Ordination .....	14
Case Studies.....	21
The Chilean Miner Crisis.....	24
Globalization Theory .....	32
Convergence and Cultural Hybridity .....	34
History of Charismatic Renewal and Its Relationship to the Convergence Movement .....	35
Chapter Outline.....	41
2 BACKGROUND AND HISTORY .....	45
Ancient-Future Faith as Postmodern Evangelicalism.....	48
The Historic Proliferation of Theological Variety in Anglicanism .....	51
Three Forerunners to ACNA’s Expression of Convergence .....	56
Terry Fullam.....	56
Michael Harper.....	59
William DeArteaga.....	61
Telling Differences in Convergent Narratives .....	65
Convergence and Diversity.....	66
3 THE CONTESTED PENTECOSTALIZATION OF CHILEAN ANGLICANISM .....	74
Anglicans in Pentecostal Outreach .....	76
Crossing Denominations, Crossing Social Classes .....	78
Charismatic Awakenings in the Chilean Middle Class .....	82
From Evangelical Liberation Theology to Pentecostal Anglicanism .....	91
Patterns of Pentecostalizacion at La Trinidad .....	93
Attitudes toward the Demonic .....	95
The Pentecostal/Charismatic Ritual of Being Slain in the Spirit.....	97
The Globalization of Pentecostal/Charismatic Revival .....	98
Transferring Charismatic Rituals.....	105
Developing a Global Charismatic Consciousness through Local Experiences of the Spirit.....	107
4 MAKING SPACE FOR CONVERGENCE AT IGLESIA SAN BARTOLOME .....	113
Transnational Charismatic Networks and the Shaping of Personal Spirituality.....	116

	Multicultural Visions and Xenophobic Realities.....	118
	Finding San Bartolome in the Anglican Alphabet Soup .....	122
	Forging Charismatic and Evangelical Pathways through Broad Catholic Spaces.....	123
	Cradle Catholic Ambivalence.....	124
	Street Evangelism in the Spirit and into the Church.....	127
	From Evangelical Witness to Charismatic Presence .....	131
	A Non-Denominational Evangelical Christmas Service .....	138
	Cradling Baby Jesus with Mexican <i>Cantitos</i> at San Bartolome .....	139
5	PROGRESSIVE CONVERGENCE AT IGLESIA SAN PEDRO .....	144
	Background of Misión San Juan.....	147
	Convergence and Continuity .....	150
	The Path to TEC .....	153
	From Cuba to Northern Florida and from Catholicism to Evangelicalism .....	155
	Introductions to Charismatic Faith .....	159
	Combining Charisma with Tradition.....	164
	<i>El Dia de la Raza</i> : Convergence in Practice.....	166
	When the Bishop Comes to Town, She Speaks in Spanish.....	171
	Implications of Cross-Culturalism.....	174
6	CALLING, CONVERSION, AND CONVERGENCE.....	178
	The Traditional Pauline Model of Conversion .....	178
	The Concept of Calling.....	181
	Conversion Careers and Testimonies .....	184
	First Life History: David’s Catholic Call to Anglicanism.....	185
	Catholic Formation in Mexico.....	185
	A Mobile Mexican Marriage .....	189
	From Catholicism in Mexico to Catholicism in the Episcopal Church.....	191
	Assessing the Explanatory Power of “Conversion” in David’s Case.....	196
	Second Life History: Jaime’s Journey to Dual Citizenship and Convergent Conversion ....	199
	Circular Passages between Guatemala and the U.S. ....	199
	A Convergent Church Experience.....	201
	Convergent Motivations to Leave a Worldly Lifestyle .....	203
	Calling to Service .....	204
	David and Jaime in Convergent Comparison .....	206
	Calling and the Negotiation of Identity .....	208
7	MOBILIZING IMAGES AND MEDIATING THE MISSION.....	209
	Competing Mediations of Convergence in Chilean Anglicanism .....	211
	A Chilean Bishop on the Mobile Mediator.....	218
	Circulating Anglican Identity Transnationally .....	220
	Moods and Motivations for Anglican Lay Mission across the Americas .....	224
	The Latina/o Presence on the Diocesan Website of Fort Worth .....	235
	Distilling Conservative Discourse at the Local Level .....	237

	The Surprising Interstices of Global North and Global South Conservatism .....	240
	Emergent Christian Media and the Subversion of Conservative Convergence.....	242
	Mediation and Convergence .....	243
8	CONCLUSION.....	245
	Theories of Globalization .....	247
	Classifying My Case Studies in Current Taxonomies.....	249
	Classifying Networks by Common Theological Features and Linked Histories .....	252
	Ancient-Future Faith Paradigm at San Bartolome.....	256
	The Relevance of the Emergent Movement .....	258
	Global Emergence and Global Networks .....	260
	Global Icons.....	264
	Concluding Thoughts.....	267
	A Call to Further Research .....	268
	LIST OF REFERENCES .....	270
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH .....	281

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

CONTESTED COMBINATIONS: EVANGELICAL, PENTECOSTAL AND CATHOLIC  
CONVERGENCE AMONG LATIN AMERICANS AND U.S. LATINOS IN THE ANGLICAN  
COMMUNION

By

Sean Samuel O’Neil

August 2012

Chair: Anna Peterson  
Co-chair: Manuel Vasquez  
Major: Religion

The Anglican Communion is a global Christian institution in crisis over human sexuality. A conservative minority in North America has aligned with Anglican leaders in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America to oppose progressive levels of inclusion for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered people, especially at the highest ranks of ecclesiastical leadership. These conservative, cross-cultural partnerships have been facilitated by the perception of a common convergence of Pentecostal, Catholic and Evangelical emphases among such groups. This study analyzes three congregations with such combinations: a Chilean Anglican church, a U.S. Latino church in Texas and a bilingual parish in Northern Florida. Even though these churches demonstrate similar levels of mixture, they are differently situated in broader conflicts of the Anglican Communion, and a close examination of their contexts within varying scales of analysis—the global, transnational, and local—reveals the need to reconceptualize the borders of global Christianity.

This study demonstrates the importance of networks as a key tool in understanding the reconfiguration of Christian borders. It analyzes the unusual combination of two seemingly opposed processes in Christian networking—convergence and orthodoxy. Normally the border-

crossing that is evoked by a term like convergence would be considered antithetical to people who seek to solidify the borders of orthodoxy, or “right belief.” Nevertheless, the discourse of the convergence of Pentecostal, Catholic and Evangelical elements has been tied to a vigorous, though uneven, pursuit of orthodoxy among conservative groups in Anglicanism. Still, progressive groups are also beginning to draw on a common fount of convergent ideas, and the overlapping networks in which these case studies are embedded reveals the high levels of contestation and the far reach of such tensions in “convergent Christianity.”

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

After Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, the Anglican Communion is the third largest official church organization in the world. It has been swept up in the fastest flowing currents of Christian faith, global Pentecostalism, and it is beset with the world's most divisive contemporary theological controversy, human sexuality. It is not surprising that Anglicanism is currently contested terrain since it is located on the borders of important dividing lines in global Christianity, some of which are well-known and others of which require an uncommon knowledge of theological particularities. Anglicans are found at multiple intersections: between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, Mainline and Evangelical Christianity, social conservatism and progressive liberalism, and Calvinist/Reformed Protestantism and Wesleyan/Arminian Protestantism.

The theological combinations that have arisen at various points along the Anglican borderlands are related to broader divisions between Catholics and Protestants, and other subdivisions within the latter. There is, for example, a difference in terminology for similar rituals, such as the "Eucharist" in Catholic settings and the "Lord's Supper" in many Protestant quarters. Both Catholics and Protestants call this act a "sacrament," but they have different views of both sacramental function and number. Many Protestants believe that there are only two sacraments, water baptism and the Lord's Supper. Unlike Catholics, who enumerate seven sacraments, the vast majority of Protestants do not believe that God uses material means, such as water and bread, to confer divine power, mercy and grace to a believer. Instead, Protestants stress the symbolism of sacraments.

Pentecostalism is one of the newest and most influential strands of Protestantism shaping current configurations of the Anglican Communion. Like many Protestants, Pentecostals

emphasize the importance of reverent reflection on sacramental occasions. In their view, these are moments when believers should remember the salvation that Christ is thought to have brought them personally by dying for their sins on the cross. All the elements, though—the water, bread and grape juice (the nonalcoholic alternative to wine)—are considered unchanged in the process. According to Pentecostals, God does not charge such materiality with sacred currents. They do pray, though, for God to enliven their bodies, and the most riveting ritual occasions occur when they pray for the Holy Spirit to immerse them in a new spiritual baptism (usually subsequent to water baptism)—at which point some speak in tongues, and many others hope to do so. People in historic church traditions, like the Anglican Communion, who appropriate elements of Pentecostalism are usually called “Charismatics.”

These various concepts and classifications may seem like abstract categories relevant only to theologians or scholars of religion, but an empirical study in 1998 demonstrated significant correspondence between these taxonomies and the identities of rank and file Christians in North America. Christian Smith claims, for example, that “Ordinary churchgoing Protestants did in fact negotiate their lives and make sense of the religious world with normatively oriented religious categories and labels” (242). It is useful then to consider how a category like “Mainline Christianity” is understood, since this is the label often applied to Anglican churches. Those people in Smith’s study who affirmed that “Mainline Protestantism” accurately defined their Christian orientation believed the term “referred to the older, more established, well-known, larger denominations. They also knew that mainline was definitely not fundamentalist, evangelical or Charismatic” (Smith 1998:243). As a Church with a history stretching back to the sixteenth century and one that proponents claim maintains continuity with even earlier expressions of Christian faith, the Anglican Communion is certainly “old,” “established,” and

“well-known.” In certain parts of the Communion, however, this institution is also increasingly “Evangelical,” “Charismatic” and some would argue “fundamentalist.” It is thus not difficult to understand why there is so much division in Anglicanism, since some members represent their institutional identity in contradistinction to certain segments within it. And the Anglican Church is not the only mainline denomination that is undergoing change due to Charismatic and Evangelical influence. In *The Megachurch and the Mainline*, Stephen Ellingson analyzes several American Lutheran congregations and concludes that “religious restructuring in the United States is not only about shifts in affiliation or attendance but also about the power of both evangelicalism and seeker spirituality to remake mainline Protestantism in their own images” (2007:19). Neither is this process of Evangelical and Charismatic influence on the mainline confined to the United States.

Charismatic faith privileges spontaneity and personal revelation, making it difficult to grasp in a steady academic grip; that challenge is compounded by the accelerated swirl of globalization, those frenetic social and political processes in which Charismatic Christianity takes and gives shape. Scholars have noted a seismic shift in the locus of Christianity from the global North to the global South (Jenkins 2011:9). The centre of Christianity was long thought to reside in Western Europe and North America, but the areas of greatest Christian growth are now in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Not only have these territories had an upsurge in total numbers of Christians, but various strands of Christianity, which had once been compartmentalized in separate Christian institutions, have converged in these regions to such an extent that they have resulted in new hybrid forms of “pneumatic,” or spirit-centered, faith. Philip Jenkins claims, for example, that “If you talk to a Nigerian Anglican and you try to pin him down, saying, ‘I cannot figure you out, are you evangelical, are you Catholic, are you

charismatic?’ The immediate answer is yes. And they mean it” (Jenkins 2007). This unique response speaks to the malleability and portability of pneumatic faith (Vásquez 2009) and to the distinct combinative possibilities within Anglicanism.

Indeed, Anglicanism has led a notable trend in the popularity of Charismatic Christianity within mainline churches in the global South:

Among the historic Protestant churches in Africa, Asia and Latin America, charismatic renewal has particularly flourished in the Anglican Communion, where it has influenced whole dioceses to a degree that would be impossible in England. The renewal among Anglicans is found almost everywhere where the Anglican Church has a significant presence. This is particularly true of the former British colonies in East and Southern Africa, and in Singapore. Lutheran renewal is strong in Tanzania where a recent Lutheran charismatic rally gathered a massive participation. In Korea there are massive charismatic churches among the Presbyterians and the Methodists (Hocken 2009:68).

Charismatic Renewal within the Presbyterian Church in Ghana has been so extensive that there is an entire monograph dedicated to its study (Atiemo 1993). Scholars of Latin American religion have been similarly attuned to a preponderance of pneumatic faith in mainstream Protestant denominations. In Guatemala, for example, Timothy Steigenga found that “religious practices among mainstream denominations and even within a significant number of Catholic congregations [have] taken on a distinctly Pentecostal flavor” (2007:260-261). He makes similar declarations about Venezuela, where the “population is highly pentecostalized across religious affiliations” (275).

North Americans in mainline churches who have been influenced by Charismatic and Evangelical movements have begun to exploit Jenkins’ paradigm of the ascendance of global South Christianity because those African, Asian and Latin American churches are thought to generally share the North American conservatives’ views of human sexuality. Christian Smith found that North American Evangelicals tend to characterize their brand of faith by “heartfelt, personal commitment to and experiential relationship with God, from which springs a readiness

to take a stand and speak out for the faith” (Smith 1998:243). Evangelicals in the Anglican Communion are increasingly taking a stand and speaking out against the perceived liberal developments in their institution. Some are also doing so with a Charismatic emphasis on the enlivening power of the Holy Spirit, who is thought to bestow supernatural gifts, such as healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues (glossolalia) on desiring and biblically-faithful supplicants. Most of these conservative Charismatic and Evangelical Anglicans also maintain the historic Anglican emphasis on the “real presence” of divinity thought to be mediated through material means in sacraments such as the Eucharist and baptism. The theology underlying these ritual practices is more closely aligned with Roman Catholicism than to other denominations that are more frequently associated with the term Evangelicalism, such as the Southern Baptists.

All of this flux and diversity makes it difficult to understand why “Few scholars examine globalization in the context of a mainline, Northern-headed religious body like the Episcopal Church or the worldwide Anglican Communion” (Hassett 2007:5). Also, in the Latin American case there has not been an extensive study that has contextualized the Charismatic movement in a mainline church within both the religious marketplace in which it competes and within its own conflicted denominational structures. I thus seek to fill multiple gaps in the literature by studying the globalization of discourses and practices of convergent Christian faith—combinations of Evangelical, Charismatic and Catholic elements—and its specific impact on local U.S. Latino and Latin American sites where people move through asymmetrically-powered nodes of global Christian networks.

### **The Creation of ACNA: Progressive Revelation and LGBT Ordination**

Hence I examine three local churches in the Anglican Communion that combine sometimes discrete aspects of Christianity within both proximate and more far-reaching institutional Anglican flux. All three churches are part of broader ecclesiastical jurisdictions (the

largest of which are called “provinces”) that consider themselves official members of the Anglican Communion, even though the relationship between some of these jurisdictions is strained. Anglican conflict over various theological issues has crystallized around the contested role of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) persons in the Church, and especially within its ranks of official leadership. In 2003, Gene Robinson, a partnered gay man, was elected and consecrated as the Episcopal Bishop of New Hampshire. Since, at the time, the Episcopal Church (TEC) was the only U.S. expression of the Anglican Communion, Robinson’s election disturbed conservative Anglicans in both the global South and the global North (Hassett 2007:12). By contrast, Robinson received a warmhearted reception from Anglicans who have sought to make their church more inclusive and gay-affirming (Adams 2006:162). Fierce debates about human sexuality have thus brought a clash of theological visions, pitting conservatives striving to preserve traditional Christian teaching in an open struggle against more liberal factions who believe that God’s revelation to churches and humanity is progressive.

This is especially true in the United States, where in 2009 a collection of dissident conservative Episcopalians formed the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA) as a rival organization to the Episcopal Church in the United States; TEC was the only official representation of the Anglican Communion in the United States before the upstart ACNA began to vie for that recognition, but TEC is not alone in its progressive propensities. TEC’s neighbor to the north, the Anglican Church of Canada, has also made waves for its inclusion of LGBT people and blessings of their unions. In opposition to such measures, the ACNA has attracted Canadian conservatives as well as Americans (Grossman 2009). More importantly, the ACNA has received vocal support from Anglicans in various parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America whose conservative views of sexuality have put them at odds with progressive groups within

TEC and the Anglican Church of Canada. This support is crucial since the majority of the world's seventy-seven million Anglicans are found in the global South, especially Africa (Jenkins 2011).

Given the far-reaching cultural and theological diversity in Anglicanism, the Archbishop of Canterbury has been an important centrifugal figurehead, who “has played a distinct role in giving cohesion to Anglican unity” (Thomas 1998:259). The Archbishop convenes decennial Lambeth conferences, drawing a wide spectrum of church leadership that has “reflected the tremendous growth of the Anglican churches outside the Anglo-Saxon world” (Shriver 1998:211). Votes on issues of sexuality at these conferences have revealed a conservative consensus in the Global South (Rodgers 2012). The conservative minority in North America has reinforced the impression that the conservative theological orientation in the Global South is an inherent part of that region's Christian character, and that subsequent conservative links forged between North Americans and Global South Anglicans are a natural outgrowth of faithfulness to the truth of the Bible (Hassett 2007:252). Nevertheless, there is painstaking work involved in creating such links, efforts which are occluded in a discourse that posits a natural affinity between “orthodox” Anglicans in the Global North and the Global South. The framing of such discourses is contested not only by progressives in North America, but in some of the same Global South regions that conservative North American Anglicans consider “faithful” and “orthodox” (Hassett 2007:116).

Still, there are some Global South church leaders who have become exasperated not only with liberal developments in North America but with Archbishop Rowan Williams' phlegmatic approach to theological controversy. Although Williams has generally preferred measured admonition to institutional sanction when dealing with recalcitrant forces in North American

Anglicanism—conservatives and progressives alike—he has begun to take a harder line with both. After the 2008 Lambeth conference, Williams and other bishops called for moratoria both on new gay bishops and official church blessings of same-gender unions. He also argued for a stop to border-crossing, which in this context refers to the practice of conservative provinces in the Global South offering at least interim oversight to conservative factions departing from TEC who do not want to be associated with that institution’s increasingly progressive policies on human sexuality. Williams took further steps to enforce these recommendations. “On 28 May 2010, Dr. Rowan Williams stated that members of provinces that were in breach of the three moratoria on gay bishops and blessings and cross-border encroachments of provincial boundaries would no longer participate in the formal ecumenical dialogues” (Conger 2011). For some Global South Anglicans William’s rebuke of both “border-crossing” and the continued installation of gay bishops reflects a false symmetry that equates border-crossing with theological revisionism. Some have chosen their own strong terms of rebuke, declaring progressives deaf to reasonable conservative rationale.

For instance, in December 2011, Archbishop of the Episcopal Church of Sudan, Deng Bull, withdrew a previous invitation for a visit to TEC’s presiding bishop, Katharine Jefferts Schori, on grounds that TEC was obstinately ignoring more traditional views of faith. He upbraided Jefferts Schori in a letter declaring, “We are deeply disappointed in the Episcopal Church’s refusal to abide by Biblical teaching on human sexuality and their refusal to listen to fellow Anglicans” (Virtue 2011). In direct opposition to TEC, Bull has thrown his support behind ACNA. “The Episcopal Church of Sudan is recognizing the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA) as a true faithful Orthodox Church and we will work with them to expand the Kingdom of God in the world.” Bull does not give up entirely on TEC in the letter, but clearly

delineates with which members of TEC the Episcopal Church of Sudan is willing to fraternize: “Also we will work with those Parishes and Dioceses in TEC who are Evangelical Orthodox Churches and faithful to God.” His closing words are defiant: “We will not compromise our faith on this and we will not give TEC advice anymore, because TEC has ignored and has refused our advice.” This discourse of religious authenticity—and the meanings of terms like “evangelical” and “orthodox” that are embedded within it—are relevant to all three of my case studies, even though my field sites stem from Latin American understandings of Christianity instead of African.

Nevertheless, it would be misleading and unfair to characterize a wide swath of Global South Anglicanism as a monolithic promoter of conservative Christianity. Miranda Hassett’s work, *Anglican Communion in Crisis: How Episcopal Dissidents and Their African Allies Are Reshaping Anglicanism*, adds complexity to the stock categories of Global North and Global South. She nuances the picture of faith in Anglican churches of Africa where, she explains, there are a variety of voices and a plurality of practices. While the study of the African role in Global North and Global South alliances is burgeoning, there has been a relative dearth of attention given to the pivotal place of Latin American and U.S. Latina/o Episcopalians in the remaking of global Anglicanism.

This omission is conspicuous given the prominence of the Anglican province of the Southern Cone in Anglican “realignment.” Iglesia Anglicana La Trinidad in Santiago, Chile is the largest parish in the Anglican province of the Southern Cone, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction in full communion with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but which has also participated in the kind of conservative “border crossings” that Rowan Williams has decried. The Southern Cone province has traditionally included Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Uruguay, but its ranks

temporarily expanded in a northerly direction. Many of the U.S. and Canadian churches that make up ACNA, including the diocese of Fort Worth, Texas, initially came under the ecclesiastical authority of the South American province until the North American contingent could form their own would-be province.

The most notable individual in this cross-geographical realignment was Robert Duncan. After he was deposed by TEC from his position as Bishop of Pittsburgh, Duncan found ecclesiastical shelter in the Southern Cone province (Rodgers 2012). Later he became the Archbishop of the ACNA at the inauguration of that organization in 2009. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, and others decried such border crossings and the Southern Cone was later reprimanded for these acts. Even though Chilean Hector “Tito” Zavala was not the Archbishop of the Southern Cone at the time of the border crossings in question, he bore the brunt of the Archbishop’s displeasure when, as the new Archbishop of the Southern Cone, he was removed from an ecumenical Anglican arm of the Communion called the Inter-Anglican Standing Commission on Unity, Faith and Order (IASCUFO). The Southern Cone province has subsequently ceased border-crossings (the formation of the ACNA made such acts unnecessary), and they have further supported the Archbishop’s efforts to create unity by signing a “covenant” on church life and order that has been variously ratified and rejected in different parts of the Anglican Communion (Conger 2011).

Given the importance of South American and North American ties to the institutional origins of ACNA, it is not surprising that, as leader of ACNA, Archbishop Robert Duncan and others in that organization increasingly prioritize “Hispanic Ministry.” *Caminemos Juntos* (Walking Together) is one such initiative. This annual gathering “seeks to spark a church planting movement among Hispanics and to bring together current Anglican Hispanic churches

and ministries in North America.” The inaugural meeting in 2011 addressed the Protestant and Catholic continuum of U.S. Latino Christianity. “Through building relationships with one another, conversation and presentations we hope to consider different ministry models on both the evangelical (“cristiano”) and catholic (“católico”) sides of the spectrum and to together [sic] create a unified vision for Anglican Hispanic/Latino ministry and church planting in North America.” (Caminemos Juntos: A Consultation). One of the main organizers of and speakers at the *Caminemos Juntos* events is a pastor of a bilingual interdenominational evangelical church called Rancho Hills Church in San Diego, California. The Reverend Gabe Garcia has also started churches in Bogota, Colombia and Tijuana, Mexico. He explains that as a child he “lived several years in the mission field of El Salvador and Nicaragua.” Hence studying organizations like the ACNA exposes the observer to the dialectical relationship between hybrid institution-making and individual religious identities formed out of cross-cultural and cross-denominational movement. Consider, for example, what Gabe Garcia says about his religious and cultural formation:

Growing up in a missionary home at the interdenominational level gave me a great perspective of being able to work within the larger context of the body of Christ. I learned how to adapt, and the aspect of adaptation has ended up being a great tool for service. This tool helps us to take into account our surroundings, and therefore we can fulfill our purpose of reaching all cultures with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Further, when you effectively use the tool of adaptation, you are always a part of the changes happening around you which then allows us to share the Gospel (“Caminemos Juntos: Let Us Walk Together”).

Indeed, Latin American and North American Anglican partnerships continue to inform broader discussions of Christian mission in the world. For example, in January 2012, “A conference to explore the relationship between theology and mission drew seven South American bishops including guest lecturer and former Church of England Bishop Michael Nazir Ali, missionaries from the dioceses of Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Bolivia, and 13 students from

the Wisconsin based Nashotah House” (Virtue 2012b). Since Peruvian Anglicans have begun to receive Roman Catholic bishops and priests into their fold, along with a number of converts from Protestant denominations that self-identify as Evangelical, Anglican leaders in Peru like Bishop Michael Chapman have stressed the convergent potential within Anglicanism. “We hold to the three dominant spiritual strands of Anglicanism—Catholic, Evangelical and Charismatic” (Virtue 2012a).

### **Case Studies**

Given the prominence of convergence of these elements in South American Anglicanism, the history of relationships between the ACNA and the Southern Cone, and the attention that the ACNA has paid to both “Hispanic ministry” and “Catholic” and “Evangelical” models for such ministry, I selected a congregational case study that would reflect these variegated dimensions. San Bartolome<sup>1</sup> in Fort Worth, Texas, has only Spanish language services and draws an average Sunday attendance of three hundred congregants. They were once part of TEC, came under the interim institutional oversight of the Southern Cone, and are now under the conservative jurisdictional confines of the ACNA. My field work was comparatively concentrated in this setting. I lived in Fort Worth for seven weeks in the summer of 2009. During that time, I carried out in-depth interviews with congregants, and I attended church services, bible studies, midweek prayer groups, and festival occasions. I also returned to the church to observe a Christmas service in 2010, and I did follow-up interviews at that time.

It was also imperative to include a case study that would reveal how convergent Anglican faith is lived in the South American context. Because of the transnational (see Glick Schiller) and global scope of my study, it was essential that the church be linked to multiple Christian

---

<sup>1</sup> To protect the anonymity of my informants, I have used a pseudonym for each church and informant whom I quote in this study, with the exception of public figures like Alfredo Cooper, pastor of La Trinidad, and Hector Zavala.

networks. This is certainly the case with Iglesia Anglicana La Trinidad in Chile. La Trinidad is the largest parish in the numerically small but globally influential Anglican province of the Southern Cone. The Bishop of Chile, Hector “Tito” Zavala, is also the Archbishop of the Southern Cone.

I spent seven weeks of intensive fieldwork in Santiago, Chile during the summer of 2009, immediately prior to my field research at San Bartolome, and besides my congregational study, I carried out interviews with Archbishop Zavala. I also shadowed the rector of La Trinidad, Alfredo Cooper, during a number of interdenominational meetings and events. In addition, I attended Bible studies, healing services, special youth services, and the main Sunday services (like San Bartolome, there are three separate Sunday services at La Trinidad). I carried out extensive in-depth interviews with a diverse cross-section of the church.

These two case studies reflect the institutional congruence that has resulted from common conservative views on human sexuality, but this tells only part of the story of what is happening with globalized convergences in mainline Christianity. Visitors to South America like Bishop Michael Nazir Ali have sought to inculcate another strand of Anglicanism, social justice, into the Evangelical, Charismatic and Catholic convergent blend. During the 2012 conference on mission in Peru he encouraged boldness, insisting “We must speak to the injustice to indigenous people of Latin America. I speak of my work with Christians in Pakistan. Without advocacy of those who suffer injustice, without working for justice . . . we cannot say [our] mission is hope” (Virtue 2012b). This sentiment may be surprising for those accustomed to the ethical clustering that groups a series of commitments in one “conservative” corner—such as opposition to abortion and gay marriage, along with traditional biblical interpretation—and another cluster of beliefs and practices—like support for LGBT and reproductive rights, and a commitment to

socioeconomic equality—in an opposing “liberal” corner. Erstwhile markers of identity and division have lost some explanatory power, and none of my case studies is more revealing of this attenuation than Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro.

San Pedro/Saint Peter’s is a bilingual parish in Northern Florida with both an English-speaking service, which draws a little over a hundred Anglos and African-Americans each week, and a Spanish-speaking mass, which gathers the two hundred U.S. Latinas/os whom I observed at that site. San Pedro was once part of a separate Charismatic denomination without affiliation to the Anglican Communion. In their previous institutional incarnation they were known as Misión San Juan, but they are now officially part of TEC as Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro/St. Peter’s Episcopal Church. The Latina/o congregation joined the preexisting African-American and Anglo members of St. Peter’s to become the first bilingual parish in TEC’s diocese of Florida. I first made contact with this congregation in 2006, two years before they joined TEC. From 2008 to 2010, I was a participant-observer at various church services and festival occasions at San Pedro. I also carried out in-depth interviews with members of the congregation.

When Misión San Juan was incorporated into the small parish of St. Peter’s Episcopal Church, as Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro, many other Charismatic and evangelically-minded Episcopalians were heading in the other direction, fleeing TEC because of its perceived liberal trajectory. These churches had temporarily organized as the Anglican Alliance of North Florida before most were integrated into the Gulf Atlantic Diocese of the ACNA. At the very least, these divergent trails of San Bartolome in Fort Worth and San Pedro in Northern Florida point to the unpredictability of pneumacentric faith. San Pedro is also important because TEC is hemorrhaging many of its Charismatic and Evangelical members, but San Pedro shows that the networks of convergence are also leading to new integrations into TEC of Charismatic,

Evangelical, and Catholic forms of faith that are increasingly oriented in the progressive direction in which TEC seems to be heading as an institution.

In combination, my case studies demonstrate reconfigurations in global Christian identity, and provide convincing evidence as to why the study of the appropriation of Pentecostalism and other Christian combinations in a particular mainline Church, the Anglican Communion, can open an expansive window through which to view broader processes at work in the globalization of Christianity. Furthermore, these case studies suggest that careful attention must be paid to the socioreligious and sociopolitical conditions that promote certain collective and individual paths over others. Delineating those particular conditions is a potentially daunting task. Hence to elucidate the theories of globalization that will underpin this study, I will offer the following telling example from the most globalizing events I witnessed during this study, and in which Alfredo Cooper, the Pastor of La Trinidad in Santiago, Chile figures as a prominent protagonist. The following account will demonstrate the multiple frames of reference both necessary for and revealed through multi-sited fieldwork.

### **The Chilean Miner Crisis**

It is difficult to imagine a more claustrophobic nightmare than being buried and trapped in a mine for sixty-nine days, with over 2000 feet separating your subterranean dungeon from the surface of the earth and all your loved ones. On Thursday, August 5, 2010, 33 miners began this harrowing journey together after a cave-in trapped them in a 121-year-old copper-gold mine they were working in Copiapó of Northern Chile. Not everyone finds religious solace in perilous times, but even the tiniest sparks of sacred interest came to light in these dark circumstances. “Bibles, crucifixes, statues of Mary and the saints were all sent down to the mine where a makeshift shrine was reportedly built” (Gonzalez Maldonado). When news of the disaster first came to the president of Chile, Sebastian Piñera, he was in a meeting with his Evangelical

chaplain, Alfredo Cooper. Piñera asked Cooper to mobilize prayer efforts, something the tongues-speaking, spirit-prophesying, demon-exorcising, British-Chilean leader of an Anglican church in Santiago had already been doing for years. The urgency of such prayer efforts obviously escalated in that moment.

Cooper knew how to navigate the diverse Chilean Christian networks of Chile to call for widespread prayer. His religious traits bear striking resemblance to Pentecostals, who make up about 15% of the religious population of Chile. This is a significant number for two salient reasons: first, the Catholic Church has been historically dominant throughout Latin America so it is surprising that Pentecostals have made such inroads in Chile over the last century; second, Pentecostals are usually more active churchgoers than are Catholics, many of whom have been deemed “nominal” by academic observers. With the Pentecostals, Cooper shares a fervency for spirit baptism, evidenced by sometimes boisterous exclamations about the glories of “El Señor” (“The Lord”) and embodied signs of spiritual desire and power, such as hand-raising worship and body-slaying prayer—I have, for instance, seen Cooper fall over and shake on particularly ecstatic occasions. By striking contrast, on a television show he hosts called *Hazte Cargo* (“Take Charge”), Cooper is eminently rational and articulate, asking deep and probing questions of a diverse swath of interlocutors. On that show, he has interviewed Catholic priests, gay activists, politicians, journalists and various other segments of Chilean society; *Hazte Cargo* has provided a forum for discussions about all the most pressing social, political and religious questions of the day, including the long, contested legacy of Chile’s brutal dictatorship led by Augusto Pinochet.

On his show, Cooper has listened with evident empathy as family members of those who had been “disappeared” by Pinochet’s ruthless regime recount what it is like to know their loved ones probably endured any number of state-sponsored acts of torture and wanton cruelty before

their deaths. Their anguish has been compounded by languid and halting steps toward “truth and reconciliation” in the country—a sociopolitical and cultural clarity still unrealized. What Cooper does not tell his television guests is that in 1999 he gave a Bible to Pinochet while the former dictator was on house arrest in England, and as international courts deliberated over his crimes against humanity. It is important to consider this event in order to understand what Cooper’s role in the Chilean miner crisis reveals about the diverse, seemingly contradictory trajectories of globalized hybrid faith.

Cooper was delivering the Bible on behalf of a group of Chilean Pentecostals who had supported the Pinochet regime and to whom Pinochet had offered public recognition, a social prestige rare for the notoriously poor and sometimes maligned segments of society that have made up the bulk of Pentecostal commitment in Chile. Over a decade before the mining crisis, when Cooper visited Pinochet, he was also accompanying the former Anglican Bishop of Chile, David Pytches, who early in the 1970s was instrumental in spearheading the appropriation of Pentecostal practices within Chilean Anglicanism. In his autobiography, Pytches recounts their meeting with the beleaguered ex-dictator:

In 1999 I went to visit the General, who was then eighty-four, with Archdeacon Alfredo Cooper, a friend from Chile. Pinochet was a house prisoner on the Wentworth estate in Surrey—an imprisonment that cost the British Government £4,000,000! He was still recovering from an operation on his spine. We were asked to limit our visit to ten minutes. The former President stood up to greet us and embraced us in true Chilean style. We sat and talked and he never once complained about the inordinate length of time the legal proceedings concerning his arrest were taking. I studied him carefully as he talked to us—head upright like the old soldier that he was, with a passive resignation to the fortunes of his life—a man confident that he had acted dutifully for the protection and reconstruction of his country. After chatting about Chile, we prayed for him and presented him with a Bible in Spanish. Then we stood to say goodbye. He proceeded to embrace us again and thanked us for our visit. Walking to the door, hanging on to Alfredo, he stopped for a moment to indicate a Jerusalem Bible lying open on the desk in an alcove. “You may not believe it,” he said, “but I read that every day.” Just reading the Bible, of course, does not exonerate anyone from anything, but for me it seemed to have

some positive significance. We left him thinking that the world would never understand all that he had done for Chile. Would the truth be fairly recorded in the future annals of Chile's history (2002:205-206).

At first blush, it would seem that Cooper and Pytches had adopted conservative Pentecostal political attitudes along with their appropriation of Pentecostal worship practices; understood in those terms, this account seems to confirm what scholars have said about the political patterns of Pentecostals in Latin America. The Manichean division between the perception of a corrupted, demonically-tainted world and a discontinuous heavenly and pure realm can often lead to a political quiescence among Pentecostals, which during times of revolutionary and political tumult, has led some Pentecostals to align with authoritarian regimes that strictly enforce the status quo of socio-economic inequality, even while championing religious "values" that resonate with Pentecostals. Contemporary histories of Chile and Guatemala provide ample evidence of such developments. (Kamsteeg 1998; Garrard-Burnett 1998).

Cooper, though, does not share that Manichean Pentecostal view of the world even though he bears marks of other "family resemblances" with Pentecostalism (Anderson, et al. 2002). To add to the confusion, Cooper even supports some elements of the progressive religious teaching known as "liberation theology," which developed in the 1960s among a cadre of Latin American priests, theologians and laypeople who drew attention to the progressive social concern for poor and oppressed people found in the Bible. Liberation theology had thus informed the efforts of many who sought justice for those oppressed by despotic regimes in Latin America, which were especially ubiquitous in Latin America during the 1970s and 1980s. Cooper claims that Chilean Anglicans have appropriated both Pentecostalism and a moderated form of liberation theology.

While the IACH [Anglican Church in Chile] has not officially espoused the more extreme forms of Liberation Theology, it has been helped to understand biblical implications of social justice previously unseen in the Scriptural text. The Old

Testament prophets and Christ's own teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere challenged us that love in action will often take the church to social and political commitments that may be just as 'spiritual' as an evangelic crusade. In the divided political scenario of '70s and '80s Chile, the IACH sought to implement a ministry of reconciliation. Work was carried out among political prisoners as much as among the Pinochetistas [supporters of Pinochet] (Cooper 1996:186).

The supposed sharp lines between "liberal" and "conservative," "evangelical" and "mainline" and "Catholic" and "Pentecostal" that are smudged in this account become even more amorphous in the light of Pentecostal and Anglican partnership forged through the crisis of the trapped miners in 2010.

During that crisis, while Cooper was calling for prayer and material support above ground, another "Pastor" was doing spiritual work below. Even though he was nicknamed "El Pastor" by his trapped companions, Jose Henriquez is a professional miner, not official Christian minister. Neither did he belong to the majority tradition of the other miners in his midst, Roman Catholicism. Above ground Jose Henriquez is a lay person in a Pentecostal church, a denomination that has normally little interaction with Catholicism—that is, beyond encounters of conflict and competition. Nevertheless, Jose Henriquez was described in media accounts as the spiritual leader of the group. Sixty-nine days after the miners first began their ordeal they rose to the surface in capsules created by an international team of engineers. Before the rapt attention of a global contingent of media outlets, Jose Henriquez and Alfredo Cooper were soon assuring the world that it was God in general and the Holy Spirit in particular who had sustained those miners and raised them from their impending doom. There were abundant materially sacred signs to reinforce such proclamations, starting from the moment the first miner emerged into the wrapped arms of his family and the rapturous applause of local onlookers and global viewers.

Wearing T-shirts with a verse from Psalm 95 on their backs—*En su mano están las profundidades de la tierra; tuyas son las alturas de los montes* (In his hand are the depths of the Earth and the mountain peaks belong to him)—the miners' bodies themselves enacted a liturgy of grace and thanksgiving that gathered millions

throughout the day to live feeds from the mine shaft to computers, laptops, and smartphones around the world (Drescher 2010).

Because of the simultaneity of the news afforded to so many people in so many far-reaching territories, one scholar of religion and media boldly declared the coverage of the disaster, and particularly the inspiring rescues, “the largest expressly spiritual, global, digital event [in history]” (Drescher 2010). Thanks to this global media attention and the diverse networks of global Christianity to which Cooper’s combinative brand of Anglicanism is connected, Jose Henriquez, a humble miner who would normally have few economic resources to widely propagate his Pentecostal faith, soon found himself swapping Christian testimonies with the President of the United States, Barack Obama.

With Cooper as his travelling companion and interpreter, Jose Henriquez was invited to speak at the National Prayer Breakfast in Washington, D.C., where he met Obama in an encounter interpreted by Cooper, and which Jose Henriquez described in exultant Evangelical terms: “What moved me the most was to learn that Barack Obama had accepted God in his life twenty years ago, and that he was impressed to hear about my story [of faith] in the mine” (Ruíz Peña). Obama is not known as an Evangelical Christian. Indeed, there were widespread conspiracy theories leading up to the 2008 presidential election that claimed Obama was really a closeted Muslim. Even Obama’s Christian associations had sparked controversy. Obama was a member of Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago before the controversial Pastor of that congregation, Jeremiah Wright, made incendiary remarks about the 9/11 attacks, including the line “God Damn America,” which was played on continual loop by conservative news stations like Fox News. In fact, Wright went on Fox News to discuss liberation theology and explain the joint African-American and Latin-American roots of that progressive religious model for social commitment. Not surprisingly, Wright did not get a sympathetic hearing in such contexts.

Obama disavowed Wright's comments about 9/11, and he and Michele Obama withdrew their membership in the church.

Still, it is clear that much of Obama's Christian formation took place within a progressive mainline denomination, the United Church of Christ. Yet he was able to speak a language of faith that a poor Pentecostal from Chile recognized as a sign of authentic spiritual conversion. The global implications of this connection are manifold since Obama is considered by many to be a global icon whose image is "dense with symbolic accretions" (Ghosh 2011:1). He is "a paradigm of highly visible public figures whose symbolically dense images and lives circulate at high speeds in transnational (televisual, cinematic, print, oral, and digital) media networks" (Ghosh 2011:4). For many people Obama is symbolic of progressive change, of the socially marginalized rising to a place of prominence by determination, faith and hope.

There is, for instance, a picture of Obama in the White House replete with "dense symbolic accretions" that has circulated widely online. In the image, Obama is bent over so that a four-year-old African-American boy can touch the top of his head. Along with the image, an accompanying story explains that the boy had asked the President whether his hair felt the same as the boy's. That prompted Obama to bend down and encourage the youngster in familiar and intimate terms, "Touch it, dude." An image of this kind certainly carries heavy symbolic weight. Similarly, imagine what it means for a poor miner from Chile to have a face-to-face and faith-to-faith connection with a global icon who symbolizes, among other things, the power of the marginalized. This is especially poignant considering what Bishnupriya Ghosh says about "bio-icons":

They are not just significant as power signs; they also bear an indexical charge for collectivities that place social demands through them. Their 'life story,' the formalized *bios*, inductively focalizes the sign and representative of the ordinary (as

we see in countless rags-to-riches stories); the icon appears to have been just like us once, a long time ago, despite her later excellence (2011:12).

Just as Alfredo Cooper had once facilitated connections between Pentecostals in Chile and a decidedly conservative icon, a former dictator living in London, he had now enabled a meaningful spiritual encounter between a Chilean Pentecostal and a political leader who is a global icon for progressive change. Even more significantly, that progressive president was grafted into Jose Henriquez's imagined boundaries of Christian belonging—that is, all those who have a testimony of personal Christian conversion and transformation.

One reason the President can speak with clarity in multiple Christian contexts may have to do with the attenuation of political linkages between Evangelicalism and the Republic Party. Megachurch leaders like Rick Warren have publicly lamented Evangelicalism's association with a single expression of American politics, and such perceived evenhandedness earned him attention from Obama, who participated in a Q & A at Warren's Saddleback Church in California during the 2008 election campaign. Obama subsequently asked Warren to pray at his Presidential inauguration. Jose Henriquez thus continued on similar religious networks as Obama when he eventually testified at Saddleback Church, again with the interpretive assistance of Alfredo Cooper, about his experience of faith during his ordeal in the mine.

The American visit was the culmination of a journey that had taken Cooper and Jose Henriquez on a speaking tour from Chile to Northern Ireland and then to England, where Cooper had multiple connections to Anglican churches eager to hear the miner's story. In addition to speaking to thousands of Anglicans in London, Jose Henriquez and Cooper also crossed cultural borders in that city when they shared the miner's story at "Jesus House." "The church was founded as a church plant of Freedom Hall, a parish of the Redeemed Christian Church of God

(RCCG), in Lagos, Nigeria in April 1994,” and it continues to be comprised predominantly of people of Nigerian descent (“Jesus House”).

### **Globalization Theory**

To understand how in the world one can begin to explain such a disparate stream of cross-denominational connections and cross-cultural Christian exchanges, it is essential to situate these events within broader theories of globalization. Proponents of globalization theory recognize that people have been borrowing, trading and moving across boundaries since time immemorial. Nevertheless, “Despite extensive trading networks, translocal integration was weak with limited impact over the lives of the vast majority of inhabitants in the heterogeneous cultures and societies subsumed by early world empires” (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003:35-36). What makes contemporary modes of mobility and exchange distinct, according to such theorists, is the pace and intensity with which these processes now take place. “In the majority of the proposed definitions of ‘globalization,’ the factors that play a major role are the expansion, concentration, and acceleration of worldwide relations” (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005:5-6) Hence many scholars see “globalization as a phenomenon of recent history, but one based on long-existing processes of spatially extensive political, economic, cultural, and military interaction” (Osterhammel and Petersson 2005:10).

Anthony Giddens emphasizes the far-reaching interdependence produced by globalization: “Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens 1990: 64). The “growing extensity, intensity and velocity of global interactions” (Held et al. 1999:15) has accordingly shifted people’s perceptions of the world, creating a sense of “time-space compression.” According to David Harvey, globalization has created an “intensification of global consciousness” so that events which transpire in one

territory are considered relevant to people in regions far from the origin of these happenings. Furthermore, such connections are made quickly because of globalized forms of media, particularly the Internet, that can carry news swiftly and sometimes simultaneously.

This aspect of globalization was evident during the Chilean miners' crisis. People in far-flung regions watched live Internet feeds of the rescue efforts, gaining a sense of "being there" with and for people who were actually far away. That time-space compression of the media offered Jose Henriquez and Alfredo Cooper various opportunities to share spiritual narratives with people in distant places who had come to feel connected to the miners' stories. To cement and localize such affective bonds with face-to-face interaction, Cooper and Jose Henriquez were able to use another technological product that David Harvey has pointed to as being emblematic of the time-space compression of globalization, air travel (Harvey 1991:232). Such processes of mediation and tools of mobility would have opened up vast spaces that were too amorphous and unorganized without the directed focus that Christian networks gave to Cooper and Jose Henriquez's movement. "Religious institutions with their long experience in bridging universal claims and particularist demands across various cultures, are well positioned to offer organizational resources for these new forms of associational life" (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003:54).

What was striking about the networks through which Cooper and Jose Henriquez travelled was their hybrid character. They were not merely passing through Pentecostal networks of "tight affective communities" (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003:55). Neither did they pass exclusively along mainline Christian routes. Jose Henriquez, for example, pointed to the ecumenical dimensions of the "National Prayer Breakfast" in Washington DC: "Everyone wanted to worship God and relate their experiences. The majority of the people belonged to the Christian faith:

Evangelicals, Catholics and Anglicans” (Ruíz Peña 2011). Henriquez and Cooper exploited existing connections between various expressions of Christianity and reinforced the material density of such hybrid networks with their embodied travels and performances of narrative tropes.

### **Convergence and Cultural Hybridity**

Some scholars argue that there is an affinity between the mixture exemplified in the above account and globalization, especially within the “cultural” rubric, in which religion is often studied. Nederveen Pieterse, for example, “argues for viewing globalization as a process of hybridization that gives rise to a global *mélange*” (2003:59). Hybridity is only one of a series of terms used to describe ongoing processes of mixture. Charles Stewart explains that

Contemporary social theory has . . . turned to focus on phenomena such as globalization, transnationalism, and the situation of diaspora communities. In this body of literature the word syncretism has begun to reappear alongside such related concepts as hybridization and creolization as a means of portraying the dynamics of global social developments. (1999:48).

All of these terms are freighted with complicated historical legacies. Stewart explains, for instance, that

hybrid has embedded within it both negative and positive attitudes toward mixture. In nineteenth-century racial thinking the hybrid was deemed to be weak and sterile—proof that human ‘races’ were different species that could not mix—while in the twentieth century the new field of genetics showed how plant hybrids, for example, could be especially fruitful and resilient (2003:45).

Nederveen Pieterse points out that “syncretism” is the historic term usually applied to the “fusion of religious forms” (2003:72). Even more than hybridity, “syncretism” has often carried negative associations since religion has sometimes been idealized as a pure *sui generis* and transcendent realm of life, unsullied by the messy mixture of cultural encounter. Hence syncretism carries historical baggage that is too heavy for those scholars who want to avoid value-laden judgments about purity potentially implied by the use of a term like syncretism.

Syncretism was used in the sixteenth century by opponents of a Lutheran theologian named George Calixtus who sought to unify the various Protestant denominations developing out of the Reformation and hoped to seek ultimate reunification with the Catholic Church. In the view of his opponents, “Calixtus's proposed reunion threatened a heretical and inconsistent jumble of theologies—a syncretism—and the ensuing debates, which carried on for the rest of the century, came to be known as the ‘syncretistic controversies’” (Stewart 1999:46). This helps explain why leaders of the ACNA do not use the term “syncretism” to describe the various Christian parts that they would like to combine in a project of orthodoxy. For them, the term “convergence” seems more suitable. Convergence like all the other terms for mixture has a history and it is important to understand its development before addressing how I will use this term throughout this project.

### **History of Charismatic Renewal and Its Relationship to the Convergence Movement**

On April 3, 1960, Episcopal priest William Bennett announced to his congregation in Van Nuys, California, that he had experienced Pentecostal spirituality, including speaking in tongues. By that point, and with less dramatic media attention, many of Bennett’s parishioners and members of neighboring Episcopalian churches had already been combining newfound Pentecostal spirituality with more longstanding liturgical practices. Nevertheless, Bennett’s public proclamation made waves. The phenomenon eventually drew the attention of *Newsweek* and *Time*, each of which published stories about “a new movement of the Spirit, combining Pentecostal blessing and historic church attachment” (Burgess and McGee 1998:132). This integration of pre-set rituals and spontaneous Charismatic faith required ritual and theological ingenuity, but Anglicans and Episcopalians were not the only ones having to adapt their liturgies to the Charismatic outbreak.

Soon “renewed” Episcopalians joined other mainline Protestants and Catholics who were caught up in Charismatic spiritual practices that had once seemed to be confined to Pentecostal denominations. Various traditions shared sacred space in interdenominational Charismatic prayer groups, where Charismatics raised hands high in united praise and invoked the power of the Holy Spirit over their lives and churches. Some spoke in tongues, while others gave supernatural messages revealed to them in prayer; those with a perceived “gift of healing” prayed for the sick and still others exorcised demons. These kinds of meetings flourished in various parts of the Anglican Communion and, within TEC, charismatic organizations like ACTS 29 were established to integrate Charismatic practices into the Episcopal Church (Irish and Fulton Jr. 2002).

The collective effervescence of these interdenominational encounters led to mutual borrowing across ecclesiastical borders. Charismatic Catholics began to speak in the kind of personal faith terms that resonated with Evangelicals. Some Evangelicals, in turn, were intrigued by the reverence that Charismatic Catholics brought to the sacraments. This newfound appreciation was reinforced through shared Catholic and Evangelical ethical positions on issues such as abortion. Indeed, it was through common participation in the pro-life movement that the founder of the Charismatic Episcopal Church, Randolph Adler, first began the institution that I would come to know through my 2006 visit to Father Leo Sanchez’s Latina/o congregation. (Hocken 2002:476). Adler felt inspired to channel “three streams”—the Pentecostal, Evangelical and sacramental—together in a brackish mix of faith. According to Adler, the creation of the CEC was a result of a “journey by charismatics and evangelicals who longed to return to the Ancient Faith” (Hocken 2002:476).

Even though the Charismatic Episcopal Church had Episcopal in its title, it was not officially connected to or recognized by the Anglican Communion, and neither did it have a relationship to TEC. Adler clarifies, ““Not birthed in schism by disenchanting sacramentalists, the CEC began with people from a foreign land [he is speaking metaphorically here] to whom God had spoken about signs and sacraments, liturgy and legacy”” (Hocken 2002:476). Nevertheless, soon Episcopalian parishes in TEC who had been touched by Charismatic Renewal felt that their conservative theological positions were in closer consonance with the newly established CEC than they were with their home institution of TEC. One of the parishes that left their home in TEC and moved in with the CEC became St. John’s Church of the International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches. By the time former Baptist Leo Sanchez became the rector of the Hispanic Mission of St. John’s, Misión San Juan, the church’s Episcopal pedigree was a thing of the past. Until, that is, Father Leo led the Hispanic portion of the congregation back into TEC in 2008 and became the priest of my case study in Northern Florida, Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro.

Convergence discourse thus had significant currency by the time leaders of the ACNA sought to unite an array of conservative Christians with varying inclinations—some toward the Catholic end of Christianity, others with affinities to Evangelicalism, and still others whose primary point of identification was Charismatic faith. Interestingly, though, it seems that ACNA leaders would like to conceal the construction of convergence. They describe the combination and/or coexistence of Charismatic, Catholic and Evangelical emphases within their “province in formation” (and partnering Anglican provinces in the global South) as an organic process, a spontaneous, spirit-centered alignment of intrinsic properties which naturally cohere within orthodoxy.

The challenge for those promoting these discourses is to occlude the painstaking human construction required for consensus and to posit divine handiwork instead. Hence “Hybridization [and convergence] may conceal the asymmetry and unevenness in the process and the elements of mixing” (Nederveen Pieterse 2003:53). At Archbishop Robert Duncan’s “State of the Church Address” on June 8, 2010, the leader of the ACNA made clear who he believed had orchestrated and was continuing to conduct the unity of “orthodox” Anglicanism expressed through the ACNA: “All of this is the Lord’s work. He has built this House. We have cooperated, even in the hard things...perhaps especially in the hard things. May His grace for this never be absent from us” (“Archbishop’s Address”). Although Duncan acknowledges the role of human agency in this statement, he identifies “the Lord” as the initiator of conservative convergence.

Still, leaders of the ACNA have developed an ethos that seems paradoxical: the ACNA is both self-consciously “orthodox” and creatively hybrid. Since hybridity, syncretism or any other term denoting the ongoing mixing of previously discrete components is often thought to undermine pretensions to orthodoxy and cohesion, leaders of the ACNA do not use any of these terms. In this work, by contrast, I use the terms “hybridity” and “convergence” interchangeably. By doing so I am not denying the complicated and distinct historical contexts in which such terms have arisen. The confluence of terms in this case is rather meant to point to both the emic and etic considerations demanded by this study—that is attention to both insider language and classifications made by outside scholars. I agree with Nederveen Pieterse about the potential contribution of hybridization perspectives: “Hybridization is a contribution to a sociology of the in-between, a sociology from the interstices. This involves merging endogenous/exogenous understandings of culture” (2003:83).

The intentional integration of mixture within the ACNA, even articulated with a new term like “convergence,” may seem out of place in discussions of hybridity, which is often assumed to undermine hegemonic projects: after all, this is a movement that grew out of conservative discontent with what they perceived to be the unacceptably loose doctrinal positions of TEC. The surprise is less jarring when we consider that hybridity is not only a playful counterforce to hegemonic institutions, but rather exists on a continuum: “on one end, an assimilationist hybridity that leans over toward the center, adopts the canon and mimics hegemony and, at the other end, a destabilizing hybridity that blurs the canon, reverses the current, subverts the center” (Nederveen Pieterse 2003:73). The leaders of the ACNA have exploited mixture as means of centering conservative Christian consensus within the bounds of authorized interpretations of the Biblical canon, and especially as that pertains to matters of human sexuality. Nevertheless, this “structural hybridization” cannot be unilaterally imposed because it exists interdependently with “cultural hybridization, or new translocal cultural expressions.” (Nederveen Pieterse 2003:83). Indeed the prefix “trans,” with its connotation of moving across, is another important linguistic element of any study of globalization and hybridity.

One of the impacts of globalization that is nearly universally recognized in academic literature is the relativizing of the power of the nation-state. Increasingly, culture, economics, and religion, to name several, cannot be bound within the specific demarcations of politically defined territory. That is not to say, of course, that the state ceases to wield power over people within its official boundaries, and this is particularly so for undocumented immigrants in the United States who fear the state’s pervasive and panoptical power to monitor and threaten their movements. Still, those scholars who have drawn attention to the ways that immigrants live transnational lives by remaining “dually” or “multiply” “embedded” in more than one field of

social relations have helped delink the sociological study of people from assumptions of hermetically sealed, bounded territory.

This is a perspectival move which is fruitful for my study, since Latin American and U.S. Latinos maintain close relationships with networks of Christians in other countries, and these relationships have a reciprocal impact in more than one social field. On the other hand, I do not want to suggest that the participants in my study move only fluidly through pristine transnational networks that are lubricated with consistent global “flows.” I thus concur with those theorists who recognize both the possibilities and limitations of “transfluvial” metaphors. It is my contention that on the one hand globalization has indeed created rushing currents of social, political and religious change that help spur new movements of bodies and ideas and which are “deterritorialized” and thus not easily harnessed in institutional projects of far-reaching consensus. On the other hand, however, the flows of these transcultural, transnational, and transdenominational movements are often fixed and “territorialized” in new ways, sometimes even reinforcing the boundaries of the nation-state. The flows are funneled in particular networks, in which different levels of symbolic sediment impede progress, encourage the construction of new passages through those networks, or encourage the construction of new ones.

Furthermore, it is not only the flows that propel or the networks that structure their lives. It is also their “habitus.” Pierre Bourdieu defines habitus as “systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures . . .” (Bourdieu 1977:72). According to this logic, a group or class perceives the world in a certain way because of both the objective conditions of materiality that make up their environment and the “subjective” dispositions that people acquire through an embodied navigation of quotidian

life. The objective and subjective meet in continual dialectical tension. Bourdieu's theory of habitus is thus a useful means to chart patterns of structured agency among the Christians in my study as they develop variegated dispositions in the diverse encounters they have along convergent networks.

Bourdieu's theory is less helpful for charting the changes that have led to ruptures of continuity in convergent thinking and being. I thus also incorporate Peter Berger's notion of "plausibility structures" underlying certain religious worldviews and their potential to collapse and spur religious change (Berger 1990:47). Nevertheless, I reject the secularization theory that Berger offers as a corollary to his use of plausibility structures. Berger thought that religious worldviews seemed increasingly implausible in the face of the popular ascendance of empirical inquiry, and that as secularization advanced, religion would thus either shrink into private quarters or remain embedded in broader social structures only in a loose and generalized fashion. The account of the Chilean Miner's crisis alone would dispel such a theory, but Berger's failed hypothesis does not discount the important contribution that the notion of plausibility has for understanding changes in individual and institutional religious identities—especially when we consider plausibility not only in cognitive terms but in an embodied and networked fashion.

### **Chapter Outline**

These theoretical considerations are reflected in the organization of my chapters, since I follow this introduction with a genealogy of the discourse of convergent orthodoxy and point to the breakdown and ascendance of certain plausibility structures that encouraged the creation of such discourses and practices. This chapter also demonstrates the still-shifting ground on which participants construct grassroots levels of convergence in my case studies.

I then introduce my case studies, providing a chapter for each congregation. Although I offer the kind of narrative details that might be reminiscent of the "thick description" of

ethnography, each case study chapter also has a consistent thematic thread peculiar to the conditions of convergence at the particular church under consideration. Even though I focus on a salient theme in each chapter, I also integrate overlapping themes when relevant to a particular case study. Spatial considerations, for example, are dominant in chapter four, the San Bartolome case study, but that salient theme reemerges in my other case studies, albeit with less focused attention.

In the Chilean case study in chapter three, I focus on the multiple crossings at this Charismatic Anglican Church: crossings of class, territory and denomination. Pentecostalism has long been associated with the poorest ranks of urban poor, especially in the capital, Santiago. La Trinidad is thus a thriving and telling exception, since they have combined prominent Pentecostal features with a self-conscious articulation of middle- and upper-middle class values. Pentecostalism and Charismatic Christianity are sometimes used interchangeably, but my Chilean case study provides a unique example of Charismatics who have, to a certain degree, defined their collective identities in contradistinction to Pentecostals with whom they also have much in common, and with whom they have sometimes shared sacred space.

My consideration of Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro in chapter five has the greatest focus on a single individual out of the three case studies. Although the priests at San Bartolome and La Trinidad both figure prominently in those case studies, I have considered in much more focused and greater detail the life history of Father Leo Sanchez in my introduction to San Pedro. Here I take a cue from Henri Gooren, who has lamented the paucity of detailed life histories in conversion literature.

Such focus runs the risk, of course, of collapsing other diverse narratives within a single supposedly representative case. This is not my intent in that chapter. Rather, I have tried to use

an especially rich narrative to show how leaders can help shape and reinforce particular plausibility structures for their congregants. Again, this is not an academically fashionable point since it may be interpreted as re-centering religious elites in the study of religion, when many scholars have doggedly fought to de-center the clergy. It will become clear, however, in the subsequent chapter to this case study that recognition of asymmetrical power dynamics need not extinguish the vitality of lay participation in convergent processes. After all, “everyday life has particular value when it takes place in the gaps of larger power structures” (During: 126).

I turn to an integrated analysis of my cases studies in my next section. In chapter six, I explore themes of conversion in convergent Christianity. I examine existing models of conversion in light of the sometimes subtle shifts of religious affiliation I found among participants at my case studies. I draw on and adapt a useful model of “conversion careers” via Henri Gooren’s reformulation of that processual approach to religious affiliation, conversion, and disaffiliation.

In chapter seven, I consider the diverse tools of mediation in Charismatic convergence. Elements of study in this chapter include print literature, video, and new media. I also integrate and assess the analytical relevance of various theories of globalization to processes of mediatization among my informants. Although this chapter is my most dense exploration of media, mediatization is a perennial theme integrated throughout this work.

The far-reaching scope of study in the media chapter facilitates a transition into a broad consideration of Christianity, hybridity and culture in my concluding chapter. Here I assess existing religious taxonomies and suggest ways that these systems of classification could be updated in light of conclusions drawn from my case studies. In short, this study seeks to contribute to an expanding knowledge of Charismatic convergent Christianity as a “lived

religion, showing how ritual, embodiment, language use, moral concern, and media production and consumption work together to give [Charismatic convergent] life its distinctive shape”

(Robbins 2010:173).

## CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

Understanding the contested interplay between institutional and grassroots expressions of convergent Christianity requires attention to the sociopolitical, cultural and theological factors that have made convergence a viable discourse and ethos for conservative Christians. In this chapter I will thus historicize the development of convergent Christianity, tracing its often amorphous, sometimes idiosyncratic emergence among individuals and groups touched by the Charismatic Renewal in the 1960s and 1970s to its development within institutional structures that have an explicitly convergent theology and ethos, such as the International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches (CEC) and the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA). I examine how discourses of convergence and a related movement called “Ancient-Future Faith” helped reconfigure the borders of Evangelicalism at a time when postmodernism threatened to topple its “plausibility structures.” Convergence also provided shape to new institutional structures that sought to incorporate the evangelical world into even broader Christian affiliations.

When a self-styled “motley crew” of conservative dissidents in the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Church of Canada coalesced in opposition to what they perceived to be growing liberalism and theological revisionism in their churches, leaders intentionally appropriated the language of convergence to symbolically unify their disperse concerns (Virtue 2012a). Although leaders began to use this term as early as 2002, “convergence” has become an even more prominent motif since the inauguration of the ACNA in 2009; leaders of this would-be Anglican province have wanted to move beyond the prevailing perception that the institution is defined by what it has opposed— The Episcopal Church’s (TEC) progressive posture toward sexual diversity. Convergence has thus served as a more positive controlling theme, acting as both a

model *of* diversity in the conservative camp and a model *for* their fledgling institutional identity (Geertz 1973:123).

To provide context for these specific developments within the ACNA, I will examine the historic institutional factors that made Anglicanism structurally amenable to this movement of conservative hybridity. I will also address what the appropriation of convergence in the ACNA means for broader expressions of global ecumenism—that is, dialogue and interaction between the three largest branches of worldwide Christianity: the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and Evangelicalism.

In this chapter I will also consider the narratives of important forerunners who contributed to an inchoate convergent discourse in the Anglican Communion. Their stories act as important precursors to my case study chapters since they demonstrate that from its inception people have been attracted to the wedding of Catholic, Charismatic and Evangelical practices for different reasons. Some viewed such convergence as a satisfying completion to a religious search for both clear articulations of truth and mysterious experiences of worship; they were also persuaded by the potential for convergent thought and practice to bring unity to a wide swath of Christian traditions. This was important since more rationally-centered and theological approaches to Christian unity carried out in the Ecumenical Movement were losing steam. Others saw convergence as fodder in a strategic assault on a perceived virus of liberal theology, which they believed threatened to infect the Anglican Communion. Importantly, though, even people who viewed convergence as a unifying web for conservative Christianity spun very different positions on issues such as women's ordination. Those who believed that Christian leadership should be predicated upon the Charismatic element of convergence—that is, evidence of Spirit-gifting—thought that institutions should ordain women with such recognizable gifts. For other

convergent-minded leaders, the ordination of women was a tell-tale sign of a theologically sick institution.

In contrast to all this convergent diversity, current leaders of the ACNA have made the combination of Pentecostal, Catholic and Evangelical elements seem like an organic process of natural affinity, rhetoric which occludes the painstaking process of connecting diverse theological parts that do not always naturally cohere or easily fit together. I will thus highlight points of contention lurking in the convergent discourse of the ACNA by drawing attention to the distinct ways that convergence was understood by the three forerunners I treat in this chapter. The similarities in their narratives demonstrate why convergence has been an appealing discourse for leaders of the ACNA. The points of contestation and difference in those three convergent narratives help explain why carrying convergence through diverse global Christian networks not only creates novel opportunities for cross-denominational cooperation, but also produces new levels of stress and strain for various Christian groups.

Indeed, the points of tension and variation that I witnessed at local convergent Christian settings reveal the contingency of convergent “plausibility structures.” This concept was first introduced by sociologist of religion Peter Berger (1967), who used the term as a reference to the social base supporting a particular world. William Paden offers a useful definition of “world” to complement this conception of plausibility structures: “*World* here is a descriptive word for what a community or individual deems is the ‘reality’ it inhabits, not a term for some single system objectively ‘out there’ that we all somehow share” (Paden 1994:7). In this sense, convergent Christians seek to combine multiple Christian “worlds”—sacramental, Charismatic and Evangelical—that are normally set on “different courses” (Harper 1979:11). Accordingly, leaders of ACNA have reached out to ecumenical partners from the various major branches of

Christianity to provide a thick social base that they hope will sustain the plausibility of their convergent conceptions of and practices in the world. In presenting that world, leaders of the ACNA have appropriated an evangelical discourse of “ancient-future faith,” which seeks to revitalize Evangelical Christianity with ancient spiritual practices and theological conceptions that are commonly associated with Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches; this movement developed in part as a response to postmodern winds threatening to topple Evangelical plausibility structures.

### **Ancient-Future Faith as Postmodern Evangelicalism**

In particular, postmodernism threatened the plausibility of totalizing narratives. “Postmodernism means the end of a single world view and, by extension, a ‘war on totality,’ a resistance to single explanations, a respect for difference and a celebration of the regional, local and particular” (Jencks 1992:11). Evangelical Christians were especially vulnerable on this front. After all, they propagated “good news” for the entire world based on a universal story that was sometimes summarized in a single Bible verse, John 3:16: “For God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever would believe in him would not die but have eternal life.” It does not get much more “totalizing” than that.

Evangelicalism had historically drawn on those same modernist philosophical emphases that postmodernists so vigorously opposed. Proponents of postmodernism, for example, exposed and countered “the ‘god-trick,’ the ‘gaze from nowhere,’ the search for an Archimedean point, a fixed pivot from where we can have a totalizing view of the universe, from where we can move the universe without moving ourselves” (Vásquez 2010:23). Postmodernism also challenged the notion that texts carry inherent meaning. Many Evangelicals had relied on the theological idea of the perspicuity of biblical interpretation—the belief that as long as people read the Bible with the right intention and employed correct hermeneutical techniques, they could understand the

meaning therein. By contrast, postmodernists stressed the dynamic, ongoing interaction between the meanings of texts and the multiple contexts in which they are read. Some Evangelicals have recognized the tangible threat this poses to biblical authority: “Correspondingly, when postmodernism flourishes, there will be less inclination to read the Bible constantly, at least as the authoritative revelation of God himself. At that juncture the Bible reading that takes place will likely invoke post-critical theory, so that the Bible itself becomes domesticated” (Carson 2005:100). Proponents of postmodernism helped cast a shadow over authorial intent and stressed the polysemous nature of texts, especially one like the Bible that has a disparate array of authors from various historical periods.

Faced with such a challenge, previous Evangelical models for responding to intellectual critique seemed much less plausible. In the past, Evangelicals had used a modernist package that combined Baconian evidentiary reasoning with literal scriptural interpretation, a combination that they had once wielded against liberals who shared many of their foundational philosophic assumptions, but not their theological conclusions. “Both liberals and conservatives wanted statements of faith to have a proven correspondence with reality” (Webber 1999:185). Although some Evangelicals have insisted on reasserting propositional notions of truth in the face of postmodern critique, that kind of world-maintenance has limited appeal and plausibility. The alternative was to allow the postmodern cultural winds of change to blow right through the structures of Evangelicalism and to reassemble the pews in its wake. There were some Evangelicals poised, even excited, about such a storm.

Robert Webber, a former fundamentalist turned Evangelical Episcopalian (before the rift between conservatives and liberals had escalated to its current taut level of tension), proposed that believers rethink Evangelicalism through a paradigmatic lens he was proposing called

“ancient-future faith.” He wrote a book by that title, published in 1999, and argued that modernist Evangelical paradigms had lost their luster for a younger generation seeking more vibrant displays of faith.

The kind of Christianity that attracts the new generation of Christians and will speak effectively to a postmodern world is one that emphasizes primary truths and authentic embodiment. The new generation is more interested in broad strokes than detail, more attracted to an inclusive view of faith than an exclusive view, more concerned with unity than diversity, more open to a dynamic, growing faith than to a static fixed system, and more visual than verbal with a high level of tolerance and ambiguity (Webber 1999:27).

A cadre of Evangelical pastors, scholars and lay practitioners took up Webber’s call to meet the challenges and promises of postmodernism with concerted attention to both the past and the future of Christianity.

Before he directly addressed the connection between postmodernism and Evangelicalism, Webber had already laid the seeds for such discussion in his 1985 work *Evangelicals on the Canterbury Trail: Why Evangelicals are Attracted to the Liturgical Church*. In that book, he began with his own testimony of trading in systematic and intellectual conceptions about God for wilder, mysterious worship. “Since neither worship nor the sacraments were given high priority in the local evangelical churches, I had to look elsewhere. My journey into the Episcopal church and into the mystery of God’s saving presence in Christ communicated through worship and the sacraments had begun” (1985:30). He documented similar journeys of people tired of “the familiarity that so often characterized evangelical worship” (1985:91) and who sought more visually vivid and mysterious renditions of faith. One of those evangelical authors, Michael Anderson, recounted a captivating first encounter with liturgical worship: “I still remember the billowing incense, the noontday light streaming in, and the joy with which the people and the organ sang together. I was transfixed” (1985:98). Years later, Evangelicals seeking to cultivate vivid experiences of mystery in worship found postmodernism to be an exciting new display on

which to assemble a sensory flood of sacred candles and incense (Hunter 2010:28), along with more novel presentations of faith through new media formats (McNight 2007:3).

As the Archbishop of ACNA, Robert Duncan has added a distinct Anglican spin to the plausibility structures provided by the ancient-future faith model proposed by Robert Webber: “Anglicanism is unique among Christian traditions in offering the ancient-future treasures of the Christian faith in a highly accessible form. The Anglican tradition, perhaps more than any other Christian tradition, grasps the power of worship to transport believers into the presence of God” (“New Brochure”). This emphasis on experiential mystery meshes well with Charismatic Christianity.

Before Webber began proposing the ancient spiritual practices found within Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy as a means of renewing Evangelicalism for a postmodern age, the Charismatic Renewal had already produced combinations of Pentecostal, Evangelical and sacramental forms of faith. Leaders of ACNA have thus combined the discourse of ancient-future faith with Charismatic convergence. This combination is evident in the official brochure of the Anglican Church in North America, which assures a diverse cross-section of potential participants that Anglican Christians are “evangelical Christians,” “catholic Christians,” and “charismatic Christians” (Duncan 2012). The following history reveals that the convergent Anglican attempt to focus on the combination and/or coexistence of Catholic, Evangelical and Charismatic elements is a selective project, one that intentionally eschews other longstanding streams within Anglicanism.

### **The Historic Proliferation of Theological Variety in Anglicanism**

Various movements within the Anglican Communion throughout the centuries have led to a proliferation of distinct groups within this global institution. Popular notions of Anglican history identify the emergence of the Church of England with the machinations of Henry VIII.

“Although concern for religious reform and national interests underlay the motivations for an independent English church, it was Henry’s well-known desire to shed Catherine of Aragon in order to marry Ann Boleyn that precipitated the break with Rome” (Haugaard 1998:6). After 1534 CE, there was plenty of religious and political controversy over just how far the newly established Church of England should move away from Rome. Some Puritan factions sought to bring the Church more fully under the sway of the Protestant Reformation, while other believers were more concerned to maintain “the Catholic faith of Christendom” (Haugaard 1998:7). Ultimately, a compromise prevailed in the Elizabethan settlement of 1559, which identified the church as a *via media* or middle way between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Since that time, different Anglican movements have tried to swing the pendulum to one end or the other of the Protestant-Catholic spectrum.

Evangelicals have pushed toward the Protestant side. “The Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth century gave an important stimulus to the Reformation tradition” (Butler 1998:30). Evangelicals in the Anglican Communion place great stress on the importance of the Bible in adjudicating all matters of faith and morals. They also generally maintain a conservative interpretation of Christian scripture, usually resisting modern approaches to biblical scholarship, such as higher criticism, which challenges the supposed historicity of certain biblical accounts. In addition, Evangelicals have stressed the need for personal conversion to Christ, and a concomitant emphasis on evangelism, through which a believer invites others to make these personal commitments.

There has been a significant strand of Reformed theology within Evangelical Anglicanism. Reformed Christianity began with a former French lawyer named John Calvin. In sixteenth century Geneva, he made a systematic study of the Bible and an emphasis on God’s overriding

control of the world, or “sovereignty,” the linchpins of his brand of Reformation Protestantism. Indeed the term “Reformed” Protestantism is sometimes interchanged with “Calvinism.” This emphasis on divine sovereignty might seem antiquated to some, but Collin Hansen’s *Young, Restless, and Reformed* (2008) shows how a cadre of mainly young and increasingly prominent Evangelicals in North America embrace Reformed theological emphases. One adherent crystallizes the Reformed emphasis on God’s sovereignty and human depravity with youthful flare: “people suck and God saves us from ourselves” (Hansen 2008:139). There are also Evangelicals who, in contrast to Calvinists, emphasize human agency in salvation. They are sometimes called Arminians, a reference to a theological rival to Calvin named Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609). Reformed Evangelicals counter this optimism about human agency by insisting that humanity is totally depraved and that the idea of people choosing to receive salvation out of their darkened wills is wrongheaded and scripturally unfounded. Nevertheless, both Calvinist and Arminian emphases can be found in the broader rubric of Evangelical Anglicanism.

In contrast to the literal interpretive tendencies of Evangelical Anglicans, there is a longstanding liberal and progressive strand within Anglicanism, which was first articulated in the Latitudinarian movement. The name arose for those Anglicans who “favoured latitude of opinion in religious matters and an end to religious controversy” (Butler 1998:37). Anglicans in this stream used reason as the primary means of negotiating theological controversy. “Fifteen centuries of Catholic tradition and sixteenth-century Reformation emphases were both easily identifiable strains in early seventeenth-century English theology, but the third strain, reason, historically related to the Renaissance, became increasingly visible” (Haugaard 1998:24). Progressives and liberals in the Communion have elevated reason as a sacred feature in

understanding Darwinism, gender equality, and most recently sexual diversity; their inclusive and rational assessments of these issues have not always squared with traditional scriptural interpretation, at least as the Bible has been understood in conservative ranks. Proponents of this progressive element of Anglicanism have also challenged Christians to counter social and political injustices, claiming that this is an imperative that resounds throughout Christian scriptures. Progressive theological commitments in the Anglican Communion have not been aligned with any one particular liturgical style, and thus liberal streams of theology run throughout various structures of services in the Anglican Communion. Various factions in Anglicanism have attempted to dam those streams.

Progressives have not only had to contend with the conservative Biblical interpretations of Evangelicals; they have also struggled to convince some Anglo-Catholics that they are not cavalier in their approach to tradition. Those Anglicans who identify as Anglo-Catholics often share with their Evangelical co-religionists an optimism about the human role in salvation, but their elaborate and “high” religious masses are noticeably different from “low” Evangelical services, where preaching has prominence over ceremony. The Anglo-Catholic commitment to continuity with the past has brought that contingent at odds with progressive factions over issues such as female ordination and LGBT inclusivity in the church. Many Anglo-Catholics have thus split off from the Episcopal Church (TEC) out of concern for what they believe has been a wanton breach of longstanding tradition. Anglo-Catholics in ACNA hearken back to the Oxford Movement of nineteenth-century Anglicanism. Proponents of that movement were also known as Tractarians because of a series of tracts written between 1833 and 1841 that called the Church of England to recover Catholic modes of worship and theology. “The Oxford Movement in the nineteenth century, with its stress on the historic continuity of the church signified by the

apostolic succession of the bishops and its sacramental doctrine, effectively distanced Anglicanism from the Reformation, emphasizing its Catholic rather than Protestant heritage” (Butler 1998:30).

Another movement arose within Anglicanism in the late twentieth century whose strong emphasis on supernatural encounter with the Holy Spirit made it suspect among at least some members of all the aforementioned categories of Anglicanism. When Anglican and Episcopalian priests first went public in the 1960s with their experiences of glossolalia (speaking in tongues), healing, and prophecy, many Anglicans and Episcopalians were initially not sure what to make of such phenomena. Nevertheless, the fluid nature of this Spirit-centered movement called the Charismatic Renewal seeped through the structural confines of both “low” and “high” expressions of Anglicanism, and everything in between. Hence there were soon Charismatic Anglicans found throughout the U.K., North America, and increasingly in the global South. There seemed to be an early affinity between the Charismatic movement and conservative biblical interpretations; additionally, the collective effervescence produced in Spirit-centered worship helped blur some of the doctrinal borders between Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics in the Anglican Communion. This movement also led to new ideas about how the various conservative segments of Anglicanism might be combined in a convergent blend.

I thus now offer several sample narratives to demonstrate the ways that the Charismatic Renewal made convergent combinations seem plausible in a period in which ecumenism, “the movement among the Christian churches for the recovery of their visible and institutional unity” (Till 1972:15), was otherwise waning. Since this research focuses on Anglicanism, I will analyze narratives of Charismatic convergence in which the Anglican Church played a pivotal role. The convergent “conversion careers” (Gooren 2007) of two Anglo men, Terry Fullam from

the United States and Michael Harper from England, along with the convergent story of a U.S. Latino named William DeArteaga, demonstrate the diverse geographical, ecclesiastical and cultural reach of Charismatic Renewal and the ways that such complex connections have been organized and mediated through convergent discourses and practices. The following narratives demonstrate how Charismatic Christianity helped blur some borders within conservative Anglican ranks at the same time that it reinforced broader marks of division between liberal and conservative camps.

### **Three Forerunners to ACNA's Expression of Convergence**

#### **Terry Fullam**

In the late 1950s, Terry Fullam was a doctoral candidate in philosophy and a budding musician. He played at various churches, including the denomination in which he was raised. “Before beginning his graduate work at Harvard . . . he took on the music minister’s job on a part-time basis at a well-known downtown Baptist church, Tremont Temple” (Slosser 1980:42). Word of Fullam’s musical prowess caught the attention of an Episcopalian church who asked him to lead their music ministry. A four-year foray into Catholic sacramental devotion had already prepared Fullam for a transition from the simple Bible-centered structure of the Baptist church to the more elaborate liturgical ceremony of Episcopal services.

Fullam’s description of his unusual interim period in the Catholic Church contains themes that would reemerge among some evangelicals thirty years later as they confronted challenges of postmodernism. In the late 1990s and the early 2000s proponents of the ancient-future faith movement sought to re-enchant an evangelical world that they believed had become stale through perfunctory patterns of evangelism. Similarly, Fullam critiqued what seemed to him like obligatory evangelical routines, and, by contrast, he praised the Catholic cultivation of mystery through adoration of the Eucharist, or the transubstantiated body of Christ.

It was a church of perpetual adoration—There were nuns—in white habits—that were in there venerating the sacrament—twenty four hours a day. And there was something about, you know, about going into that place.

At precisely six o'clock in the morning the organ began to play—always—and there was never a word spoken. They didn't have any services—but here there were people worshipping God other than in a service of some sort—and I was strongly drawn to that place . . . .

I went there for four years almost . . . . And I'd go and just pray—and read—It was a beautiful building—you know—It was quiet—this soft organ music in the background. And it just opened in me a real hunger for something or other—other than the rather frenetic, hard-sell evangelism that I had been accustomed to, where it seemed to me that often there was no worship at all. Everything had become evangelism. They would give an invitation at the end of every service—and it didn't matter whether it was appropriate or not, whether the Spirit was moving in that way or not—it was expected . . . .

And this was so different—this worship at that little church (Slosser 1980:44).

When Fullam later became the music minister at an Episcopal Church, he claimed to find satiation from a hunger first awakened during his time observing sacramental devotion in the Catholic Church.

I discovered the Eucharist. I couldn't get enough of it. I looked around—I was like a person who had been without something in his diet—and I began to look around and found a church, St. Stephen's in Providence, that had a daily Eucharist. And for years I went almost every day of the week—up at seven o'clock and drive into Providence. I just couldn't get enough of it (Slosser 1980:46).

Fullam had thus integrated the sacramental and evangelical streams, stressing both the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, which he first contemplated in the Catholic Church, and the primacy of scripture that he had learned during his Baptist upbringing and which continued to shape his theological views. Through a meeting with Dennis Bennett, the first Episcopal priest to bring Charismatic Renewal to national attention (Poewe 1994:4), Fuller added a charismatic sense of power to his evangelical and sacramental sensibilities. Fuller explained how Bennett had encouraged him to be open to the power of the Holy Spirit by receiving prayer and expecting to

speak in tongues. When Fullam expressed disinterest in the perceived “gift” of the Spirit, Bennett assured him that glossolalia often “comes with the package” of spirit baptism:

I had spent years and years studying how to think, and then how to speak what I was thinking so that it would come out right—and it sounded like Father Bennett was saying, ‘What I really want you to do is put your brain in neutral, your tongue in high gear, and step on the gas.’

And that was the hardest thing I have ever done in my life. But God gave me grace, and somehow I took a deep breath, felt like a fool, and started in.

To my complete astonishment, there it was—absolutely effortless! It just poured from me! . . . I can tell you that that moment opened up a dimension of the life in Christ that I had not known before—a dimension of power for ministry and service (Slosser 1980:53).

In 1963, Fullam was ordained as an Episcopal priest and subsequently became a pivotal leader in the Charismatic Renewal through his ministry at St. Paul’s Church in Darien, Connecticut, where in 1977 Charismatic fervor drew the attention of Time magazine.

In an article entitled “The Evangelicals—New Empire of Faith,” St. Paul’s “was quoted as a new example of evangelical growth” (Harper 1979:99). Hence at this early stage, media outlets conflated the Evangelical and Charismatic worlds; these categories did overlap at times, but there was also significant discord between some Evangelical and Charismatic expressions of Anglicanism. Still, in the narrative arch of journalist Bob Slosser’s book about Fullam’s Charismatic fame, *Miracle in Darien*, it is as if each new encounter with a different element of Christianity—first the Evangelical, then the sacramental, and finally the Charismatic—brought Fullam a more fulsome sense of faith, and a more expansive view of the Christian Church. In the late 1970s he declared, “‘God isn’t interested in renewing the Methodists, or the Roman Catholics, Baptists, or Episcopalians—or the independents. He’s interested in restoring a church—one church” (Slosser 1980:247). This expansive view of Christian renewal was echoed to me by charismatic Anglicans in Chile, who expressed a similar desire for Christian unity.

## **Michael Harper**

Fullam was not the only forerunner of such sentiment. A British Anglican priest named Michael Harper shared Fullam's desire for unity across denominational structures, and in 1979 Harper wrote a book in which he personified the movements and institutions associated with Pentecostal, Evangelical and Catholic Christianity as "three sisters."

Harper expressed his desire to see these sometimes estranged "sisters"—whom he called "Evangeline," "Charisma," and "Roma"—brought into loving fellowship: "I must confess to a deep longing to see these sisters reconciled to each other; to see them openly united in Christ and the Spirit, learning from one another and humbly listening to each other. If these sisters could be brought together on a large scale, there is no knowing the blessings that could follow" (Harper 1979:11). As an Anglican priest, he did not underestimate levels of discord between the Evangelical and Charismatic strands, even within his own institution, since he had witnessed such tensions first-hand. He knew that the dividing lines found within Anglicanism were often drawn even more firmly between separate denominations and church traditions. He had also seen, however, how Charismatic renewal had sparked cooperation and fraternity across institutional borders, and he liked what he saw.

Harper became a key player in the British Charismatic movement and he initiated an organization in 1979 called Sharing of Ministries Abroad (SOMA), for which he recruited the help of Terry Fullam and other important charismatic Anglican leaders. SOMA grew out of a Charismatic meeting in Canterbury called "Anglican Conference on Spiritual Renewal," which was held prior to the 1978 Lambeth Conference. SOMA was founded "to bring God's healing and empowering to His people through renewal by the Holy Spirit, so that His prophetic purpose may be fulfilled for the Church and for the world" (SOMA). Although SOMA began in England, it branched out to various "national bodies," and it now has a significant presence in the

global South. Indeed, SOMA was influential in the charismatic formation of two priests from my case studies, Pastor Alfredo Cooper from Chile and Father Juan Reyes from Durango, Mexico, both of whom have continued to use the global networks of SOMA to extend the Charismatic reach of their ministries.

Harper did not confine his work to Charismatic Anglican groups like SOMA, but he was cognizant of the distinct ecumenical potential of Anglicanism, “which does have a unique bridge-building character about it since it contains within its traditions Catholic, evangelical and charismatic traits . . . .” (Harper 1979:98). That Harper would isolate these three strands as emblematic of Anglican diversity was a selective choice that members of the ACNA would also make nearly thirty years later. As the ACNA would later do, Harper also drew the lines of convergence in contradistinction to what he perceived as heretical movements in the Anglican Church, evidenced by a number of distressing developments among the clergy: in his view, there was increased clerical skepticism about traditional doctrines such as the divinity of Christ, a laxity of moral standards generally, and a lack of coherence over contemporary debates on gender and homosexuality. Indeed, according to Harper, there was much that was infecting the Communion, but there was a “faithful remnant” who could rehabilitate the church. In *Three Sisters* Harper added commentary to an earlier speech he gave about these perceptions.

‘The disease has a terminal look about it . . . at the present time I see no hope of any substantial change in the condition of the historic churches, corrupted as they are by their compromises and defeated by their doubts.’ I referred to ‘the faithful remnant [that] needs to draw together. The weakness I have drawn attention to in the historic churches are self-indulgences one can afford in a period of stability, but not in an age of revolution.’ (By ‘the faithful remnant’ I meant the Anglo-Catholics, evangelicals, and charismatics in the Church of England.) (Harper 1979:39).

He suggested that there was an “underground ecumenism” (1979:101) between diverse segments of the “faithful remnant” not only within Anglicanism but between separate Christian traditions.

Harper reinforced this cooperation both in print and through a series of ecumenical initiatives. Still, at this stage of Charismatic Anglican history, leaders like Harper seemed to place greater stress on cooperation across a broadly conceived conservative theological continuum than they did on constructing an integrated convergent theology per se.

### **William DeArteaga**

By 2002, though, a bilingual U.S. Latino priest was writing in both English and Spanish about the intentional integration of the three convergent streams, and he was doing so after being ordained by an institution with an explicitly convergent ethos and mission. William DeArteaga's parents had met as young children growing up in Puerto Rico, and they were reacquainted years later in New York, where they married in 1931 (DeArteaga 2002:23). DeArteaga grew up in a devout Catholic home, in a predominantly Irish Catholic neighborhood of Manhattan. Nevertheless, by the time he attended college at Fordham University he was disillusioned with the various progressive theological trends taking hold in the Catholic Church. "Rather than entering a new 'promised land' of modern reflection on ancient creeds and biblical truths, we walked into a mine field where the traditional modes of theology were blown apart, and nothing positive or credible would replace them" (DeArteaga 2002:28). He jettisoned his faith altogether for several years before he underwent a revitalizing experience in the Charismatic Catholic movement. His participation in the Charismatic Catholic movement brought him into a new orbit of ecumenical relationships. DeArteaga explains:

It was 1975, and the leadership encouraged attendees to go to interdenominational meetings and special services at non-Catholic churches. In this way I encountered various evangelical-charismatic churches and para-churches. I was enchanted by these groups, especially by their strong faith and knowledge of the Bible (DeArteaga 2002:44).

Nevertheless, when he began to participate in Charismatic groups that considered themselves "nondenominational," DeArteaga was struck by what he viewed as a glaring omission in those

services: “Sadly, like every nondenominational charismatic service I attended in the following decades, the celebration of the Lord’s Supper was conspicuously absent” (2002:45). After he married a woman who had been divorced, and had not had her previous marriage annulled, he was restricted from partaking of the Eucharist in the Catholic Church. He learned of an Episcopal Church experiencing Charismatic Renewal and he and his wife made a pragmatic choice to begin attending this church. The transition was facilitated by the similarities in liturgy, sacraments, and charisma with his previous Charismatic Catholic setting.

He became an active lay leader at the Episcopal Church, but soon clashed with more progressive parishioners who were eager to provide new levels of inclusion to LGBT people. DeArteaga sought to proclaim healing of homosexual desire at the same time that many members of his church were affirming such sexual orientations as God-given. DeArteaga felt sandwiched between progressive voices from below and above. According to DeArteaga, the lead priest at his church had a liberal Episcopal theological formation, but after an unnerving experience with what he perceived to be demonic power, the priest had embraced various features of the Charismatic Renewal. Despite that interest in the Charismatic movement, this priest preserved a progressive posture toward sexual diversity, a liberality that ran counter to DeArteaga’s more conservative positions on the subject. DeArteaga thus switched to another Episcopal parish (still within TEC) that was both charismatic and theologically conservative.

DeArteaga had received a Masters in Latin American history from the University of Florida and had also taken theological courses at Candler Theological Seminary. His combined interest in historiography and theology led him to write a work on the history of Charismatic phenomena in the American religious experience prior to the emergence of Pentecostalism. In that book, *Quenching the Spirit*, he argued that some Evangelicals had squelched Spirit-centered

movements and revivals in their midst because of an anti-Catholic bias that made them suspicious of frequent claims to the miraculous, a supernatural focus they had associated with Roman Catholics.

DeArteaga continued to read and write on this subject and found that despite the suspicions of Spirit-centered and miraculous phenomena among some Protestants, there were notable historical confluences between Evangelical revival, Spirit-centered Christianity, and frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper (or Eucharist). DeArteaga pointed out, for example, that the Wesleyan revivals focused not only on frequent participation of the Lord's Supper, but on the Wesleyan idea (borrowed from their Anglican upbringing) that there was a tangible mediation of grace through the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist. DeArteaga documented his findings in a book entitled *Forgotten Power: The Significance of the Lord's Supper in Revival*. In this work, he compared historic revivals to contemporary outbreaks of Charismatic manifestations among churches that stressed the mediating power of the sacraments.

DeArteaga's interest in these combinations caught the attention of a new ecclesiastical institution that had Episcopal in its name but was not affiliated with either the Anglican Communion in general or the Episcopal Church in particular. The International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches (CEC) burst onto the American religious scene in 1992 as an institution focused on the intentional and explicit convergence of sacramental, Evangelical and Charismatic streams of faith. It already has a global presence throughout Africa, the Philippines and Brazil. The CEC couches these combinations within an overriding structure of governance and liturgical theology that some scholars claim bears a striking resemblance to Eastern Orthodox Christianity. "Although the church is indistinguishable theologically from mainstream Orthodox churches, it rejects Orthodoxy's exclusivist ecclesiology and continues to value its

evangelical and charismatic roots, seeing them as authentic aspects of the early apostolic church that have been largely forgotten within Eastern Orthodoxy” (Lucas 2003:20). DeArteaga was invited to speak at CEC conventions and subsequently encouraged disaffected conservative Charismatics in the Episcopal Church (TEC) to consider a transition to the CEC. He also soon became acquainted with another convergent institution called the Communion of Evangelical Episcopal Churches (CEEC), which was formed in 1995. “The CEEC represents a segment of the Convergence movement that has crystallized around the leadership of pastors from the Tulsa-Oklahoma City areas” (Hocken 2002b:557). The CEEC is also distinguished within the convergence movement by their practice of ordaining women. DeArteaga explains, “From my studies of early Pentecostalism and the role that woman played in that movement I felt attracted to the CEEC stand” (DeArteaga 2004).

Even though he was ordained in the CEEC, DeArteaga continued to minister in TEC, and did so as a lay leader of a new Hispanic ministry. Eventually, many of the Anglo and Latino participants at that Episcopal congregation left TEC and came under the alternative oversight of the Anglican province of the Southern Cone. The splinter congregation called itself Light of Christ Anglican Church. DeArteaga saw a divine orchestration in these events.

Provisionally the Anglican bishop of Bolivia, Frank Lyons, had read *Quenching the Spirit* [DeArteaga’s first work] as a seminarian and was touched by it. Subsequently we had met in Atlanta and formed a friendship. Bishop Lyons received me as an Anglican priest immediately. Light of Christ became the northern most parish of the diocese of Bolivia! Founding a new congregation from the “faithful remnants” of an old one has not been an easy task, but our new church has many signs of Providential direction. For instance, the healing ministry in the Hispanic congregation has taken a large leap forward and now practically every service we have is a healing service in which people are noticeably healed of minor and major ailments (DeArteaga 2004).

As Harper did in the context of the U.K., DeArteaga has connected convergence to a perceived “faithful remnant” of conservatives in North America.

## Telling Differences in Convergent Narratives

Still, if there are commonalities in the convergent journeys of Michael Harper and William DeArteaga, there are also some telling differences in the ways that each grafted their Charismatic experiences onto a broader ecclesiology—that is, an understanding of how and by whom truth is mediated in Christian churches. DeArteaga and Harper both opposed the inclusion of non-celibate LGBT people in ordained positions because of their shared belief that sex outside of the confines of heterosexual marriage is sinful, but they had contrasting views of women’s ordination.

DeArteaga is committed to female ordination and articulates this stance in Spirit-centered terms. Pentecostalism has sometimes opened spaces of authority to women because the notion of the Spirit’s empowerment of particular individuals has been seen by some as the sign *par excellence* of God’s call to leadership. There are contested passages in the New Testament about the role of women in church life, which has precluded Pentecostal consensus on this issue. Not all Pentecostals affirm ordained women’s leadership, and those that do sometimes face opposition to such inclusion on Biblical grounds. Nevertheless, DeArteaga is one of those Charismatics who believes that evidence of Spirit-gifting of women should be reflected in institutional policies that affirm what he believes can be their God-given call to lead Christ’s flock.

By contrast, Michael Harper was so disheartened by the Church of England’s decision to ordain female priests that he marked this change as “the last straw,” sending him fleeing from his lifelong Christian “home” of Anglicanism.

It seemed that here was a church making decisions contrary, in the first place, to the example of Christ, who chose only men to be his Apostles; in the second, to the plain teaching of the Scriptures, which see men having headship over women in the Church and in the family; in the third, to the unanimous opinion of the Church

Fathers, and the consensus of the Church that the priest is an icon of Christ, as the Orthodox say, and so must be male (Harper 1979:48).

Harper was later received into the Antiochian Orthodox Church, where he served as a priest until his death in January of 2010. To Harper, Eastern Orthodoxy not only preserved long-standing tradition on issues of gender and sexuality, but its strong emphasis on the Holy Spirit's role in their "Divine Liturgy" made it a natural transition for a Charismatic. He explained, "One of the questions I am most frequently asked is, 'Is there a charismatic renewal in the Orthodox Church?' The quickest and easiest response is, 'No, the Orthodox Church is charismatic'" (1979:174). Harper seems here to be implying that a sincere reliance on the illumination of the Holy Spirit will lead to the high levels of continuity with historic Christian teaching that has been so important to Eastern Orthodox identity. Nevertheless, the divergent views of DeArteaga and Harper on female ordination bespeak the unpredictability of the Charismatic element within convergent projects of orthodoxy.

### **Convergence and Diversity**

Since Charismatics stress ongoing communication between the Holy Spirit and believers, sometimes the perceived supernatural messages that follow can spill over accepted limits of orthodoxy. DeArteaga's Charismatic faith led him to ordination within a convergent institution that also ordains women; Harper, also a Charismatic, found such practices completely unacceptable. This diversity speaks to the challenges the ACNA faces in articulating a convergent project of orthodoxy. They recognize that unity in their institution cannot require uniformity, given the diverse array of opinions on female ordination and other contested issues. (For now, the ACNA has allowed for a diversity of practices on this issue, providing institutional space for the Anglo-Catholics in their midst who claim that they cannot in clear conscience ordain women to the priesthood or receive Communion from a female priest.)

At the institutional level, then, the convergent Christians of the ACNA contend for orthodoxy, but the parameters they set for right doctrine and right practice are meant to be broad enough to encompass many theological emphases already found in the major branches of global Christianity. Leaders of the ACNA have attempted to make the twin goals of orthodoxy and (conservative) diversity seem plausible by courting visible signs of support from Christian leaders outside of the Anglican Communion, including prominent figures from both Eastern Orthodox and Evangelical circles. Public partnership with Evangelicals outside of Anglican traditions helps likeminded members of the ACNA to feel dually embedded in both a particular denomination and a global transdenominational movement. Likewise, signs of Eastern Orthodox fraternity with the ACNA can help reinforce the combination of Charismatic and Anglo-Catholic elements found in this fledgling institution, especially since Eastern Orthodoxy places such striking emphasis on the relationship between the Holy Spirit and the sacraments.

Eastern Orthodoxy, like Anglo-Catholic Anglicanism, elevates the Eucharist as the most important moment in a Christian service, when both groups believe that communicants receive the body and blood of Christ in a mysterious fashion. Additionally, Anglo-Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians are wary of making definitive declarations about what happens to the elements of bread and wine after consecration. Timothy Ware explains that “the Orthodox church believes that after consecration the bread and wine become in very truth the Body and Blood of Christ: they are not mere symbols, but the reality. But while Orthodoxy has always insisted on the *reality* of the change, it has never attempted to explain the manner of the change . . .” (Ware 1997:283). Neither Anglo-Catholics nor Eastern Orthodox Christians insist on the language of transubstantiation, which is pivotal to Roman Catholic conceptions of the Eucharist. Contemporary Anglicans of various stripes also share with Eastern Orthodox

Christians an emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in blessing the elements, a liturgical act known as the epiclesis: “The role of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic celebration, which has long been emphasized by the Eastern Churches, is now reflected in the restoration of an epiclesis in modern Anglican liturgical rites” (Crockett 1998:317). Finally, Anglo-Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians share a similar view of the reciprocal relationship between God’s grace and human agency, which the Orthodox refer to as “synergy.”

Perhaps, then, as a gesture toward the Anglo-Catholics in their midst, leaders of the ACNA invited the leader of the Orthodox Church of America (OCA), Metropolitan Jonah, to give an Ecumenical talk at the inaugural assembly of ACNA in Bedford, Texas in June 2009. The OCA has Russian roots, but is spread throughout North America. Metropolitan Jonah, formerly James Paffhausen, was raised an Episcopalian and converted to Orthodoxy while studying in Russia. Since the OCA is in official communion with other Eastern Orthodox Churches, Metropolitan Jonah’s presence at the inaugural meeting of the ACNA demonstrated the wide range of ecumenical credibility that leaders of the ACNA hope to acquire and maintain with a convergent ethos. Nevertheless, portions of his address threatened the coherence of convergent discourse.

Metropolitan Jonah assured the ACNA crowd that the OCA had ceased ecumenical relationships with TEC and hoped for a close relationship with the ACNA. He spoke, though, in no uncertain terms about the stumbling blocks to full communion between the OCA and the ACNA. In addition to the “heresy” of Calvinism, he listed the ordination of women as one of those sticking points. The OCA, like Eastern Orthodox Churches everywhere, prohibits female ordination. So too do Anglo-Catholics in the ACNA. Nevertheless, there is a significant segment of Evangelicals in the organization who support women’s ordination, and thus the leadership of the ACNA, at least for the moment, allows individual dioceses freedom to choose

on this matter. Still, Metropolitan Jonah's vehemence on these issues could not have sat well with Evangelicals. Their interests were more clearly represented by a leader outside the ACNA whose ecumenical presence signaled for some that the ACNA was a part of "mainstream Evangelicalism."

Rick Warren is both famous and infamous, depending on one's place in the so-called "culture wars" in the United States. He wrote a bestselling book called *The Purpose Driven Life* and also pastors a megachurch in California called Saddleback Church. Evangelicals praise him for his integration of personal and social evangelism, since he combines a traditional emphasis of saving souls with a commitment to ameliorating social crises, like the AIDS epidemic in Africa. He has also been a lightning rod for controversy. A video he made for his congregation in which he declared his support for Proposition 8 and his opposition to gay marriage in California spread throughout the media. Many supporters of Barack Obama's progressive social policies were astounded, and even infuriated, when he selected Warren to pray at his presidential inauguration.

At the inauguration of the institution of the ACNA, Warren was in likeminded and familiar company. Through his work on the AIDS crisis in Africa he had met key African Anglican leaders who had forged partnerships with dissident Episcopalians in the United States. In his address to the ACNA crowd, he encouraged them to move beyond institutional squabbles that had so preoccupied their attention and to give primary attention to issues of "mission." He, like Metropolitan Jonah, also reinforced the divisions between the ACNA and TEC. In a quip about litigation between the two groups over assets, church property and titles Warren made his allegiance clear. "They [TEC] might get the steeples, but you will get the people." Thunderous applause followed.

By drawing visible support from two figures who represent the furthest poles in the theological continuum of the ACNA (from “high church” to “low church”), leaders of the ACNA seem to be trying to bolster the plausibility structures of convergent Christianity in a pluralistic culture. Peter Berger comments on world-building in pluralistic situations are thus relevant to the ACNA’s goals:

A theoretically important variation is between situations in which an entire society serves as the plausibility structure for a religious world and situations in which only a subsociety serves as such. In other words, the ‘social-engineering’ problem differs as between religious monopolies and religious groups seeking to maintain themselves in a situation of pluralistic competition. It is not difficult to see that the problem of world-maintenance is less difficult of [sic] formation in the former instance (Berger 1990:48).

In this case, the ACNA represents a subsociety, but they are trying to make the borders of their project of conservative pluralism as broad as possible not only so that their group appears legitimate, but so that the values they seek to implement in society are viewed as being shared by a wide swath of conservative groups. For instance,

In an open letter released December 6, entitled “The Protection of Marriage: A Shared Commitment,” leaders from Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Evangelical, Jewish, Lutheran, Mormon, Orthodox, Pentecostal and Sikh communities in the United States affirmed the importance of preserving marriage’s unique meaning. Signatories included Archbishop Robert Duncan and Metropolitan Jonah (Orthodox Church in America) (“Archbishop Duncan”).

The ACNA, then, has brought Anglicans together with varying affinities to these three main theological emphases: Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical Anglican and Charismatic Anglican. These emphases have not always meshed in the broader Anglican Communion, so the ACNA leaders have utilized a pneumatic, convergent discourse to build plausibility structures of conservative pluralism within their institution. Peter Berger explains,

Any particular religious world will present itself to consciousness as reality only to the extent that its appropriate plausibility structure is kept in existence. If the plausibility structure is massive and durable, the religious world maintained thereby will be massively and durably real in consciousness. In the optimal case, the

religious world will then be simply taken for granted. However, as the plausibility structure is weakened, so will the subjective reality of the religious world in question. Uncertainty makes its appearance. What was previously taken for granted as self-evident reality may now only be reached by deliberate effort, an act of ‘faith,’ which by definition will have to overcome doubts that keep on lurking in the background (Berger 1990:150).

To engineer conservative consensus in a global institution beset with division (the broader Anglican Communion), leaders of the ACNA stumbled upon three intertwining discourses: ancient-future faith, convergent Christianity and orthodoxy.

The Archbishop of the ACNA, Robert Duncan, explains: “We have an identity. The *charisms* of catholic, evangelical and Pentecostal have been brought together in one church to reach North America with the transforming love of Jesus Christ.” (Virtue 2010). His use of the Greek word for gifts, *charisms*, is evocative of the gifts of the Holy Spirit listed in the New Testament, of which the more spectacular kinds are speaking in tongues, healing, and prophecy. For Duncan and other likeminded conservatives, the convergence of separate strands of faith in a single movement and institution is nothing less than a gift from the Holy Spirit—a life-giving product of pneumatic faith.

This pneumatic convergent discourse permits Duncan to speak loudly about the need for orthodoxy (correct doctrine and practice), but quietly about the particular standards by which correct doctrine, belief, or ritual will be measured. Anglo-Catholics stress the primacy of church tradition in evaluating theologies and practices. Evangelicals believe that the Bible should have supreme authority in weighing such matters. Charismatics, by contrast, are accustomed to subsuming theological difference in shared celebration of the Holy Spirit. During the Charismatic Renewal of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, Christians from various traditions were brought together not after theological dialogue and joint statements on matters of doctrine, but through the collective effervescence of Charismatic worship and ritual practices; that

precedent makes Duncan's pneumatic convergent discourse not only plausible but persuasive to many in the movement, and to outsiders offering their support.

Importantly, these discourses do not only interest Anglicans; nor is their appeal restricted to North Americans. Consider, for instance, the work of a Pentecostal pastor and theologian from Singapore named Simon Chan, whose book *Liturgical Theology: The Church as Worshiping Community* drew the following blurb from Robert Webber on the back of the book: "In this day of confusion about the meaning and purpose of worship, Simon Chan returns worship to its place of belonging in the church. His calling to return to the catechumenate, to the *ordo* of Sunday worship and the reinvigoration the historic liturgy is especially timely given the postmodern moment in which we live." Here is a Pentecostal Singaporean considering the theologically instructive example of Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic liturgical practices for an Evangelical and Pentecostal audience.

Chan also moves through various convergent networks developing across different institutions. For instance, he was the keynote speaker at the 2008 convention of the International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches (CEC). In June of the following year he was invited to speak at a conference at the Trinity School for Ministry in Ambridge, Pennsylvania, entitled "Ancient Wisdom, Anglican Futures: An Emerging Conversation." Trinity School for Ministry is noteworthy for my study since many of the current leaders of the ACNA were trained there, as were a number of the Chilean leaders (both priests and a bishop) whom I interviewed in Chile. Indeed, leaders of the ACNA are as interested in the cross-cultural resonance of convergence as they are in its cross-ecclesiastical appeal.

As Jenkins' paradigm of Nigerian Africans who consider themselves equally Charismatic, Evangelical and Catholic makes clear, the ACNA's pneumatic convergent discourse can also

resonate with Anglican realities on the ground in Africa (Hassett 2007). Indeed, many of the most prominent leaders in African Anglicanism, as well as other parts of the global South, have offered strong signs of support for the ACNA and traditional theologies of human sexuality. Two years after the formation of the ACNA, Duncan declared, “Our global commitments remain strong and we continue to be seen as gospel partners and bearers of authentic Anglicanism” (“Archbishop’s State of the Church”).

I thus chose two case studies of churches embedded in these networks: one an Anglican church in Chile, which is a part of the Southern Cone Province, and the other a U.S. Latina/o Episcopalian church in Fort Worth, Texas that left TEC, came under the jurisdiction of the Southern Cone province, and is now part of the ACNA. My third case study, Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro, reveals the kinds of institutional and personal changes that can result when some of the progressive sentiments lurking within William DeArteaga’s otherwise conservative vision of convergence are given even fuller expression. As the following case studies will demonstrate, grassroots experiences of convergence are not always amenable to the institutional goals of convergent institutions like the ACNA, and the Charismatic element is the most unpredictable and volatile factor in the mix.

### CHAPTER 3 THE CONTESTED PENTECOSTALIZATION OF CHILEAN ANGLICANISM

In this chapter, I will examine how Charismatic theological emphases and ritual practices have emerged in Chilean Anglicanism in general and at an affluent, middle-class church called La Trinidad in particular. I will situate this emergence within the expanding global sphere of Pentecostal and Charismatic influence. Indeed, this Anglican church occupies an increasingly prominent node in the global networks of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity, especially as those networks are constructed across the Americas. Since La Trinidad is a middle class Charismatic church in a country which has a long and significant Pentecostal history among the urban poor, participants at the church must mediate differences of both religion and class. Their class status also encourages them to be sensitive to Roman Catholicism since it is the most dominant expression of Christianity in the middle and upper classes, the majority faith of Chile, and the most common religious background of people who come to La Trinidad.

Indeed, compared to many Latin American Evangelicals, leaders at La Trinidad have a conspicuously tolerant and open view of Roman Catholicism, which even includes some levels of cooperation. This is unusual in the Latin American context where Evangelical and Catholics are often locked in religious competition and conflict (Chesnut 2003:59). This ecumenical openness is facilitated at least in part by the fact that La Trinidad shares some of the same ritual styles and theological emphases of Roman Catholicism, such as infant baptism, weekly celebration of the Eucharist, and similar liturgical attire (the priests wear collars and on special occasions they also wear liturgical robes). Sacramental theology at La Trinidad is certainly not identical to Roman Catholicism, and it is less pronounced than in my two U.S. Latina/o case studies. (This is partly due to the British roots of Chilean Anglicanism, since evangelical Anglicans in the UK have historically adhered to the “low” Anglican style that emphasizes word

over sacrament). Still, the convergent mix of Evangelical, Charismatic and sacramental emphases at La Trinidad means these Chilean Anglicans share family resemblances to groups like the ACNA. Nevertheless, the Charismatic convergence at La Trinidad and the religious intensification of global consciousness at that site is only occasionally connected to the ACNA's global discourse of convergent orthodoxy, and the connections that are made with that institution are often tenuous. Those weak links are due to general preoccupation at La Trinidad with other global Charismatic Christian events outside of Anglican institutions.

Hence this chapter provides a window into the frenetic processes of global Christian convergence, which sometimes reify class and national borders, sometimes relativize them through transnational links, and occasionally blur them all together by highlighting a "Holy Spirit that knows no territorial boundaries or class, racial, or gender distinctions" (Vásquez 2010:272). I argue that members of La Trinidad in general, and particularly their leader Alfredo Cooper, have adopted a pragmatic approach to navigating tributaries of Catholic, Evangelical and Pentecostal faith in Chile and abroad. They have sacralized this pragmatism, claiming that it is the work of the Spirit to know how to most effectively deploy the convergent features of their faith at particular moments and in certain contexts. This is not to say that people associated with La Trinidad live faith through a constant calculation of costs and benefits; but rather leaders and members of La Trinidad believe that they have been uniquely empowered and positioned by the Holy Spirit to bring revival to their country and the world, and they thus take great care in trying to convey that message winsomely and persuasively.

I start this examination of local, national, and global mission at La Trinidad with a vignette of people normally set apart in separate denominational quarters and distinct class divisions, who have been drawn together through shared fervency for Evangelical revival. This narrative helps

bring to life some of the elements of faith and class that are so important to a broader consideration of La Trinidad's place in the more far-reaching networks of global Charismatic Christianity. As will become clear, though, the experience of cross-class and cross-denominational unity in the following event is only part of the story.

### **Anglicans in Pentecostal Outreach**

On one sunny winter morning in Santiago, Chile there is raucous cheering. Waves of fresh applause undulate rhythmically over a steady stream of praise; beaming faces match the joyful sounds. This is not a World Cup soccer celebration, nor is it the victorious frenzy of a political election. These are Pentecostals from the largest Pentecostal Church in Chile, the Methodist Pentecostal Church, who have just participated in an evangelistic blitz throughout Santiago, a crusade they call "*Mil Esquinas*" (A Thousand Corners).<sup>1</sup>

They have traveled in groups throughout the city, passing out booklets with pithy explanations of the Evangelical gospel, explaining that people are separated from God through sin, that God sent God's son to die on a cross and bridge the gap between perfect divinity and sinful humanity, and that a restored relationship with God requires a personal acceptance and confession of Jesus' saving power. Some of the Pentecostal youth are clad in clown costumes and other striking sartorial expressions of joy. Having dotted the Santiago landscape with their evangelistic message, they have now congregated in the Methodist Pentecostal "Cathedral" of Jotabeche, where the flickers of Pentecostal enthusiasm they lit on the streets have burst into festive conflagration. Various groups, representing mostly Methodist Pentecostal churches from

---

<sup>1</sup> After the mainline Methodist hierarchy in Chile expelled a number of congregations for their pentecostalized theology in the early twentieth century, Chilean Charismatic Methodist leader William Hoover founded the Methodist Pentecostal Church, which maintained the Methodist structure of decision-making and major theological tenets while also allowing a space for charismatic worship. For more information, see J. Anderson (2005).

diverse regions in Santiago, proceed into the cathedral. They dance, wave and even drum their way into the sanctuary.

In a confusing twist of ethnographic misadventure and miscommunication, I find myself on the stage with the highest ranks of the Chilean Pentecostal leadership, where I have an ideal view of the proceedings. I have explained throughout the day that I am a Canadian student of religion at the University of Florida, but because I am a special guest of one of the esteemed leaders of Evangelicalism in Chile, I have also been confused for a Canadian missionary. I am not sure on what basis I have been invited to the stage. There, I mimic the movements around me, trying to find visual cues for how to comport myself on this platform of ecclesiastical leadership as I am brought face to face with the rank-and-file of Chilean Pentecostalism. Congregants emerge from the sunlight into the shade of the sanctuary in unbridled revelry. We, the leaders on the stage, clap and smile in recognition.

After three quarters of the vast cathedral has filled, a collection of youth in bright yellow jackets, with MOU (Misión Operación Urbana—Urban Mission Operation) stitched across them, sway down the aisles, cheering wildly; they match, if not exceed, every bit of Pentecostal exuberance that surrounds them. These youth do not, however, belong to a Pentecostal church. In fact, they come from an expression of Christianity that in some European and North American settings is sometimes described by self-effacing members as the “frozen chosen”: a title that refers to the traditionally staid and formal religious demeanor of its members. The frigid descriptor, though, does not fit these fiery Anglican youth. I know that they are Anglican because the esteemed guest who I have accompanied today tells me so.

Pastor Alfredo Cooper is the most easily-recognized Anglican pastor in Chile; in fact, he has become one of the most recognized leaders of Chilean Evangelicalism in general. He

explains to me that the Pentecostals in Chile have borrowed some of the techniques that these Anglican youth use in their own evangelistic campaigns in Santiago, which they call MOU. Although they have joined the Pentecostal outreach on this day, the Anglican youth maintain their distinctions with MOU emblazoned on their jackets. Eventually, a twenty-something leader of MOU joins us on the altar.

After we have taken our seats, Pastor Alfredo Cooper is invited to pray over Pentecostals and Anglicans alike. He lifts his hands over the congregation in a cruciform style, and in an impassioned prayer he invokes the power of the Holy Spirit. In this act, Cooper demonstrates his hybrid religious identity: an Anglican with Pentecostal zeal. He is also a cultural hybrid as an Anglo-Chilean born in Chile, but educated in England. He speaks Spanish with the consonant-swallowing cadence of a native Chilean, and English with a natural British lilt. In my interviews with him, the fifty-nine year old Cooper occasionally reaches to find the right English word, jokingly admitting that after all these years of ministry in Chile, “My English vocabulary is disappearing.” Still, he travels extensively around the globe, testifying in fluid and animated English to the work of the Holy Spirit among Spanish-speaking Evangelical Chileans, including the Anglican variety.

### **Crossing Denominations, Crossing Social Classes**

If Anglican and Pentecostal collaboration in Chile is surprising, the cross-class cooperation that such fraternity entails may be even more striking. Classic academic works on Pentecostalism in Chile highlight the humble socio-economic base of Chilean Pentecostalism. In *Followers of the New Faith*, Emilio Willems explores the growth of Pentecostalism in both Chile and Brazil during the 1940s and 1950s. He argues that the vast majority of those attracted to Pentecostalism during this time period were economically marginalized people who embraced Pentecostalism in order to adjust to the abrupt changes of rapid industrialization and urbanization

in their countries. According to Willems, Pentecostalism offered an individualistic ethic of improvement to survive this socioeconomic switch (1967:10).

Lalive d'Epinay also draws attention to the affinity between poverty and Pentecostal conversion; he argues that when economic changes in Chile from 1920 to 1960 catapulted poor migrants from rural settings to the city, Pentecostalism offered a replica of the erstwhile patron-client relationships these laborers had known in their rural environments. Pentecostal pastors acted like the *hacendados* (estate holders) on the *latifundia* (large estate): like the *hacendados* they were authoritarian and demanded high levels of obedience, and similar to these local bosses, the Pentecostal pastors offered paternalistic protection from a host of perceived wiles. Pentecostalism was also, according to Lalive d'Epinay, a salve for the anomie that the rural poor felt during their sudden dislocation in the cities.

These works paint a picture of Pentecostals from low socioeconomic brackets whose motives for conversion may have to do with tangible this-worldly concerns, but who are drawn into a faith that is apolitical and which stresses a host of otherworldly concerns, such as securing salvation for heaven. Other scholars have since added more diverse hues to that picture. David Martin for example claims that Pentecostal assemblies create pockets of democratic practice, where participants learn skills like public speaking and acquire the esteem necessary to be active participants in society. Martin does not lay out a clear teleological trajectory of Chilean Pentecostalism, but he believes that historical prototypes like the Methodists suggest that religiously-inspired democratic skills and values will have a positive impact on Latin America's long-term democratic future.

Frans Kamsteeg (1998) complicates the political implications of Pentecostalism even more. He studied groups of "prophetic Pentecostals" in Chile who have incorporated elements of

liberation theology, a progressive approach to the intersection between religion and sociopolitical concern, into their broader Pentecostal matrix. Such combinations led some Pentecostals to courageously defy the dehumanizing machinations of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet during the 1970s and 80s, and to devise projects of material assistance to the poor and socially marginalized. Kamsteeg ultimately argues, however, that “prophetic Pentecostalism” has had limited resonance in Chilean Pentecostalism where the vast majority continue to focus on supernatural practices and beliefs at the expense of this-worldly concern. He is also attentive to the large segment of Pentecostals who supported Pinochet and who turned a blind eye to reports of his human rights abuses. Pinochet, seeking religious support for the regime, conferred Pentecostals with social status that was appealing for people who were normally socially marginalized. There is no uniform Pentecostal position on the legacy of that relationship to Pinochet, but Pentecostals are increasingly reflective about their changing social and political roles in the country.

In a conversation I had with the bishop of the Methodist Pentecostal church in Santiago during the *Mil Esquinas* event, he told me that one of the most significant changes to Chilean Pentecostalism over the last one hundred years has been upward mobility. Pentecostals, he proudly proclaimed, now inhabit all the major spheres of Chilean society, including the political realm. If some Pentecostals have risen in social class and prominence, the perception continues in non-Pentecostal settings that Pentecostals come mainly from the lower socio-economic brackets of society. When Anglicans from La Trinidad interact with Pentecostals, they not only believe they are crossing socio-economic and socio-cultural lines but they often are. La Trinidad Anglican Church is located in one of the most prosperous sectors of Santiago, in an area called Las Condes. Along with other well-to-do sectors, Las Condes is part of the *Barrio Alto* (the

upper neighborhood). Reverend Cooper explained in an interview that the crossing of both traditional denominational lines and social classes is something that has won favor for Cooper among the Pentecostals:

They like the fact that an Anglican can experience Pentecostal blessing and that he testifies to a church where there are Pentecostal manifestations. They feel very comfortable with that. There is a social element here that lower Pentecostal echelons of society always rather look up to the *Barrio Alto* [a term for a collection of upper-middle class sectors of Santiago] so the fact that a *Barrio Alto* pastor can come down there and give these sort of expressions is to them quite an eye-opener and they love it, right. So that's me and my relationship with them. I love the Pentecostal church; I've always admired it greatly, the way they've brought so many thousands to Christ.

Cooper's success planting a non-Catholic church in a prosperous middle class sector of Santiago is uncommon.

This success among the middle class in the Chilean religious marketplace is especially surprising since La Trinidad Anglican Church shares much in common with Chilean Pentecostals, a religious group who in popular Chilean imagination are closely associated with the urban poor. The middle and upper classes of Chilean society have generally resisted evangelical entreaties with vigor, and sometimes derision. The term "*evangelico*" (evangelical) is associated in Chilean society with poor Pentecostals. It is no wonder, then, that popular terms for Pentecostals become confused in the academic literature. Joel Robbins points out, for example, "In the literature on Spanish-speaking Latin America . . . scholars often translate the folk term *evangelico* as evangelical even when it is clear that the groups they are discussing are best understood, for comparative purposes as P/c [Robbins's abbreviation for Pentecostal and Charismatic Christians]" (Robbins 2004:119). Potentially confusing "folk terms" abound in Chile.

*Canuto*, is a closely related term to *evangelico*, and is found only in Chile; it is a pejorative applied to all Evangelicals but especially Pentecostals. The term derives from the evangelistic

efforts in 1890 of a Methodist pastor named Juan Canut de Bon who ministered in the Chilean region of La Serena. Emilio Willems noted in 1967 that the term was in widespread use in Chile:

Although the unorthodox and completely unsophisticated forms of proselytism practiced by the Pentecostal sects have attracted thousands of followers among the lower classes, they have also generated ridicule and contempt in Chilean society at large. This disdainful designation *canuto* has gained wide currency and is often indiscriminately applied to all Protestants. The popular definition *los canutos son los locos que gritan en la calle* (the *canutos* are the crazy ones who shout in the street) obviously expressed derision and the desire to ostracize such dubious elements from middle-class respectability (Willems 1967:63).

From my interviews, it seems that for the middle-class this term continues to evoke the negative image of poor, boisterous, street-preaching Pentecostals. Even the Anglican Bishop of Chile used the term *canuto* when describing his childhood impressions of Evangelicals. As a middle-class church led by a priest, Alfredo Cooper, who is so renowned in Evangelical circles that he was made the Evangelical chaplain to the president of the country, Sebastian Piñera, La Trinidad is breaking the Chilean Evangelical mold.

### **Charismatic Awakenings in the Chilean Middle Class**

In Las Condes, Cooper and other members of La Trinidad have combined an Evangelical message of salvation with Pentecostal and Charismatic expressions of praise, and they have carefully crafted their message to address familial discord, which is what they perceive to be the most acute anxiety of the middle class. Indeed, the majority of new members of La Trinidad came to the church through spiritual programs that emphasize family stability, the most popular of which is *Encuentro Matrimonial* (Marriage Encounter). Pastor Alfredo explains that after years of ministry in the middle class of Santiago “all sorts of situations began to point as we prayed that this society and this section of society’s Achilles’ heel, biggest need, is family. So

that's when we adopted Marriage Encounter." Marriage Encounter is a program that originated in the Catholic Church and which Anglicans have adapted to their distinct context.

Couples travel for a weekend retreat where they are apparently bereft of some of the customary luxuries of a middle class lifestyle. The retreats are meant to be so private and intimate that participants were only willing to disclose general features to an inquiring academic. I was informed, though, that the comparatively spartan conditions are meant to refocus the couple on the primacy of relationships—with each other, their children, and with God. The evangelical message on these retreats is, according to my informants, “very subtle.” New participants in Marriage Encounter do not typically make an explicit faith commitment during the weekend retreat, but many eventually make such decisions in subsequent services at La Trinidad. According to my informants, the weekend retreat of Marriage Encounter lays the groundwork for subsequent spiritual growth. At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of La Trinidad, Pastor Cooper asked for a show of hands of people who had come to the church via Marriage Encounter. Of the six hundred people present, between sixty to seventy percent raised their hands.

One couple, who I will call Luis and Aida, praised Marriage Encounter for fortifying their shaky marriage back in 1997. The experience of Luis and Aida confirms what sociologist David Smilde has said about the prominent role that social and familial networks play in Latin American conversions to Evangelicalism. He stresses that “religious conversion is not simply a personal decision; rather it is structured to an important degree by the individual's social relationships” (2007:154). Luis and Aida came to Marriage Encounter on the advice of friends (parents of their children's classmates) who testified to the powerful positive imprint that the

retreat had left on their own marriage. Luis insists that these enthusiastic reports of the success of Marriage Encounter are typical.

If you do an analysis of the ten or twelve couples who went through Marriage Encounter [with us that weekend], you will find that none of them is separated. They have gone through difficult times, there have been periods of separation, but none of those marriages has broken up to this day. Not one. Actually there were probably more like fifteen couples.

Luis adds, “What I can tell you is that what you feel there is the genuine love of God”; Aida continued his thought, “the likes of which you have never seen.” The Marriage Encounter created a new set of relationships, and it was a link to church services at La Trinidad; there the Charismatic features of the services were initially startling but eventually facilitated evangelical conversions in which they accepted Jesus as personal “Savior and Lord.” This is in keeping with what scholars have noticed about the opportunities for escalating experiences in Pentecostal and Charismatic settings. “Many people are compelled to attend services, revival and other ritualized gatherings by a ‘spiritual acquisitiveness’ generated in them that presses believers ‘relentlessly on to the next experience’” (Robbins 2004:126). That fluid prose makes the process sound smooth, but Luis and Aida hit a bump on their way from the Marriage Encounter weekend to the regular Sunday services at La Trinidad.

Aida explains that the jumping during songs and the sudden eruptions of “Alleluia!” at the services were unnerving. “I thought it was crazy at the beginning.” She had not seen anything like it in her religious past. Aida describes her Catholic background as a nominal and “cultural” commitment that was never very deep or personal. Luis had grown up in a “traditional” Lutheran church in Santiago and describes his faith before coming to La Trinidad as similarly uninspired. Luis and Aida had decided not to marry in the Catholic Church because the institution’s requirement to raise children in the Catholic fold seemed to them an unnecessary burden. They thus occasionally attended Lutheran services as a married couple but feel, in

hindsight, that their spiritual commitments were shallow in comparison with their current level of devotion at La Trinidad: they point out, for example, that they did not pray together as a couple and that they had no interest in studying the Bible. All that changed at La Trinidad, however, where they have become lay leaders of the dynamic children's ministry at the church. And they are also now active participants in many of the Charismatic expressions of faith that had initially seemed so chaotic.

When they first attended La Trinidad, the most shocking portions of the service for Aida were the spontaneous manifestations of spiritual power that took place during the Eucharist: "At that time, there were people who would receive Holy Communion [the term for the Eucharist most frequently used at La Trinidad] and would fall to the floor . . . Now it's normal for me to see this, but at first it was kind of a shock, but not shocking enough to keep me from going." It is important to note the various levels of continuity and change in this story. Aida was initially startled by overt Charismatic phenomena, which were new to her, but it is likely that the connection between these new practices and older patterns of faith, such as the familiar ritual of the Eucharist, buffered the jolt sufficiently to keep Aida from leaving the church. After all, people were falling under perceived spiritual power during the Eucharist, the centerpiece of both Catholic and Lutheran services. This personal narrative is analogous to broader institutional patterns of continuity and change at La Trinidad. La Trinidad not only provides some connections to Chilean Catholicism, but it has maintained continuity with Chilean Evangelicalism by using prominent Pentecostal features. They have, though, ruptured the typical pattern of Pentecostal outreach by tuning their Charismatic message to middle-class sound waves.

Luis suggests that Cooper has divine insight into how to negotiate religious continuity and change. In describing the freedom of both Charismatic expression and solemn reverence at La Trinidad, Luis praises Alfredo Cooper's balanced presentation:

Alf has always been very clear, during the ten or twelve years that we have known him, that this is a church in which you can feel free: free to lift your hands, free to cry, free to worship the Lord the way you want, and Alfredo has always been very anointed in this, in the sense that he has been very clear with the people by saying, "If you don't cry, it's not that the Holy Spirit is not in you, it is because you [react] differently." If you do not raise your hands, it is fine to not raise your hands, as long as your heart is being healed and you are receiving.

Luis's use of the term "anointing" when discussing this discourse of diverse religious patterns at La Trinidad speaks to the unique and class-conscious way that La Trinidad has appropriated Pentecostal experience and language. In Pentecostal and Charismatic circles the word anointing is used to describe a special measure of the Spirit's grace, empowerment, or divine gifting on an individual, movement, or particular local church. In this passage, Luis draws attention to Cooper's sensitivity to potential reservations among newcomers to the church; in his view, Cooper has made this a safe space for the majority of first-time visitors, who usually have a nominal Catholic background in which they were unaccustomed to overt emotional release in church. It is as if Cooper is facilitating a transition into a new "habitus," which Pierre Bourdieu refers to as "a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structure" (1977:76) In those terms, Catholicism is an important element in the habitus of many middle and upper class Chileans (Thumala 2007:25) and thus it is important that Cooper valorizes such a habitus by reminding parishioners that quiet experiences with the Spirit are as authentic as more demonstrative encounters. At the same time, Luis sees this balance in presentation as a kind of Spirit-bestowed insight or "anointing." Hence Alfredo Cooper and an eager cadre of lay leaders and participants have helped forge religious identities that are betwixt and between the dominant Chilean Christian models of, on the one hand, the predominantly lower-class forms of emotional

Pentecostalism, and, on the other, a multi-class (but especially middle and upper-class) Catholicism less inclined toward such exuberance.

This attitude is reflected in the use of media at La Trinidad. The various aspects of media ministries at La Trinidad draw some participants into relationships which encourage reflection on a number of pressing issues in the broader Chilean society. A television show hosted by Pastor Alfredo Cooper called *Hazte Cargo* (“Take Stock”) is a telling example. On a promotional feature for the show Alfredo Cooper offers the following mission statement: “Welcome to the program that seeks to elevate values in Chile, *Hazte Cargo*, where we take stock of our lives and make commitments to values that will edify this country.” Some of the themes in the promo have a familiar Evangelical feel, such as a segment entitled, “A Before and an After.” This episode deals with an Evangelical testimony which fits the “lost and found” motif so common in these circles. Many themes covered on the show, however, are not readily associated with Latin American Evangelicalism.

There have been frank discussions, for example, of the military takeover of the country in 1973, the long period of General Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship and its legacy of pain and division. In one segment of an interview Pastor Alfredo asks, “And the theme of the detained and the disappeared today?” A question to which his interlocutor responds, “Well, I think it is clearly a theme from the past because it took place a long time ago but for our country it is a theme of the present because people continue living with the pain and there are people continuing to look for disappeared family members to this day.” The vast majority of historians who write on this period characterize Pinochet’s tactics as brutal and vicious. Members of opposition parties and people suspected of such opposition were surreptitiously detained without habeas corpus, or simply “disappeared” at the hands of a military that crushed even hints of

political critique through torture and other dehumanizing tactics. In this exploration of Christianity, culture and media, it suffices to highlight La Trinidad's treatment of this subject as an example which challenges stereotypes of cloistered Evangelicals separating from the broader culture.

One woman in her late thirties, Josefina, is active in the various media ministries of La Trinidad; indeed, she first suggested the idea of *Hazte Cargo* to Pastor Alfredo. Josefina comes from a denominationally mixed household: her father is Catholic and her mother is Anglican. Josefina describes her Christian formation as a deep, slow, and gradual process of transformation. One of the spiritual highlights of her life came at twelve years of age: "I felt like God was speaking to me, finally, through the ministry of Alf [Pastor Alfredo]." Another momentous occasion occurred a year later when she "received the Spirit" during a youth conference with members of La Trinidad. "Receiving the Spirit" is an expression that some Charismatic Christians use to identify the activation of a supernatural gift of the Holy Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, prophecy or divine healing. For Josefina, however, her gift was more relational: "I guess the only gift [I received] was to know clearly when I was with God and when I wasn't." The theme of discernment is one that fits Josefina well, since she carefully navigates the multiple cultures with which she is engaged through her media ministry.

Josefina self-identifies as a basic Christian, one who eschews denominational labels. "Generally I say that I'm Christian. After that, I say that I participate in an Anglican church but I don't necessarily wear that on my forehead." She would like to see Christians emphasize "less and less denominations, and divisions, and tolerate one another. I know it is easy to say it (laughs). But I try to not lift up Anglicanism. That [attitude of denominational exceptionalism]

actually bothers me. I want to lift up Christ only.” She stresses that she has a dream of unity in the “body of Christ.”

The “body of Christ” is often Evangelical shorthand for all “sincere Evangelical believers,” but Josefina extends the ecclesiastical reference further than most. She includes Catholics in this designation and adds that she realized after meeting various Catholic priests who have participated in segments of *Hazte Cargo* that many Catholics “speak the same language.” She clarifies later in the interview that these particular Catholics were Charismatic Catholics. She admits that there are many things about the Catholic Church that “bother her” but insists that she “would like for us all to be worshipping God together.” A scholar of U.S. Latino Pentecostalism, Arlene M. Sánchez Walsh opines, “Understanding that the Charismatic movement privileges the work of the Holy Spirit . . . helps to explain why evangelicals can accept Catholics despite their theological differences” (2003:161). It is important to clarify that Walsh implicitly refers to Charismatic Evangelicals, rather than the more Reformed branch of Evangelicalism, which is generally suspicious of Charismatic claims. Josefina is not sure what the term “Charismatic” means but she recognizes a kinship with some people, including Catholics, who have used this label. Her ecumenical sensibilities are predicated on Charismatic conviviality, a sense that all Christians can unite in common submission to the presence of the Holy Spirit.

Josefina exhibits similar characteristics to what the scholar Grant Wacker noticed in his study of the history of Pentecostalism. After sifting through a host of early journals and other historical sources of popular Pentecostal culture, Wacker concluded that from its earliest stages there was an inherent tension in Pentecostalism between primitivism and pragmatism. Primitivism refers to that element of Pentecostal ethos which has encouraged Pentecostals to run roughshod over human-made traditions. For Pentecostals, the movement of the Holy Spirit

could topple the enterprises of humanity—even when Christians had constructed those human achievements. Josefina’s relative disregard for denominational labels and her emphasis on the bonds of spirit-centered fraternity is comparable to Pentecostal primitivism.

In Wacker’s view, this devil-may-care attitude about tradition in Pentecostalism was offset by a pragmatic concern for delivering the Pentecostal message in a way that resonated with broader cultures. Pentecostals attempted to combine the spontaneity of spirit-centered faith with a pragmatic concern for strategic delivery of the message. In short, and in Wacker’s words, they attempted “to capture lightning in a bottle” (2001:10).

La Trinidad seems to hold together a similar tension between primitivist and pragmatic emphases. As an interviewer on *Hazte Cargo*, Pastor Alfredo maintains a poised and steady demeanor while offering carefully crafted questions and rational reflection. As a preacher, by contrast, he throws off decorum and bounces around the altar trumpeting the “glories of the Lord” with a litany of vocal crescendos, a style clearly born out of his ministerial formation as a Pentecostal preacher. There is plenty of slippage and overlap between these apparently distinct worlds of Pentecostal fervor and media professionalism. Horsfield argues,

The ability of religious bodies to communicate their message and perspectives to the wider society is influenced significantly by the extent to which they can translate the language and practices of the religion, constructed within particular media-cultural contexts, into the required languages, industrial demands, and cultures of the dominant media industries (2008:117).

Knowing the right tune for the right moment is crucial for cultural engagement.

Josefina explains that every episode of *Hazte Cargo* involves “strong spiritual warfare” behind the scenes. Although the show has a pragmatically selected mix of politicians, journalists, religious believers, and educators, she clarifies that ultimately “the Lord decides who will be on the show. Doors open, doors close . . . the goal is to honor Him and the Lord does what He wants. We always see how God accomplishes his will. The cost is great—spiritually speaking.”

I ask as a follow-up question whether the show is meant to be evangelistic; in other words, are even the episodes with overt political and social commentary meant to draw people to Christianity? She replies, “Yes, that is the purpose.”

Some interviews on the show contain evangelistic rhetoric, but there are other episodes of *Hazte Cargo* in which the evangelistic message of salvation is subdued or absent. Josefina explains that the “dream” of *Hazte Cargo* is for people to sit “with the Bible in one hand and the newspaper in the other.” The show strives to contextualize the evangelical message in the distinct sociopolitical and cultural confines of Chile, and Josefina clarifies that it does so in a way that is “not so *evangelico* [Evangelical], not so *canuto*.” Here the idiomatic expression acts as an adjective rather than a noun, used to designate certain styles of Christian proclamation that are evocative of Pentecostals from a lower socioeconomic bracket. Josefina admits that, like *canuto*, “culturally the word ‘evangelical’ is viewed in a negative light.” Her explanation of how and when she decides to use this term bespeaks the mix of spiritual spontaneity and pragmatic concern in her religious identity. “I self-describe as Evangelical when the Lord shows me, you know what I mean?” (“Yo me ocupo la palabra cuando El Señor me muestra, cachai?”) This admission provides clear recognition of the multiple tributaries of Christian identity in Latin America. In her media ministry, Josefina seems to self-consciously navigate and mediate these multiple streams. La Trinidad’s distinct convergent niche in the religious marketplace<sup>2</sup> of Chile seems to owe much to Alfred Cooper’s own complicated conversion career.

### **From Evangelical Liberation Theology to Pentecostal Anglicanism**

When Alfredo Cooper first returned to Chile after theological and biblical studies at All Nations College in England, he was buzzing with a heady mix of evangelistic fervor and a

---

<sup>2</sup> See Chesnut (2003) for the concept of the religious marketplace in Latin America.

vigorous commitment to social justice. Before his evangelical conversion, he was a self-proclaimed Marxist. His newfound evangelical faith was thus combined with long-standing concern for the poor. Cooper says that he was “born into the sort of privileged classes” in Chile and he had wanted to help bring about “resistance in a soft way that wouldn’t create much harm, that wouldn’t bring them [his parishioners] into a problem.” In a poor sector of Santiago, called La Florida, Cooper launched his dual campaign to save souls and society:

I’d arrived full of the liberation theology vision but I wanted a biblical version of that. So, we began some evangelism, and we’d just get a group around the Bible and ask questions: How did this faith that we were finding affect our social and political situation? And the classic sort of liberation theology [question], but around the Bible. Liberation theology without that evangelical section to it is basically the group of people asks the questions before God, but I was doing it in front of the Bible.

Cooper’s interest in liberation theology arose from his partial dissatisfaction with

Pentecostalism:

What I liked best from what I had read was this vision of getting among the poor and development coming from the gospel. I liked the Pentecostals but I’d been in a Pentecostal church in the West Indies for a year and it didn’t satisfy every part of my being, although I liked the Pentecostal experience and I couldn’t deny that it was raising people, as I’d read had happened all over Latin America, that the Pentecostals were raising up the poorest, you know.

Eventually, however, Cooper noticed a pentecostalization of his Anglican parish, a change that scholars of Latin American religion would eventually describe with the adage that liberation theology opted for the poor, but the poor opted for Pentecostalism (Stoll 1990).

It was still the early days so I didn’t, I hadn’t yet experienced what later on in the ‘90s became clear: all these liberation theology groups, almost 90 percent of them became Pentecostal churches later on; the ones in Northeast Brazil, very few remained with that political vision, they just became Pentecostal. And this is what happened to us as well, our church very quickly became a sort of Anglican Pentecostal church, but I developed the vision [of evangelical liberation theology] because, well, of course I was returning to Pinochet’s Chile and somehow my own background made me feel that I wanted to contribute to the return of democracy . . .

Cooper eventually decided that his Anglican parish was yet another Evangelical church in a poor sector that already had a plethora of similar religious options.

So that [Anglican parish in La Florida] grew quickly into a little church of about 30 to 40 people in about a space of a year and when I tried to find a building for that, I discovered that there were another four Pentecostal churches all vying for the same plot of ground. We won, and the church is planted and it is there to this day, but it made me feel like we were just cluttering the evangelical landscape with another church, when there were already Pentecostals doing such a good job. So that sense of . . . really wasting my time, what am I doing? concurred with the invitation from the Bishop . . . to start an Anglican work in this upper *Barrio Alto* sector, the upper middle-class, professional sector, those who rule Chile but at the same time had no expression of non-Catholic churches, apart from English speaking expressions or a German-Lutheran expression. So here was the challenge to start in Spanish. And that was in 1978 . . . . We began with fear and trepidation.

Cooper started a Spanish mission in a middle class sector called Providencia and handed that ministry over in 1984 to start La Trinidad in Las Condes. La Trinidad has had startling numerical success for a middle-class non-Catholic church.

### **Patterns of Pentecostalization at La Trinidad**

Although La Trinidad fits the pattern of the pentecostalized mainline in Latin America, it does nonetheless stick out among other Anglican churches in Santiago; La Trinidad is the largest and most Charismatic parish in both the country and the broader Southern Cone jurisdiction to which the Anglican Church in Chile belongs. Sunday attendance, including children, averages nine hundred congregants and sometimes reaches a thousand. The sanctuary holds approximately two-hundred and fifty people, and there are multiple rooms around the church campus for Christian instruction, meetings, and special events. La Trinidad offers three different services with three distinct styles.

The first, at 9:30 a.m. on Sunday, is the most formal of the services and is also the bridge service to which participants in Marriage Encounter are invited. During this service, the congregation recites pre-set prayers and creeds drawn from the Book of Common Prayer.

Charismatic gestures are present at this earliest service, such as hand-raising during singing and even the occasional manifestation of speaking in tongues, but those features are moderate and much less frequent than the second service at 11:00 a.m.

During my field work in the summer of 2009, I often attended both morning services. I noticed a palpable change in the atmosphere once the second service began. Whereas hand-raising was scattered and Charismatic practices few in the first service, the congregation during the 11:00 a.m. service are much more energetic in their worship: there was widespread hand-raising during the singing and other embodied signs of enthusiasm abounded, such as dancing and jumping during particularly lively songs.

The evening Sunday services are set apart for the youth of La Trinidad. For these services, the sanctuary is transformed into a medium-sized rock show, with green, red, and yellow strobe lights adding to the religious spectacle. Youth belt out danceable praise songs as well as slower more intimate worship songs. Much of the praise and worship involves Spanish translations of the hugely successful music ministry of the Charismatic megachurch, Hillsong Australia. One young man in his late teens and with long spiraling red hair was elated about the possibility that he and the rest of the youth band at La Trinidad might open for the worship group from Hillsong Australia during the latter's upcoming show in Santiago.

The liturgical elements of pre-set prayers are truncated during the youth service, but the biblical readings for the day are read aloud in the sanctuary, just as they are in the morning services. Before a sermon, there is often an interview with an invited speaker or with one of the youth who has had a momentous spiritual experience through La Trinidad. Both interviewer and interviewee sit down during this session, a visual design that is meant to appeal to the informal and laid-back elements of youth culture. The interview is followed by a sermon.

Even though La Trinidad has tried to create a familiar and comfortable atmosphere for youth, speakers stress the Pentecostal and Charismatic features of La Trinidad. According to Arlene M. Sanchez Walsh, “Charismatic/Pentecostal Christianity provides a place where youth can participate in the supernatural spirituality that remains the faith’s most inviting attraction” (2003:173). This emphasis was particularly striking during an evening in which Pastor Alfredo spoke to youth about the role of the Holy Spirit in Christian life. His sermon was followed with a prayer time in which some youth began to speak in tongues for the first time, and others wept openly. La Trinidad does not lack for committed youth leaders in their teens and twenties. During prayer times, a variety of people laid hands on the shoulders or back of the youth in prayer, a practice which is typical in local Pentecostal and Charismatic settings. Sometimes fellow youth, who have not been designated as leaders, will spontaneously surround their friends in prayer, imploring God to intervene in one another’s lives.

### **Attitudes toward the Demonic**

These kinds of emotive demonstrations of spiritual power are most evident in the general congregation at the bi-weekly healing services held on Wednesday evenings. During these services there are prayers for the sick, emotionally troubled, and those perceived to be demonically oppressed. Normally in a Charismatic setting, “deliverance” is a catchall term for any kind of prayer that resists demonic influence, understood to include a continuum from minor levels of oppression to the much more sinister, and less frequent, cases of demonic possession. Anthropologist Joel Robbins claims that this is a ubiquitous feature of global Charismatic Christianity: “Another neo-Charismatic doctrine enjoying worldwide popularity is that of spiritual warfare, which encourages believers to view daily life as dominated by an ongoing struggle between God and local, demonic, ‘territorial spirits,’ and which often promotes rituals of ‘deliverance’ designed to rid believers of demonic influence” (2004:122). Although this was not

a common point of discussion among participants during my observations of La Trinidad, I was present for what participants believed was an encounter with the demonic.

One Wednesday evening I was observing the variety of prayers when Cooper suddenly made his way back to the middle of the left side of the congregation where a group of adults was huddled around a girl between fourteen and sixteen years of age; the intensity and audible level of prayer rose when Pastor Alfredo joined the group. The girl remained seated as Cooper began to yell “*Fuera, en el nombre de Jesus!*” (“Out in the name of Jesus!”) He repeated “*Fuera*” continuously until finally he began to laugh and the tone of the prayers took a much softer turn. Pastor Alfredo’s prayer session with the girl lasted at least fifteen minutes, and this was in addition to the prayers that she had already been receiving throughout the evening.

I inquired afterward what had happened during this time of intercession. Pastor Alfredo explained that the girl had been tormented by demonic oppression and that her family had been gravely concerned for her. “She was delivered, Alleluia!” he proclaimed. His laughter during the prayer had been a signal that the girl’s demeanor was changing and that the Holy Spirit was releasing the girl from demonic bondage. I attempted to gauge her post-prayer attitude while she lingered in the sanctuary, waiting as her family spoke to well-wishing congregants. The girl snapped a series of self-portraits on her cell phone, tipping her hat to various angles, and making model-like facial expressions. She seemed more concerned with fashion than Jesus or the Devil, but her countenance had changed. She had a dreary forlorn look for most of the night before she received prayer, but she was now smiling peacefully; so too were the many other congregants who testified to some kind of physical alleviation or emotional release during the healing prayers. Through the packed schedule of mid-week church activities and studies, which include evenings of healing prayer, La Trinidad may “erase older boundaries between worship and

leisure” for its participants (Robbins 2004:126). Through occasional prayers of deliverance they also acknowledge that the church is a haven from what is seen, by implication, as a sometimes spiritually-polluted world. There are, though, differences between the strict Pentecostal demarcations between “the world” and the church, and the comparatively more permeable and flimsy borders that leaders and participants at La Trinidad draw between the sacred and the profane.

Classical Pentecostalism has a “strict moralism” (Robbins 2004:121), which encourages believers to eschew alcohol, dancing, and even the cinema. At La Trinidad, there are no qualms about congregants drinking alcohol socially, and there were occasions during my observation when clusters of smoking congregants were gathered outside the church, especially during evening events. This is in keeping with broader Chilean society, where smoking is a ubiquitous habit. Even the deliverance session I witnessed during the night of healing prayer stands in contrast to the more raucous exorcisms performed in settings where there are sharper divisions drawn between the church and broader society. Still, it would be misleading to characterize congregational life at La Trinidad as only a reflection of its social context. The Charismatic patterns at this church may be muted by middle-class reservations, but they are no less discordant for Chileans encountering them for the first time, as Aida’s reflections about her transition from Marriage Encounter to Sunday services remind us. That same phenomenon of “falling over” during services that had so surprised Aida upon her first visit to the church was widespread during the evening of healing prayer and deliverance.

### **The Pentecostal/Charismatic Ritual of Being Slain in the Spirit**

The service came to a close slowly as various congregants arose from the woozy aftermath of being “slain in the Spirit.” In Pentecostal and Charismatic settings people claim to sometimes be overcome by a perceived spiritual presence and some fall back on the ground when they

receive prayer; besides the slain in the Spirit label, this phenomenon is also referred to as “resting in the Spirit.” These prayer-induced sensations have become so commonplace at La Trinidad that ushers station themselves behind people receiving prayer to be ready to catch them if they fall. This phenomenon did not used to happen as frequently as it does now at La Trinidad; according to Pastor Alfredo, this newfound ubiquity of spiritual manifestations in his church is due to the influence of Pastors Ricardo Rodriguez and his wife, Maria Patricia “Patty” Rodriguez of Bogota, Colombia, who lead a church in Bogota called *Centro de Avivamiento Mundial* (World Revival Center). They, Cooper insists, are partly responsible for “revival” at La Trinidad. By revival, Charismatic Christians do not always mean an upswing in total number of Evangelical Christians, although most expect this to be an outcome. Rather, revival often refers to an intensification of spiritual presence, which may manifest in various kinds of “moods and motivations,” that are akin to what Geertz (1973) means by those terms—that is, they lead to various emotively charged patterns of behavior inclinations. It is helpful to situate the revival discourse and Charismatic behavior at La Trinidad within broader global patterns of perceived Spirit-centered outbreaks.

### **The Globalization of Pentecostal/Charismatic Revival**

Pastors Ricardo and Patty Rodriguez are the latest figures to spearhead Charismatic and Pentecostal revival in South America; even before this revival, South America was seen as a locus for Spirit-centered outbreaks in transnational Charismatic networks, which crisscross such far-reaching environs as South Africa, the United States and Canada. The Toronto Blessing in 1994, an outbreak of gifts of the spirit at a Vineyard Fellowship located at Toronto Pearson Airport, has its roots in the visit of that church’s pastor, John Arnot, to an Argentinean Assemblies of God Church in 1993. Similarly, the Rodriguez couple from Bogota, Colombia has

more than just the vast expanse of the Americas on their horizon. The title of their church, World Revival Center, bespeaks the global scope of their spiritual ambitions.

While global Pentecostal and Charismatic networks are diverse and complex, the Rodriguez couple's message of revival for the church is simple and, in Alfredo Cooper's view, even "repetitive." According to Patty and Ricardo Rodriguez, Christians who immerse themselves in the presence of the Holy Spirit in both private devotion and church assemblies will receive an anointing. The couple insists that it is through the anointing, or empowering of the Spirit, that even common Christians can become vessels of miraculous power, channeling the healing and saving power of God for the sick and so-called "lost" (non-evangelicals) of the world. For those familiar with the basics of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity, there is nothing novel in this articulation of the faith; this simple message has, however, produced demonstrable results in the form of dramatic manifestations of perceived spiritual power. Services have proved captivating for the thousands who come to Bogota from across the globe for annual events like the World Revival Congress, and for the local *Bogotanos* who attend the three weekly services at the World Revival Center, one held on Friday evening and the other two on Sunday mornings.

This church provides a strikingly visible Evangelical presence in a country with only modest Protestant growth. Still, if the World Revival Center in Bogota is a dense blot of Protestantism on a national map in which the Evangelical presence is otherwise thin, this large Charismatic church fits the megachurch model so prevalent among Evangelicals in Bogota. The relatively large space of the Center for World Revival structures the means by which congregants experience spiritual incorporation. Some of the ministerial practices resemble other

North American faith healers, such as Benny Hinn, who carry out campaigns in large venues around the world.

Benny Hinn has been known to wave his hand over sections of an audience, bellowing “touch” to awaiting recipients, and creating a subsequent pileup of people who crash to the floor en masse believing they are under the power of the Holy Spirit; this phenomenon of being slain in the Spirit in a large venue differs from the typical pattern in smaller church settings. As mentioned, at La Trinidad people are generally slain in the Spirit during prayers of close physical contact, which sometimes endures for a considerable period. Typically the prayer minister (who could be clergy, a lay leader, or even a devout member of the congregation) lays hands on the recipient’s shoulder or back. When the person praying and the recipient are of the same sex (particularly female to female), the minister may even caress the shoulders or back of the recipient, in an act which seems, from my observations, to represent the idea of the Holy Spirit’s continual, gentle and intimate healing power. If there is intimacy in Benny Hinn’s waving prayers, it comes paradoxically at a significant distance.

Ricardo and Patty Rodriguez in Bogota, Colombia have added an interesting material element to such capacious orchestrations of spiritual power. Videos of the various World Revival Congresses in Bogota show Ricardo Rodriguez, in particular, waving flags of distinct nations through the air, sending all in the vicinity of the gesture toppling with such immediacy that they seem to have been hammered by a gale force of spiritual power. The pastors are not averse to dramatic flair but this is also more than mere spectacle; the use of national flags in some of these meetings speaks to the combination of de-territorialization and re-territorialization that accompany Pentecostal and Charismatic claims to revival (Appadurai 1996).

The anointing is thought to be available to all, without regard to place of origin, but the Spirit's purpose in anointing the recipient has apparently everything to do with locale. The freshly empowered Christians who encounter revival are called by leaders to be agents of change in their home nations. In *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times*, David Lyon demonstrates that contemporary Pentecostal/Charismatic attractions can be expanded through the enthusiastic reports and demonstrations of spiritual travelers carrying back the remittances of revival to their nation, region, city and/or town (2000:109). On the one hand, the Spirit's work is thought to be diffuse since a local revival can spill over national and geographic boundaries. On the other hand, the theology of revival can reinforce the boundaries of the nation-state, since many recipients are admonished that their reception of anointing is meant to change the moral and spiritual climate of their particular country, while both undermining and reinforcing the borders of the nation-state.

When a Pentecostal/Charismatic revival is carried from the original site to new areas, the features of revival may morph in the process of articulation and reception. Uniformity is impractical in revivals with an extensive geographic reach. Lyon describes, for example, the plurality of Christian cultures that have been in some way connected to the Toronto Airport Blessing:

It would be surprising if there were not also local reasons that the "fire" is "caught" more readily in some settings than in others, or, to maintain the earlier metaphor, that the flows follow some channels and not others. The Blessing may, for instance, touch certain groups that evidence few features of California-style Vineyard Fellowship, or even airport culture cosmopolitanism. In Pensacola, Florida, for example, the relevant sister church is, according to Margaret Polomba, much more like the more familiar old southern Pentecostalism, which suggest that the flames of the fire may burn quite differently in different locales, even though the spark may have come via Toronto (2000:109).

In this excerpt, there is evidence of various religious cultures adapting the same broader revival to their particular situations. This makes the strong influence of a non-denominational

Charismatic revival in Bogota, Colombia on an Anglican church in Santiago, Chile much more comprehensible. Still, that a priest with a collar has become an important part of the revival networks gives Cooper a conspicuous presence in such circles, a prominence that both he and the Rodriguez couple use for pragmatic rhetorical purposes.

In trying to spearhead Pentecostal/Charismatic revival around the world, the Rodriguez couple in Bogota, Colombia did not expect to find a powerful conduit in an Anglican pastor. Decades before Alfredo Cooper made his first visit to the World Revival Congress, he had already witnessed the dramatic impact Charismatic Christianity carried across geographical boundaries:

Some of the English missionaries who had come into the Charismatic experience had come back to Chile because in England it was just beginning in the late 60s early 70s; there was this new big Charismatic movement. So the missionaries would come back full of the Lord and full of fire and they would start ministering to the people, so this was interesting. We had the synod and at one point in the synod we asked the bishops to pray for us and they prayed and the Holy Spirit came with tremendous power. In fact, we had an Acts 4 experience: the church that we were in shook literally, violently like an earthquake. There was an earthquake. The minute we said amen, after praying for about three hours, and with all sorts of Pentecostal expressions and tongues and things we stood in a great cross and we prayed "Amen, thank you Lord," and the whole church shook. It was a great earthquake over Chile, I remember, but it was at that exact timing, I remember, and the Lord said to us, "You can have Anglicanism my way or you can have it your way, and I understood that, I took it, and I said, "Yes I want it your way Lord."

Cooper decided after that experience to foster Charismatic Anglicanism in all the new ministry efforts he would carry out in Santiago, including the middle-class church plants. In hindsight, he thinks that even his best efforts to fan the flames of spiritual renewal were stymied by his own reservations about Charismatic excess. He believes that he and the churches he led would sometimes "quench" and "resist" the full manifestation of the Holy Spirit. That reticence gave way to surrender when Pastor Alfredo and several other members of La Trinidad felt they were suddenly caught up in the gusting winds of Charismatic revival in Bogota, Colombia.

At one typically energetic service at the World Revival Center, Alfredo Cooper was a return visitor, testifying to the spiritual transformation he experienced in 2005 at his first World Revival Congress in Bogota, Colombia. Before Cooper spoke, Pastor Ricardo Rodriguez singled out Pastor Cooper and his wife Hillary as evidence of the far-reach of Colombian revival.

Did you all know that the revival is not only here, but that the Lord is anointing men who have had contact with the revival and have begun to start a tremendous work in other countries? We have friends in Venezuela, others who God is moving in the United States, in Mexico and in Argentina and in Chile; in Chile there are tremendous things happening. How many like to hear news of the revival? [Applause] How many like to hear news of the revival? [Louder applause] How many like to know all that Christ is doing in the revival? [Even louder applause] How many like to know that God is using the revival to touch the world? [Final crescendo of applause]

At this point in the service, Pastor Ricardo presented Alfredo and his wife Hillary.

Hillary was the first to speak; excitedly, if somewhat shyly, she proclaimed the powerful influence that the Bogota Revival has had on her life and her ministry in Santiago. She described the prayers that she had received in these settings, speaking of a “cloud” of the Spirit of God under which she was refreshed and empowered for local ministry. She believed that this new anointing had helped her deal with the emotional toil she witnessed and felt when helping troubled couples who came to Marriage Encounter weekends. In this case a ministry geared to middle-class Chileans, Marriage Encounter, which does not have prominent Charismatic features, is brought into a broader Charismatic orbit through rhetorical links. Cooper made similar rhetorical links that helped “emplot” (Vásquez 2010:301) Charismatic revival on a narrative that included Chilean Pentecostalism, Charismatic Anglicanism, and non-denominational Charismatic revival in Bogota, Colombia.

Pastor Alfredo’s testimony began with a short personal history of his participation in the revival.

Who would have thought that in this Congress in 2005, right there [gestures to the front of the altar] the Holy Spirit would fall suddenly on this inoffensive, quiet Anglican who doesn't bother anyone and that suddenly everything was going to change forever? From that spot, they lifted me up and brought me up here [on the altar] where for the first time I was face to face with Pastor Rodriguez. I had prayed to the Lord, "Lord, I want the anointing that is on this man, please!" When I got up here, he looked at me and he said, "This is the Anglican that wants so much [anointing]? Well, he already received but may he receive it [the anointing] again" [Pastor Cooper makes a sweeping motion to replicate the waving gesture that Pastor Rodriguez used over him in prayer] and I received millions and millions of new surges ("*golpeos*") of the Lord.

In this case, the stereotype of a "quiet, inoffensive" brand of Anglicanism acts as a humorous and potentially convincing foil to the dramatic, body-animating power of the Holy Spirit. (From shadowing Pastor Alfredo around many parts of Chile, I can say with uncertainty that while he is not offensive, he is rarely quiet, especially in religious gatherings.) Pastor Rodriguez followed Alfredo Cooper's own ostensibly self-deprecating comments about his "inoffensive, quiet" Anglicanism (self-deprecating in the Charismatic context where enthusiasm is prized and reservation discouraged) by reiterating how surprising it is that an Anglican would be so thoroughly animated by the Holy Spirit. "An Anglican, with all due respect, was someone Chile was least expecting God to choose to light this fire because an Anglican is very traditional; they still maintain a lot of ritual, but look at him: He is more Pentecostal than all the Pentecostals. He is a man of fire!" In front of the Colombian congregation these cautious but pointed remarks about Cooper's association with mainline Protestantism are meant to suggest to participants that the Holy Spirit can rupture denominational defenses against spiritual enthusiasm. It seems then that both Pastor Alfredo and Pastor Rodriguez highlight Cooper's Anglican affiliation as a rhetorical act of persuasion. They want to demonstrate the potency of God's presence: a manifestation that is thought to be so strong that it even topples a dignified Anglican, rendering him powerless before the creative and spontaneous movement of the Spirit. If the Colombian

congregation had any doubts about what this Anglican pastor was claiming about his own experience, an embodied demonstration followed to convince the skeptical.

Pastor Alfredo explained to the Colombian congregation, “I would like to do something which we do in Chile to give glory to God for all that he is doing. In Chile, we greet each other in place to place and I would like to greet my Chilean brothers and sisters who are watching, accompanying us in this great revival. We do it by repeating ‘*Gloria a Dios*’ (Glory to God) three times and after this we say ‘*Chile para Cristo*’ (Chile for Christ).” Cooper then asked the Colombian congregation to be prepared, when signaled, to repeat “*Gloria a Dios*” in unison. He further instructed that after this tripartite refrain, Pastor Alfredo and his wife Hilary would bellow “*Chile Para Cristo*” while the rest of the assembly was to yell “*Colombia para Cristo*.” The congregation responded to the call with great gusto and there was a vibrating cheer throughout the World Revival Center.

Pastor Rodriguez was so struck by the response to Pastor Alfredo’s prayer that he asked the congregation to yell “*Gloria a Dios*” three times yet again and this time to add “*Chile para Cristo*” as Pastor Rodriguez prayed over Pastor Alfredo and Hillary. He instructed the congregation to “yell the anointing of revival over them.” Upon screaming “*Chile para Cristo!*” Pastor Rodriguez touched the outstretched hands of Pastor Alfredo and Hillary and they fell back immediately. While both were prostrate on the floor, Pastor Alfredo writhed, kicking his legs in the air, screaming out in seemingly ecstatic praise.

### **Transferring Charismatic Rituals**

With the pronounced emphasis on spontaneity and immediacy of spiritual experience in Charismatic circles, practitioners of this enthusiastic faith, like Pastor Rodriguez, do not always recognize the nature of ritual in their own congregations; at the very least Protestant Charismatics are hesitant to call repetitive Charismatic patterns “ritual.” In various Pentecostal

and Charismatic settings, I have heard the term ritual equated with rote repetition, which is thought to dull faith. This is an underlying sentiment in Rodriguez's comments about Anglicanism: it is shocking that God has chosen an Anglican for revival, partly because "Anglicans maintain a lot of ritual," and presumably ritual quenches the fire of the Holy Spirit. There are, nonetheless, some fascinating ritual exchanges and concomitant crossings of religious culture during this instance of Cooper's presence on the stage in Bogota.

As an Anglican, Cooper has appropriated a ritual which was created within denominational Pentecostalism in Chile, and he has introduced it to the neo-Pentecostal congregants at World Revival Center; moreover, Cooper does so by using the pronoun "we" to signal his identification with Chilean Pentecostalism on a Colombian stage of revival. I only witnessed this ritual in Chile once during my fieldwork. At the assembly following the *Mil Esquinas* event in the Methodist Pentecostal Cathedral, numerous Pentecostal leaders led the congregants in this scripted praise. After the first rendition, Pastor Alfredo leaned over to me on the stage to surreptitiously explain that this was common Pentecostal practice in Chile. While I certainly heard Pastor Alfredo say "*Gloria al Señor*" ("Glory to the Lord") in the Anglican services I attended, I never heard him, or any Anglican leader for that matter, implore an Anglican assembly to repeat this refrain in ritual style, nor did any Anglican congregants do this on their own initiative. Hence when Cooper introduced the ritual to the Colombian neo-Pentecostal church, his use of "we" seemed to mean Pentecostal and not Anglican.

Pastor Alfredo could have introduced the Colombian congregants to the more familiar liturgical greeting of Anglican churches: "*El Señor sea con ustedes*" ("The Lord be with you"), to which an Anglican congregation would reply, "*Y con tu/su espíritu*" (And with your spirit). That call and response, however, would likely have a familiar ring, and not necessarily a positive

one, for many in the Colombian assembly, since the same words are used during a Catholic mass. (Having previously worked with Mennonites for nearly a year in Bogota, I noticed that most Evangelicals seem to have a lower view of the spiritual merits of the Catholic Church than I found in my research among the leaders and congregants of La Trinidad in Chile.) Pastor Alfredo thus seems to be strategic in the parts of his hybrid identity which he employs at particular moments in certain places. The attention he draws to his Anglicanism makes his sweep into the Charismatic swell of Bogota revival seem more dramatic. His association with Pentecostals allows him to draw upon a Pentecostal ritual which can be more easily, and less offensively, adapted to the Protestant Charismatic setting in Bogota than would an Anglican greeting that mirrors Catholic liturgy.

### **Developing a Global Charismatic Consciousness through Local Experiences of the Spirit**

As a widely-traveled religious leader, Cooper has had plenty of practice at pragmatically navigating various denominational expressions of Christian faith. His global consciousness has developed from personal experience. Even congregants who do not have such opportunities can develop a global consciousness of their faith. A thirty-something congregant at La Trinidad named Alba has learned from others how to stitch her personal narrative of Charismatic Christianity onto a broader plot of global faith.

Alba is new to La Trinidad; she began attending services with her boyfriend. Alba says that she believes in a host of spiritual ideas which include everything from features of pantheism to reincarnation. She recognizes the heterodoxy of her beliefs in the context of La Trinidad but says the most important thing for her is her “love for God.” She also surmises that “there are a lot of things which, as I get closer to God, I may stop believing in.” For Alba, it is in the area of experience, rather than belief, which has created the most radical changes in her life. She

clarifies that her experience in the presence of God is a restoration of long-lost childhood identity.

Alba felt the presence of Jesus when she would pray as a young child; but at a very early stage she lost that sense of presence. In the absence of sensation, she just talked to God from time to time over the years, assuming that she would no longer feel God's presence. All that changed at a woman's event hosted by La Trinidad.

I was waiting for the Lord's Supper and I was thinking, "Oh man, what a drag. This is just like the Catholic Church . . . I'm not going to feel anything." And suddenly when it was my turn to receive the bread and the wine I started to sob, because I saw Jesus and he told me, "Eat with me." I saw him, like a man, and I felt like he invited me to eat and be with him. What a beautiful sensation. I cried and cried and cried . . . From then, I realized that I was in the right place.

Alba's subsequent visions at La Trinidad began to fit broader Charismatic patterns, even before she knew of such trends.

One of those visions occurred when the congregation was singing a rousing worship song in which, with her eyes open wide, Alba saw gold raining from the roof of the church over the entire congregation. She wondered to herself, "Am I going crazy? Did I just see what I think I saw?" She looked again and saw the gold rain pouring over the worshipping congregation. She even turned to her boyfriend to ask if he was seeing the same thing. Unbeknownst to Alba, Christians in various Charismatic revivals, including revivals in Argentina and the Toronto Blessing, have testified to tangible manifestations of gold, including gold flakes on believers' hands and even in their teeth. She was not ignorant for long about the connections. After she shared her experience with Cooper, he in turn shared it with the congregation at La Trinidad as confirmation that this local church was experiencing global revival. Hence having a peripatetic priest means that even newcomers to La Trinidad can emplot their local experiences on a broader narrative of global Charismatic Christian revival.

Still, these local to global narratives do not always unfold in a mutually-reinforcing fashion. Sometimes the extension of Charismatic networks across expanses of national territory undermines the normally preeminent role of the local pastor in giving counsel and spiritual support to his congregants. For example, the shadow of the Bogota revival has loomed so large over the life of a La Trinidad lay leader named Hector, who is in his early twenties, that he staked his future marriage on the divine insight of Patty Rodriguez from the Colombian revival. Hector helps plan and lead the Sunday evening youth services at La Trinidad. In the summer of 2009, he travelled to the World Revival Congress in Bogota and came back on a divine mission to get engaged.

Hector's girlfriend's parents are friends of the Rodriguez family, and thus Hector had a behind-the-scenes peek into the lives of Ricardo and Patty. He was impressed with what he saw and was convinced that their dramatic displays of spiritual power in the church were no show, but a natural outgrowth of a disciplined life submitted daily to the power of the Holy Spirit. Hence when Patty Rodriguez called Hector and his girlfriend to the altar on their last evening in Bogota, Hector was receptive to Patty's insight. She prayed for them as a couple and later Patty's daughter approached Hector to tell him that Patty had a vision of the couple while in prayer. She had seen a long, extensive path on which the couple walked holding hands. She explained that Hector and his girlfriend would face difficulties but that if they committed themselves to the Lord, they would overcome those difficulties; it was a marriage that God wanted, she claimed. They would reach the end of the path together and God would "prosper them economically, more than anyone in my family or church had ever seen," Hector explained as he recounted the prophecy. Hector and his girlfriend were not even engaged before this

prophetic vision, but the details resonated so deeply for Hector that he decided to ask his girlfriend to marry him after recounting the experience to his future parents-in-law.

Since La Trinidad's connection to Bogota is so deep that some congregants make personal decisions based on divine counsel from that site, one might expect that La Trinidad would be seamlessly grafted into the ACNA's project of convergent orthodoxy. After all, La Trinidad has many of the same convergent elements so essential to the ACNA's identity: an Evangelical emphasis on the Bible and personal conversion, the Charismatic stress on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and a surprising (for a Latin American Evangelical congregation) tolerance for and appreciation of Catholicism. In addition to these convergent family resemblances, La Trinidad has a global consciousness of a worldwide movement of the Holy Spirit. One could assume that such a mentality would be amenable to the cross-cultural efforts of the ACNA, who are eager to shore up support from the global South. Still, the ACNA only appears on La Trinidad's radar sporadically, even though some of the most prominent leaders of the ACNA, including the Archbishop Robert Duncan, were given interim ecclesiastical status with the Anglican province of the Southern Cone. But while the Chilean Anglican Bishop, Hector "Tito" Zavala, was in Bedford, Texas representing the Southern Cone during the inaugural meetings of ACNA, most of the congregants I spoke to at La Trinidad knew nothing about that meeting. Had they known, they could have watched those proceedings online, as I did while I was in Chile. Although the language barrier would have made comprehension impossible for many, it seems that some congregants at La Trinidad were more attuned to what was happening in another country on their own continent. One congregant I spoke to who had heard something about the Bedford meeting of ACNA watched a live internet feed of the Bogota revival instead.

Still, when the Bishop returned to Chile, he recounted to congregants at La Trinidad why the ACNA was founded. He was insistent that the ACNA provides an orthodox and Evangelical example of biblical faithfulness made vital by what he believed was TEC's derailing from traditional tracks. Indeed, according to the Bishop, TEC had lost its way. It was not incidental that Zavala made such claims during a confirmation service, when thirteen people at La Trinidad were committing not only to personal Christian faith, but to that faith expressed in an Anglican context.

Again, though, the case of La Trinidad bespeaks how intentional and deliberate the global networking needs to be for a global consciousness of convergent orthodoxy to take meaningful root in far-flung territories. The purveyors of convergent orthodoxy in North America may have such congregations as La Trinidad in mind as they trumpet the global relevance of their brand of faith, but they might be surprised how strong the affinities are between Anglicans in Chile and Charismatic Evangelicals in Bogota. This, of course, does not necessarily undermine the ACNA's goals to solidify a conservative cross-cultural Anglican identity, since members of the ACNA also minister with non-Anglicans in North America and attempt to use such ecumenical partnerships to reinforce the plausibility of convergent consensus. Still, if Anglicans at La Trinidad continue to have a convergent ethos but relatively little interest in the ACNA, then the globalist and transnational discourse of convergent orthodoxy so essential to conservative Anglicans in North America begins to sound more like a rhetoric confined to a few leaders than a description of a substantial and organic affinity across far-reaching territory. If Alfredo Cooper and other members of La Trinidad begin to take as much interest in the ACNA's institutional goals as they do in perceived signs of Charismatic revival throughout the Americas, they will no

doubt do so with the same careful pragmatic consideration that they evidenced in their myriad crossings of denomination, class, and national boundaries.

## CHAPTER 4 MAKING SPACE FOR CONVERGENCE AT IGLESIA SAN BARTOLOME

Upon entering the sanctuary of Iglesia San Bartolome in Fort Worth, Texas, many members of the church dip their fingers into a bowl-sized font of holy water, cross themselves from head to heart, then left to right across each shoulder, and conclude the motion with a cruciform hand gesture, which they kiss. This ritual is commonplace in Catholic Churches throughout Latin America, and the Anglicanism in which Father Juan Reyes, the priest of San Bartolome, was raised is strikingly similar to Roman Catholicism in Mexico. He calls it “Anglican Catholicism.” Adherents of this faith do not submit to the teaching authority of the Roman Catholic Magisterium, nor do they recognize the Pope as having any preeminent place in Christianity. Even though they do not have any official relationship to the Catholic Church, Anglican Catholics in Mexico share many common religious symbols and ideas with Roman Catholicism. Some of those commonalities are evident at San Bartolome in Fort Worth. A four-foot tall painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe, adorned with flowers and elevated on the right-center wall of Iglesia San Bartolome, is an unmistakable reminder of the Mexican Catholic presence in this humble ACNA church in Texas. Father Juan has also imbued San Bartolome with a curious mix of Charismatic and Evangelical features.

In this chapter, I will analyze the negotiations of Catholic, Evangelical and Charismatic spaces at San Bartolome. I argue that even though these three elements are all important to the developing ethos at the church and the collective and individual identities therein, these Christian emphases are often compartmentalized and cultivated in either separate spaces or in the same space at different times. “Through their participation in a multitude of practices and associated power relations, through their participation in a multitude of structuring processes, people make a plurality of histories and construct a plurality of human geographies” (Pred 1990:14). By

differentiating spatiotemporal arrangements with particular practices the congregation meets a twofold objective: first, to be a pluralistic and welcoming religio-cultural space for Christian U.S. Latinos of varying religious backgrounds and national heritages, and second, to be a center for spiritual growth. In my analysis, practices associated with Catholicism in general and Mexican associations with that faith in particular, along with devotion to social justice issues for U.S. Latino immigrants, provide the broad religio-cultural base for the congregation. It is from that relatively pluralistic foundation that congregants can make more particular steps of spiritual growth; at Iglesia San Bartolome, those latter commitments tend to manifest in practices and discourses associated with Evangelicals and Charismatics.

On Tuesdays, the church sanctuary is used for collective prayer, which often includes Charismatic practices such as petitions for divine healing and jubilant songs. These prayer services are usually led by women. The main Sunday services (which the priest and the parishioners call the “mass”) focus on the Eucharist, and Charismatic features are usually absent during these times. A traditional Spanish-speaking Roman Catholic would likely feel at home during the Sunday mass. The church sanctuary is not the only important convergent space at San Bartolome. The third element of convergence, the Evangelical emphasis, is dispersed in various locales. Congregants develop an interest in and attention to sacred text during weekly evening Bible studies that take place in small Sunday school rooms on the church campus. Another important dimension of Evangelicalism at San Bartolome manifests when members claim a personal conversion experience during special conferences held in open tents on the church grounds, or in events that take place at other churches.

This spatial differentiation is encouraged by and mediated through varying channels of power. Women, for instance, cannot be ordained for priestly service at San Bartolome and thus

the evening prayer service—in which spiritual power is thought to be conferred by evidence of the Holy Spirit’s presence in one’s life, rather than by official institutional recognition—provides a spatiotemporal opportunity for regular practices of female leadership. Indeed, the lived religious patterns produced by various Evangelical, Charismatic and Catholic practices structure spaces, creating certain perceived limits and possibilities that can seem as tangible to the participants as the various constraints and possibilities produced by the architectural design of the church building. In that sense, space—as it is constructed physically by architectural design and spiritually by religious practice—becomes doubly “agentic.” (Vásquez 2010:16).

Mobility is a salient theme in the productive practices that can make a certain territory a Charismatic place one evening and a seemingly Catholic one the next. Many of the congregants at San Bartolome are immigrants from Latin American countries, and the majority comes from Mexico. They have thus often lived religion on the move; that sacred momentum does not stop once they “dwell” in a place like Fort Worth (Tweed 2006). As will become clear in this chapter, some of these leaders and congregants find creative ways to link their church life with their movements throughout the city. “A particular locale becomes a ‘place’ only in relation to the movements of people who designate it as such, and therefore the practices that make such movements possible are an inherent dimension in the production of the place” (Bremer 2004:13). I thus demonstrate the complex means by which participants make differently coded places out of common church spaces at San Bartolome and, in turn, how their religious views of the relationship between the church and the world help them connect these sacredly-charged places to broader public points in the urban landscape of Fort Worth, Texas. This sacred place-making at and via San Bartolome is also a realm of frenetic identity-construction. In fact, “place and identity emerge together in a relationship of reciprocal meaningfulness” (Bremer 2004:5).

These ongoing processes of convergent identity and place-making are connected to the multiple institutional and cultural networks in which participants at San Bartolome are embedded. The priest, Father Juan, whose detailed personal narrative follows, has a complex conversion career that has provided a template with which other participants at San Bartolome have negotiated convergent spaces at the church and abroad

### **Transnational Charismatic Networks and the Shaping of Personal Spirituality**

The stereotype of a U.S. Episcopalian is an affluent Anglo raised in the denomination from birth, and who enjoys the social esteem conferred to a member of a historic Protestant denomination. Such a cradle Episcopalian might be confused by a visit to San Bartolome, where combinations of Pentecostal and Catholic faith are integrated in attempts to bring emotional, social and physical healing to the marginalized, not the well-heeled. If San Bartolome is not a typical Episcopalian church, neither does Father Juan Reyes fit the imagined mold of a Mexican. Indeed, he is often mistaken for a foreigner even by his own compatriots. When, for example, one of my Mexican informants first heard Father Juan preach, he was astounded “by this *americano* [Anglo American] speaking Spanish so well,” he admits sheepishly.

Whenever I speak in person with Father Juan, an Episcopalian priest born in Durango, Mexico, I am struck by our unlikely similarities, even when he is playfully highlighting our differences. One brisk December morning in Texas, he motions for the attention of a parishioner working near his office, points down at my flip-flops and quips, “*Canadiense*” (Canadian), before rolling his eyes. A back injury has left him prematurely and slightly hunched, but we are both in our thirties. We also share trademarks of an Irish heritage: freckles and red hair (his more pronounced than mine) indicate that our distant pasts include common cultural features, characteristics not commonly associated with U.S. Latinas/os. As I learned in interviews, Father Juan is a product of both cultural and Christian hybridity.

Father Juan's conversion career bespeaks the portability of charismatic faith and its ability to seep into and fill diverse structures. It begins in Mexico, where Father Juan was immersed in a sacramental form of Anglican faith that considered eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ as the primary mediation of divinity. He was not completely satisfied, though, with his religious devotion.

According to Father Juan, his faith was lukewarm for most of his life. When he was twenty-one, he attended a retreat in Mexico from the American branch of the organization started by Michael Harper (the British Anglican I discussed in chapter two) called Sharing of Ministries Abroad (SOMA). By his accounts, Father Juan found a new fount to quench his dry faith, a charismatic stream channeled through transnational links. He claims that when these American representatives of SOMA laid hands on him and prayed, he felt an overwhelming sensation of the presence of God and an irresistible call to ministry. He told me that this is why he marks that day as a new birth. He smirks wryly as he explains that when people ask him his age, he always says he is twenty-one because that was how old he was when his encounter with SOMA transformed his vision of Christianity. He still emphasizes the sacraments as a crucial means of relating to God, but he also trumpets the enlivening power of Charismatic faith to his parishioners. After he moved from Mexico to Texas he continued to participate in SOMA events, and has brought other U.S. Latinas/os into a Charismatic orbit via those particular institutional networks; participants in such settings learn, among other things, to exercise "gifts of the Holy Spirit," like divine healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues.

Father Juan undergirds this Catholic and Charismatic mix with an Evangelical understanding of the gospel, which declares heaven home for those who have received Jesus as personal Lord and Savior, and warns of the fires of hell for those who reject that invitation. He

expressed this message at a conference I attended, but he certainly does not frequently make this point in such bold terms at his church. I never heard him make such definitive claims in a homily, for instance. His caution with religious language is likely due to the multiple expressions of Christianity found at San Bartolome and the varying backgrounds and levels of commitment among the congregants.

Even though Father Juan and the members of San Bartolome create distinct spatiotemporal arrangements for the various elements of their convergent faith, there were times when their marginal status as immigrants forced them to struggle for any religious space at all. The history of San Bartolome begins with Father Juan's move from Durango, Mexico to Fort Worth, Texas, and it includes multiple institutional transitions subsequent to that personal journey.

### **Multicultural Visions and Xenophobic Realities**

When Father Juan came from Mexico to Fort Worth in 2001 as an ordained Episcopalian priest, he found an eager spiritual collaborator in Father Andrew Thomas. At the time, Thomas was the priest of a predominantly Anglo church called Saint Bartholomew's Episcopal Church; he welcomed Father Juan's ideas for Latina/o ministry with open arms. With limited English skills, Father Juan sought potential Spanish-speaking congregants at a paradigmatic place of globalization—a spot where peoples of all cultures and languages congregate, McDonalds (C.F. Barber). There, while children frolicked in plastic playhouses, Father Juan struck up conversations with Latina/o parents, always being sure to mention that he was a priest.

At another restaurant, Father Juan met a woman who was seeking to baptize her son. After explaining the differences between Episcopalianism and Catholicism, Father Juan offered to perform the baptism. Other Catholic Latinas/os were also impressed with the similarities between Episcopalian and Catholic rituals, especially once they heard an explanation from

Father Juan. He was thus called on to perform a number of baptisms in the community. Some Latinas/os in Fort Worth heard about the new priest in town while waiting in lines for immigration assistance. Father Juan explains that he trusted that God would bring the right people his way at the right time and in the right place. With such ready expectations about providential intervention, Father Juan created fluid connections between the sacred space of the church and his various movements throughout the city. Soon Father Juan assembled enough chance evangelistic opportunities throughout Fort Worth to start a fledgling U.S. Latina/o congregation.

With seven Spanish-speaking congregants, the Hispanic Mission of Saint Bartholomew's was born. Father Juan and Father Andrew shared visions of a growing multicultural church. Father Juan explains, "The idea from the beginning was that this would be one church and that is why we called our ministry San Bartolome" (the Spanish translation of Saint Bartholomew's). Their shared enthusiasm gave their vision momentum, but when Father Andrew retired, multicultural ministry (beyond pan-Latino religiosity) at Saint Bartholomew's came to a slow, screeching halt.

In Father Juan's words, the new priest who took over was a "redneck," eager to assert Anglo dominance over a burgeoning Spanish-speaking flock that had swelled to one hundred. "He was jealous. He was scared that we were going to overtake them. We were more dynamic than them." Indeed, dynamism was a source of conflict. Anglo parishioners, the new rector claimed, were tired of boisterous Latina/o children running all over the patio and the lawn. The implication of the complaints was that the children were running amuck because of disinterested Latina/o parents.

Those complaints crystallized around an important religio-cultural symbol. The Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth has historically been considered Anglo-Catholic. Indeed, the differences between the practice of Christianity in that diocese and Roman Catholic expressions of faith has been so minimal that there have been some Episcopalians, and an entire Episcopalian Church, that have been officially received into the Roman Catholic Church, with the provision that they can preserve Anglican distinctions in the liturgy (Stern 2011). Although Saint Bartholomew's had a history of venerating Mary just like the other parishes in the Diocese, the new Anglo priest did not want to face a particular incarnation of that blessed figure, the Virgin of Guadalupe. He insisted that after every mass Father Juan and his group of lay volunteers take down a four foot painting of this Latin American symbol, a figure which, when Father Andrew was still at the helm, had been left undisturbed during both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking services.

According to Father Juan, the Anglo congregants finally squeezed the Latino segment of Iglesia San Bartolome out of the church property through a kind of religious filibuster. Iglesia San Bartolome normally met at 1:00 p.m., after the Anglo congregation held their service. On that final fateful Sunday the English service continued past 1:30 p.m., with Anglo priest and parishioners feigning unawareness of the time. Father Juan perceived this obstruction as a clear message to him and his flock. Immediately after this last service, he encouraged his Latina/o co-religionists to gather up all that San Bartolome could call its own and along with that symbol of multicultural harmony, the Virgin of Guadalupe, they left Saint Bartholomew's to the exclusive purview of the Anglos.

Even the youngest among them wondered whether there was one gospel for Anglos and another for Latinas/os. Father Juan winces as he recounts an exchange he had with his then six-year-old daughter: "My daughter asked, 'What is the gospel that he [the Anglo priest] teaches'?"

I explained that it is the same gospel. She protested, ‘But you say each week that we should love each other, but they don’t love us.’” Another woman in her forties at the time of the split, and who has now been a member at San Bartolome for over a decade, remembers well both the pain and confusion of the rupture with the Anglo members of Saint Bartholomew’s. According to multiple informants, half of San Bartolome’s parishioners were so dejected from this mistreatment that they left the church all together. The other half followed Father Juan’s lead as he sought new ecclesiastical shelter.

This, I believe, was a pivotal point in the development of identity at Iglesia San Bartolome since it dramatizes “the role played by struggles to define the cultural meanings attached to physical spaces in the formation of people’s subjectivities” (Roseman 2008:1). Father Juan had closely collaborated with Father Andrew and was excited about a multicultural vision for the church that would include both Anglos and U.S. Latinos. After the change in Anglo leadership, the hostile treatment that Latino congregants faced in the same sacred space enhanced desires for San Bartolome to be an intentionally welcoming space for a diverse cross-section of U.S. Latinos. This has meant developing a hybrid religious identity that facilitates the co-existence of multiple streams of U.S. Latino Christian faith.

After the debacle at Saint Bartholomew’s, Father Juan initially found help outside the denomination at Messiah Lutheran Church; then co-religionists at St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church opened their house of worship to the orphan Latino congregation. Iglesia San Bartolome worshiped at St. Stephen’s for six months until they secured a new home. In 2004, San Bartolome purchased and then renovated, through the labors of parishioners, a garage located on Lincoln Highway. This is an area of Fort Worth that was once predominantly African-American but now, according to my informants at the church, has a majority Latina/o population. The

church has grown to an average Sunday attendance of three hundred and fifty. The converted garage is now a sanctuary that holds approximately one hundred people at its capacity. There are thus three services on Sunday, and children and youth attend Sunday school in separate rooms on the modest campus. They talk, pray and study the Bible together in these rooms until it is time for the celebration of the Eucharist, at which point they line up outside the sanctuary and enter single file. The sanctuary itself has not been moved, but the church has undergone multiple shifts in institutional affiliation: from the Episcopal Church (TEC), to a temporary alignment with the Anglican province of the Southern Cone, and finally incorporation into the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA).

### **Finding San Bartolome in the Anglican Alphabet Soup**

San Bartolome has made this institutional transition in step with its diocese, the Episcopal Diocese of Forth Worth. Dioceses are local jurisdictions which exist within broader church regions called “provinces.” “In each diocese there is a diocesan synod chaired by the bishop and within each national church or province there is a national/provincial synod chaired by the presiding bishop/archbishop of the province” (Toon 1998:34). The Episcopal Diocese of Forth Worth, to which San Bartolome belongs, however, is no longer part of TEC. In 2008 the vast majority of the members of the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth voted to officially leave TEC and join another Anglican province, called the Anglican province of the Southern Cone in South America. The latter province, like the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth, prohibits female ordination to the priesthood, and likewise condemns gay sex as sinful. After joining the Southern Cone, the Episcopal Diocese of Forth Worth also later became part of the ACNA, so for a time they occupied a kind of dual citizenship in both institutional structures. There are now no official ties between the province of the Southern Cone and the ACNA churches but prayers for the Southern Cone and its Anglican leadership were adopted into the liturgical life at San

Bartolome, and parishioners are thus aware, even if only vaguely, of the role Latin America Anglicanism has played in their institutional transition. Some are also cognizant of the extensive legal struggles that San Bartolome has been brought into because of its membership within the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth in the ACNA.

The less conservative remnant of Episcopalians in Fort Worth—who remained part of TEC after the conservative majority left—has been reorganized and claims to represent the only legitimate Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth. There is, then, now an Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth that is part of the ACNA, and an identically titled group within TEC. Not surprisingly, TEC and the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth within ACNA are embroiled in ongoing litigation over titles, property and assets. The litigation appears to be ascending like a rocket to the Supreme Court. The Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth in the ACNA must rely on American mediators to settle litigation, but since they have received moral support from many Anglicans in the global South, they are also keenly attentive to cross-cultural partnerships closer to home. San Bartolome is thus under the watchful eye of a diocese that sees itself as embodying the cross-cultural imperatives of Christian mission.

### **Forging Charismatic and Evangelical Pathways through Broad Catholic Spaces**

The Fort Worth Diocese prohibits female ordination to the priesthood, but one of the most vibrant church activities at Iglesia San Bartolome is the Tuesday evening prayer service, which is led by women. As mentioned, this is also the most clearly Charismatic of the services. During one of these prayer times, a twenty-nine year old woman with three children, Iris, stood and implored God to “pour out” (*derramar*) his Spirit on everyone in attendance. During these services, there is a mix of spontaneous prayers, scheduled and unscheduled testimonies, and enthusiastic singing. At the end of the service, another woman encouraged everyone to join

hands and to dance in a circle in simple choreographed steps, clockwise and counter-clockwise; in the midst of the dancing, congregants sang jubilantly about the unity in the Spirit.

I carried out an extended interview with Iris and another leader of the evening prayer service. These women came with their families to the United States from Mexico while they were adolescents and now, in their early thirties, they are both married with multiple children. The Charismatic and Evangelical streams of faith are the most meaningful element of convergent Christianity for them. They are also both, to a certain extent, wary of the Catholic emphases at San Bartolome, and they strategically sidestep those perceived Catholic aspects with which they are most uncomfortable. For example, even during the Charismatic prayer services they lead, they sometimes selectively refrain from invoking the Virgin Mary in celebratory songs. They do not censure the women in their midst who sing praise to Mary, and even their withdrawal from such invocations is surreptitious; in other words, they do not try to spread an aversion to Catholic features at San Bartolome to other congregants. Nevertheless, their caution bespeaks the agency of congregants at San Bartolome who adapt the spaces provided to them according to their own particular convictions and religious inclinations. In the process of such individual and collective adaptations they end up transforming those spaces through their own selections. Iris' testimony in particular dramatizes the complex differentiations of space created at San Bartolome.

### **Cradle Catholic Ambivalence**

Iris moved to Fort Worth from Mexico when she was fourteen; she has now been in the United States for sixteen years. She had a mixed upbringing with both religious and non-religious influences. While she was growing up her mother was Catholic and her father “was not in the least bit religious—not at all.” Still, she attended Roman Catholic mass faithfully with her mother. “I went to mass on Sundays because I had to, not because I liked it,” she explains. She admits that she also went to church on Sundays to “see the guys.” This perfunctory attendance

did little to shape her understanding of faith. “My grandmother would pray to images in the home. I would wonder, ‘Why do you talk to a statue that can’t talk back?’ I was never attracted to a saintly image or statue (*una imagen*),” she recalls. Her experience demonstrates the ongoing negotiations of religious transmission that occur within Latin American and U.S. Latina/o Christianity, and it also complicates assumptions about the homogeneity of U.S. Latina Catholic families. Specifically, her contestation of her grandmother’s expressions of faith adds an important layer of complexity to assumptions about familial patterns of religiosity. Her experience is worlds apart from what David A. Badillo identifies as an important factor in Latina religious transmission. He says, “In the legacy of *abuelita* (grandmotherly, or broadly construed, female) theology among Latino Catholics, grandmothers and mothers played significant roles in the passing on of religious traditions in the home and community” (Badillo 2006:189). By contrast, Iris claims to have gleaned little from her grandmother’s faith, and neither was she impressed with the Spanish-speaking Catholic masses she attended once they moved to Fort Worth, Texas.

Iris says that she always believed in God, but that her relationship with the divine was fraught after her parents separated and other discouraging personal events followed. Her mother had debts back in Mexico and this financial strain cast a somber shadow over the family. At twenty, Iris fell in love and married three months later, a hasty decision that she believes was motivated in part to escape her sadness. She recounts, “The initial stage of my marriage was very difficult.” Her husband had some uncles and aunts who attended Iglesia San Bartolome when the church still met in St. Bartholomew’s building and Iris decided to try it along with her husband. At first she didn’t understand anything. Even though she had attended the Catholic Church from childhood, no one had explained Christianity to her, “how you pray, or anything at

all really.” She says that she gradually began “to know the Lord” as she slowly absorbed biblical teachings from Father Juan. She was also impressed by the people’s “attitude and example” in the church. “I began to feel really at home, and also to feel the need to become someone different.” This desire for personal change grew even stronger after her child was born.

However, it was not until a year later when she attended a weekend retreat called *cursillo* that, in Evangelical language, she “accepted Jesus.”

The Father [Juan] had invited me various times but for one reason or another I couldn’t go; but it was the plan of God and in his timing I went. I realized I really needed a change in my life. I wanted a change in my life. It was a Saturday, I remember, it was the first time that I could feel the presence of God, really. I didn’t just know that he existed at that point, but rather I could feel him. My first encounter with the Holy Spirit was there in that *cursillo*. That impacted me so much. I felt like, wow! I felt like I was in the clouds. I felt so happy.

Iris interrupts this happy recollection to explain that she was always an angry person. People, she claims, would sometimes not want to sit next to her because she would come from work or some other activity wearing all the palpable frustrations of the day in a scowl. “Growing up, no one hugged me. I didn’t know what it was like to hear someone say, ‘I love you.’” That changed during the *cursillo*. “There everyone tells you they love you, they kiss you, they hug you.”

She continues, “I felt like everything that I had within me now wasn’t there anymore. There [at the *cursillo*], I started my relationship with Christ. And really since then I have been coming to this church for seven years . . . He began to change my life from the inside out. The inward change he has done in me reflects on the outside.” In Iris’s conversion narrative, then, the Charismatic side of convergent faith preceded the Evangelical dimension. It was after “feeling” the Holy Spirit that she grew in a personal commitment to Jesus, and longed to share that experience and commitment with others.

Her account fits, perhaps too neatly, the Evangelical narrative template of conversion in which believers are encouraged to locate a definitive turning point in their testimony, seen in the biblical example of Paul's sudden conversion on the Road to Damascus.

I felt something in my heart. I had heard a few things that the Father had said and all that and I made my decision by myself before I left. I said, "Lord" . . . I knew that he had died for me. I recognized it. I accepted him. I said to him that I wanted to accept him into my heart, and that I believed in Him and in his resurrection and that I wanted to serve him from this day forward.

This was a private moment for Iris but often in Evangelical churches a Pastor will offer a public invitation of salvation. The pattern frequently involves a new convert approaching the altar where a Pastor or lay leader leads her or him in a scripted "sinner's prayer"; this prayer follows a basic formula in which converts acknowledge their sinfulness, the debt that Jesus is thought to have paid on the cross for that sin, and their reception of what they believe to be God's unmerited salvation by the vicarious atonement of Jesus.

Without these collective ritual assurances, Iris began to doubt the means by which she was saved. "I thought later, did I do that right? (She laughs.) I don't know. But I said what was on my heart and what I felt to say. I expressed with my mouth . . . I know that the Bible says 'believe in your heart' and 'confess with your lips.' I did that in that moment." Since Iris first had a powerful Charismatic sensation of the Spirit's presence before her private Evangelical rite of passage in which she "accepted Jesus," she seems to have internalized this as a model in her subsequent evangelistic efforts: she invites people into Charismatic spiritual presence, where she hopes they will be led to an Evangelical faith commitment. It is through such endeavors that Iris not only navigates various Christian networks but creates new sacred maps on the move.

### **Street Evangelism in the Spirit and into the Church.**

One day while Iris was walking on the street, a Latina saleswoman in her young twenties, who I will call Sarai, approached her. They conversed about a product that Sarai was selling

and, according to Iris, “that was it”; but then Iris began to recall a sermon, which she had heard on an evangelical radio station that morning, that addressed Christian temerity. According to the sermon, God frequently prompts people to share their faith with others but fear impedes many from heeding that call. Iris admits that “it is really difficult for me to talk about God with people outside of the church.” She says that her typical response when she intuits that God would like her to speak to someone is delay: “Oh God, later. Later.” On this day, though, she felt a surge of boldness and began to pray.

She renewed the conversation with Sarai and suddenly found that they had broached the topic of church. Iris began to talk about San Bartolome, when Sarai interrupted asking, “Is it Catholic? What religion are you?” Iris explained, “Look, if we are going to talk about religion, really I would say God loves you as you are, He wants to know you, so really I would say to you that I don’t have religion; I attend an Episcopalian Anglican church.” It is useful to pause here and consider the multiple convergent discourses that Iris employs while sanctifying what might otherwise be considered profane space.

One can infer from her own testimony that Iris sometimes cordons the sacred off from the profane in her life. She admits to fear about talking about God “outside of the church,” but has no such qualms inside San Bartolome. She was nevertheless emboldened to extend sacred space outside the church, and the impetus for this extension came from listening to a U.S. Latino/a evangelical radio station. Not only did the sermon she heard on this station convince her to be bolder with her religious proclamations, but it also provided her with a discourse to use in drawing a stranger into a discussion about God. She employed what I refer to as an Evangelical “anti-religion speech.”

In an effort to promote and safeguard ideas of Christian uniqueness, Evangelicals often distinguish Christianity from “religion.” Those who do so claim that religion is a human attempt to reach God, and that Christianity in its ideal representation, by contrast, presents a relationship initiated by God “himself.” This discourse reinforces Evangelical claims of particularity: that the only viable avenue to a relationship with the divine is through acceptance of Jesus as Lord and Savior. By appropriating this evangelical discourse, Iris was able to relativize her “Anglican” or “Episcopalian” identity. Josefina from the Chilean case study strategically employed an Evangelical identity when it furthered her particular religious goals of the moment. Iris is similarly pragmatic in representing her religious identity. She draws on an Evangelical discourse without labeling that speech in those terms. Iris then puts on her denominational title, as it were, like a loose piece of fabric that she can just as quickly discard. She speaks the broad Evangelical discourse about Christian exceptionalism by assuring her interlocutor that she does not believe in “religion” (read: human attempts to work one’s way to God), and that her “Anglican” or “Episcopalian” church is just one of many viable Christian vehicles on the non-negotiable path to God through personal relationship with Christ.

For Iris’s would-be convert, Sarai, the “Episcopalian” title created a flash of recognition: “Oh, like Father Alberto,” she blurted. Alberto Cutie was a well-known Catholic priest and media personality who was frequently featured as a spiritual advisor on Spanish-speaking television programs on stations such as Univision and Telemundo. His presence became even more ubiquitous on such channels after photos were taken of him caressing a woman on a Miami beach. He subsequently became an Episcopalian, and has since been received into the Episcopalian priesthood (where celibacy is optional). That change in religious affiliation caused a media storm among Latin American and U.S. Latino outlets who discussed, often clumsily, the

differences between Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Christianity on national television. It was Father Alberto's image that came to Sarai's mind when Iris somewhat reluctantly put a denominational title on her Christian commitments. Hence, the process of Iris walking and talking with spiritual intentions through urban spaces brought her and Sarai into a broader intertextual sphere of popular religious images and commentaries drawn from U.S. Latino media. Whether those links had a positive, negative or neutral valence for Sarai is not clear, but at the very least the familiarity seemed to create a bridge for her to attend Iris's church.

In recounting this conversation with Sarai, Iris explained to me, "I began to give a little of my testimony." According to Iris, Sarai was dumbfounded by similarities in their life histories, both of which involved significant pain. Iris says, "This surprised me because we started to talk and talk and talk as if we had known each other for a long time . . . I know that it was God who was working. The day I met her I could see her in the church. I had a vision of her being in the church." In this case the production of sacred space involves the work of spiritual imagination since Iris envisions the presence of new members in the church who she encounters in other spheres. In this sense the secular space of the city is not converted into sacred space per se, but it is imbued with sacred potential. In this story thus far, the landscape of the city is overlaid with a network of familiar media associations that help to make sense of unfamiliar religious categories; all this in turn facilitates an exchange of personal narratives, which encourages imaginative updates to Iris's cognitive map of religious spaces and inhabitants.

Sarai accepted Iris's invitation and agreed to come to the Tuesday evening prayer service at San Bartolome. Iris learned that Sarai went on occasion to a Catholic Church, but in Iris's view Sarai did not have a "relationship with God." Here again, Evangelical discourses have shaped Iris's perception of and interaction with others. In the terms of the Evangelical discourse,

Iris evaluates Sarai's spiritual needs based on whether she has a "relationship with God" (Evangelical conversion) rather than on her degree of participation in ritual activities (Catholic observance). Before introducing Sarai to the prayer assembly that Tuesday evening, Iris shared about her street encounter with Sarai, which she used as an opportunity to encourage fellow parishioners to be bold with their faith. "God has a purpose, plan and timing for everything," declared Iris. This admonition likely had a dual purpose: to encourage her co-religionists to bold proclamation, and to remind Sarai that her presence in the church was no chance encounter. Iris had thus articulated a narrative that highlights the limits of human perspective, and a concomitant need, in her view, for the human eye to be spiritually transplanted with a heavenly optic. Iris believes that God has not only clarity about the connections between seemingly random events, but the power to orchestrate them into life-giving cohesion. According to Iris, God discloses (at least partially) these plans to people who are attentive to divine purposes. Evangelical discourse may have provided shape for Iris's narrative, but it was the sense of Charismatic presence that brought that narrative to embodied life.

### **From Evangelical Witness to Charismatic Presence**

Indeed, there was a decidedly Charismatic postscript to this already spirit-centered evening of prayer. Several parishioners remained after the service to receive individual prayer from Father Juan, who appeared after congregational prayers. Father Juan encouraged people to approach him one at a time near the front of the chapel. He then asked prayer recipients to relax, clear their minds, and to shake their hands at their sides. When he was not receiving prayer himself, the First Warden of the church (a high-ranking lay member of the vestry) stood behind those receiving prayer in case they would be "slain in the spirit"—that is, fall backward under a perception of weighty spiritual power. Father Juan gently placed his hand on the forehead of each recipient, invoking the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. When Sarai received prayer,

she began to fall backward but lunged to regain her balance. After more prayer she suddenly dropped to the ground.

Iris and a couple of other women quickly encircled her and began to pray while Sarai lay seemingly stunned. Sarai rose to her feet quicker than others who had received prayer. Unlike Sarai, the other women were apparently accustomed to falling during prayer, and remained on the ground with eyes closed while one or two parishioners hovered to the side or above them offering additional whispered prayers. By contrast to the peaceful expressions on other faces, Sarai looked shocked and confused once she rose to her feet. Iris explained to me later that although Sarai found this experience strange, she expressed interest in attending an upcoming Sunday service.

In these services Father Juan seems to embody spiritual power. He has traveled across various geographic spaces and is perceived by congregants to have carried within him a vivifying experience of the Holy Spirit. He has, in turn, introduced others to Charismatic practices via various Charismatic networks like SOMA. He has thus reconfigured and extended the reach of these networks. This aspect of his life bespeaks the relationship between spiritual power, space and place in Charismatic circles. It is not so much the perceived weighty presence of the Spirit in specific territories that is paramount in Charismatic contexts, but rather the idea that the Spirit moves through embodied individuals and communities. Thus “filled,” Charismatic “*portadores*” (carriers) such as Father Juan are thought to be empowered by the Spirit on their journeys and can thus mark traversed territory with endowments of spiritual presence, known in emic Charismatic language as “anointing.”

Once “renewed,” parishioners might speak in tongues, cry or shake during prayers for emotional and physical healing, raise their hands in ebullient worship services, and even dance in

the Spirit. In Charismatic circles, the body is both a conduit for the Spirit's presence and a receptor of divine power. Discerning and welcoming such presence requires receptive postures, including "bodily techniques" (Mauss 1973) which are learned through mimesis. Iris's inauguration of the prayer service by asking the Holy Spirit to "pour himself out" on parishioners matches the language I have heard in other Pentecostal and Charismatic settings. The intensity with which she closes her eyes at this point and raises her voice also appears to be a learned imitation of Charismatic and Pentecostal patterns. In an interview she confirmed the influence of Pentecostals on her spirituality:

Lately I have gone to a couple of Evangelical Protestant churches ("iglesias cristianas") and I don't notice any difference because I seek after the same God. If you invite me to a church where I hear that they preach the same Jesus, and even more importantly, I see that they preach with an example that I can see and feel, I can be there. For me, really, God isn't about religion. God is everywhere. God is love. He took me from the nothing, the garbage that I felt that I was (that's why no one loved me or anything like that), but he taught me this love, this affection through people whom he put in my path.

She further specifies that some of these Evangelical churches and the people therein whom God has presumably put in her path are "Pentecostal."

There are, though, few parallels between Sunday masses at San Bartolome and the Tuesday night prayer services conducted by Charismatic women who use Evangelical language when articulating their commitments to Christ. The Charismatic aspects of Tuesday evening services are barely perceptible on Sunday, and would go unnoticed by those without intimate familiarity with Charismatic faith. No one raises their hands during the singing on Sunday; there are no individual prayer times that result in spiritually "slain" bodies. Indeed, the only sign of Charismatic faith that I discerned during a Sunday mass was the singing of a worship song from a Mexican Charismatic Catholic composer. Roman Catholics find a familiar setting at San Bartolome and other U.S. Latino ACNA churches in the area. Informants explained that some

newcomers to these churches assume that the churches are Roman Catholic until they are told otherwise.

It may seem counterintuitive, then, to consider people like Iris “Evangelicals” when the main services of the churches they attend appear so decidedly Catholic. Interestingly, Iris calls self-identified Evangelical churches “iglesias cristianas” (literally “Christian churches”). In this way, she seems to have inherited Latin American terms of Christian division. Evangelicals in Latin America have historically claimed that Catholics were lost in religious dogma and in need of salvation; believing in their comparative religious authenticity, and in contradistinction to Catholics, Evangelicals called themselves “cristianos” (literally, Christians). The distinction between católicos (Catholics) and cristianos (with the connotation of Evangelical Protestants) is now immersed in broader Latin American discourse and is a common way to distinguish between Catholics and Protestants. It seems that Iris has incorporated her experience at San Bartolome within these religio-cultural taxonomies. When Sarai asked Iris what church she attends, she did not answer “*una iglesia cristiana*” (“a Christian church”), because presumably for Iris, San Bartolome is not an Evangelical church per se—or at least not only an Evangelical church. Still, even though she uses these distinguishing terms, her ecclesiology—her understanding of who and what constitutes the global Church—is broad. In other words, she uses the language of Christian division that she inherited in the Latin American context but she does so in a fashion that undercuts the grounds of division upon which such language is predicated. In Iris’s view, anyone in any Christian church is an authentic Christian as long as she or he has a “relationship” with God.

Nevertheless, there are conspicuously few ritual enactments of Evangelicalism at San Bartolome. I did not witness, for example, any altar calls in which people would come forward to

say "the sinner's prayer" and to make a personal commitment to Christ. The small space of San Bartolome would make such rituals difficult, even if Father Juan would like to use an explicitly evangelical approach to conversion. This could be an example of how the conceived space of San Bartolome's architecture limits the possibility for ritual reinforcement of particular elements of convergent faith. Even in the face of such potential structural limits, however, participants like Iris have found ways to imagine a dispersion of sacred space, and this is not a mere ethereal process—those ideas are given concrete contours through embodied practices, such as walking in the city with attention to evangelistic opportunities. The overlay of a sense of God's calling on these activities gives sacred purpose to what might otherwise be considered mundane activity, creating new links of contiguity between the church and "the world" in the process.

Still, the lack of collective ritual opportunities for Evangelical commitments at the church may lead to a degree of uncertainty for Iris and others who more frequently encounter explicit Evangelical discourses of salvation at other churches or in other religious media outlets, such as Evangelical radio broadcasts in Spanish. Iris, for example, still feels some diffidence about her own conversion narrative because she assembled much of it in piecemeal fashion, based on patterns she gleaned from some of Father Juan's homilies, and material she had read in the Bible. In Iris's case, further immersion in Bible study at San Bartolome has provided her with a textual map on which she can "emplot" her own conversion narrative and by which she can make sense of encounters with other people who she believes are on their own divinely-patterned journeys. The personal aspects of these evangelical journeys are similar to what Elaine Peña found in her study of collective female pilgrimages to sites of devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe: "A *Peregrina's* approach and experience is singular; *peregrinas* may walk side by side to the same physical space, but each woman is pursuing her own spiritual journey toward the Virgin and

establishing her own devotional capital” (Peña 2011:146). Likewise, Iris is on a personal journey of faith, but this individual relationship with God is made real in her community. The fact that she is so consistently immersed in her convergent congregation even though she finds some of its Catholic features unsettling shows that she does not expect her personal journey to be a solitary one. What’s more, she has experienced and appreciates other Evangelical churches, but she continues to dwell spiritually in San Bartolome, the ecclesiastical space that she and others have converted into her place through practices of love, devotion and leadership.

Indeed, the church reflects the multiple Christian identities in their midst in broader acts of representation to the surrounding U.S. Latino community. The negotiations of church space, then, involve nuanced levels of identity-making among those who, to use Clifford Geertz’s metaphor, “clothe” their “conceptions” of what it means to be a U.S. Latina/o Christian, weaving together diverse threads of faith and culture. For example, members of San Bartolome literally clothe their Charismatic dimension of their faith by wearing red t-shirts that commemorate the day of Pentecost, a celebration of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the early disciples of Jesus. The image on the t-shirts has a series of undifferentiated black figures, who stand with a white flame above their heads. This is a visual representation of the description of the event of Pentecost in the New Testament book of Acts, where the Holy Spirit is described as descending with tongues of fire upon Jesus’ waiting followers, thus enabling them to speak in the diverse languages of the Jewish Diaspora. The center and tallest of the figures on the t-shirt has hands raised to the sky where one finds the words “Encuentro con el Espiritu Santo” (“Meeting with the Holy Spirit”). Below both this title and the silhouettes of the people encountering the flames of the Spirit, the words “Iglesia San Bartolome” connect this Charismatic emphasis to the church. On the back of the t-shirt, Iglesia San Bartolome appears at the top, above a cross.

Below the cross there is a verse from John 15:5: “I am the vine and you are the branches. Those who abide in me and I in them bear much fruit, because apart from me you can do nothing.” Like all other writing on the shirt, the verse is written in Spanish, a language which can preserve the second person plural of the original Biblical Greek passage with the Spanish pronoun “*ustedes*.” (The verse is usually translated into English with the second person singular.) These t-shirts then do not only act as individual markers of Christian identity; they are collective emblems of Iglesia San Bartolome, a church which announces visually, through both sign and text, its concomitant focus on Jesus and the Holy Spirit, which speaks to the dual Charismatic and Evangelical emphases in the church. Many congregants wore those t-shirts when they held a *Kermes* on the grounds of the church, which is an annual Latin American celebration of food and culture. San Bartolome uses the festivities, which draw hundreds of Latinos/as in the neighborhood, as a fundraising tool for church ministries.

Members of San Bartolome also have an opportunity to share both culture and faith with neighboring Latina/o Catholics interested in celebrating the Virgin Mary. For instance, on the grounds of San Bartolome’s humble campus there is a statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe, around which the congregation has held public celebrations on her feast day, December 12. Hundreds of Latinas/os who are otherwise not connected with the church congregate there for the celebration of this important religious and cultural figure. Members of San Bartolome thus diversify their public sacred space by sharing the campus with fellow devotees to Guadalupe, many of whom are Roman Catholics not affiliated with an Anglican church. It is the intentionality with which leaders and congregants at San Bartolome combine their faith with culture that distinguishes them from other Evangelical churches in the area that do not have the convergent blend of

influences found at San Bartolome. The following comparison of Christmas Eve services helps demonstrate this point.

### **A Non-Denominational Evangelical Christmas Service**

New Beginnings is dimly lit with candles covering the ledges of the balcony. All two hundred people sit below in the main section of the church. Although the pastor was trained in the Baptist tradition, the church does not belong to a particular denomination and thus it exercises significant flexibility in scheduling events. They are holding this Christmas Eve service on December 23. Congregants represent a gamut of Fort Worth culture. Latinas/os, African-Americans, and Anglos share a sacred space conducted by a thirty-something Anglo Pastor who grew up in North Texas. An attractive brother and sister in their twenties are perched on stools on the raised altar in the front of the church, strumming acoustic guitars and belting renditions of carols, like “O Come All Ye Faithful,” with dazzling vocal flare. They also sing a wider selection of less season-specific worship songs. Except for the Christmas songs, the sermon and worship singing would have been just as appropriate for a Good Friday service, when churches commemorate Christ’s crucifixion. “This baby was born to die,” explains the Pastor, and the focus of this Christmas celebration quickly turns to the end rather than the beginning of Jesus’ life.

The Pastor offers a fluid rendition of the Evangelical understanding of atonement. He breathlessly connects Old Testament passages about sacrificial lambs and scapegoats to the crucifixion of Jesus. On an LCD projector, he pulls up pictures from the *Passion of the Christ* for emotional impact. A photo of the soft vulnerable hands of a baby is jarringly juxtaposed to the nail-driven and blood-soaked hands of Jim Caviezel, the actor who plays Jesus in Gibson’s famous film. The Pastor reminds the congregation that “Jesus took on all of our most shameful sins.”

A time of reflection precedes the Protestant enactment of the Lord's Supper, in which partaking of bread and grape juice is a symbolic act of holy remembering. Congregants make their way to the front of the church to pick up their gum-sized wafers and diminutive cups. They return to their seats, carefully gripping the tiny elements. The Pastor spontaneously asks a congregant to pray for the bread, which symbolizes the body of Christ. We consume it together. He then calls on another man to pray for the grape juice, which, the Pastor reminds the congregation, "represents the blood of Jesus." Heads cock backward, downing the fruity blend in eager reverence. More singing follows and most in the church lift their hands in exaltation.

After the service, an atheist friend comments, "I learned more in that one service about religion than I did in all my years of Catholic school." With a Catholic background, he would have found more familiar liturgical rhythms the next evening had he attended Iglesia San Bartolome with me. Even with a Catholic background, though, he would likely have found much that was unfamiliar. Growing up in Canada I went to a number of Christmas Eve masses in the Catholic Church, but I never witnessed what I saw at San Bartolome. If it did not fit a predominantly Anglo model of a Catholic Christmas, neither did it resemble the Christmas service at New Beginnings—not by a long shot. This illustrates the cultural and religious convergence found at San Bartolome.

### **Cradling Baby Jesus with Mexican *Cantitos* at San Bartolome**

Tonight, at San Bartolome, there is only one Christmas Eve service and no Sunday school. The sanctuary thus fills quickly, forcing late arrivals to stand at the back. It is a strikingly multigenerational affair in which children have a conspicuous presence. Many of them have carried dolls with them to the service.

The Christmas Eve service is similar in many ways to a regular Sunday mass at San Bartolome. It starts with Father Juan's familiar refrain in Spanish, "Blessed be God, Father, Son

and Holy Spirit,” to which the congregation replies, “And blessed be his kingdom now and forever.” There is a bulletin that outlines the script for this call and response and other pre-set prayers. Interspersed throughout the liturgy, two women lead singing in melancholic tones reminiscent of a *ranchero* song. A synthesizer serves as the only instrumental accompaniment. The singing may sound mournful to the uninitiated but there is plenty of joy here. The crowded confines encourage intimacy: parishioners wish one another the peace of Christ by shaking hands, cheek-kissing or hugging.

Similar to the service at New Beginnings, these congregants celebrate Holy Communion during this Christmas celebration. They approach the priest for the bread, cup their hands and hear his reminder, “The body of Christ.” They consume it and move to the left to receive wine from the lay chalice bearer, who this evening is the Second Warden. He encourages recipients, “This is the blood of Christ shed for you for the remission of sins.” Here, the bread and wine are not thought to merely symbolize the body and blood of Christ, as they do at New Beginnings. In sermons Father Juan stresses that the elements mediate the tangible corporeal character of Christ.

Father Juan does, however, take great pains to clarify the symbolic aspect of another ritual they will perform in the Christmas Eve Service. At one point in the service a man and woman rise and move to the front of the sanctuary to perform various acts of veneration of a doll, which Father Juan reminds the congregation “symbolizes” the infant Jesus. “When we venerate this figure tonight” he explains, “we are not worshipping the doll. We are showing respect to something that represents the infant Christ.” The couple bathes the doll, washes it, wraps it in swaddling clothes, and rocks it back and forth as they sing a song familiar to Mexican Catholics. Unlike New Beginnings, where the overriding emphasis was on the crucified Christ, there are elaborate rituals at San Bartolome to focus on the infant stage of the incarnation. Father Juan,

for example, asks the children to hold up the dolls and he walks down the aisle, generously sprinkling holy water in their direction. Besides the Eucharistic portion of the service, there is no mention of the death of Christ this evening.

In his homily, Father Juan implores everyone to make space for the infant Jesus in their lives. He encourages congregants to spend a quiet Christmas at home, embracing the love of friends and family. He invokes a famous phrase from Martin Luther King Jr. and explains that he too “has a dream” for the congregation. He would like to see all “*hispanos*” (Latina/os) in the area spend a quiet, loving Christmas at home with family, without the artificial mirth of alcohol. Indeed, he has punctuated various statements this evening with the message “*sin alcohol*” (without alcohol). A Mexican congregant in his early forties cheerfully explained to me in an interview that when he first heard Father Juan preach, he immediately liked his mix of “*motivación y regaño*” (motivation and scolding). This blend is evident tonight. Christmas, Father Juan insists, is a day when people should wake up feeling fresh in the warm hearth of the home, not in the cold indifferent climate of a prison. Given his “dream” about Latinas/os, his message seems more specifically devoted to a particular ethnic group than the more universal sermon of atonement and salvation at the multicultural church New Beginnings.

At the end of the service at San Bartolome, congregants line up to venerate the doll, which represents the baby Jesus. A woman elevates the baby so that each parishioner can bow in front of and/or kiss it. To the right, a man holds a basket from which parishioners choose a chocolate or some other kind of sweet. I leave the chapel, chewing on my Hershey’s Kiss, and wondering what to make of these two dramatically different Christmas services.

In my analysis, the difference lies in the varying weight that each church places on the role of church and culture in creating a sense of belonging. Christmas Eve inevitably draws people to

Christian services who do not usually attend throughout the year. For an Evangelical pastor, this is a prime opportunity to preach to the lost, understood to be those who have not made some public and personal reception of Christ's atoning merits on the cross. The pastor of New Beginnings felt compelled to structure the Christmas Eve service around the controlling theme of atonement.

In comparison to New Beginnings, the process of conversion at San Bartolome is more gradual. The starting point for conversion at San Bartolome does not seem to be personal recognition of sinfulness or humble reception of Christ's payment for sins, but rather a sense of cultural and individual belonging in a pluralistic Christian space that maintains continuity with the traditions of the majority of its congregants and visitors. Father Juan thus does not use the presence of visitors to a Christmas Eve service as an opportunity to save the lost. Rather he seizes this moment to reaffirm the nurturing place of the U.S. Latino home and to encourage the preservation of its sanctity from what Father Juan seems to believe is a the desultory tradition among many U.S. Latinas/os to mark festive occasions with the consumption of alcohol. If a visitor begins to attend San Bartolome consistently, she or he will have opportunity to move within that religio-cultural sense of belonging into other avenues of Evangelical and Charismatic practices of devotion.

San Bartolome provides sacred space for Evangelical, Charismatic and Catholic elements by staggering sacred time with these variously charged theological components. Sometimes San Bartolome is a place of Charismatic prayer and praise where people are conceptually predisposed to expect "outpourings" of the Holy Spirit. In these places and at these moments they might dance, pray loudly, or even fall over under the perceived power of the Spirit. At regular Sunday services and on festive occasions like Christmas Eve, San Bartolome is a place of Catholic

sacramental observance; at those times people expect to receive the body and blood of Christ through the ritual celebration of the Eucharist and to experience other densely material mediations of faith. When San Bartolome serves as a predominantly Catholic place, no one falls over in the Spirit, or dances, or prays loudly. Instead, they cross themselves and show a mainly quiet, reverent attitude during the proceedings.

There appears to be a convergent continuum at San Bartolome. The public celebrations of the Virgin of Guadalupe and their cultural festivities like the *Kermes* draw Catholic Latina/o immigrants in Fort Worth to a peripheral engagement with San Bartolome. Other congregants at San Bartolome attend weekly masses, which have a familiar Catholic character for many of the participants. For those who engage with the church beyond these masses, they will inevitably encounter Charismatic and Evangelical features of faith, even if they do not possess pre-existing categories for such experiences. Since participants at San Bartolome navigate convergent spaces selectively, choosing to opt out of or into various activities, there is diversity of religious opinions at the grassroots level. For example, the Second Warden told me that he believes that all religions can lead to God as long as the practitioner is sincere. This stands in contrast to not only the broader view of the various diocesan and global networks in which San Bartolome is located, but also to Father Juan's avowed dichotomy between the saved and the lost. In the next chapter, I examine a convergent church in Northern Florida to try to make sense of the sometimes surprisingly progressive trajectories of convergent faith.

## CHAPTER 5 PROGRESSIVE CONVERGENCE AT IGLESIA SAN PEDRO

This study of Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro in Northern Florida illuminates the conditions in which a pneumacentric (spirit-centered) praxis and theology is translated into a progressive ethos. Progressive in this case is a relative term. Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro worships quite comfortably within the Episcopal Diocese of Florida, which is a more conservative jurisdiction than other dioceses in TEC; but San Pedro in general and Father Leo Sanchez in particular have moved in directions that counter some conservative characterizations of Pentecostal and Charismatic faith.

Father Leo and the vast majority of his current congregation were once part of a Hispanic ministry of a church called Saint John's, in a convergent institution known as the International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches (CEC). The CEC was founded in 1992 by Randolph Adler of San Clemente, CA as a space for the confluence of various streams of Christianity that had been hitherto separated. (Hocken 2002b:504) "While the CEC leaders expected growth primarily from the evangelical-charismatic sector, the CEC quickly began to attract Episcopal priests and their people who were disenchanted with the liberal direction of the Episcopal Church" (Hocken 2002a:476). St. Margaret's Episcopal Church in Northern Florida was one of those disenchanted Episcopalian Churches in TEC. St. Margaret's feared the ascendancy of liberal theology in TEC, so when they learned that there was an institution that not only intentionally wedded all the parts of convergent faith at St. Margaret's (Charismatic, Evangelical and sacramental), but that was also theologically conservative on issues of human sexuality and basic Christian doctrine, they were happy to move to the CEC. The church changed from St. Margaret's Episcopal Church to Saint John's Charismatic Episcopal Church. They were received into their new institution, the CEC, a week after Leo had joined the church. Eventually

Leo was ordained a deacon and then a priest within the CEC. He subsequently led the Hispanic ministry of Saint John's, called Misión San Juan.

Years later as the institutional ethos of the CEC became increasingly conservative in Father Leo's view, he and his Latino congregation began to consider an option that would not only lead them to swim against a tide of Christians with family resemblances, but would reverse St. John's institutional history. The growing tension between conservatives and liberals within the Episcopal Church (TEC) had led to the founding of the conservative Anglican alternative to that institution, the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA), which though not affiliated with the CEC, has a similar convergent ethos. Even though churches within TEC that had a convergent mix of Charismatic, Evangelical and sacramental influences began to depart for the more conservative confines of the ACNA, Father Leo and his congregation went in the other direction: they intentionally sought more inclusive space by joining TEC. This surprising turn of events reveals the diverse range of organizational possibilities for Charismatic faith.

Some scholars claim that there is an affinity between Charismatic conceptions of the Holy Spirit and a theological conservatism that leads to a generally "fundamentalistic" religious orientation (Coleman 2004:27). Nevertheless, conservative viewpoints and institutional structures are not intrinsic properties of a Spirit-centered faith, as this case study of Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro will demonstrate. Instead of being a Charismatic exception that proves the conservative rule, the history of Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro shows how malleable pneumacentricism can be in a global Christian environment where traditional boundaries of belonging are smudged with the frenetic footsteps of people following what they believe to be the Spirit's lead.

In their previous incarnation as Misión San Juan of the CEC, the church bulletins advertised a convergent form of faith at the bottom of the front page: “carismática, evangelica y sacramental” (Charismatic, Evangelical and Sacramental). This local hybrid identity reflected the intentional combination of such elements within their parent institution. The CEC has no official relationship to TEC or the Anglican Communion in general. The term “Episcopal” in the CEC title refers to the type of governance in that institution: namely an “episcopal” system that grants authority to overseers, called bishops, and an institutional leader called a Patriarch. Father Leo explains how the “government by consensus” of the CEC works in practice:

At the parish level, the priest is in charge, of course, and he picks out of the congregation a group of men that will govern with him and that’s called the Rector’s Council and they make all the decisions for the church, financial and everything. Everything is done by that group of men. At the Bishop’s level, it is the same thing, it’s the Bishops Council only of men; all the way to the Patriarch’s council and then ultimately the Patriarch has got ultimate authority. And it’s very Roman. It’s very Orthodox.

Even when the congregants of what is now Iglesia San Pedro of TEC were worshipping in the more conservative confines of the CEC, their lived religion did not easily conform to the patriarchal structures of that institution. Misión San Juan of the CEC was emblematic of the poetics and politics of hybrid faith, and an analysis of those processes will help elucidate some of the motivations that would pulse Father Leo’s and the congregation’s institutional change from the CEC to TEC.

Hybridity theory emerged as a playful counterforce to the deathly serious hegemonic pretensions of modernity. Some have implied that hybridities were born as the disobedient and wild children of modernism. “Instead of producing coherent and disciplined colonial subjects it generated destabilizing mixed identities in both colony and metropole” (Vásquez and Marquardt 2003:58). Nevertheless, processes of hybridity, whether religious or cultural, may help efface certain borders, but they can also lead to the construction of new ones. “We must keep in mind

that mixing also reterritorializes and reintroduces tension and power” (Vásquez 2010:90). This was true for Misión San Juan of the CEC, where the hybridic wedding of Charismatic, Evangelical and Catholic emphases took place within what at least one of their ordained leaders, Father Leo Sanchez, considered an increasingly strict, male-centered institution that was propagating misleading and biblically inconsistent views of human sexuality.

Still, even an institution that maintains firm boundaries of doctrine and policy cannot control all of the dynamic processes of hybridity in their midst. The CEC hierarchy, for instance, likely did not envision that a Latino congregation birthed within their institution would reassemble convergence with a more progressive valence. If hybridity is understood as a completed process in which previously distinct and self-contained parts have converged as a new whole, then this convergence is in no less a static state than the bifurcated categories which the hybridity first sought to blur. Studying the *processes* of hybridity, by contrast, is a more fruitful scholarly endeavor than the mere recognition of hybrid existence. Attuned to such dynamism, scholars can recognize the fluid, dynamic ongoing nature of exchange in hybrid settings. Also, parsing the processes of hybridity reveals the varying power asymmetries that exert pressure on the shapes and directions of hybrid formation. Let us now consider the pushes and pulls of power that were part of the hybrid Christian practices of Misión San Juan of the CEC.

### **Background of Misión San Juan**

Misión San Juan was a pan-Latino church that was intentionally combining previously distinct Christian elements (and to a lesser extent cultural elements) in a convergent expression of faith. This, like the congregational life I detailed at San Bartolome in chapter four, extended boundaries of belonging to U.S. Latinos with diverse Christian backgrounds. Unlike San Bartolome, however, where the various convergent elements are separated in different spaces,

there was a more integrated expression of convergence during the main Sunday services at Misión San Juan.

On any given Sunday, an usher would hand a visitor to Misión San Juan a leaflet bulletin outlining many of the songs and prayers of the service. This guide would serve, in part, to help the uninitiated navigate the tributaries of religious hybridity in this church. Any visitor who was accustomed to relatively fixed parameters of Christian belief and practice would be struck by Misión San Juan's comparatively porous borders. The Church services would begin with an acolyte carrying a cross and the steady stride of a priest in liturgical vestments; this much would be familiar to Christians from any number of liturgical traditions. But beyond those familiar figures in the processional line, there were also five young girls, between the ages of eleven and eighteen, dressed in matching black and pink dresses. As the congregation would sing "*Espiritu Santo Ven*" (Come Holy Spirit), or a similar song of Charismatic worship, the girls would gather at the front of the altar and begin to dance with flowing choreographed movements. The priest, Father Leo, would subsequently begin the call and response liturgy outlined in the bulletin. Here sacred space was also hybrid space.

A Catholic visitor would be familiar with much of the liturgy written in the bulletin. A significant portion of the service paralleled the traditional Roman Catholic mass, including the weekly ritual crescendo of the Eucharist. On the other hand, Evangelical visitors would be more likely to recognize the multiple songs in the service that were drawn from a thriving Latin American Evangelical music scene, a market swelling with prolific worship CDs from Evangelical household names like Daniel Montero, Marcus Witt, and Jesus Adrian Romero; these singers have ever-growing transnational and transdenominational appeal because of the sharing of Christian resources across multiple Latin American and Latino networks—even

networks in an institution like the CEC, which has multiple representatives in the Global South (particularly Africa), but few Latino congregants in the United States..

Since the Latino presence in the CEC was minimal, Misión San Juan stood on its own in many ways. This was intentional since Father Leo was finding the strictures of the CEC increasingly stifling. With a Baptist background and having had lively Charismatic encounters with multiple denominations, Father Leo had once relished the wide amorphous borders of the CEC that had brought people from different Christian backgrounds into a shared convergent place. I learned from conversations with other congregants that many had been similarly attracted to the church. After his ordination to the priesthood in the CEC, though, Father Leo began to perceive a process of constriction in the institution. CEC's borders soon became narrower and more strikingly visible:

Initially [the CEC] was supposed to be the three streams coming together from all places to find a house of worship; so that was great for a person coming from the Baptist church, you know so legalistic, to find, "Oh my God, there is so much freedom here." But as the CEC began to develop its own structures it became increasingly conservative in a way that I wasn't completely comfortable with.

In having embraced convergent Christianity, Leo had also developed a general Anglican ethos (even though the CEC was not an official member of the Anglican Communion). It was the classical Anglican formulation of the *via media* between Protestantism and Catholicism that had so captured Marcelo's religious imagination: "It is about comprehension. It is not about narrowness." Some institutional leaders in the CEC, according to Leo, were less enamored with the *via media* concept than they were with Roman Catholicism. Leo notes that many of the Latina/o flock had come out of Roman Catholicism and were still "somewhat leery" of that institution. Speaking about the CEC leadership's increasing interest in the Roman Catholic Church, Leo says,

They went through a time in which they would be in the pro-life marches and be involved with the priests for life in the Catholic Church and they had ecumenical talks with the Catholic Church to a certain extent. Our services had borrowed some elements from the Roman rite, which was fine. And then comes the decision that they are not going to ordain women to the Deaconate, but we already have people that were called; then comes the decision that the ethos of the CEC has to do with its governance, which is governance by consensus—male only headship. Well, that was not the advertising when we first came in . . . It became more fixed.

As Father Leo tried to process some of these developments, he asked for “cultural space” for his own congregation, meaning room to implement these policies in ways that made sense to his flock. Leo was not finding much liberation in these measures. “For us liberation means also liberation from machismo; it also means social justice.” Leo did not hear these egalitarian social concerns echoed at the higher ranks of CEC leadership; in fact, they seemed increasingly muffled.

### **Convergence and Continuity**

It is, then, less surprising now in retrospect that when I had first explained to Father Leo that I was studying convergent Latino churches, he had suggested other churches outside of the CEC that I might want to examine. He confirmed what I had heard about a significant Brazilian presence in the CEC, but he added that there were other churches in Chile and Colombia that were not tied to the CEC, but did self-describe as convergent churches. The other church he mentioned was a Latino Episcopal Church (TEC) in Houston, Texas with over seven hundred members, which combined a similar blend of Christian influences to that found at Misión San Juan. Father Leo had emplotted his church on an imagined landscape that was broader than his particular institution, which later emboldened him to guide his own congregation from the CEC into TEC.

In fact, Misión San Juan had even drawn its leadership ranks from outside of explicitly convergent circles. The Associate Pastor of San Juan came from an independent Charismatic

Church in Venezuela that was not affiliated with any kind of liturgical or sacramental expression of faith. His participation with Misión San Juan did relate, however, to the multiple intersecting and transnational links of globalized Christianity, to which convergent Christians are connected. Pastor Luis was teaching at a bilingual ecumenical Christian college and graduate school in Northern Florida, whose president was a Bishop in another convergent Christian denomination. The president was aware of the need at Misión San Juan for a Pastoral assistant and thus Pastor Luis came on board to serve with both his musical and teaching talents.

Nevertheless, the example of Pastor Luis is a telling reminder of the “zones of awkward engagement” (Tsing 2005:xi) that arise in the flux of Christian networking. In the closing portion of services, when Father Leo would exhort congregants to invoke Saint Michael the Archangel to protect them from the wiles of the devil, Pastor Luis would reverently raise his hands but, like a few other congregants, he would not say the words of the saintly intercession. In this way, Pastor Luis exercised the same kind of selectivity that Iris uses at San Bartolome when she refrains from evoking the intercession of the Virgin Mary. Father Leo was sensitive to the diversity in his congregation. He realized that for an Evangelical like Pastor Luis, and for some others in the congregation, invoking the assistance of a saint seemed like a potential affront to the intercessory power of Jesus, and thus he encouraged the kind of flexibility that allowed people to participate as they felt most comfortable. Hence Misión San Juan was producing “structured relational contexts in which new structures” were emerging (Smilde 2007:181).

There were degrees of continuity and discontinuity for both those with Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. In the church’s small chapel for private devotion there were a host of images of Jesus and Mary. A Protestant might balk at this rich iconography but neither would a Latin American Catholic have been likely to find many familiar points of reference there. There

were no images of saints or Mary in the chapel that would be culturally associated with Latin America. Instead, all of the images were drawn from Eastern Orthodox Christianity. This inherited iconography is ubiquitous throughout the CEC but Father Leo also thought it served a distinctive function in his congregation. For him, this foreign selection disconnected the localized associations that Catholics might have to particular saints in their countries of origin. This facilitated the making of a fresh pan-Latino identity, since no single Latin American country's images could be considered privileged in this hybrid religious space. This decision also seemed to reflect at least some suspicion about popular Catholicism. Unintentionally, this practice may have impeded undocumented immigrants in the church from creating the kinds of "translocative" connections and "defensive spaces" that help people find a sense of religious safety and freedom from the fearful scrutiny of the state (Vásquez 2010:300). Indeed, despite the desire to foster thoroughgoing Christian pluralism at Misión San Juan, hybridity was inevitably an uneven process.

Church leaders and lay participants at Misión San Juan had created hybrid spaces by way of both improvisation and structured processes. If there were specific elements of the services that would be more familiar to Catholics than Evangelical visitors, and vice versa, there were broader rhythms to the proceedings that were just as likely to be lost on anyone who was not a frequent participant in the services. There were often moments, for instance, in which Father Leo encouraged parishioners to raise their hands and offer their own individual praises and supplications, an admonishment to which the parishioners would immediately and knowingly respond. Most would raise their voices and hands in a polyphonic swell of prayer. The priest initiated this moment but the congregation seemed to control its duration. Father Leo would

move on to the next part of the liturgy only after the clamor had given way to a barely audible murmur and the parishioners had lowered their hands.

### **The Path to TEC**

Father Leo and others were distressed by the restrictions on female leadership in the CEC, but they seemed to find ways to exploit the Charismatic dimension of convergence to circumvent some of those institutional strictures. One female member of the choir, for instance, often filled moments of transition between songs with extemporaneous and prophetic prayer, in which she usually reminded parishioners of the faithfulness and love of God. In one instance, Father Leo was about to close the service when the same woman told him that she believed God wanted to minister healing to the sick members of the congregation. Father Leo enthusiastically responded to the perceived prophetic message and he invited those desiring physical or emotional healing to come forward to the altar for prayer. Like the evening prayer services at San Bartolome in Fort Worth, it was the Charismatic stream of convergent faith at Misión San Juan that opened the most expansive spaces of spiritual authority to women. In this case, a woman who had a recognized gift in prophecy or healing wielded a measure of authority based on these perceived “charisms.”

In contrast to the Charismatic stream of faith, there were constraints represented by the sacramental dimension of worship at Misión San Juan. Although some women distributed the bread and wine during Communion, the pivotal sacramental moment in the service was reserved for the male priest. Since the CEC proscribes female ordination, Father Leo was the only person who could consecrate the Eucharist. It was clear, then, that not all hybrid parts were equal in this setting, and the weight given to one stream over the other could be considered an act of power. Father Leo knew first-hand that convergent combinations of Charismatic, Catholic and Evangelical faith need not lead down exclusively conservative paths. Indeed the conservative

expression of convergence, represented by the CEC, no longer seemed plausible to him or his congregation.

After a transition in local leadership, Leo began to find the demands to conform to institutional policies both more insistent and intolerable. The new Bishop was an ex-Episcopalian priest whom Leo described as very conservative. He wanted to bring order to the institution and “made, I guess, reasonable demands if we were going to be in the CEC, [such as] make sure you have a board of only men.” This contravened the egalitarian character that San Juan had already established. “We were faced with a denomination that had slowly changed; we could live it in it but not thrive. I think at that point I started asking myself, why aren’t we Episcopalians?”

Father Leo began an exploratory dialogue with leaders in TEC. Eventually the CEC began to struggle financially and Saint John’s was forced to sell their property to keep their church going. The English language congregation began to meet in a chapel at a local university, but in Father Leo’s view this was not a tenable arrangement for the Spanish speakers. He explained to me that Latinas/os tend to tie their spirituality to a local church building; hence the makeshift and provisional nature of a borrowed chapel did not create the feeling of a spiritual home thought to be essential for the Spanish speaking congregation. Eventually, Misión San Juan started renting Saint Peter’s Episcopal Church and met for a 12:30 p.m. mass following St. Peter’s regular English language service.

If spatial factors accelerated a transitional process for the church, Misión San Juan was also forging more figurative distance from the CEC:

The last couple of years in the CEC we were faithful in doing what we needed to but we were an oddity: a church in which women were active in all parts of ministry, a church in which some people were conservative and other people were more liberal. I would say me . . . and the postulate then, are more liberal than our

congregation, and considerably more liberal than people were in our diocese [of the CEC].

After two years of this arrangement, in 2008 Misión San Juan was officially received into the Episcopal Diocese of Florida of the TEC, bringing the Spanish congregation together with the already established Anglo and African-American congregation of St. Peter's. Together they formed the "first bilingual parish in the Episcopal Diocese of Florida." Leo might have been more liberal than his congregation at the time of the change, but judging from the conversion history of a layperson named Jaime, which I treat in chapter six, theological attitudes among congregants also shifted with institutional change. That said, there is no doubt that as a middle-class, medically-trained priest who has traveled broadly across Christian traditions and less expansively, but no less importantly, across geographical spaces, Leo Sanchez is the key figure to understand the twin processes of what Thomas Tweed calls "crossing and dwelling" among the congregants of Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro.

Indeed, the convergent conversion histories of people like Leo Sanchez dramatize the ways that transnational movement, multid denominational encounter and broader cultural trends have created Charismatic spaces for the plausible construction of progressive convergence. I will thus continue to heed Henri Gooren's call to document life histories of my informants by detailing important networked connections and institutional transitions in the life of Father Leo Sanchez, MD, before returning to a consideration of the current expression of convergence at Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro.

### **From Cuba to Northern Florida and from Catholicism to Evangelicalism**

Leo's parents were Catholics in Cuba, and they raised him in at least some of the foundational principles of Catholic faith. Leo says that his mother "was not a big fan of images" but there were nevertheless pictures in their home of Saint Michael the Archangel, Saint Barbara

(who, as he points out was later demoted from official canonical status), and a large painting of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. He also participated, though infrequently, in the life of the Catholic Church. He remembers, for example, his First Communion and going to mass on special holy days like Christmas and Easter. He even served as an altar boy on occasion. Leo estimates that he was confirmed in the Catholic Church when he was ten, a year before he moved with his family to northern Florida.

Leo's family was "very involved in the movement to overthrow General Fulgencio Batista in Cuba" but they were distressed when Fidel Castro took power, did not hold elections, and enacted what Leo's parents perceived to be Marxist measures. The Sanchezes had family in Northern Florida who sponsored them to come to the United States as political refugees. Once on American soil, they soon shifted religious affiliations as well.

They visited an English-speaking Catholic church in their city a couple of times, but the family felt estranged by the foreign language and did not perceive that they were warmly welcomed. Leo draws a connection between the family's Evangelical conversion and the emotional and practical assistance the Baptist Church offered them as immigrants.

The only Spanish language churches at that time were Southern Baptist churches and we were befriended by their missionaries, who were also from Cuba. They used to have help for migrants, you know, refugees. They took my mom and dad around and helped them out and then we started attending church.

Looking back, Father Leo finds it "remarkable" that in the 1970s, the Baptist church in his city in Northern Florida had Spanish language services before the Roman Catholic Church provided this linguistic variety.

Already, then, in Leo's religious narrative the themes of networks and mobility are salient. The Sanchez family utilized the networks of family to escape a perceived panoptical state, but during the difficult adjustment period in a new country their traditional source of religious

consolation, the Catholic Church, was not providing the same levels of culturally contextualized solace that their competitors, Evangelical churches, were offering. Leo hints that their conversion was a product of feeling loved and accepted and not a matter of being cognitively convinced of a Protestant paradigm of faith. These events would seem to confirm the presuppositions of rational choice theorists who measure patterns of conversion with the analogous terms of the economic marketplace “Religious consumers, on the demand side of the equation, seek not only to find opportunities to solve personal problems, but also to find faith communities, spiritual meaning, and other goals when they make their religious choices” (Chesnut 2003:76)

The family felt at home in the Baptist church, where they could worship God in their native tongue. Leo also stresses the appeal of the straightforward religious message they heard at the Baptist church: “You are a sinner, God loves you, Jesus died for you; and if you will accept Christ, you have a new life and you read your Bible. That seemed very simple; very nice.” Leo says that attention to scripture was a marked turning point in his parents’ religious transition from Catholicism to Evangelicalism. He explains that when his parents were in Cuba, “reading the Bible was just something you didn’t do; it was something reserved for clergy; so for them to get their own Bible [in Florida] and to have someone help them read it, that was very important to them.” His mother converted first, and his father remained an atheist for many years before he finally became a believer. Leo’s parents might have needed time to adjust to their new Christian tradition, but he and his sisters were quickly immersed in Spanish-speaking Evangelical culture in Northern Florida.

In Leo’s words, the transition from the Catholic to the Baptist church was for him and his sisters “very nice and natural.”

We had a peer group of folks our age who came from the same background and of course the Bible was interesting because that had not been part of what we did, so

we all got one . . . . Our Sunday school teachers, all of whom were converts, were very good at trying to teach us the books of the Bible, some of the major Bible stories. I remember memorizing John 3:16 and you know ‘God is love,’ those big passages. As kids it was fun. We made up games of who could find the passage faster.

Leo and his sisters were also very active in youth camps and sung in the choir.

More importantly for their development of an Evangelical ethos, they all made a “profession of faith.” They acknowledged that “simple” message that Jesus had died for their sins personally and they received him as Lord and Savior of their lives. Leo was sixteen years old when he made that commitment at youth camp. This was an epiphany for Leo: “I was really feeling touched by God and I wanted to serve him; you know, that very typical born-again Evangelical experience.” In addition to converting to Christ, Leo believed that God was calling him to ministry, and he pledged to fulfill that mandate upon his conversion.

When he went to college in Miami, that enthusiasm waned drastically. He remained a believer but stopped attending church. “I didn’t really connect with the Baptist campus minister. You know, I guess that is the age when you really begin to question who you are. I had a lot of questions about who I wanted to be and all of that.” One of the most pressing questions was his sense of calling to ordained ministry. “Although I had a sense that I had been called by God, I explicitly never wanted to do that. My mom would say, ‘Remember that you promised God’ and I would say ‘Oh Mom, I don’t want to do that. I’m sorry.’ I thought if I have no choice but to become a Pastor, I’ll just jump off a bridge.” He began to smoke and enjoy other liberties of young adult independence. “I did go to church every so often, but I lived a very secular college life.”

Interestingly, Leo’s temporary disaffiliation from the Baptist church was not the product of a cognitive crisis of faith. Leo was not struggling with theological propositions, but with his identity, and especially his future vocational identity. Henri Gooren observed in his study of

Mormonism in Guatemala that when new converts are given weighty assignments at an early stage in their commitment to a church there is a risk that they will “feel too uncertain of themselves [and] some may become inactive” (Gooren 2007:65). During his period of disaffiliation, Leo adopted behavioral patterns forbidden by his church and thus began to resituate his relationship between “the world” and the church, stuck for a time in a liminal state between the two. His secularism was a stark contrast to the persistent faith of his sisters, whose devotion had received a Charismatic boost while Leo attended college.

### **Introductions to Charismatic Faith**

Leo’s sisters remained in their home Baptist denomination but they had wedded a new emphasis on the Holy Spirit to their Baptist reverence for scripture. Leo explains,

One of their friends had some kind of an experience at a retreat and told them about it, so they starting looking at their Bibles and reading, so they decided that they wanted more of the Holy Spirit. That sense of being touched by God sort of energized their lives. I was not really interested in that when they were going through that experience.

At this point someone else had captured Leo’s attention.

He had met his future wife, Lourdes, in a Baptist youth group in high school, and their relationship blossomed during Leo’s college years. After they married, Leo was soon surrounded by a new set of Charismatic Baptist familial relations.

My mother-in-law, she was a Baptist, she had gone to a friend’s prayer meeting and she came back saying that she had felt the Holy Spirit and all this stuff and that she had spoken in tongues. Of course, we were horrified. So then she invited us to go to a special service. It was a small Puerto Rican Pentecostal Church here in town. I’ve never been back. People were real loud, as sometimes services like that can be, but there was a real happiness about their faith, you know, and it was very joyful and loud and expressive and I had never really experienced that . . . and they talked about faith and reconnecting with God and I really felt like I needed that, so when they called for prayer, I went up to get prayer and of course my wife was right next to me making fun of every single person; she would go in my ear “beedeee beedeee beedee,” as if she were speaking in tongues. So it was not like a wonderful spiritual environment for that (laughs). But it was so funny because I really felt like I reconnected with Christ.

He also walked out of the church deciding that he didn't want to smoke anymore; he kicked the habit on the spot.

I woke up the next morning feeling strangely happy. I started remembering the songs, and I must have gone about three days remembering my past, remembering my immediate past in college. I really felt a sense of repentance, thinking that wasn't right, that wasn't right. Then at the end of that, I really felt free. I felt like me. I started attending church again but I really enjoyed going.

Soon Leo's wife Lourdes was on board with the more Charismatic features of faith and they joined in the Spirit-centered conviviality of the time. "We were Baptists, of course, but we would go to prayer meetings of folks from other denominations, other churches. You know back then there was a lot of mingling between traditions and prayer groups." Leo began to read his Bible again and found that much of what he was taught as an adolescent returned with vigor. With a renewed faith, Leo traveled with his wife to the Dominican Republic where he studied medicine. There, ecumenical Charismatic faith moved to the forefront of both of their lives, which would later have an impact on his ministerial trajectory.

In the Dominican Republic, Leo and Lourdes became involved in a small Assemblies of God church, which is a classical Pentecostal denomination. Leo clarifies that "it was the only church within fifteen miles." Leo admits that the church was "unusual" and "different," but stresses that their experience with these Pentecostals was also thoroughly enjoyable and instructive. "We loved it! We learned a lot about faith and about commitment. I mean these people walked to church. The lights would go out and they would still keep praising God." Leo, however, did not accept wholesale everything he heard in those Pentecostal settings.

Since he was bilingual, Leo was often called upon to translate for visiting speakers in the Pentecostal church, and sometimes he ran into theological notions that he could neither stomach nor articulate with a clear conscience.

I got to see . . . the beauty of it and the manipulation . . . There was one guy who was a great preacher but he insisted that the Bible commanded people to speak in tongues. And he would speak in tongues and have them repeat so they could hear themselves. But I wouldn't do it. I was like if it's supernatural, it's supernatural. You don't have to fire the pump.

This part of Leo's convergent journey is essential to understanding the way that his Charismatic formation relativized institutional structures. Consider, for instance, what Peter Berger says about how religious institutions "set up religious legitimations" and the failure of these techniques to persuade Leo. "Let the institutional order be so interpreted as to hide, as much as possible, its *constructed* character . . . Let the people forget that this order was established by men and continues to be dependent upon the consent of men" (Berger 1990:33). For Leo, his experience through the transnational networks of institutional Pentecostalism did not require an all or nothing response: he did not have to choose between belief in the obvious human construction of the institution or the overarching control of the Holy Spirit. Leo had a both-and approach to the exercise of institutional religious power. He believed wholeheartedly in the power of the Holy Spirit in such settings, but also recognized that such presence did not preclude human intervention and even manipulation in these sacred spheres.

Leo and Lourdes could be discriminating in their views of religious authenticity because they had a diverse frame of reference. They certainly did not restrict their practice of faith in the Dominican Republic to Pentecostal confines. In the 1980s the Charismatic Renewal was enflaming new spiritual passions among Roman Catholics and was also creating new spaces of ecumenical fraternity among various stripes of Protestants. Leo found ample opportunity at the university where he studied medicine to form meaningful cross-denominational friendships. Leo beams as he recounts the unity he shared with Christians from diverse folds.

I met a lot of people from churches that I didn't even know existed: Templo Biblico, Mennonites, a lot of Charismatic Catholics. And we would all gather together at lunch for these prayer meetings. Someone would get out a guitar and

we would get under a tree and we'd sing. So that was very uplifting for me in my faith. And it also allowed me to see that, you know, just because I was raised in a particular church, there were a lot of Christians who had disagreements with me on points of doctrine but they were lovely people.

Leo decided that unity in worship did not require theological uniformity. "Monday the Baptists would do a study, and then the next week it would be a Pentecostal and then a Catholic. You know it was such a good thing!" These prayer meetings ranged from ten to fifty people.

Leo also read voraciously across a wide spectrum of Christian traditions. "I read all the time, everyday. I loved it!" He contemplated everything from the mystical teachings of Eastern Orthodoxy to the vigorous call to social commitment in works by liberation theologians like Leonardo Boff. The relative peace of a post-dictatorship Dominican Republic allowed for a free flow of both progressive and conservative theology, especially in written media, which contributed to Leo's religious exploration at the time. Just as he had refused the dichotomy of supernatural power channeled through pure institutional framework vs. human manipulation in the guise of spiritual intervention, he also eschewed the compartmentalization of soul and body in Christianity. There was, in his view, a progressive social concern at the heart of the Gospel, which needed to be combined with the "simple" salvation route he had been taught in the Baptist church of his youth.

Additionally, Leo learned about the charismatic ministry of Emiliano Tardif, a French Canadian priest whose missionary work was based in the Dominican Republic. Leo witnessed the impact of Tardif's ministry firsthand.

Emiliano Tardif was still there. He was very strong in the Charismatic movement then and much to our surprise Lourdes and I visited a Catholic church where people were lifting their hands and speaking in tongues, and to us that was something interesting because we had never associated the Catholic Church with that kind of thing. Emiliano Tardif did a mass that we went to and there was a church called Casa de la Anunciacion where he used to preach and so I visited that and what was new in my life was getting reacquainted with the Catholic Church from an adult perspective and through Charismatic Catholics who believed some of the same

things I did, and who valued the Eucharist, which was interesting because we didn't have that.

Through the ministry of Tardif and other Charismatic Catholics, Leo witnessed combinations of practices and theological emphases that he had once considered incommensurable. He still was not entirely comfortable in a Catholic setting because of the “veneration of images” and other practices that Leo and Lourdes found unsettling; but he was captivated by the reverence with which these Charismatic Catholics approached the Eucharist, and he felt a growing hunger for this sacrament.

Leo's experiences in the Dominican Republic epitomize the balance that congregants in San Pedro's and San Bartolome seek in their own religious practices. In this formational period, Leo found himself drawn to the experience of the sacraments, specifically the Eucharist; but he felt uncomfortable venerating images, a common practice in Latin American Catholic churches. This echoes the environment at San Bartolome, which I described in chapter three; often the more traditionally Catholic churchgoers will venerate Mary, for example, while Charismatic outbursts are reserved for the special midweek service. San Pedro's also contained a multitude of convergent elements. At this church, however, convergence is front-and-center during the Spanish-speaking Sunday services, something he learned from his next cross-denominational encounter.

Indeed, his next encounter at the medical school demonstrated not only how he might integrate various strands of Christianity but how he might do so upon his return to the United States:

One of my colleagues in medical school was a Lutheran from a very well-known Charismatic Lutheran Church in Miami called Prince of Peace; so when we were on vacation he invited us to his church and to my surprise it was very similar to the Catholic Church. So I said, my God, look, they're Lutherans but their service was so Catholic. I had known either Catholic or Baptist and all of a sudden there's Lutheran; that's so interesting.

When he did finally return to Northern Florida, Leo attended a Baptist Church, which his brother-in-law was leading. There was some continuity with the Baptist experience of his youth, but this congregation was also pulsating with Charismatic rhythms. He says, “I felt at home because this is the church of my youth but with the little extra stuff that I had learned in the Dominican Republic and had learned to enjoy; you know the whole singing and liveliness and the openness to the Spirit’s presence.” He grew restless, though, as he reflected on his exposure to liturgical practices in the Catholic and Lutheran churches.

He wondered, for instance, why the Baptist church did not carve out meaningful units of liturgical time and celebrate particular church seasons, such as Pentecost, which other churches acknowledged. “And I liked the whole idea of Holy Week; that’d be nice. And why don’t we have Communion more often?” These remained interior questions for the most part but he also found dialogical companions in books he was reading across the vast Christian spectrum. He was particularly perplexed by the plethora of existing Christian denominations and traditions; he looked to books on church history to answer “how we got from there to here?” He read the Apostolic Fathers and realized that the church that he saw in these accounts was not like the Baptist Church. The early views of the Eucharist and baptism stood out as especially different from contemporary Baptist understanding.

### **Combining Charisma with Tradition**

Given Leo’s Catholic history in Cuba, I wondered whether this seemingly new interest in ancient church practices and liturgies was really a renewal of a childhood faith. He clarifies that before his experience in the Dominican Republic, “I had never experienced the [Catholic] Eucharist in a setting where I felt like I could connect to the worship. I think that seeing that within the Renewal movement in the Catholic Church pointed me to the possibility that that is something I do not have.” The Catholic Church normally bars non-members from participating

in the Eucharist, and Leo and Lourdes “did not dare approach the altar” at Charismatic Catholic services in the Dominican Republic. They were, nonetheless, struck by the beauty, awe and holiness of Charismatic Catholic participation in the Eucharist. This was a dramatic contrast to the meanings associated with the Lord’s Supper in the Baptist Church. Leo’s Baptist Pastor used to say to him growing up, “This is not the body of Christ; it is just a symbol.” Leo was beginning to believe otherwise.

Leo sensed that there was something amiss and perhaps even inconsistent with the Protestant ideal of *sola scriptura, scriptura sola* (only scripture, scripture alone); this staple of Protestant doctrine elevates the Bible as the ultimate authority in shaping both individual and collective Christian life.

Baptists are Bible people so I started reading the Bible; certainly there were things that we did which were in the Bible but there were things that we did which were not; and there were things that were in the Bible which were explained a certain way which we didn’t do, so the question becomes, what is that? Some of the things are sort of arbitrary; they are related to our tradition.

Leo had stumbled upon a reality around which a growing cadre of Evangelicals have begun to offer careful reflection: there are certain core elements of Christian doctrine that Evangelicals consider axiomatic, which are, nevertheless, not fully elucidated in the Bible, but are rather the products of church tradition. Evangelicals, though, have often been suspicious of tradition since it is assumed that human-made patterns had corrupted the Christian church until Luther restored the Bible as the supreme authority in matters of faith and morals.

The most compelling example of tradition informing the reading of Christian Scripture is the post-Nicene conception of the Trinity (referring to the doctrine of the trinity that as it was articulated in the Council of Nicea in 325 CE), which the vast majority of Evangelicals would consider an indispensable part of Christian orthodoxy. Such conceptions of the “Godhead” are only implied in principle in the Scriptures, and Christians have inherited a more precise

articulation of the natures and interwoven relationships of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit from the Patristic Fathers and early creeds. This coupling of tradition and scripture tends to be obscured in Evangelical circles. In other words, the influence of extra-biblical (but not anti-biblical) tradition has been more far-reaching in terms of the development of Protestantism than most Evangelicals have been willing to admit or consider.

### ***El Dia de la Raza: Convergence in Practice***

Father Leo's personal experiences led him to a spiritual space in which the traditions of sacramental theology and Evangelicalism's emphasis on scripture coexist under the Charismatic influence of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, church services at San Pedro's fluctuate between strict order and improvisation. Interestingly this balance is also seen in decision-making at Misión San Juan, where the congregation's perspective on worldly endeavors hearkens back to H. Richard Niebuhr's classical work *Christ and Culture*.

There was evidence at the interstices of spirituality within and outside the church, that power could also be exerted and shared through dialogue and rhetorical persuasion. On the Sunday before Misión San Juan celebrated "*El dia de la raza*," (The Day of Culture), most of the free-form aspects of the services seemed to transpire on cue and involved relatively uniform somatic gestures. The service was drawing to a close and Father Leo reminded the congregation about the order of events for the upcoming celebration of "*el dia de la raza*." Misión San Juan would hold their service at 10:30 a.m. rather than the usual 12:00 p.m. slot and since three other Anglo congregations (including their previous parent church of Saint John's) were invited, the service would be bilingual. Following the mass there would be a celebration with distinct Latino flare. Among the various activities scheduled for the event, including performances in folkloric costume, there were to be eight booths in which members of Misión San Juan would sell food that was representative of their countries of origins.

It was upon hearing this reminder that a female parishioner, who appeared to be in her late thirties, raised her hand. When called upon, she publicly and forthrightly voiced her disagreement with the plan to charge for food. Since church members were likely to bring to this celebration friends and family who did not normally attend the church, the disgruntled congregant thought it was unbecoming for the church to charge for meals—particularly since the proceeds would go to the church. Her complaint sparked a spirited debate among the congregation as Father Leo subsequently and somewhat bemusedly answered a flurry of hands. The vast majority of congregants backed Father Leo's plan to charge for meals at the festival. The basis of his argument on this particular point was, in ethnographic hindsight, indicative of one of the factors that would help explain Misión San Juan's subsequent departure from the CEC and into the TEC: he insisted that any festival (sacred or secular) celebrating *el día de la raza* in Florida would likewise charge for food. In other words, Father Leo refused to reinforce a Manichean distinction between the church and the world, a division which scholars have noted as a general characteristic of Pentecostalism. Father Leo's understanding of convergent Christianity, and the ethos he helped inculcate in the congregation, involved a perceived Spirit-led expansion of borders, not a religiously-inspired delineation of sacred and profane spheres. If the church were to act differently than the "world," such uniqueness was to be based on the example of Jesus, not on the desire to be separated from potentially polluting forces. The relationship between congregants, institutions and the broader culture is thus complex and multifaceted at this convergent site.

H. Richard's Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (1996) is one of the most famous accounts to systematically treat the interplay of faith and culture. Niebuhr designed a five-point typology of ideal types, which outlines the varying cultural stances of historic Christian figures and groups.

The two extreme poles of “Christ against culture” and “Christ of culture” are the most straightforward of these categories.

The “Christ against culture” stance is marked by a dogged resistance to cultural forces outside of the believing community: “That world appears as a realm under the power of evil; it is the region of darkness, into which the citizens of the kingdom of light must not enter . . . “ (Niebuhr 1996:48). Niebuhr points to the notion of spiritual regeneration as the stabilizing leg in this religious stance of cultural opposition. The Apostle Paul testifies in the New Testament that converts to Christianity have become “new creatures,” promising that “old things have fallen away”—for some Christians the old things seem to have included the broader cultural worlds in which they were once immersed. Niebuhr expounds on this notion: “The corollary of the whole conception was the thought that whatever does not belong to the commonwealth of Christ is under the rule of evil” (Niebuhr 1996:50). He paints a broad historical brush in the category of “Christ against culture,” foregrounding such “radical” figures as the third century church father Tertullian and the nineteenth century Russian novelist Tolstoy. Father Leo’s early Christian life would have made him a likely candidate for this oppositional position.

The refusal to listen to alternative narratives frustrated Father Leo while he was in the CEC. He bemoans the “hypocrisy” he witnessed when people showed comparative liberality on issues of divorce and remarriage, but insisted on intransigent and uncompromising stances on homosexuality. Father Leo argues that biblical texts clearly identify divorce and remarriage as sins. They are much less clear, he claims, about sexual diversity. Nonetheless, within the highest echelons of leadership of the CEC, there were divorced and remarried people:

So then the Bible is [supposedly] clear on homosexuality, even though Christ didn’t mention it, but it is not clear on divorce? So to me I thought that was untenable. And not that I am a person who is in favor of any particular agenda but there needs to be a sense of fairness and a certain sense of toning down our rhetoric when we

have that conversation because we don't stop to listen to the experience of people that are so oriented. And I'm a doctor so I hear people say, well that's a choice they made . . . well, that's not true . . . I don't want my kids to grow up believing that kind of stuff. I don't want that . . . Part of the gospel has to be letting go of those prejudices. That's not God; that's the world.

His use of world here is fascinating since it is the strict tension between Christian faith and the secular world that some have connected to Pentecostal and Charismatic conservatism. Sanchez, by contrast, appears to draw on this dualistic distinction to make a progressive and, potentially, gay-affirming faith statement. His opposition between God and the world, though, seems closer to John Howard Yoder's nuanced explanation of that tension than it does to H. Richard Niebuhr's category.

The tension will not be between a global reality called "culture" on one side and an absolute spiritual distance called "Christ" (or "monotheism") on the other side, but rather between a group or groups of other people expressing culturally other values which are independent of or contradictory to such a confession. This latter group is what the New Testament calls "the world" (Yoder 1996:75).

Father Leo has thus joined theologians like Luke Timothy Johnson who identify engaged listening to marginalized people as a Christian value (Johnson 2004) By extension that value opposes dogmatic duplicity: the kind that marginalizes some people, such as the LGBT community, under the ostensible guise of rigorous scriptural interpretation at the same time that it finds hermeneutic loopholes for the more institutionally acceptable transgressors of strict biblical mandates, such as divorcees. Those contesting values, listening vs. hypocritical conservatism, might both come from officially Christian realms, but one, according to Leo, is more appropriate for a fallen world, and the other is a fitting cultural expression for a redeemed church.

Contemporary scholars have enumerated Pentecostal tendencies that make them sound like strong candidates for the "Christ against culture" category. Some argue that Pentecostalism's Manichean distinction between a secular world sullied by demonic influence and a Christian

sphere of spiritual purity can lock them in mainly insular matrices. In other words, Pentecostal theology constrains possible outcomes in quotidian life:

I would venture to say that one of the conditions that shapes the type and range of political actions for Pentecostals is precisely religious ideology. While it is true that ideology can be appropriated differently—stressing various aspects within it—given the demands of everyday life, the Pentecostal worldview limits the scope of legitimate socio-political appropriations because of its tendency toward fundamentalism. Religious ideology demands that the believer stay on the narrow path, restricting the ways s/he can translate theology into social action and political praxis. In other words, not just any appropriation goes (Vásquez 1998:94).

Other scholars, by contrast, argue that a radical reliance on the Holy Spirit empowers Pentecostals to forge democratic spaces, in which the gifts of the Holy Spirit make other markers of social status seem less relevant, and in some ways, even trivial. This interpretation of the Spirit's contribution to divine control and order, allows even the most marginalized to creatively reconstitute their place in the world.

New cultural practices had to be initiated in a free space which was circumscribed against the intrusive and hostile "world." Outside was bedevilment and corruption, machismo and violence, as well as personal and familial disintegration. Inside, however, there began a new order of the world full of Sanidad Divina: soufoul release and physical healing. For those people who gathered in the free space a signal break had been made with the old ways. All the mediations between them and God were abolished. They were now a redeemed community with direct access in and through the Spirit, and by implication they were also above or beyond all the mediations of society as a whole, not merely the mediations of the priestly caste. All the criteria of power and worth which oppressed them in daily life were removed or reversed, and replaced by one criterion alone: God's sovereign favour, freely available to all. Once that criterion was fulfilled all the "gifts" were theirs (Martin 1993:107).

If we combine both Martin's and Vásquez's insights one could argue that to the extent that Pentecostal and Charismatic theology tends toward fundamentalism (a rigid and binary worldview that is intolerant of ambiguity and a hierarchical institutional structure supporting such rigidity), its range of sociopolitical applications will be limited; but Pentecostalism, ala Martin, holds seeds of emancipatory potential in its pneumatology (theology of the Holy Spirit)

which recognizes the potential Spirit-gifting of all people and groups. When Pentecostal emphases are unhinged from conservative institutional confines, the creative possibilities proliferate (Martin 1993:49). Religious ideas are not disembodied unidirectional forces; rather they morph and move in conjunction with the twist and turns of human bodies, whose kinetics can be vigorously controlled in strict institutional bounds, or released in comparatively inclusive spaces for improvisation, performance and continued negotiations of bio-power. Indeed, to understand what Iglesia San Pedro looks like in its new comparatively progressive institutional setting, we turn to bodies in worship.

### **When the Bishop Comes to Town, She Speaks in Spanish**

A white dove is a common symbol for the Holy Spirit in Christianity, and it can also represent peace and harmony in other settings. At 10:30 a.m. on January 23, 2011, in a multicultural bilingual Episcopalian church in northern Florida a cloth dove seems to carry all these concepts. A U.S. born Latino adolescent holds high a metal rod and causes an undulating cloth dove to sway through the air as he leads a procession of acolytes, choir members, liturgical dancers, priests, and bishops down the church aisle. There will be more pomp and circumstance to the proceedings today than is typical for the Anglo and African-American congregants at St. Peter's Episcopal Church, who normally meet in a service separate from the Spanish-speaking congregation. Today, though, is a historic event in the life of this parish, and it calls for a combined service.

The Anglo and African-American congregants are accustomed to a "low" version of Episcopalianism, a much less decorative affair than the lively high ceremony that Father Leo has been conducting for so many years among Spanish-speaking congregants. In shepherding his English-speaking Anglo and African-American flock, Father Leo focuses on sermons, Bible reading and traditional hymn singing. His growing enthusiasm for this quieter and less elaborate

approach to faith is obvious. He still revels, though, along with the rest of the Spanish-speaking contingent in this church, in “smells and bells” (a reference to the use of incense and ringing of bells during important ritual occasions in the service). Their penchant for ceremony is enlivened with celebratory Charismatic flare. Indeed, Father Leo may be adapting well to the less lively style of the English-speaking services, but on his blog, below a report he posted about the positive psychoactive properties of incense, Father Leo boasted, “Well there you go...! Low church folks, the bells and smells crowd had the right idea all along!” This is clearly a lighthearted reference but it is hard to exaggerate the animated joy with which Father Marcelo conducts the “high” and spirited Spanish language services at San Pedro, services which continue to cultivate the convergent blends of Charismatic, Evangelical and Catholic streams that they have practiced since their days as Misión San Juan.

This morning, the dove ripples through the waft of incense and the combined congregation is momentarily transfixed; their gazes, though, quickly turn to the most esteemed and honored guest in the processional line. The Presiding Bishop and Primate of the Episcopal Church (TEC), Katharine Jefferts Schori has come to preach in both Spanish and English to a church that only a little over two years ago, on June 18, 2008, melded an aging English-speaking congregation with U.S. Latinas/os from another denomination. They did so with the support of the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Florida, Samuel Johnson Howard, who is also here today. Long before her appearance at San Pedro/Saint Peter’s, Father Leo had made glowing remarks about Katharine Jefferts Schori on his blog:

Having had the privilege of hearing our Presiding Bishop preach on several occasions I can say she is definitely not someone you can neatly tag and place in a box. A quiet speaker, she is uncompromisingly an advocate for those who are needy, marginalized, isolated, the immigrant and infirm. Often her words remind the church that the good news are not just to be believed and talked about but lived in love and service to God and our fellow man! God bless and guide the Rev.

Katharine Jefferts Schorri as she leads the Episcopal Church in this complicated century. Let her be a voice for Christ proclaiming the good news of his love for all.

When Father Leo found out the Presiding Bishop would be coming to Northern Florida for the convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida, he hoped that a visit to his modest multicultural congregation of 200 Latinas/os and 70 Anglos and African-Americans might prove an appealing multicultural experience for the Bishop.

Once the choir, bishops, priest and acolytes have positioned themselves at their respective stations at the altar, a group of female adolescents begin to dance in front of the congregation, a lyrical and embodied form of worship that has carried over from Misión San Juan. In their typical form-fitting pink, purple and black dresses, the girls glide across the floor. The priest, Father Leo, subsequently begins the call and response liturgy outlined in today's bilingual bulletin. He follows the traditional script of an Anglican service, except he alternates between Spanish and English. There is joyous singing throughout the service, a combinative soundscape of slow decorous hymns and jaunty Spanish songs with a salsa rhythm.

The Presiding Bishop preaches on the analogous relationship between followers of Jesus and sunflowers/*girasoles*. Sunflowers turn to the light during the day and face that direction even in darkness, "so that at the first rays of dawn, they're oriented directly toward the rising sun. We're supposed to do the same, leaning toward the source of life, depending on the holy one at work in our midst, and when the night seems darkest, to keep turning in expectation of the dawn." As she addresses the multicultural means by which this particular church is called to seek light and transform the darkness, she integrates other metaphors of reaching and seeking lost people.

What has brought healing and light to this congregation? I don't know many of the details, but at some point you decided that fishing nets with instructions only in English weren't terribly effective any more. You left those nets behind, or at least some of them, and picked up some new ones, with instructions in Spanish. You

noticed that the kinds of fish had changed, and that different methods were required.

It is interesting, and somewhat misleading, that she addresses the English-speaking congregation here. It is as if it were the English-speaking contingent's journey to welcome a Spanish-speaking congregation that was the most illuminating narrative, that their benevolent welcome of a Spanish-speaking congregation was the most notable sign of mission in this mixed congregation. In fairness, the Presiding Bishop is stopping in today; she doesn't know all "the details" of this congregation's history. The details are important, though, because all the twists and turns of Father Leo's life, and that of the other immigrants in this congregation, speak to a discourse resounding throughout multiple segments of Christianity: the missionized have become the missionaries. Conservative Anglicans have seized that discourse, insisting that after centuries of faithful missionary work in the global South, converts there have raised up generations of "orthodox" convergent Anglicans who have gathered their rich resources of faith—Evangelical devotion to the Bible, Charismatic practices of the Spirit, and enlivening reception of the sacraments—to help rescue a "faithful remnant" of Anglicans struggling in a sea of North American theological compromise and heresy. This, though, is not the missionary thrust of Father Leo's and Iglesia San Pedro's convergent mission. How, then, will this once-missionized contingent become the missionaries of TEC? What is their mission from this progressive outpost? To answer those questions we need to revisit the multiple networks of mission through which Father Leo has passed, and consider the impact of this journey on Iglesia San Pedro's fluid denominational affiliation.

### **Implications of Cross-Culturalism**

Father Leo Sanchez is a General Practitioner in the field of medicine and as a priest of a multicultural congregation, which he inherited after moving from the CEC, he must exercise an

equally broad base of cultural and religious expertise. He has been travelling through multiple religious and cultural networks ever since his family sought refuge in the United States, and then in the Baptist church. His professional education came in a Latin American country experiencing the kind of hybrid Christian growth that comes after the multiple religious responses to a brutal dehumanizing dictatorship have had time to encounter one another in relative peace. In the Dominican Republic he encountered the works of Leonardo Boff, Guatavo Gutierrez and other liberation theologians who mixed sober social analysis with a fiery commitment to biblically-based social justice on behalf of the poor and dispossessed. At the same time that his eye for social injustice became clearer through such reading, he was navigating multiple spheres of Protestant and Catholic charisma, where he noticed both sparkling signs of spiritual presence and manifold evidence of human manipulation. He grew in faith and realism, acknowledging the humanly-constructed nature of religious institutions, with its cracks and faults, at the same time that he was made aware of the Spirit's continued life in such imperfect quarters.

He has brought this faith-filled and realistic ethos into a mainline denomination that has heard a death knell of decline and irrelevance. The mainline, it was once thought, was a bastion of Anglo affluence and cultural respectability. It is now known more for its continual theological updating and progressive broadening of the boundaries of belonging, but it is not thriving with numerical growth. Katharine Jefferts Schori refuses to play the numbers game: "We don't count the right way. How many lives has the work of a congregation touched this year?" she said. "That's a more important question than counting who came to church on a Sunday" (Kaleem 2012). Congregations touch lives and the story of San Peter's incorporation of Misión San Juan is a reminder that congregations and institutional structures are touched by lives.

Scholars have diligently attended to questions of Evangelical growth in both North America and the Global South, and they have addressed what that upswing means for dwindling mainline denominations (Ellington). Academic radars have not been as frequently tuned into Christian disaffiliation from Evangelical matrices in preference for more progressive expressions of faith. That inattention likely comes from a lack of such sizable switches, but like Jefferts Schori, I think the numbers game can occlude some significant realities. Consider Jay Bakker, for example; as the son of one of the most notorious televangelist couples in Pentecostal history, Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker, Jay Bakker now leads a progressive church that is vigorously committed to the full inclusion of LGBT people in all walks of life. He came to this position through Pentecostal means: he prayed and felt that God told him that homosexuality was not a sin. This is perhaps a surprising but instructive example of how the Pentecostal and Charismatic emphasis on the ongoing dynamic voice of the Spirit can dovetail with the mainline church's teaching on progressive revelation: the idea that God continues to disclose new levels of truth to humanity.

The story, then, of institutional changes from Misión San Juan to Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro/Saint Peter's is related to broader pneumatological discourses—ways of speaking about the Holy Spirit and the Holy Spirit's activity—circulating at borders between Evangelical and mainline churches. Father Leo Sanchez and his congregation are situated at those borders with their convergent faith and increasingly progressive ethos. Their mission then may involve creating plausibility structures of convergence for cradle Episcopalians who associate such practices with the perceived reactionary forces of fundamentalism, and to demonstrate the progressive potential of charismatic theology and practice to U.S. Latinos journeying through more conservative networks.

The Presiding Bishop gave the benediction prayer at San Pedro/Saint Peter's in serious tones. Suddenly, Father Leo screamed out, "Hallelujah!" The Presiding Bishop looked momentarily stunned, and then quickly beamed. That may say something about how convergent Latino life will continue to be received in organizations like TEC, mainline churches once thought to be mono-cultural and sometimes considered moribund. Given Father Leo's track record, he and his congregation will continue to exercise agency within their new institution with the same blend of Spirit-centered enthusiasm and caution.

## CHAPTER 6 CALLING, CONVERSION, AND CONVERGENCE

The idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs.

—Max Weber (p. 123-124)

Scholars have identified a number of factors relevant to charting religious conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism in both Latin American and U.S. Latino contexts. Some have pointed to the marketability of Evangelicalism, stressing a variety of supposedly niche products it offers, such as divine healing and general empowerment of marginalized peoples (see Chesnut 2003; Gill 1998). Others draw attention to functionalist factors, such as the ways Protestant values help migrants orient to new, often urban, settings (see Willems 1967; Roberts 1968). Still others claim that social networks filled with Evangelical peers and family help create a “relational imagination” by which people see the benefits of Protestant paths (see Smilde 2007). How, though, does one measure conversion in a setting where Protestant and Catholic practices coexist or converge? Does considering transitions to such settings stretch the term conversion beyond its explanatory bounds?

In order to answer these questions, I highlight a factor that is omitted or given short shrift in most accounts of conversion. I argue that “calling” is an indispensable means of understanding changes in Christian affiliation for people with pluralistic outlooks on the global Christian landscape. I outline how calling has generally been used by sociologists of religion, how it has been applied in studies of conversion, and the potential for an expanded use of this theme to illuminate personal and institutional changes in contemporary global Christianity.

### **The Traditional Pauline Model of Conversion**

The lost and found language of the Christian hymn “Amazing Grace” assumes that conversion marks a definitive turning point from personal chaos to religious clarity. This

presumed pattern is drawn, in part, from the story of the Apostle Paul, who according to the New Testament book of Acts was initially a dogged persecutor of Christians; he suddenly shifted religious affiliation after God arrested him in a literally blinding encounter. The “Pauline” conception of conversion thus assumes that converts cross thresholds of religious identification, and never return. To gain assurance of salvation, many Evangelicals have tried to squeeze their own religious experiences, which often involve fits and starts along a broad religious continuum, within that narrow narrative template of intense and definitive religious change. Evangelical theologian Gordon T. Smith admits, “For many evangelicals, the language of conversion that permeates the public life, worship and witness of the church does not reflect their own experience. They feel distant or alienated from their own experience because it does not fit the pattern of what they believe a conversion should look or feel like” (Smith 2010:2). I pointed out in chapter three, for instance, that Iris became diffident about her conversion when she became more familiar with the Pauline pattern in other Evangelical churches. Robert Webber’s description of the changing model for some Evangelical churches would be a more fitting explanation for the communal nature of Iris’s conversion experience: “Conversion is also shifting from the punctilinear, dramatic movement of faith to process: a faith nurtured by the church in whom the new convert finds his or her place in the world” (1999:143)

An experience of a definitive turning point may characterize some Christian conversions, but current spiritual commitments are often the result of a journey of important religious “passages.” Hence, “In her widely cited work on cults of possession and Pentecostalism in Brazil, Patricia Birman introduces the concept of ‘passages’ between and within religious traditions rather than clear-cut conversion” (Steigenga and Cleary 2007:6). Birman’s contribution to the study of conversion is helpful in delineating and analyzing the convergent

paths that have led some Latin Americans and U.S. Latinos to the Anglican Communion; many have travelled through various passages within and between Protestantism and Catholicism. The term passages thus may carry more explanatory power not only for scholars of religious change but the converts themselves.

Despite its problems for both observers and religious adherents, scholars are reluctant to completely jettison the traditional Pauline understanding of religious conversion; many have, though, qualified that model, expanding conversion to include a continuum of religious change onto which a Pauline break with the past remains a relevant, though not exclusive, indicator: “While the Pauline paradigm of conversion as a sudden, dramatic, and all-encompassing event certainly has a place within a continuum of conversion, uncritical acceptance of such a paradigm can cause us to miss important data and processes related to conversion” (Steigenga and Cleary 2007:7). The religious transitions of most of the participants in my study belie the simplistic notion of pre- and post-conversion religious life. The Pauline paradigm appears occasionally in my interviews with informants, but multiple religious changes over a period of time—some subtle, others dramatic—are more frequent.

Combined with religious passages, Henri Gooren’s appropriation of “conversion careers” provides a useful framework for measuring the religious transitions that have led some Latin Americans and U.S. Latinos to convergent settings. He explains,

The conversion career approach goes beyond the Pauline idea of conversion as a unique and once-in-a-lifetime experience, categorizing levels of conversion (pre-affiliation, affiliation, conversion, confession, and disaffiliation) and outlining the key factors that our approach identifies as essential in the conversion career (social, institutional, cultural, personality and contingency factors) (Gooren 2007:66).

In this chapter I elucidate a connection between Gooren’s study of conversion careers and Christian calling that takes seriously “the narrative constitution and ordering of culture” (Smith 2010:80).

I discuss the experiences of Latin American men whose conversions coincided with journeys to the United States. The men in this study found a spiritual setting which oriented them to a world in which they and their newfound co-religionists are an ethnic minority. The xenophobia that continues apace among some segments of the United States can encourage cultural solidarity among the marginalized, and by combining religious elements that are segregated in countries of origin, Latin American immigrants in the United States may help foster pan-Latino unity.

The conversion careers I treat in this chapter, however, do not exclusively show signs of “instrumental rationality” (Smilde 2007:48). That is, my informants did not make convergent Christian transitions only to address the experiences of disruption and concomitant feelings of dis-ease they felt during unstable times, even though personal religious change played a part in ameliorating those distresses. Rather the focus of this chapter is on moral agents who experienced the harsh constriction of boundaries and found that a more expansive view of Christianity, than the one they previously held, resonated with their diverse set of meaningful relationships and their desire to live both a truthful and inclusive view of divine love. Although the bounds of that inclusivity have been structured by the different institutions in which they currently live their religion, the salience of calling in their conversion careers is equally compelling and illuminating in both accounts.

### **The Concept of Calling**

For many sociologists of religion the term “calling” evokes a famous work from German sociologist Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber draws a connection between the Protestant conception of calling, “a task set by God” (2002:39) and the development of Western capitalism. Weber argues that prior to the Protestant Reformation, the notion of calling was relegated to the priesthood and monasteries. In Weber’s view, the German

Reformer Martin Luther expanded that notion in the sixteenth century: “The only way of living acceptably to God was not to surpass worldly morality in monastic asceticism, but solely through the fulfillment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world. That was his calling” (2002:40). Luther overcame an anxiety about sin by stressing salvation by grace through faith alone; this liberating doctrine freed him to explore the varieties of callings and vocations in which common Christians could carry out good works, without having to measure the relative merits each deed might provide for salvation. He thus expanded the notion of calling to the quotidian sphere.

Besides Luther, John Calvin is a crucial Reformation figure in Weber’s study. Calvin was a former French lawyer who spearheaded the Reformation in Geneva in the sixteenth century and brought the rigors of a rational legal mind to bear on Protestant theology. According to Calvin, God elects recipients of grace for salvation. In Weber’s view, many first-generation Puritans in the United States, who adhered to Calvin’s idea of predestination, were secure in their salvation because their sustained religious enthusiasm and devotion demonstrated God’s election.

As those commitments waned in ensuing generations, however, there was widespread spiritual angst over questions of salvation. There was little assurance of salvation for those for whom religious activities held minimal appeal. Weber argues that in the nineteenth century the perceived signs that God had elected a person for salvation shifted from the traditional markers of spiritual regeneration to an economic imprint. These Puritans began to believe that they were called to certain economic tasks and that the acquisition of wealth proved their election; the proper response to such blessing was thought to be investment of wealth. Eventually that ethos ran off of its spiritual rails until the Protestant ethic was enclosed in an “iron cage” of secular capitalism.

The role of calling among the participants in my study was not explicitly tied to material improvement; nor do they focus their perception of a divine call on a particular profession. Rather, in Geertzian terms the discourse of calling acted as a “model of and a model for” (Geertz 1973:93) various religious decisions in these participants’ lives. It was important for many immigrants to believe in hindsight that their steps had been directed by divine foresight, even if such planning felt haphazard at the time; it was also important for many of my interviewees to believe that they were called by God to particular religious functions, which gave them esteem they lacked in their sometimes marginalized social positions. In this sense, calling is a model of their mobile reality: the discourse of calling becomes a portable cognitive map, the contours of which are constantly updated as bodies move across different geographical and religious spaces. Since their combinations of faith expose them to various Christian borders, the idea that individuals are called to certain religiously-inspired tasks can also help them navigate a pluralistic Christian landscape, or “marketplace,” where competing options abound.

Here, calling becomes a model for Christian living. The trope of calling can facilitate shifts in religious affiliation, when believers trust that God is calling them to do so, and paradoxically it can also help people dwell in new religious spaces, by providing a sense of divine rootedness in the spaces where they will respond to further callings for particular tasks. That is not to say that a sense of calling to a particular religious community precludes the potential appeal of religious competitors from other churches, denominations or even other religions. Calling does seem, though, to relativize such appeals, since a convergent Christian may affirm the truth-claims of another Christian institution without feeling compelled to switch denominations or churches—unless she or he feels “called” to do so.

The concept of calling also helps to make sense of the kinds of changes in Christian affiliation which have led to convergent expressions of Christianity. Convergent Christians are more likely to recognize a plurality of viable and authentic Christian structures. When they explain how they have come to settle (at least temporarily) in one particular spiritual home, they do not generally talk about the ineluctable appeal of a particular church style, or convincing theological ideas and practices of a particular church, but rather God's call in leading and fitting that individual to that particular congregation. More broadly, then, calling is an increasingly relevant trope to understand the ethos for ecclesiastical association in a globalized Christian context, where people are increasingly aware of church options, and where they perceive that viable and authentic choices abound.

### **Conversion Careers and Testimonies**

In outlining his application of conversion careers to the Latin American religious landscape, Henri Gooren complains that scholarship on conversion has been myopic. "Few authors actually write out the conversion stories of their informants." (Gooren 2007:55). According to Gooren, this lack of attention to an entire life trajectory contracts conversion accounts into misleading models, which can not fit the breadth and width of subtle changes in religious affiliation (or disaffiliation). In this chapter, I analyze two conversion careers in-depth, which are drawn from interviews and participant-observation at my U.S. Latino case studies in Fort Worth, Texas and Northern Florida. Both men in these cases have traveled across far-reaching geographical spaces before joining their current convergent Christian affiliations. In these two cases there seems to be a connection between geographic, cultural and religious passages. In both accounts, the idea of Christian calling is central to their new convergent affiliations. I will thus adapt Gooren's use of conversion careers to my own model of religious transition, in which calling is the most salient theme.

### **First Life History: David's Catholic Call to Anglicanism**

Today at the threshold of the diminutive sanctuary of Iglesia San Bartolome, David looks regal. Draped in a white liturgical gown, he also wears a confident smile. He is a regular lay preacher and leader at a sister church of Iglesia San Bartolome, called Iglesia San Lazaro, and while San Bartolome's vicar, Father Juan Reyes, is in Mexico, David has an opportunity to hone his preaching skills in a less familiar environment. He greets parishioners at Iglesia San Bartolome with all the poise one would expect of a seasoned veteran of ministry, but by most standards he is a rookie. Although he is taking ministerial exams, David is not yet ordained and his undocumented status in the country is complicating efforts to move him along an unconventional track to the Anglican priesthood.

David is in his mid-thirties, but his schedule would be grueling for even younger men. He must consistently draw on reserves of energy to meet his multiple commitments: besides his liturgical duties at San Lazaro, David is a devoted husband and father of two, and he works full-time as a construction worker. As a child in Mexico he wanted to be a priest. Back then, though, there was no question that his ministry would be in the Catholic Church. His journey from the Catholic Church in Mexico to the Anglican Church in Texas had many gradual passages, some of which David was not even aware of at the time they occurred.

#### **Catholic Formation in Mexico**

It takes some creativity to map David's conversion career on Henri Gooren's paradigmatic continuum, but when my explanation of calling is added to the various elements of that scale, David's subtle strides toward convergence become more visible and comprehensible. From David's account, he was immersed in Catholicism from a young age, an imposed spiritual formation that manifested with vigor when he was confronted with a religious alternative: the eager Evangelicalism of his best friend.

David was raised in a Mexican town in Chihuahua, and he estimates that when he was growing up the town's population ranged from 100,000 to 150,000, with a thin middle class and a much larger group of people making a subsistence living. His own family was from the "*clase baja*," or lower class. Both of his parents were devoted Catholics. Before David was born, his father sought local government support to build a Catholic parish in his town. David's father was also part of a Catholic men's group which maintained perpetual adoration of the consecrated host (or wafer bread), thought in Catholic terminology to be the "transubstantiated" body of Christ. When he was three, David's mother got a job working for the church. She cleaned and cooked for the priests in the city and brought young David along. By his own accounts, he was "immersed in the life of priests and seminarians." He began to help the priests in their masses while his mother worked. From ages five to fourteen David was a devoted assistant to various priests in the city.

When David was twelve, a wealthy friend of the family offered him the opportunity to travel to Spain and then to Rome to study for the priesthood. The wealthy patron was willing to cover the vast majority of the expenses for David's prospective seminary education. Since David was the youngest in the family, his mother refused and said it would be better to wait some years before making a decision of that kind. The prospect of having two sons living abroad might have been too much to bear for his mother, even if she would have felt Catholic pride to see David become a priest. She was not averse, though, to David travelling.

When he was ten, David began to occasionally travel with his parents to the U.S. They had relatives in El Paso, Texas, and one of David's older brothers had immigrated to San Fernando Valley, California at thirteen. The family kept close contact with him, and eventually

David joined his mother and father on visits to his brother, which in some periods took place annually and at other times every two years.

David remained involved in the church even after his mother denied his early track to the priesthood, a decision which he found disappointing. He led a Catholic youth group until he was fourteen. David recalls a nine-month period when he accompanied his mother to mass six days a week at seven in the morning (there was no mass on Saturdays). David enjoyed this religious regimen.

At fourteen, though, he began to work more frequently for his brother, who was involved in a printing business, and David had little time leftover to help in the church. He continued to attend mass every week for a time, but he gradually gave “less value to the church,” and focused on work. David dropped out of high school in his final year because he believed his studies were a financial burden on his family. From the age of twelve, he had worked for his brothers during summer vacations in the printing business, and he now left high school at eighteen to join them full-time.

David’s spiritual re-awakening came at twenty-one when his best friend returned from a life-altering retreat in an Evangelical church called Calvary Temple. Bursting with evangelistic fervor, the friend began to pepper David with biblical questions, claiming that the Catholic Church had strayed from scriptural foundations. Confronted with these accusations, a deep well of Catholic formation bubbled to the surface. David answered the pointed questions with agility and calm, surprising even himself. “I was remembering things from my youth that I didn’t even know I knew.” The Protestant challenge ironically renewed David’s devotion to the Catholic Church, but it also left him with lingering doubts. “I said, if I have been travelling on a ship with bad stuff, I can’t get rid of those things outside of the ship; I need to get into the boat and fix

those things, or at least understand why they are there and if they are really bad after all.” He thus stayed in the Catholic Church despite some misgivings.

David wanted to get back in the boat at a point where he could move about inconspicuously. “I returned to the church, but I decided to go to a part of the city where no one knew me.” He had no interest in a reception as a prodigal son; he wanted time-honored answers for his new questions and he sought a free space, unencumbered by familial bonds and ties of friendship, to raise them frankly. His Evangelical friend claimed that Popes had deviated from scripture and created their own dogmas. David explains, “I just wanted to go and find out the difference between dogma and scripture.”

David raised his questions in the Catholic Church but he also found himself teaching others. In a youth group, a leader asked for volunteers to teach about baptism. A young woman raised her hand first. David was the second to answer the call. As a baptismal instructor, David learned the finer points of Catholic theology and returned to his Evangelical friend ready to discuss their differences. He describes their subsequent conversations on adult vs. infant baptism as amicable. David was practicing Christian pluralism, learning to negotiate difference with reason, biblical literacy, and a sense of historical Christian doctrine. Notably, he did not expect either side to switch ecclesiastical allegiances.

Since David would eventually land in the convergent setting of U.S. Latino Anglicanism, which David himself describes as a “*via media*” between Protestantism and Catholicism, the encounter with his Protestant friend fits the “pre-affiliation stage” of Gooren’s model. “Pre-affiliation is the term used here to describe the worldview and social context of potential members of a religious group in their first contacts to assess whether they would like to affiliate themselves on a more formal basis” (2007:53). In his initially contentious and eventually

peaceful interreligious encounter with the Evangelical friend, David took his first tentative steps toward Christian pluralism: a discursive religious context in which Protestant and Catholic ideas coexist peacefully in the same space without resolution. It is thus telling that he and his friend debated issues of adult vs. child baptism and never expected to convert the other to his position.

David would eventually find institutional space for these fledgling dialogues in the Anglican Communion, and thus the informal theological debates with his Mexican Evangelical friend seem to comprise a pre-affiliation stage of conversion to Christian convergence. For other informants in my study, the pre-affiliation stage involved a romantic relationship in which one of the partners was Protestant and the other Catholic. That was not the case for David, but a relationship would play an important role in his continued religious journey.

### **A Mobile Mexican Marriage**

David married his co-instructor from the baptism classes, Maria, in August 1996, and together they moved to Phoenix, Arizona. He explains that “it wasn’t so tough during that time period; there wasn’t so much pressure from the government about issues of immigration. There was more flexibility to get a job, to find the means to survive, and to create an economic future.” Before coming to the United States, David was making what he describes as “good money” in Mexico and Maria had worked as an accountant for Firestone. They did not, then, immigrate because of overwhelming financial exigencies. David explains that they only planned to live in the U.S. for three or four years, before returning to Mexico to begin their own business.

Maria’s father died in Mexico while Maria was eight months pregnant in Arizona. She was unable to travel because of the pregnancy. A few months after giving birth to their son, her grandfather also passed away. This time she returned to Mexico to be with the family, and David, after selling the few possessions they had in the United States, followed suit shortly

thereafter. With all of these complications, they had not been able to save the money that they had hoped, and found themselves in Mexico considering a return to the United States.

In 1998, they decided they would move to Dallas, Texas. David would go first, preparing the place for Maria, who would join her husband months later. In Dallas, David acquired jobs in restaurants and construction. After considering the future opportunities of their young American-born son, the family decided to put down permanent, though undocumented, roots in the United States.

Even though their courtship had begun in an obviously spiritual setting, the couple had trouble maintaining those religious commitments, partly because of David's busy work schedule. He was working seven days a week from sunup to sundown. David attributes their infrequent attendance at church to the overwhelming economic demands on a young family, which leave little desire or effort for spiritual devotion. "We didn't come [to the U.S.] with religious or spiritual goals. We came with the goal of working and making money. We put aside cultural and religious aspects of life. We came to work, work, work." This fits a pattern identified by scholars of Latina/o religion and immigration: "Since many Latinos are interested in achieving a piece of the American dream, they often work long hours, frequently at two or even more jobs. The heavy work schedule leaves precious little time and energy to become involved in religious organization" (Vásquez, et al. 2009:15). When they would occasionally attend church, David and his wife went to a Spanish-speaking Catholic service in Dallas.

David eventually visited a friend in Fort Worth and compared its relative merits to Dallas. By David's accounts, Fort Worth seemed safer than Dallas, with less traffic and similar employment opportunities. The family decided to move to Fort Worth at the end of 1998. They would also in that year move church traditions—without even realizing.

## **From Catholicism in Mexico to Catholicism in the Episcopal Church**

David had friends who were seeking help with immigration documents and had learned that a church called San Andres in Fort Worth was offering assistance. After these friends joined San Andres, David and his wife began to attend regularly. There was nothing strikingly new about these services and thus David and his wife assumed it was Catholic: “We didn’t know that it was an Episcopal Church.” According to David, there was a confusion of association. “Normally when you see a church in the name of a saint, you assume that it is Catholic.” Neither had they noticed that the priest was married; they had never seen Father Jose and his wife together because these two would often take care of separate ministerial duties after the services. David stresses that there are very few differences between an Episcopal service in Fort Worth and a Catholic mass: “More than anything, there are a few minor differences in the liturgy.” They attended San Andres regularly for almost three years, assuming they were in a Catholic Church.

At the beginning of 2001 San Andres offered a course called Alpha, an introduction to Christianity which originated in a Charismatic Anglican church in London called Holy Trinity Brompton.

The Alpha course began in the 1980s and was consistently nurtured under the watchful and value-shaping eye of Sandy Millar. Nicky Gumbel took over running Alpha at Holy Trinity Brompton in the fall of 1990. Gumbel soon realized that the course had evangelistic potential for those outside the church. Over a period of a few years, Nicky, using his keen mind and practical experience, adjusted the course to fit the conversation of those outside the church (Hunter 2010:101).

Nicky Gumbel redesigned Alpha so that Christians and spiritual seekers of various sorts could discuss a variety of Christian themes, such as the Bible, healing, and other basic theological issues, through an engaging video series. Alpha is meant to take place in a relaxed atmosphere in which participants discuss these themes over a shared meal. David spoke with Maria and the

two decided that this was an opportunity to re-engage with church life and to deepen their involvement beyond Sunday attendance.

Their newfound religious commitment coincided with a burgeoning change to their immigrant outlook. David clarifies that at this point they had decided to “establish themselves and put down roots” in the U.S., a contrast from their erstwhile view of the country as an interim means of financial gain. During the Alpha course, they found out that they had been putting down spiritual roots in foreign territory. In the first session a lay leader explained to David’s group that they were not in a Catholic Church.

This was a “huge shock” to David. David explains: “It had never even crossed my mind that I would leave the Catholic Church. My wife felt the same way.” They were suddenly at a crossroads. “A little while later, we had to face a decision of whether to return to the Catholic Church or continue attending this [Episcopal] church.”

David’s experience in the Episcopal Church is an ironic example of what Gooren calls the “affiliation stage.” “Affiliation refers to being a formal member of a religious group. However, group membership does not necessarily form a central aspect of one’s life or identity” (Gooren 2007:53). As a regular participant in Sunday masses at San Andres, David was a formal member of that religious group, but he did not realize that he had shifted Christian affiliations.

Obviously, then, Episcopalianism was not central to his identity. Other U.S. Latina/o informants in my study also began to attend an Anglican or Episcopalian church regularly before they realized that it was not Catholic.

In the midway point of the Alpha course, David and Maria decided to leave San Andres and seek out a Roman Catholic parish. A co-worker of David’s wife invited them to a Charismatic Catholic mass. David and Maria had participated in the Charismatic Catholic

Renewal in Mexico and were eager to be reacquainted with this vibrant form of faith. Before the celebration of the Eucharist, the Charismatic Catholic priest speculated about possible prayer concerns in the congregation. “You might not know why you are here. You might not know your mission. Why don’t you ask God what your mission is?” David realized that the priest was referring to concerns that an immigrant might have in the United States. David surmised that the priest’s underlying question was, “What is my role in the United States?” For David, those questions had a more specific connotation. Driving home after the service, Maria asked “What did you pray?” David responded, “I asked that God give us a sign of what we should do, whether we should go to the Catholic Church or the Episcopal Church.” Amazed, Maria exclaimed, “I prayed the exact same thing!” Thereafter, David began to pray, “I want to be where you [God] want me to be.”

A few weeks later, they received a call from Father Jose from the Episcopal Church San Andres, explaining that they missed David and Maria and wanted to offer them an invitation. The diocese would be hosting Spanish-speaking *cursillos* in Dallas for the first time and Padre Jose “wanted to know if we were interested in participating in these *cursillos*.” This invitation was, David decided, their answer to prayer and a sign toward their ecclesiastical calling.

Just as David had been a priest’s assistant for those many years in Mexico, he now wanted to offer his services to Father Jose and San Andres. Gooren discusses calling as “church assignment” and reports that carrying out specific duties after a new affiliation with a church helps sustain newfound conversions (especially Mormon conversions) (2007:65). Committing to volunteer in the church immediately after recognizing a call to switch Christian affiliations seemed to solidify David’s choice. David explains, though, that he was a novice when it came to Episcopalian theology. “At that point, I didn’t know what differences there were between the

Catholic and Episcopal Church.” Father Jose began to provide him with resources to read about the Episcopal Church. David says that even though the transition from Catholicism to Episcopalianism was not a huge leap, there were two salient changes in his religious identity, both of which have to do with calling.

He claims that in hindsight he had always attended the Catholic Church out of obligation. “No one ever asked me if I wanted to go.” By contrast, he views his attendance and leadership in the Episcopal Church as voluntary: “I go because I want to go.” David’s sense of voluntarism is paradoxical. He felt called by God to the Episcopal Church in response to prayers in which he had promised God, “I want to go where you want me to go.” As David frames his experience, the calling was a submission to divine mandate. Still, that calling created a feeling of voluntarism, making David feel that he had made a choice about church involvement for the first time in his life.

This contradicts earlier parts of his conversion narrative. After all, David had recounted his enthusiasm for attending the Catholic Church in Mexico, even when that commitment was potentially wearying (six days a week). Also, after his initial religious disputes with his Evangelical friend, he exercised agency by attending a Catholic parish where no one knew him. David Smilde’s comments on the “meaning systems” of converts are relevant here: “We can make sense of such seeming contradiction if we remember to think of a meaning *system* not as a rigorous structure but as a loosely integrated *repertoire* of meanings that are often multiple and contradictory” (Smilde 2007:125). In addition to appreciating this ambivalence in David’s narrative it is important to consider what was absent from his personal narrative about his participation in the Catholic Church: namely, the language of calling.

David may have felt the same sense of voluntarism had he believed that God led him back to the Catholic Church, rather than the Episcopal Church. If so, the important part of his decision to join the Episcopal Church was not the ultimate result but rather the paradoxical sense of freedom and calling that led to such a decision. Calling seems to have provided David with a new measuring rod for meaningful religious change, marking one event as especially significant on a map of multiple religious transitions. There was freedom in choosing an adult path rather than walking a course set from infancy, and there was meaning in selecting one that he believed God had specifically chosen. For a person whose passages from Mexico to the United States and back had seemed haphazardly driven by the vagaries of life, death, and economic demands, calling seems to have created a sense of direction and meaning.

The second change to David's religious identity involves lived ecumenism, which I define as shared dialogue and experience across denominational differences. "I love that within the Episcopal Church, you find extremes between Protestantism at one end and Catholicism at the other. There really are some enormous differences but if you don't believe in the Virgin of Guadalupe and I do, it doesn't matter, because we are not united by our differences but what we hold in common, which is Jesus Christ." David says that these ecumenical sensibilities contrast sharply with what he learned in the Catholic Church in Mexico. "In the Catholic Church they taught us that you have to be Catholic to go to heaven." When David evangelizes now, he does not call Protestants to become Catholics or vice versa; instead, he uses the common denominator of Jesus as his rallying point.

Since David is married it would be much more difficult for him to become a priest in the Catholic Church. I wondered whether the possibilities for priesthood that he has in the Anglican Church might have been a freighted factor tipping his decision in favor of the Episcopal over the

Catholic Church. He insists, though, that even if it were clear that his already difficult path to Anglican priesthood would become impossible, he would like to remain Anglican, as long as he could be in a parish where he was needed. The sense of calling converging with need keeps him open to a range of ecclesiastical possibilities. “I would like to be in the *via media* (middle way). I can’t say that I would never return to the Catholic Church, or that I would never go to a Protestant Church. I want to go where God wants me and where I can be most effectively used to meet the needs of the people.” David’s reflection on the potential for new callings echoes what Max Weber said about Puritan possibilities for change: “Even a change of calling is by no means regarded as objectionable, if it is not thoughtless and is made for the purpose of pursuing a calling more pleasing to God, which means, on general principles, one more useful.” (108). David’s initially unwitting transition to a different ecclesiastical affiliation has been reformulated in the language and experience of calling, and it is that sense of guidance which he claims will direct his future ecclesiastical choices. This is not mere rhetoric since discourses comprise part of the material forces at work in lived religion. As Manuel Vásquez points out, “the practitioners’ appeals to the supernatural, god(s), the sacred, or the holy have powerful material consequences for how they build their identities, narratives, practices, and environments” (Vásquez 2010:5). The discourse of calling has weighty significance for David and others on convergent Christian paths.

### **Assessing the Explanatory Power of “Conversion” in David’s Case**

Did David eventually convert to Anglicanism? “Conversion, used here in a limited sense, refers to a (radical) personal change of worldview and identity. It is based both on self-report and on attribution by others” (Steigenga and Cleary 2007:53). Although David’s experience is not typical of conversion, I believe it was sufficiently radical to be considered a conversion. He was once a faithful Roman Catholic in Mexico who was taught that the Catholic Church had a

monopoly on salvation. He consistently attended Episcopal Church services in Fort Worth for three years before realizing that he was not in a Catholic Church. He made a decision to return to the Catholic Church, but changed course after seeking divine guidance about where he should be. He and Maria reported to one another that they shared prayers for an ecclesiastical call, and they collectively recognized Father Jose's literal phone call about Spanish *cursillos* as God's higher spiritual call to church affiliation in the Anglican Communion.

In one respect, it is difficult to consider these changes as radical, especially since the similarities between Catholic and Episcopal faith practices are so abundant that David did not recognize differences for three years. Nevertheless, David has now studied Anglican Christianity in-depth and some changes to his religious affiliation have been dramatic. He is now Christocentric, focusing on Jesus as a bridge across differences of denomination or ecclesiastical tradition. This has radically reoriented him to a new set of relational associations with people of both Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. The radical change in worldview and identity becomes clear when testing David's fit to the confessional stage of conversion.

"Confession is a theological term for a core member of identity, describing a high level of participation inside the new religious group and a strong 'missionary attitude' toward non-members outside of the group" (Gooren 2007:53). David has a strong missionary attitude but he is not focused solely on drawing outsiders into his group, since his Christian pluralism encourages a different missionary ethos. In the past he was taught that Protestants were beyond the pale of heavenly salvation, but he now worships alongside people who still identify in that fashion; he assures both Catholics and Protestants alike that salvation is mediated by Christ alone, not through Protestant or Catholic passports to heaven.

Clifford Geertz famously argued that religious ideas take visible form through a ritual process he described as “clothing conceptions.” In keeping with this metaphor, the Anglican tag on David’s “clothing” signals that this particular religious identity fits him well, but the tag is not always visible to outsiders and he seems just as willing to cut it off should God so request. It is as if, though, there is a large JC emblazoned permanently and prominently on all that David wears. This Christocentricism is, for David, a non-negotiable identifier at the heart of his Christian and cultural identity.

When I ask David, for example, how he would respond if someone asked him what religion he is, he avoids denominational labels and points emphatically to Jesus.

Many people have asked me that question. I say, before talking about my religion, why don’t we talk about Jesus Christ, what he did for me, how he has changed my life, and how he can change yours? If your way of thinking fits with the way of thinking of the church where I attend, you are welcome to come to my church, but if you already attend a church, allow me to suggest that you take a step forward and begin to work where you are. For me the important thing is not that the person changes what s/he believes or changes her/his view of Christ to fit my view. The important thing for me is that the person attributes change in her/his life to Jesus Christ.

As I point out in the case study of San Bartolome, Evangelicals tend to use the discourse of Christianity as relationship rather than a religion in order to distinguish the call to personal professions of faith from other ritual activities in different Christian traditions, or in other religions. David does not use this rhetoric in triumphal fashion; rather, he diminishes the importance of religious labels so that he can build bridges between sometimes competing faith traditions (Evangelicalism and Catholicism) within his cultural group. He preached this same message during a sermon I witnessed in Fort Worth, which took place before my interview with him.

David’s reluctance to make widespread appeals for others to join his group makes him an unlikely candidate for what Gooren calls “confession.” Like the other aspects of David’s

conversion career, though, this categorization becomes much more meaningful if we add a sense of calling to the mix. David has been radically converted to an Anglican worldview, which views Catholicism and Protestantism as potentially equal contributors to a Christocentric message of salvation. When he speaks of possibly changing Christian affiliations in the future, he means that God may call him to live this pluralistic outlook in a different denominational or ecclesiastical setting. Likewise, he is not a less enthusiastic missionary in the confessional stage than those with clearer denominational affiliations; he is rather one whose confession to others is inextricably tied to calling; he believes that God called him to occupy a particular room in the broad Christian house of God, and he is sensitive to the potentially diverse callings of those with whom he shares the Gospel message.

### **Second Life History: Jaime's Journey to Dual Citizenship and Convergent Conversion**

Calling is also a crucial theme in the religious passages and conversions in the life of a sixty-five year old man, whom I will call Jaime, at Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro in Northern Florida. Like David, Jaime is now an active lay leader in a convergent setting, and his religious passages coincided with geographical travels from Latin America to the United States. In Jaime's hindsight, those sometimes perilous journeys were part of God's providential plan to move him exactly where he needed to be. Jaime, like David, believes he was called by God to his convergent congregation, but unlike David, calling also frames Jaime's new attitudes toward human sexuality, beliefs which have helped him move with the progressive institutional flow of his church.

### **Circular Passages between Guatemala and the U.S.**

Jaime grew up in Puerto San Jose in Escuintla, Guatemala under the nourishing but indigent care of his single mother. His father abandoned his mother when he was young, leaving her to work to feed two boys and a girl. "We were extremely poor," Jaime remembers ruefully.

In Guatemala, they went to the Catholic Church in San Jose infrequently and on special occasions. He participated in the town festival for its patron saint, but he estimates that as a youth he would only attend mass three times a year.

While the Church had passing appeal for Jaime, his devotion to soccer was steadfast. His goalie skills developed so rapidly that he was selected for a municipal team at eighteen, and subsequently caught the attention of a professional team from Guatemala City. He was twenty-two when the famous Los Rojos (the Reds) contracted him to defend the goal in their bitter rivalry against Los Cremas (the Whites) and other major league opponents. Two years later, an injury halted his foray into the professional field. He studied to become a fire fighter in Guatemala City and after a period of volunteer services he earned a steady salary.

City life was dramatically different for Jaime. “The movement of people is quicker and there is greater congestion of people; there were very few people in my hometown. The biggest change [from town to city life] was that in the city you have to go around buying this, buying that. In my town, if I wanted a lemon, I would grab it off one of the trees.” Bryan Roberts has documented the propensity for Guatemalan Catholics to convert to Pentecostalism during urban transitions of this kind (1968). Jaime, though, had no interest in trying out a different Christian fold. He had a Pentecostal neighbor who continually invited him to church, but Jaime always rejected these appeals.

Although Jaime was not interested in moving church traditions, he had geographical passages on his mind. His brother had moved to New York and his sister and mother to New Jersey in 1972. Jaime left Guatemala for New York in 1973 where he worked undocumented at a factory. After three years, the INS showed up and imprisoned anyone they found without immigration papers. The physical aggression they used to detain the workers was traumatic for

Jaime; that a Colombian inmate hung himself during the week that Jaime was imprisoned in Manhattan was even more haunting. Jaime used the money he had saved from his factory work to pay the bail, and after his release he was given three months to return to Guatemala. He left a month later in December, 1975. Upon his return to Guatemala, he started a business which he continued for nine years. In 1984, his sister traveled to Guatemala from New Jersey and persuaded Jaime to return with her to the United States.

After returning to the United States, Jaime's sister became a Pentecostal, and testified to her mother about salvation and spirit baptism before she too was converted. Soon afterward, Jaime felt compelled forward to "accept Christ as his Savior" at a Pentecostal service in New Jersey, with his mother and sister watching with glowing approval. He was visiting his sister at this time before making his way to Queens. In Queens, he began to attend a Catholic Church, but clarifies, "Really, I didn't feel anything there." It is not clear why Jaime did not seek out a Pentecostal church in Queens after his conversion in New Jersey. In our interview, he noted that Catholicism was familiar, and thus without the social network of his family, perhaps venturing to a Pentecostal church without them was daunting. His social network did, however, expand in Queens. He married a Guatemalan woman there and they had a child.

Jaime worried that Queens was a dangerous environment to raise a child given the ubiquity of cocaine dealing and other nefarious activities. After visiting his brother-in-law in Northern Florida, Jaime and his wife decided that Florida was a better alternative to Queens. They moved there in 1995. If his first conversion in the Pentecostal church did not stick, a coincidental encounter in Florida led him on a convergent path where he has remained for nine years.

### **A Convergent Church Experience**

Jaime got a job working in a retirement home in Jacksonville and needed to take a cooking course downtown. When Jaime entered the office for the course, he met a fellow Latino who

asked him in Spanish whether he was new to town. When Jaime answered in the affirmative, the man followed by asking whether Jaime had found a church. Jaime describes this meeting as a divine encounter, a kind of holy convergence of the Catholic and Pentecostal paths he had travelled in Guatemala, New Jersey and New York.

The stranger handed Jaime a card and explained that he was a co-priest at a church in the city. Familiar with Catholic services and, to a lesser extent, Pentecostal settings, Jaime asked what kind of church it was. The priest gave the perfect sales pitch for a man like Jaime, who was weary and a little confused from his geographic and religious travels: “Look, what is the church that you want? Is it a Protestant Church? Is it a Catholic Church? Because the church where I am has everything. It has Catholic elements, Protestant elements—it is a mix of everything. I know that you are going to like it.” The priest was right. Jaime was enthralled:

What I liked was that I found what I was basically accustomed to. I was accustomed to Catholicism. I liked this. But I also liked that the church had Protestant aspects as well: everything was mixed. They had Bible studies, and they ask that you bring a Bible with you to church. The Catholic Church does not do that kind of thing. But the service was similar. I thought to myself, if the service is similar to what I like and they want us to bring a Bible, I am going to study the Bible.

It seems that Jaime has found a pleasing balance between the liturgical form of Catholicism and the biblical emphasis of Protestantism. Ruben P. Armendariz observes, “Through Bible reading, Bible study, Bible-centered instruction, and preaching, Protestant Hispanics convert to a disciplined way of life that has been defined as puritan in content and action” (1999:248). For Jaime, there is no comparison between his previous religious passages and his commitment to his new church, which at the time was called Misión San Juan of the CEC.

Since the ethos of Misión San Juan involved combining Pentecostal and Catholic aspects of faith, Jaime’s long history in the Catholic Church and his brief conversion in the Pentecostal church in New Jersey all comprise a pre-affiliation stage to his current religious commitment.

But that pre-affiliation is complicated by the weighty legacy of his conversion in the Pentecostal church. The Pentecostal conversion did not initially manifest in active and satisfying church attendance, and he never sought out a Pentecostal church to attend in Queens. That experience did, however, give Jaime language for his relationship to God, a vocabulary which still shapes the contours of his conversion narrative.

Jaime uses, for example, an interesting mix of terms to describe his religious state before his Pentecostal conversion. He says that he “did not know the Lord,” but he considered himself a *cristiano* (literally, Christian) since he still “went to mass from time to time.” In the divided context of Evangelical and Catholic faith in Guatemala, the term “*cristiano*” is generally reserved for Evangelical Christians (Smilde 2007:29-30). Both Protestants and Catholics reinforce this religious divide, using “*católico*” for Catholics and “*cristiano*” for Evangelical Protestants. It seems more likely that Jaime would have considered himself a *católico*, rather than a *cristiano* before his Pentecostal conversion, but since he now views both Protestants and Catholics as authentic Christians, *cristiano* is a kind of anachronistic and retrospective term that means “follower of Christ.” Like Iris from Iglesia San Bartolome in Fort Worth, Jaime has inherited the sociolinguistic terms of religious division in Latin America, but he has appropriated that language to fit his budding Christian pluralism.

### **Convergent Motivations to Leave a Worldly Lifestyle**

The language of “knowing the Lord” is also usually restricted to those Protestant environs where conversion experiences of “accepting Jesus as Lord and Savior” are commonplace. Jaime eventually found a convergent setting in Misión San Juan, where Catholicism and Protestantism are both valorized, and his current descriptions of his previous spiritual state now reflect that hybrid worldview. He now says that it was in the convergent church where he “really got converted.” Still, his litmus test for conversion is “knowing the Lord,” a discourse of spiritual

authenticity he learned in the Pentecostal service and which he used later to test the authenticity of his religious change in Misión San Juan. Classical Pentecostals in Latin American and U.S. Latino contexts are notorious for religious asceticism, usually classifying alcohol and smoking as not only unhealthy activities, but ungodly ones. Jaime says that after his Pentecostal conversion, he continued to smoke and drink. After joining Misión San Juan (which would become Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro), by contrast, he left behind “things of the world,” including drinking and smoking.

Ruben P. Armendariz points out that the imaginary threshold of U.S. Latina/o conversion to Protestantism is sometimes located, by the convert, at a point of personal ethics. “Although conversion may mean accepting Protestant tenets of faith, the deeper meaning is found in leaving a Roman Catholic way of life and adhering to a Protestant way of life” (1999:248). Jaime, though, left a way of life that he could not abandon in either Catholic or Pentecostal settings. Jaime implies that he was called to a convergent congregation, combining features of both Protestantism and Catholicism. Nevertheless he seems to measure the impact of his calling to this convergent setting with Pentecostal principles: that is, the degree to which he was able to reject perceived “worldly activities.”

### **Calling to Service**

Soon after attending Misión San Juan for the first time, Jaime volunteered to help in the church. He was initially assigned the role of projectionist, but found that the previous leader in the position was too impatient in giving him direction. When a need for a greeter at the door arose, Jaime jumped at the opportunity. Jaime is now one of the first faces whom a newcomer sees at Iglesia Episcopal San Pedro. His business casual attire fits his professional and friendly demeanor at the door. He also leads a groups of ushers, and directs people when and where to enter the altar rail to receive Holy Communion. Indeed, Jaime seems ever-present in the

multiple interstices of worship at San Pedro. Jaime's broader calling to affiliation with the church was thus cemented by a more specific calling to service.

Calling also helped Jaime make sense of the institutional transition from Misión San Juan in the International Communion of Charismatic Episcopal Churches to Iglesia San Pedro of the TEC. He admits that initially the only thing he knew about the Episcopal Church before they joined was that there was a gay bishop in the church. He wasn't happy about that. He returned, though, to the lens of "calling" and reinterpreted the reality of a non-traditional figure in such a high ecclesiastical position through that prism. "If God has him [V. Gene Robinson] there, God knows his purposes. I am not the person to judge. There are probably people who don't like that I am the greeter of the church but God has me there and when God doesn't want me there any longer, he will move me." This extension of calling from the personal to the institutional realm reflects what Weber said about the egalitarian thrust of the Reformation reworking of calling: "every legitimate calling has exactly the same worth in the sight of God" (Weber 2002:41). This extension is also ironic considering the conservative ethos underlying Jaime's adaption to progressive change. If a person is in a position of ecclesiastical authority, Jaime seems to assume that God has set them there, which is an attitude that can obviously reinforce the status quo, whatever that happens to be.

Jaime, though, does not acquiesce easily to the impositions of authority. He explained that whenever the priest of San Pedro, Father Leo, preaches something that does not accord with his understanding of scripture, he returns to the Bible, ruminates over relevant passages, and seeks out dialogue with Father Leo to share his opposing views. Jaime, though, is also open to hearing and discussing the views of others, an openness which seems to spring from his sensitivity to diverse callings. Hence when his church shifted from affiliations with a theological conservative

institution (the CEC) to one that was making waves for liberal developments (TEC), Jaime also shifted from a conservative standpoint on sexuality to a gay-affirming attitude. His understanding of calling not only facilitated that change, it proved to be the dominant means through which he articulates his new position.

Indeed, the belief that God is in control over all of life's changes and that God calls people to specific tasks is the guiding principle in Jaime's lived religion. "I believe that nothing moves unless it is the will of God. It was the will of God to bring us here and here we are. We came here looking for protection [since they no longer had a church home at Saint John's Charismatic Episcopal Church] and now Father Leo is the rector of the church [the combined Anglo and Latino congregation of Saint Peter's/San Pedro]."

### **David and Jaime in Convergent Comparison**

David and Jaime both started in the Catholic fold. David was immersed in the institutional life of the Catholic Church from a young age, while Jaime's Catholic connections were looser. They both ultimately left the official confines of Roman Catholicism for convergent settings in which Protestant and Catholic approaches to faith variously coexist or converge in new blends. It would be misleading, then, to say that they felt called out of the Roman Catholic Church. Rather, they both felt called to something new that would maintain levels of continuity with the old.

In both their experiences, we can identify a series of factors relevant to that calling, which scholars have noted as salient in studying conversion more generally. In *Reason to Believe*, David Smilde argues that men who were connected to relational networks of evangelicalism in Venezuela were much more likely to convert than people without such ties of evangelical friendship or family. This insight is relevant to both David's and Jaime's convergent conversions. David and Maria became connected to Episcopalian networks by friends who had

availed themselves of immigration assistance through San Andres. Jaime's connection came through family rather than friendship. His sister and mother converted to Pentecostalism before he made his own furtive connections with that faith.

David and Jaime's conversions also share what Gooren calls contingency factors. Gooren explains that "contingency factors are the situational events, random meetings with representatives of a certain religious group, acutely felt crises, stressful situations, and other contingencies that bring individuals into the orbit of various religious groups" (2007:54). David initially joined an Episcopalian orbit without knowing that he had made such a change, but it was the invitation to attend the Charismatic Catholic Church service that would ironically prove to be the most influential contingency factor in his Anglican conversion. If it was not for that timely invitation, he might not have been ritually prompted to reconsider his ecclesiastical calling. Similarly, Jaime's encounter with the convergent priest was perceived to be an astounding coincidence for someone who had experienced both Catholic and Pentecostal practices. It is important to remember that these seemingly random events fit a retrospective view of calling that not only shapes David and Jaime's articulation of their conversion narratives, but has now provided a template for future decision making. This is similar to what David Smilde noted about the retrospective view of conversion among the Venezuelan Evangelicals in his study.

I argue that the Evangelical meaning system provides narratives through which Evangelicals 'remember' their conversion experience as one in which it was God acting, not them. These narratives, in effect, minimize the believer's responsibility for conversion and thereby increase the interpretive validity of the new identity (2007:14).

As I have demonstrated, the convergent meaning systems of David and Jaime have even more layers of retrospective and predictive explanatory power because these men have even more complicated "passages" to sort through.

## **Calling and the Negotiation of Identity**

In the flux of contemporary global Christianity, with increasing intermingling across Christian traditions, participants in particular Christian groups or denominations increasingly negotiate differences in fact-to-face contact with other people from different backgrounds. In these pockets of pluralism, Christians seem more amenable to acknowledging the authenticity of faith among people from other Christian traditions, and thus a change in Christian affiliation is often not considered a definitive break with the past. Rather, convergent Christians tend to articulate those changes in the language of calling, which makes movement, whether geographical or ecclesiastical, seem orchestrated by God. They use that interpretive framework retrospectively to make sense of seemingly random and even disordered events in their lives and the lives of others. They also use calling to interpret broader institutional changes.

Calling, then, is ambiguous: it can make people more docile, accepting and even fatalistic in the face of change. It can also, however, make people more determined to pursue aspirations and dreams when confronting borders and obstacles in their paths. As a relational concept between the believer and God, calling may also make for empathic connections with other people. When believers view the lives of others through the interpretive lens of calling, they are less likely to judge people with a stable, fixed value system. Calling is paradoxically a means of managing flux and a fluid guide for individual and relational decision making.

## CHAPTER 7 MOBILIZING IMAGES AND MEDIATING THE MISSION

Prominent leaders of the conservative movement within the Anglican Communion have sought to unify a chorus of diverse and sometimes discordant voices over vast expanses of physical space, often utilizing tools of media in order to convey their unity. These leaders try to strike a delicate balance between two differently freighted strategies: comprehensiveness and coherence. First, they seek to rally as broad a base as possible with an overarching message that appeals to the Catholic, Evangelical and Pentecostal strains found within conservative Anglicanism. In the current flux of the institutional crisis in the Anglican Communion, those attempts have often involved creating an identity by negation, implicitly proposing and answering the question, “Who aren’t we?” Prominent leaders draw diverse conservatives together by insisting that liberal Anglicans and Episcopalians threaten foundational tenets of Christianity, such as the divine authority of scripture. More specifically, belief in the sinfulness of sex acts outside of the bounds of heterosexual marriage has been the key conservative rallying point of that message. In addition to defining the ACNA by what it is not (TEC), conservative leaders have posited the convergence (or at least co-existence) of Catholic, Evangelical and Charismatic spiritual emphases as a positive explanation of identity that answers the question, “Who are you?” Leaders of the ACNA have thus attempted to create broad unity in a way that also has specific resonance for each branch of the conservative movement. The increasingly complicated relationship between religion and media in an accelerated age of globalization makes it difficult to convincingly convey this message.

There are certainly multiple tools available to mediate the ACNA’s message. David Morgan points out the variety of practices, commodities and cultural products that can now be included under the term media: “More than radio, newspapers, and televised news broadcasts,

media also means Internet fan sites and blogs, circulating videos or cassette tapes, lithographic prints, billboard advertisements, mass-produced commodities such as plastic statuary or music CDs, or symbols such as crosses . . .” (Morgan 2008:12). One of the keys to championing conservative convergence in the Anglican Communion has been the use of a broad array of media, including electronic media, such as blogs and websites, which help bring co-religionists in far-flung settings into imaginative proximity. “As a vocal minority seeking wider support, conservative [North American Anglicans] have been prolific in producing and circulating such texts, not only among their immediate allies but also, where possible, to larger audiences, including Southern Anglicans” (Hassett 2007:19). If these mediated connections act as preliminary social glue, long-distance travel by lay and institutional leaders helps reinforce these relationships. Nevertheless, the rapidity of globalized flows of both people and media, and the concomitant proliferation of various kinds of religious media and mediating options, has made conservative convergence in the Anglican Communion an exercise fraught with conflict and competition.

Hence in this chapter I will explore how the broad conservative consensus of convergent Anglicanism has been mediated across expansive terrain, detailing complex networks of conservative Christianity from Chile, Colombia, England, Australia and Texas. I will examine the difficulties of convergent consensus when constructing an “Anglican identity based on perceived like-mindedness rather than on geographical proximity” (Hassett 2007:147). I will demonstrate how subtle rivalries between various elements of conservative Christianity, which have flourished in particular locales around the Anglican world, are swirling in the convergent streams of Chilean Anglicanism in particular. Those brackish waters have been channeled across large swathes of territory and have coalesced at different sites, such as a pastoral training seminar

in Forth Worth, Texas, where Iglesia San Bartolome is located. Using this seminar as an example of the divergent messages lurking within conservative convergence, I seek to show the dynamic and indeterminate state of religious mediation. Peter Horsfield stresses, “Media are now understood not as individual instruments to be studied on their own but as part of the dynamic of society itself, a mediated reality comprising not just technological media of mass communication but the total process of mediation of life” (Horsfield 2008:113). I will thus treat not only the mobilization of images and words across geographical and ecclesiastical spaces, but the concomitant movements of people as carriers, makers, and active interpreters of the religious worlds in which such images and words are rendered meaningful.

### **Competing Mediations of Convergence in Chilean Anglicanism**

There is a struggle among Anglicans in Santiago over what is the primary means of conveying the Christian gospel, whether word or spirit. This is not a zero-sum dispute, of course, but rather a question of emphasis. Those who place greatest emphasis on scriptural authority in Chilean Anglicanism typically have a more Reformed, or Calvinist, theological orientation. Globally one of the most uniformly Reformed segments of Anglicanism is found in Australia. And Australian missionaries to Chile have been prominent in Chilean Anglican theological institutes, such as El Centro de Estudios Pastorales (Center for Pastoral Studies) or CEP, as it usually referred to in Anglican circles in Chile. Charismatic Anglican Alfredo Cooper, for example, admitted to me that he and others were concerned that this inordinate Reformed emphasis was producing a cadre of “anti-woman and anti-Charismatic” leaders. Those who self-identify as Reformed tend to be more decisive in their dismissal of women’s ordination and have historically been less receptive of Charismatic claims to spiritual power and revelation. Just as some Charismatics, like Cooper, are hesitant about certain Reformed emphases in the Anglican

Church, Reformed leaders from other Anglican congregations in Santiago are similarly skeptical about the Charismatic tendencies found in churches like La Trinidad.

For instance, one Anglican pastor who is known in Chilean Anglican circles as exemplifying Reformed theological commitments, whom I will call Pastor Roberto, warned that Charismatic Christianity carries the seeds of liberalism. He recognizes diversity in the movement: in his view, there are people who are merely “excited about the gospel” and others who are both “crazy and manipulative.” He is especially wary of the tendency for charismatic fervor to supersede sober Biblical interpretation.

I think that anything that replaces the Bible as the revealed authority of God is dangerous. This can be the beginning of liberalism. Therefore if a supposed revelation of the Holy Spirit separated from the Bible, if this is this “Charismatism,” (“*carismatismo*”), in my view, this is dangerous. I think the Holy Spirit guides us by the Word of God [the Bible] to all truth in Christ.

He also took pains to clarify that in this context the Bible does not merely contain the words of God, but is the definitive Word of God. My study of Iglesia San Pedro in Florida would seem to confirm Pastor Roberto’s concerns that Charismatic Christianity can be a potential harbinger of liberalism. Scholars have pointed out, though, that Charismatic Christianity fosters certain collective activities that help regulate and synthesize theological interpretation in such circles.

In her study of French Charismatic Catholics, Daniele Hervieu-Léger notes that Charismatics have a personalized style of Biblical interpretation; words on the page may become suddenly and personally relevant because of the perceived illuminating charge of the Holy Spirit. When spontaneity abounds, interpretation is likely to vary from person to person, and it is this multiplicity that leads Pastor Roberto and others to worry about the potentially porous borders of interpretation among Charismatics. Hervieu-Léger points out, “The primacy of individual experience over any kind of objectively controlled communal conformity explains the porosity of the borders established by emotional communities” (1997:30). She clarifies, though, that in the

case of Charismatic Catholics this spontaneity is regulated by the institutional discipline of the Catholic Church, and by processes of routinization among members in the “emotional communities” of these Charismatic groups. “This process needs time, and it varies according to the cultural and social background of the group. But all the groups, as effervescent as they are at the beginning, tend always to elaborate, in the course of their meetings, a common language that provides an inescapable stereotyping of the individual expressions within them” (1997:36). This combination of spontaneity and regulation helps explain how some Chilean Anglicans have wedded Charismatic fervor and revelation to a systematic and even, in some cases, Reformed emphasis on scriptural authority. The Assistant Pastor at La Trinidad, for example, considers himself both Charismatic and Reformed.

Still, in the Anglican Communion, leadership is much less centralized than in the Catholic Church and, concordantly, diversity is much more difficult to contain within orthodox borders. The frontier of Charismatic personalism is also much wider in Protestant than Catholic circles, and, according to Pastor Roberto, it can also be wilder. Pastor Roberto decries, for instance, the *Avivamiento* (Revival) movement in Bogota and its connection to Alfredo Cooper and a number of the congregants at La Trinidad. Pastor Roberto is adamant that this particular Charismatic movement in Bogota is heterodox.

I am in complete disagreement with [Pastor Alfredo on this issue]. I told him this. I think that couple is absolutely outside of the truth of the Bible. The problem lies in the idea that Pastor Rodriguez has a kind of red telephone to communicate with God that other Christians don't have. This has nothing to do with the truth of the Bible. He receives revelation from God. He has the anointing of God. He is a kind of guru. I told Alf this, that I think they are totally outside of the truth of the Word of God. It is one thing to be charismatic but this is completely outside of what the Bible authorizes. Alf told me that I do not know them and I admitted, well, perhaps I don't.

Pastor Roberto subsequently confirmed his suspicions about the Rodriguez couple not by attending the *Avivamiento* event in Chile, but rather by watching their ministerial practices

online. “I entered their webpage, I have watched their videos on YouTube and his teachings and I can say that this man does not teach the Bible.” Here, then, is an example of how the internet, which has been a vital source in creating conservative Anglican ties across vast stretches of territory, can also be used to undermine conservative convergent consensus. Leaders of the ACNA would like to think that Charismatic, Evangelical, and Catholic emphases naturally cohere under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, in the case of Pastor Roberto, an adherent of the Reformed Evangelical stream of conservative Anglicanism, YouTube provided a means to carefully consider Charismatic messages; clearly Pastor Roberto found that message thoroughly wanting.

The tensions between Reformed and Charismatic segments of Anglicanism are extended transnationally along networks established in the making of the ACNA. At a conference on evangelism in Forth Worth, Texas in April 2009, U.S. Latino clergy and lay leaders from TEC joined together with a cadre of ministry leaders from England, Australia and the United States in both Christian and cultural convergence. This meeting took place before the official establishment of the ACNA in June of the same year, and thus the diocese of Fort Worth was a de jure member of TEC even though it was in a process of de facto realignment with other conservatives in the global South. The European contingent were all Anglicans on a Latin American and U.S. Latino tour, trumpeting the evangelistic merits of a new introductory course to Christianity entitled “Christianity Explored,” which had just been recently translated into Spanish. The British founder of the program led much of the weekend’s events. An elderly Australian couple who had ministered in the Anglican Church in Chile served as interpreters. This couple had also organized the translation and publishing of the Spanish language material

for Christianity Explored, re-titled in Spanish as *El Corazón del Cristianismo* (The Heart of Christianity).

Before coming to Fort Worth, this training team had just introduced the course to Chilean Anglicans in Santiago. Although all Anglican churches in Chile were invited to the event, they held the course in Pastor Roberto's church, known as the most Reformed of the Anglican churches in Santiago. The Australian missionary couple, whom I will call Anne and Patrick, was influential in the establishment of Reformed theological emphases through the seminary CEP and other forms of curriculum production among Chilean Anglicans. They explained to me that at first they were considering publishing the Spanish language version of the Christianity Explored material through a well-known and well-established publishing company, but they changed their minds when they considered the number of Charismatic books that were published by this company. They offered books by the controversial American faith healer Benny Hinn as examples of the kinds of Charismatic works with which they did not want Christianity Explored to be associated. During my fieldwork at La Trinidad, I noticed that some of the books on the book-table following services were authored by Benny Hinn.

As a participant observer in the conference in Fort Worth, I was struck by the similarities between Christianity Explored and a much more well-known and popular course called Alpha, which was used at La Trinidad. Like Alpha, Christianity Explored was designed to draw people into a study of some of the major tenets of Christianity in an atmosphere which, for people who do not attend church regularly, would be less-threatening than traditional ecclesiastical confines. In both courses, participants share meals and study material related to the Christian faith over a number of weeks. I asked the leader and founder of this new program, Rico, to differentiate between the two programs, and his response was revealing of the inherent tensions between

Charismatic and Reformed Christianity within the conservative wing of the Anglican Communion.

First, he explained that in Alpha there is a weekend retreat in which participants study the role of the Holy Spirit and receive prayer for an experience with the Holy Spirit. While I was doing fieldwork in Santiago, this Alpha retreat was shortened to one day among participants at La Trinidad. Charismatic manifestations were intense and widespread. Many people sobbed in tears as they prayed to be healed from interior emotional wounds, and at the close of the day, there were piles of people on the floor, who believed that they had been overcome by the power of the Holy Spirit. Christianity Explored, by contrast, does not have a similar segment dedicated to the Holy Spirit. Rico cautions that one cannot know how and when the Holy Spirit will manifest and he implied that the Alpha course makes such an erroneous presumption by designating a weekend to the study and experience of the Holy Spirit. This particular distinction relates to a broader division between historic Charismatic and Reformed tensions within the Church of England and at key nodes within the global networks of Charismatic and Evangelical Anglicanism.

Alpha was birthed out of Holy Trinity Brompton Church in England. The rector, Nicky Gumbel, has been in the forefront of the Charismatic movement in the Anglican Church; indeed the outbreak of charismatic phenomena at Holy Trinity Brompton was influential in spearheading other charismatic revivals, such as the so-called “Toronto Airport Blessing.” The latter emerged within the Vineyard denomination and became a global center of charismatic experience, to which Christians and spiritual seekers traveled from across the globe throughout the 1990s.

Rico is the evangelism pastor of another well-known church in conservative Anglicanism, All Souls Church, Langham Place. The most well-known leader associated with All Souls is the late John Stott, who was a pastor, prolific writer and teacher renowned throughout the Evangelical world. Although Stott had attempted to bridge tensions between Charismatics and Reformed Anglicans in England, All Souls was more closely associated with the Reformed movement. Beyond the “anti-woman” and “anti-charismatic” bias that Alfredo Cooper associates with Reformed Christianity, there is also an impression that the Reformed camp is much less sanguine about relations with the Catholic Church than are Charismatic Anglicans. This bias was evident in Rico’s continued explanation of the differences between Alpha and Christianity Explored.

In his second distinction between Alpha and Christianity Explored, Rico explained that the Pope had officially approved the use of Alpha in the Catholic Church. Indeed, Alpha has spread like wildfire through all Christian denominations and traditions. Rico clarified that if the Pope were to give some imprimatur of acceptance to Christianity Explored, “I would ‘off myself’” (commit suicide). I winced slightly and momentarily lost the sober gaze of ethnographic objectivity when he made this comment. I was not only struck by this strong and seemingly anti-Catholic language, but I already knew enough about the Anglican/Episcopalian churches in my study to wonder why the U.S. Latino priests in our midst, who were ministering to immigrants who maintained significant continuity with their predominantly Catholic backgrounds, did not make a hasty and defiant exit at that point. I learned through interviews that all of my U.S. Latino informants had found this comment foolish, but were willing to adapt the material of *El Corazon del Cristianismo* to their distinct needs for biblical instruction at their churches. This demonstrates the high levels of agency in the reception of Christian media in convergent

networks where teaching resources do not pass in unimpeded flows. People select and reject from the available material, which makes textual transmission dynamic. Messages are contextualized according to how particular groups conceive their Christian mission. Still, this agency of interpretation is constrained since leaders with official institutional and economic support have greater power to integrate potentially diverse motivations for mission into authorized institutional narratives. The following example demonstrates how the Evangelical emphasis on Biblical authority is wielded to reinforce borders of interpretation and how others are implicitly drawn into such performances.

### **A Chilean Bishop on the Mobile Mediator**

Shortly after attending the inaugural meeting of the Anglican Church in North America in Bedford, Texas, the Anglican Bishop of Chile, Hector Zavala, spoke to the congregation of La Trinidad in Santiago. In all three services on that Sunday in late June 2009, the Bishop related news of the first meeting of the ACNA to the largest congregation in the numerically small but globally influential province of the Southern Cone. Zavala had traveled to Texas as a representative of the Right Reverend Gregory Venables, Primate of the Anglican province of the Southern Cone, who was unable to make the journey because of previously scheduled ecclesiastical commitments. The transnational realities represented in the services at La Trinidad that day bespeak the complexities of mediating conservative and convergent Anglicanism across far-reaching territory.

Even before his trip to Texas, Zavala had traveled across various lines of Christian tradition in the global Anglican Communion. He was raised a nominal Catholic but he explains that “he did not have faith in Christ” and “never attended church.” Still, his Catholic identity was strong enough to initially resist invitations to an Anglican church. He assumed that any non-Catholic Christian tradition would be like the Pentecostals, who he thought were “very loud; they

yell, they sing, they jump . . . .” When he finally attended an Anglican Church, he was struck by the resemblance between Anglicanism and the Catholic Church; the abundant commonalities made the difference that Anglican priests could marry that much more striking and appealing for the young Zavala. This struck him as a sign that Anglicanism was more modern than the Catholic Church, a stance which impressed him. In the Anglican Church, he also heard for the first time the evangelical message that Jesus died for him on the cross and was eager to be his personal Savior and Lord. This, according to Zavala, was something he had never heard in the Catholic Church. He thus made this evangelical commitment to Christ in an Anglican church when he was in high school.

In University, he became involved with a multidenominational evangelical organization known in English as Intervarsity Fellowship. There, he shared Christian fellowship with Pentecostals, Presbyterians, Baptists and other Christians. He explains that his involvement with the Anglican Church facilitated these nascent ecumenical relationships: “The good thing was that in the Anglican Church, I discovered that the Anglican Church is a good bridge between other churches; because within the Anglican Church I related with Pentecostals, and discovered that they were my brothers in Christ; I related with Baptists, who I also realized were my brothers in Christ. But, also, the Anglican Church made me valorize the Catholic Church.” This recognition of various expressions of Christianity eventually helped him navigate the diverse theological tributaries of Episcopalianism in the United States. After two years of serving in the priesthood in Chile, he studied at Trinity Episcopal School for Ministry in Pennsylvania, where he received a Master of Arts in Religion.

Zavala was at first shocked by the differences between the Episcopal Churches associated with this institution and the Anglican Churches in Chile. At the seminary in Pennsylvania, he

met people who identified more with the comparatively elaborate ceremonies of Anglo-Catholicism, which were foreign to Zavala. Indeed, even those churches that self-identified as Evangelical seemed much more “high-church” than anything Zavala had seen in Chile. Zavala learned from his experience with diverse (but conservative) Episcopalians to “be more tolerant.” He recognized unity in diversity: “Even though we are distinct, we are brothers in Christ.” The Bishop explains that his experience in the United States also taught him about his place in the “Anglican umbrella.” These experiences are compatible with the ethos of the ACNA: a conservative movement that seeks to unite Catholic, Evangelical and Charismatic worship styles and theological emphases. That broad unity in diversity, however, now has clear limits for Zavala, borders which he vigorously outlined during the confirmation service at La Trinidad.

### **Circulating Anglican Identity Transnationally**

Many in attendance at La Trinidad had come to witness the confirmation ceremony of twelve church members. Family and friends of the candidates had joined the usual congregation to swell the church beyond capacity. Some in attendance seemed weary from standing and were anxious to begin the post-confirmation barbecues and family festivities that would ensue. On this day in Santiago, however, Bishop Zavala had the ecclesiastical disputes in North America on his mind as he confirmed a dozen Anglican Chileans.

Zavala is a soft-spoken and dignified man but during his homily he spoke with urgent tones; he railed against TEC for their waywardness and praised the ACNA for its faithfulness. He claimed that TEC had consecrated a homosexual bishop who had “left his wife and children.” He is referring to the 2003 election and consecration of Gene Robinson as bishop of New Hampshire. Robinson is a partnered gay man who has the public encouragement of both his former wife and adult children.

I learned of this family support by reading a biography of Gene Robinson, entitled *Going to Heaven: The Life and Election of Bishop Gene Robinson*. The book was printed in Canada, published by Soft Skull Press in Brooklyn, New York and distributed by Publishers Group West. I purchased the book at a used bookstore in Arlington, Texas. Although this information would normally be placed in a footnote (if at all), I include it in the body of this chapter because it demonstrates the variety of means by which media are created, produced, consumed and, especially, circulated. Johanna Sumiala explains the importance of networks in understanding how and why certain forms of media are passed on at particular moments:

The simplest way of defining circulation is, thus, to say that it is about ‘going the round’ or ‘passing on’ something (or both)—whether it is material or immaterial items, goods, artifacts, ideas, or beliefs that are being distributed and disseminated. In today’s world, circulation could not be understood without the strong role of the media. The anatomy of mediated circulation consists of a number of *encounters* with different actors: new and old media, images, texts, viewers, subjects, venues, consumers, vendors, markets, experts, journalists, producers. In short, circulation in today’s world is acted out in cultural and social *networks* shaped by the communicative logic of the new media technology (2008:44).

The biography I read on Gene Robinson has a history that is partially unknown to the multiple actors who have encountered the book and passed it along various networks. Importantly, no matter how diverse and seemingly disparate these various networks may be, this transmission did not extend to a Spanish-speaking Anglican church in Santiago, Chile, where after every service and most ministry activities a representative from *La Sociedad Biblica* (The Bible Society) sets up a book table where congregants gather and peruse a wide variety of Christian-themed titles. Peter Horsfield asks, “In what ways do the presence and availability of particular media forms stimulate mediated religion, and what are the social consequences of that?” (2008:121). I would add that it is also important to consider how the unavailability of particular forms of media has pronounced social consequences.

Without the biography of Gene Robinson, the Chilean Bishop is either unaware of the family support Robinson receives or he is incredulous about their approval. Instead, Bishop Zavala digs for a root to this perceived North American heresy; in the process he continues the mediation of ecclesiastical controversies through a discourse and embodied rendition of events that has been repeated throughout a number of networks in conservative Anglicanism in the Americas.

The problem with the Episcopal Church in the USA, he claims, is that they say that the Bible “contains the word of God.” The Bible, he insists, does not just contain the word of God. He raises his voice and lifts his Bible in a dramatic and emotional crescendo, “The Bible *is* the word of God!” This declaration is met with enthusiastic applause in all three of the Sunday services in which it rings through the sanctuary.

In his study of Swedish Pentecostalism, Simon Coleman analyses the connection between words and the body in religious ritual: “Textuality and a kind of spiritually charged physicality are not opposed in evangelical practice but are mutually constitutive” (Coleman 2004:118). For all of the frenetic Charismatic activity that normally goes on in La Trinidad, on this day, it is the Evangelical portion of convergence which takes center stage; that is to say, biblical authority is the dominant mode of mediation during the Bishop’s sermon.

In order to understand the semiotic sign constituted in the Bishop’s gestures, it is important to contextualize the act of hand-raising in La Trinidad. Hands are normally raised on or near the altar and in the congregation as an outward sign of inward spiritual reception. During the singing of praise and worship songs that gesture is especially ubiquitous. Also, when people receive prayer, leaders will often encourage the supplicant to raise her or his hands, and will invoke the Holy Spirit by praying “Llénalo/la, Señor!” (Fill her/him, Lord!) Hand-raising is thus

a self-emptying transformational ritual which places worshippers in a liminal state as “empty vessels” (a common metaphor in Charismatic circles), who are, in turn, to be filled with the power of the Holy Spirit.

On this occasion, the Bishop’s raised arm is filled with another form of spiritual media, the Bible. This act of elevation instantiates the cosmic power of “the Word” and focuses the congregation’s gaze on that power. Simon Coleman explains, “Faith beliefs parallel those aspects of Austinian speech act theory that describe how discursive practice can, in performative fashion, produce that which it names. The Word can be made to ‘live’ as signs of language are externalized from the speaker and turned into physical signs of the presence of sacred power” (Coleman 2004:131). When the Charismatic mode of mediation is dominant, the Spirit is diffuse and fills people in spaces throughout the congregation, or even across huge terrain through the internet or television. By contrast, when giving prominence to the Evangelical component of convergence, scriptural authority, the Bishop centralizes spiritual power in the Bible, and reifies the self-evidently conservative vision of human sexuality it is presumed to contain. By elevating his Bible with outstretched arm, and raising his voice with an authoritative cadence, the Bishop performs a gesture (the signifier) which can produce a shared meaning (the signified) about the spiritual power of scripture; together, gesture and meaning produce a symbolic sign of “sacred power.”

Whereas congregants and the rector normally raise their hands to be filled with the Holy Spirit, it is as if the Bishop raises his Bible in the air because of the spiritual power which *already* resides within the text. After all, the Bishop insists, the Bible does not “contain” the word of God (it is not an empty signifier to be filled with meaning and power) but already exudes power as the very Word of God itself. A conservative approach to scripture which sees

the Bible as already containing meaning and power prior to perception, or even prior to the animation of the Holy Spirit, inhibits the kinds of flexible interpretations about human sexuality which have opened ecclesiastical spaces of leadership to LGBT people in TEC and the Anglican Church of Canada.

In a later interview with Zavala he reinforced his disdain for progressive biblical interpretation. I reminded him that some segments of the Anglican Communion consider conservative statements on human sexuality homophobic. He was unapologetic: "I'm not worried about what the liberals say because it is not the truth. What I mean is that the fact that we oppose the ordination of a gay bishop or a gay priest comes from obedience to the Word of God. So what I always say is that God does not approve of homosexual practice but he loves the homosexual."

### **Moods and Motivations for Anglican Lay Mission across the Americas**

In each of the same three Sunday services in which Zavala, made his plea for biblical faithfulness, the rector of La Trinidad, Alfredo Cooper, introduced a ministry team that would be embarking on a short-term mission to the United States. One young couple on the team was discerning a potential "call" to full-time missions. The husband, Esteban, in his early thirties, and wife, Maria, in her late twenties, live a comfortable middle-class lifestyle in Santiago. They are keenly aware that their potential calling will demand downward social mobility. As lay leaders at La Trinidad, they had been active in ministry to some of the poorest sectors of Santiago, and they now sensed that perhaps God was calling them to work full-time with the Hispanic population in the United States; first, they would test the waters in Virginia and Maryland for a two week venture.

In front of the congregation, Esteban explained the goals of the mission: "We will be working with *los hispanos* [Latinos] in the United States. There is a great need there. Many are

undocumented." He added that the team would assist an "Episcopal church," as that Episcopalian congregation initiated a Hispanic ministry. A chuckle emerged from the congregation when he clarified that in this particular Episcopal church the "priest is married to one woman." Esteban's clarification followed on the heels of the Bishop's impassioned address about the perils of biblical infidelity. In each of the three services preceding the introduction of Maria and Esteban, the bishop had vigorously argued that the Episcopal Church in the United States had departed from biblical faith by opening the highest ecclesiastical ranks to sexually active gays and lesbians. In fact, the particular "Episcopal" congregation in Virginia with which the Chilean team would minister is one of the congregations that left TEC and joined the ACNA. This church in Virginia calls itself "Anglican," rather than Episcopalian, but before his trip to the United States, Esteban was not familiar with this budding nomenclature of division.

This couple's religious history is emblematic of both the multiple stages of conversion on roads to Convergent Christianity and the vital role that media has played in that spiritual journey. Esteban and Maria's earliest spiritual formation was in the aesthetically austere environment of denominational Pentecostalism in Chile. In this setting, there has been a marked division between the life of the church and non-Pentecostal segments of society; this dualism between faith and "the world" has been expressed in both comportment and attire. Although the upward mobility of many Pentecostals in Chile is changing their attitudes to broader Chilean society, historically Pentecostals were known to withdraw from the broader social and political milieu of Chile. They have tended to enter those realms with frequency only in evangelistic sorties, in which teams of Pentecostals blitz the streets of Santiago with loud gospel proclamation. Also, women have been encouraged to refrain from ostentatious dress and makeup, and to solidify gender divisions with long unadorned hair and dresses. Similarly, Pentecostal men often dress

formally as a marker of distinction from non-Pentecostal segments of society. When Esteban and Maria fell in love as teenagers, they realized through conversation that they both had misgivings about the strict religious environment of denominational Pentecostalism.

After they married, Esteban sought wisdom in tradition. He began to read church history and learned that the earliest Protestant groups were Lutheran and Anglican. (Similar motivations led Pentecostals and Protestant Charismatics in North America to revisit ancient church practices and subsequently begin convergent institutions like the CEC.) Maria and Esteban went to a Lutheran service but found it boring. They came upon La Trinidad Anglican Church, where they felt immediately at home. This, of course, is not surprising given Alfredo Cooper's Pentecostal formation and the pentecostalized worship styles and gestures that abound among the congregation. Maria and Esteban's aspirations for a more historical expression of Christianity were wedded to their earlier formation in Pentecostal exuberance, a convergence that unwittingly led them into a new realm of conflict.

Both the Bishop and this couple have been brought into an orbit of Anglican division which has its locus in the United States. Due to Bishop Zavala's educational formation in the United States, he has maintained close contacts with many of the leaders who now make up the ACNA. He is thus much more attuned to the place of the Southern Cone in the realignment of global Anglicanism than are Maria and Esteban. Bishop Zavala used one of the most pivotal initiatory rites into Chilean Anglicanism, the confirmation service, to stress Chilean Anglican allegiance to ACNA; it was as if he was designating to Chilean co-religionists appropriate places of orthodox shade under the broad "Anglican umbrella" he had first learned about during his seminary experience in Pittsburgh. As a cross-cultural mediator of shifting institutional developments in global Anglicanism, Zavala competes with a host of other forms of mediation

that do not always conform to broader institutional interests.

Evangelicals have been particularly adept at using varieties of media to both proclaim the evangelical gospel and to propel Christians into evangelistic pursuits. This is certainly the case for Esteban and Maria. They came to their watershed moment through a video that was produced neither by Anglicans nor Latin Americans. During an interview at their home, Esteban and Maria were brimming with excitement as they recounted how they first became interested in a mission to North America. Esteban was wide-eyed as he welcomed me to the computer room. There he played a YouTube video created by the American Evangelical megachurch Willow Creek.

In the video, called “A Thousand Questions,” a young twenty-something African-American woman delivers insistent spoken word over hip-hop beats and emotive instrumentals, a soundscape accompanied by images of war, pestilence, and eventually redemption. The video summarizes some of the primary tenets of Christianity: a fall from grace through the original sin of the first human parents; the subsequent entrance into the world of sin, manifesting in murder and human-made calamity; a meditation on the “incarnation” (the notion that divinity took on human flesh in the person of Jesus); and, climactically, a call to global mission.

There is a palpable emotional urgency in the protagonist’s musings. Theodicy is a branch of theology which attempts to explain how an all-good and omnipotent God could allow patent tragedy and evil to seemingly flourish in the world. In this video this quandary is confronted through paroxysms of distress. At one point during the video, the protagonist sits at a computer while opening various files. She ruminates over one particular digital clip that shows an African-American teenage girl, who appears to be the protagonist at a younger age, singing a hymn called “This is My Father’s World.” She watches as the young girl sings part of the first stanza: “This

is my Father's world/ I rest me in the thought/ Of rocks and trees, of skies and seas/ His hand the wonders wrought." As the protagonist watches the singing, she quietly catalogues reasons for hope, a litany which eventually reaches an ironic crescendo of anguish and despair. The protagonist cries out,

Where is it?! I don't see it: the fulfillment of the promise. I don't see it down here in the middle of the fear. What hope can remain in the depth of this pain? I don't see it! The earth is groaning night and day, a song of human slavery, of dark disease and poverty, of children in captivity. God, that's the sound that comes to me. Are you still far away on high? Still staring out at that empty sky? Still reaching out with that longing hand? I hear no voice and I don't understand! I know about theology. I know you gave your son for me. I know you're wrapped in mystery. I get invisibility; but I still see their misery. I hear their voices haunting me saying, "Who will come and set us free?" "Who will come and set us free?" "Who will come and set us free?"

There is another sudden shift in momentum as an ethnically diverse contingent in culturally distinct settings appears on the screen, one at a time; each individual repeats a refrain in their own language from the biblical book of Isaiah, "Here am I, send me." The protagonist begins to belt out the same hymn from the earlier sequence, "This is my Father's world." After a montage of images of care-giving (to the disabled, the poor and the sick), the protagonist joins the fold, closing with "Here am I, send me." She now seems to have faced head-on the paradox of divine control and human misery, and she has presumably chosen faithful service over doubting despair. The mix of image and word make the message clear: God loves the downtrodden, but God is in need of willing vessels to conduit that love to an otherwise tenebrous world.

This video could be considered an example of what Arjun Appadurai calls a "mediascape":

Mediascapes, whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places. The scripts can and do get disaggregated into complex sets of metaphors by which people live as they help to constitute narratives of the Other and protonarratives of possible lives, fantasies

that could become prolegomena to the desire for acquisition and movement (Appadurai 1996:35).

In Esteban and Maria's case, there is little desire or possibility for economic acquisition in this venture but they certainly seem to be responding to a compelling drive for movement.

Appadurai explains, "More people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that their children will live and work in places other than where they were born" (1996:6). Maria indicates in an interview that her children have already begun to demonstrate the kind of careful and empathetic considerations of life that facilitate family ministry to the dispossessed. During their missionary outings to poor areas of Santiago, the young children, a daughter who is nine years old and a son who is five, had been struck by the poverty they saw and asked Maria why these people are so poor. Esteban and Maria's short-term missions experience to the United States confirmed a desire for longer service and they returned to Virginia in March 2010; this time they brought their children with them for an indeterminate length of service.

The combination of the pattern of images in this video and Maria and Esteban's choice to travel to the United States to minister to U.S. Latinos makes the question of "the other" particularly complex. In the final images of the video, various people deliver practical assistance to those in need. There is no obvious indicator that the missionary and the missionized are of different ethnicities or of distinct racial and cultural backgrounds. Indeed, there seem to be cultural, if not necessarily class, commonality between those giving and receiving care. In articulating their desire to work with U.S. Latinos, Maria and Esteban claim that it is difficult to have intimacy with God when one is singing worship songs in another language. As first-language Spanish speakers, Maria and Esteban believe that as they cross geographical space to go to the United States they will, paradoxically, make U.S. Latinos feel more at home by relating

to them in their native tongue and welcoming them into relationship with God in what they believe to be the transcendent space of the kingdom of God.

Fittingly, “A Thousand Questions” does not recycle old models of whites relieving their burdens in missionary service to poor others in exotic lands. Instead, the selection of images in the video implies that the global call to Christian mission is meant to be carried out in locally specific ways and by people who presumably have a connection to those whom they are called to serve.

Maria and Esteban explain to me that La Trinidad showed this video with Spanish subtitles during an evening dedicated to Christian leadership—they were cut to the heart by its message. Esteban recounts that immediately after the viewing he “ended up on the floor crying out to God and asking him for forgiveness because I wasn’t a good missionary, or really I wasn’t a missionary at all. One can be always talking about Christ but I had never considered it as vocation; it is your [full-time] work to speak to everyone in the world about Jesus.” Esteban’s emotional response to these scenes dramatizes what Sahaja Yoga, via Simon Coleman, says about the connection between the body and global consciousness: “the somatic experiences induced in ritual provide members with an intimate feeling of belonging to an international ‘collective’” (Coleman 2004:62-63).

Clifford Geertz’s famous definition of religion as a “cultural system” is particularly applicable to this use of and response to Evangelical media. Geertz argued,

Religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in [people], by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing those conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic (1973:90).

Increasingly, Evangelicals use multimedia to create distinct “moods and motivations,” attempting to arouse emotions which they hope will draw outsiders to new Evangelical

commitments, and insiders to a renewed faith. The video from Willow Creek seeks to create a realistic style of documentary footage to add “an aura of factuality” to a somber mood created by images of grave human need; the somber mood is meant to provoke motivation for mission. Like the minimalist documentary style *cinéma vérité*, this video “strives to achieve a perfect illusion of ongoing life, casually observed by the camera” (Kolker 2002:229). One could argue that the protagonist’s spoken word poetry is akin to voice-over narration (which is absent in documentaries using *cinéma vérité* style), but this does not discount the aura of factuality that the video is meant to evoke for the viewer. The viewer is encouraged to trust the images that are supposedly refracted through the peripatetic journey of the protagonist; the juxtaposition of images of the protagonist and the hardships she documents suggests that she is immersed in this global morass. The repeated images of the protagonist holding and focusing her shoulder-held camera create a sense that the other images in the video are revealed with care and precision. The implication is that the world is depicted as the world really is.

Although Maria and Esteban are implicated in the realignment of Anglicanism through their missionary participation with an ACNA church in the United States, they seem largely unaware of and relatively uninterested in institutional squabbles. Their identity as Evangelicals seems to have preeminence over their denominational and institutional allegiances. The particular mode of mediation involved in “A Thousand Questions” may even undermine full-fledged formation of denominational identities. Importantly, the only scene of Christian ritual in the missionary montage is of a baptism, in which an adult is fully immersed in water. This is not the usual form of baptism in the Anglican Communion, where typically people (and most often infants) are baptized with a sprinkling of water. Neither are there any images of the Eucharist. Mission is depicted as generic Christian service without denominational particularity.

This is part of the ACNA's paradoxical plight of being immersed in Evangelicalism. Leaders seek to be part of the trans-denominational Evangelical world since some of their members identify closely with this that movement. Also, by garnering the public and visible support of Evangelical icons, like Rick Warren, the ACNA bolsters the plausibility of its institutional structures and looks like more than just a North American "breakaway."

It is certainly possible for the moods and motivations provoked by the generic evangelical message of the "A Thousand Questions" video to be directed to the distinct needs of the denomination. For instance, Maria and Esteban's overarching desire to serve in mission has been channeled along very particular institutional routes. We could speak of this process as territorialization, in that the general moods and motivations are given a specific institutional space for expression: in this case, the ACNA churches in Virginia. Still, Maria and Esteban's primary concerns are evangelistic and social, rather than institutional. Maria and Esteban know that ministry to U.S. Latinos will inevitably draw them into sociopolitical realities. Esteban was forthright during the service at La Trinidad about the "undocumented" status of many of those to whom they would serve, and in an interview with me he repeatedly stressed his compassion for the difficult social plight of many U.S. Latinos.

Maria and Esteban were active viewers in appropriating this video, especially in how they applied it to the needs of U.S. Latino immigrants. If this video provided an imaginative palette for a mental picture of global mission, Maria and Esteban mixed the colors and provided the distinctive hues. As Arjun Appadurai points out, "There is growing evidence that the consumption of the mass media throughout the world often provokes resistance, irony, selectivity, and, in general, *agency*" (1996:7). Nowhere in the video is there a scene that depicts ministry to undocumented workers. There are no coded references to such controversies, but

Maria and Esteban have made their own distinct applications. Peter Horsfield argues that “media should be understood not as instruments carrying a fixed message but as sites where construction, negotiation, and reconstruction of cultural meaning takes place in an ongoing process of maintenance and change of cultural structures, relationships, meanings and values” (2008:113). Maria and Esteban may not have been aware that by participating in a mission with conservative North American Anglicans, they were headed for a sphere of relationships that is not uniformly receptive to their concerns about undocumented immigrants.

“Virtue Online” is a conservative Anglican blog that one priest in the ACNA mentioned to me as being particularly instrumental in forging ties across the spectrum of conservative Anglicanism. The only commentary that appeared on that blog about the passing of a controversial immigration law in Arizona, called SB 1070, detailed criticism of Rt. Rev. Kirk Stevan Smith, Bishop of Arizona, who wrote an “open letter to our Spanish-speaking Arizona Episcopalians” denouncing both “voices of bigotry” and “advocates of fear and hatred.” In an opinion piece entitled “Race Card Envy: The Bishop of Arizona’s Open Letter,” Canon Gary L’Hommedieu, takes Smith to task for exacerbating class and racial tensions. L’Hommedieu opines that he is not sure whether the law is “good or bad” but he is thoroughly convinced that the Arizona Bishop of TEC was elitist in his criticism of the law when, according to L’Hommedieu, Smith used slogans of liberation theology, which seek “to win the approval of an embattled minority (read "nonwhite") by demonizing the majority of his peers.” (L’Hommedieu 2010) All eight of the comments posted to this opinion piece shared L’Hommedieu’s views and none criticized the law in Arizona. It would be obviously unfair to take L’Hommedieu’s comments as representative of the ACNA. It is clear, however, that if Maria and Esteban seek to

unburden U.S. Latinos from both sin and social stigma, not all the ACNA enthusiasts in cyber space will prioritize those concerns.

Neither does their vision of ministry to U.S. Latinos fit all the elements of the discourse of convergent and conservative consensus in the ACNA. In their interview, Maria stressed that U.S. Latino religiosity is characterized by a popular Catholicism that focuses on “saints, talismans” and even “Santeria” and “witchcraft.” They seemed to see part of their mission as evangelizing this confused Catholic landscape. These characterizations are not in keeping with the “valorizing” of Catholicism which Bishop Hector Zavala believes that Anglicanism promotes, and which the broader ACNA movement seeks to affirm in their close ecumenical relationships with Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox Christians.

It is also important to stress that at no time in my interview with them, or during their messages at La Trinidad, did Esteban and Maria claim to be excited about contributing to the work of the ACNA to provide a faithful, orthodox alternative to TEC. The only sign of anything related to that kind of institutional sentiment was Esteban’s joke about their upcoming participation with a particular Episcopal church where the priest was married to a woman. This distinction was required by the context of Esteban’s talk, since he was following Bishop Zavala’s denunciations of the Episcopal Church. Their speeches before the church about their upcoming mission were connected to the Bishop’s talk by the timing of their trip, not by the content of their testimonies. Esteban and Maria’s motivations for mission notwithstanding, the juxtaposition of their talk to Bishop Zavala’s sermon about the ACNA and TEC likely connected the two messages for the participants at La Trinidad. Sometimes the internet is employed as a means of making such institutional and grassroots connections, even when these visual juxtapositions occlude elements of institutional critique or contestation.

## **The Latina/o Presence on the Diocesan Website of Fort Worth**

Cartographers shrink vast territory into manageable maps, which can, in turn, be used to navigate those far-reaching spaces. Websites have similar compressible capabilities, as a cyber introduction to the ACNA's Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth, Texas demonstrates. On Sunday, December 12, 2010, the website for the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth (within ACNA) has a prominent Latina/o presence. In fact, of the sixteen faces shown, there is only one Anglo, V. Jack Iker, the Bishop of the diocese; he is flanked by a Latino priest and multiple parishioners (mostly children) dressed in indigenous Mexican garb. The accompanying caption gives context to the photo: "Before the Bishop's official visitation began on Sunday, Nov. 28, members of Iglesia San Cristobal<sup>1</sup> in Fort Worth performed a traditional dance in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. During the worship service that followed, Fr. Ricardo Jimenez presented almost three dozen young members to Bishop Iker for first communions and confirmations." It is not surprising that Latina/os would get such prominent coverage on this website. The Latino church featured in the photo, San Cristobal, has the largest congregation in the diocese, with an average Sunday attendance of six hundred. Father Juan's Iglesia San Bartolome has also been featured on the website, where it was heralded as the "fastest growing parish in the diocese."

There is yet another Latino image below that of the Bishop and the traditionally clad parishioners at San Cristobal. A photo of a grinning Fr. Raphael Villareal accompanies a textual explanation that this priest and his congregation of Misi3n Santa Cruz in Houston (formerly a mission within TEC) have been incorporated into the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth (of the ACNA), bringing the diocesan total of congregations (both English-speaking and Spanish-

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a pseudonym.

speaking) to 57. Misión Santa Cruz has thus apparently joined the exodus of conservative congregations from TEC who have “moved” to ACNA.

Perhaps fittingly, then, on the left side of the screen, there is a link to the website for Exodus International, “a ministry of freedom from homosexuality through the power of Jesus Christ.” Next to this link, a visitor can read an impassioned letter from Paul Webster, the Director of Ministry Advancement at Exodus International, who commends Bishop Iker for his “orthodox” stance against a cultural tide of pansexual acceptance. In bellicose terms, Webster equates opposition to the ACNA with a struggle against God: “Those who oppose God have managed to fashion an identity for the Anglican Church that has been eagerly carried by the mainstream media. They have made us ‘the church that hates homosexuals,’ the last place anyone seeking healing and compassion – including friends and family – would turn.” In a linguistic sleight-of-hand Webster equates the Anglican Church in North America (ACNA) with all of Anglicanism. He does not distinguish between those parts of the Anglican Communion who have a reputation for promoting the full-inclusion and acceptance of LGBTQ people, such as TEC, from those, like Webster, Iker and other members of ACNA, who call the sexual expression of such people sinful. In Webster’s rhetoric, the orthodox (re: conservative) movement has become “the Anglican Church”; all others are, by implication, ersatz.

If liberals have hijacked Anglican identity, as Webster claims, the Bishop of the ACNA’s Episcopal Diocese of Forth Worth, Jack Iker, wants to wrest those terms back into conservative arms. Iker seeks to fashion a comprehensible identity for his brand of Anglicanism, outlining what conservatives stand for, rather than against. Sandwiched between the pictures of the Latina/o images on the right side of the screen, and under a terse request for Confirmation class photos, there is a bold heading, “Bishop Iker reflects on our Anglican identity.” The two parts of

this reflection pose a question and offer a response: “Have we joined a different denomination?” and “We are Catholic Christians.”

Iker offers an emphatic “no” to the first question, and outlines the broader cross-cultural and ecclesiastic contours relevant to that response:

One of the allegations in the numerous lawsuits brought against us by the other side is the constant claim that “Iker left the Church and joined another denomination.” There are several problems with this, of course, beginning with the point that “the Church” is a much, much greater reality than the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (sometimes called TEC for short). Add to this the fact that it was the Diocese of Fort Worth that left TEC (by a vast 80% majority vote at two successive diocesan conventions), not just me as the Bishop. I don’t even have a vote at diocesan conventions! And the third, we did not vote to join another denomination, but to realign with another jurisdiction of the worldwide Anglican Communion – the Province of the Southern Cone. However you cut it, we are still Anglicans or Episcopalians – two different words used for the same denomination all over the world.

Curiously, Bishop Iker omits reference to the ACNA here, even though he played such a prominent role in starting that institution. (Fort Worth is one of the largest dioceses in the ACNA.) It is likely that this seemingly glaring omission is due to the ACNA’s uncertain standing in the broader Anglican Communion, since the Archbishop of Canterbury has yet to offer his official recognition of this “Province-in-Formation.” At time of this letter, Iker seemed to believe that the dioceses’ relationship to the Southern Cone, which has longstanding official recognition as a province in the Anglican Communion, gave, by extension, secure ecclesiastical footing to the Episcopal Diocese of Fort Worth (within the ACNA). Given such institutional flux, it is not surprising that Iker addresses the contours of Anglican identity. His comments on this subject are relevant to the identity-making of participants at San Bartolome.

### **Distilling Conservative Discourse at the Local Level**

Some of my informants at San Bartolome use the terms Anglican and Episcopalian interchangeably. Their lack of distinction between the two terms is in keeping with Bishop

Iker's insistence that these words have fluid meanings in different ecclesiastical and cultural contexts. Hence TEC's litigation against the Episcopal Diocese of Forth Worth to reclaim its property and secure its name is, in Iker's view, preposterous: "It simply will not do for TEC to try to claim ownership and exclusive rights to the name 'Episcopal'!" The use of the terms Anglican and Episcopalian at San Bartolome is not merely a product of support for their diocese in its struggles with TEC. Indeed, there are many congregants at San Bartolome who are not immersed in these controversies. Even at the highest levels of lay leadership at the church, opinions are divided over the relevance of this controversy to life at San Bartolome. The First Warden (an administrative position of lay leadership in Anglican and Episcopalian churches) was able to articulate to me a general summary of the controversies that have led to the Dioceses' and San Bartolome's departure from TEC. He identified the blessing of homosexuality and openings to gay ecclesiastical leadership in TEC as the precursors of division. He also clarified that "various families are far away from this [these disputes] but certainly families know and are happy that we made this decision [to leave TEC]." The Second Warden, however, was much more insistent that these matters are distant from the immediate concerns of the congregation:

We are not in favor or against it . . . I personally believe that as much as possible it is better not to enter into conflicts that are not ours. Really, we didn't start it and we are not going to end it. The problems are between them [presumably the Anglo leadership of the ACNA and TEC] and they are going to decide. We are going to follow our spiritual leader, our Father [Juan].

Father Juan, along with the other Latino representatives, voted to leave TEC but this issue does not seem to be of primary concern for him, nor does he want to elevate it as a core component of identity at San Bartolome.

According to Father Juan he is trying to lead his flock to an identity rooted in Christ, in which denominational decisions and concomitant controversies play only secondary and peripheral roles:

Generally I have taught my congregation to have a relationship with God, with Christ, by way of the Holy Spirit. I have not taught my congregation about church politics. I have taught my congregation that we meet in a church that is within the Anglican tradition—the bulletin says that. The people have an identity. We are not a Catholic church or a Baptist church. We are an Anglican church, but first and foremost, we are Christians, worshipping God within an Anglican building . . . For me, Christian identity is the most important thing. The Anglican Church gives me all I need for salvation, all of it.

Father Juan takes great pains here to keep an overarching Christian identity in the foreground, while also providing what he believes are important background details, such as the pragmatic usefulness of his denominational affiliation. Father Juan considers himself an Evangelical and speaks charitably of other Evangelical churches in the area. He also lauds the ACNA for opening spaces to a thriving coexistence of “Evangelical and Catholic” spirituality. Anglicanism has, in his view, been successful in bringing him to salvation, and Father Juan has seen others commit to faith in the same ecclesiastical setting. Father Juan believes that TEC, by contrast, could be an impediment to salvation:

An Anglican church that is badly focused and badly viewed (*mal vista*) can lead you to modernism, and modernism is doing things that are not good. The Episcopal Church left biblical principles and concepts. Yesterday we spoke the truth in the Bible study, the truth, which is what is going to make you free. I believe that the truth is found in the sacred scriptures. There is more rejection in the Bible of homosexuality than acceptance.

As is typical in conservative Christian settings, Father Juan makes a distinction between the practice of sin and the sinner. Sin is to be rejected outright; in Father’s Juan view, though, sinners should be encouraged to receive God’s grace for the transformation of their thoughts and behavior, but loved and accepted no matter how they respond to such admonition.

He points out that gay people have come to services at San Bartolome and that there is one particular lesbian couple who has not only attended the church faithfully for a decade, but has prominently volunteered in a variety of church events. He assures me that they are accepted in the church and that “everyone knows that they are a couple.” He insists to them, though, that they refrain from any demonstrable expressions of romantic affections in the church. The Spanish term he uses for such signs of affection is “*cochinadas*” (nastiness), which demonstrates the repulsion he feels toward homosexual sex acts. Father Juan’s distinction between loving and welcoming the sinner, and hating and denouncing their sin, is echoed at higher ecclesiastical ranks in South American Anglicanism, a region to which Father Juan’s broader diocese has been linked.

### **The Surprising Interstices of Global North and Global South Conservatism**

On November 4, 2010, the Bishop of Chile, Hector “Tito” Zavala, became the first person of Latin American heritage to be elected as primate of the Southern Cone province of the Anglican Communion. Zavala inherited the position from the British-born Gregory Venables, who remained Bishop of Argentina and interim Bishop of Northern Argentina after ceding his previous role to Zavala. Zavala not only inherited a prestigious position from his predecessor, but also the complicated “cross-border” relationships which Venables spearheaded. It was under Venables’s care, for example, that the Forth Worth Diocese and other dissident Episcopalians and Anglicans in the United States and Canada were provisionally incorporated into the province of the Southern Cone.

As an ethnographer travelling to three different case studies in widely different locales, I witness connections that are not always visible to my informants. Sometimes those connections are vexing. On Wednesday mornings, Iglesia San Bartolome holds masses in celebration of particular saints. During those masses, Father Juan gives a brief history of the particular saint

that they are honoring on that occasion and then the twenty to twenty-five people who generally appear for this midweek morning mass follow a scripted liturgy. There are no designated readers for the portion of the liturgy dealing with prayer, and thus parishioners volunteer spontaneously to read those portions. In late December, 2010, San Bartolome had just begun to pray for “Tito” (Hector Zavala) since it had only been a little over a month since he had been elected Primate of the Southern Cone. The person who volunteered to pray for Bishop “Tito” was one of the faithful lesbians whose presence has been so prominent during many volunteer activities at the church. She stood next to her partner, looking at her for assurance about the pronunciation of the names of the other bishops and priests which she was to say in the prayer.

While she was praying for “Tito” (Hector Zavala), I was struck by the use of this nickname, a seemingly incongruous intimacy between a gay parishioner and a theologically conservative bishop, two people who are also separated by a nine hour flight. There were thus multiple and subtle layers of meaning in this moment. In the Southern Hemisphere, Zavala has been part of a movement to maintain a conservative biblical interpretation of human sexuality, and he and others have provided alternative Episcopal oversight to a North American diocese officially set on the same course; within that diocese, however, there is a church with a “public secret”: a lesbian couple strives to live a faithful Christian life, keeping visible expression of their romantic love locked behind closed doors. Within church walls they pray for their newly elected Latin American primate who calls the sexual expression of their love sinful and who unites others in ecclesiastical opposition to such practices. There is then a disjuncture here in the interstices between a globalist institutional rhetoric and lived reality at a local grassroots site. It is no wonder that in addition to creating an “intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson 1992:8), global religious processes are also “disrupting and disorienting”

(Harvey 1990:284). Some participants, like the lesbian couple at San Bartolome, exercise agency by compartmentalizing their lives into public and private realms. Even so, their continued participation as respected volunteers at the church is a kind of embodied resistance, however subtle, to the dominant religious discourses imposed through various institutional networks.

David Hall's comments on religious "practice" are particularly relevant to this case:

As most of us use the term, it encompasses the tensions, the ongoing struggle of definition, which are constituted within every religious tradition and that are always present in how people choose to act. Practice thus suggests that any synthesis is provisional. Moreover, practice always bears the marks of both regulation and what, for want of a better word, we may term resistance. It is not wholly one or the other (Hall 1997:xi).

This lesbian couple might be more comfortable with the way convergence is being mediated in other pockets of Santiago.

### **Emergent Christian Media and the Subversion of Conservative Convergence**

Bishop Hector Zavala would likely be distressed to hear what one leader in an Anglican church in Santiago told me about the Bible: he is not sure that he can affirm the statement that the Bible is the Word of God, but he definitely believes that the Bible contains the words of God. This is the exact sentiment that the Chilean Bishop posited as the root of heresy in the United States. This leader, whom I will call Julio, is immersed in a more progressive expression of Christian convergence called Emergent Christianity, which I detailed in the introductory chapter.

He, like Father Leo Sanchez at San Pedro Episcopal Church in northern Florida, has been profoundly influenced by the most prominent figurehead in Emergent Christianity, Brian McLaren. Sanchez testified in his own blog about the way that McLaren's book *Generous Orthodoxy* had confirmed his own convergent thinking while he was still in the Charismatic Episcopal Church denomination: Many of McLaren's works have been translated into Spanish

and I was able to buy one called *El Secreto de Jesus* (entitled *The Secret Message of Jesus* in English) at a local secular bookstore next to a popular coffee chain in Santiago.

At the Anglican church in Santiago in which Julio is a leader, they have used this work for a congregational book study. McLaren argues that the central message of Jesus about compassion and loving welcome to all people into the kingdom of God has been muffled by conservatives who have sometimes reduced the gospel to a message of saving souls. He also stresses the urgency of Jesus' call to radical social service in a world plagued by injustice. In prioritizing the message of social justice which he has learned from McLaren and progressive Evangelicals like Jim Wallis, Julio finds that controversies over human sexuality have become peripheral to his own identity as an Anglican. In fact, he is in a process of soul-searching about how to guide fellow Anglicans across the complex pathways of human sexuality. He is uncertain as to whether homosexuality is a sin and at the very least believes that gays and lesbians should be inclusively welcomed into church life so that they can participate in their own communally-guided processes of discernment on such issues.

Since he recognizes an affinity between much that he has read and heard from McLaren, Julio describes himself and his church as "Emergent." Although McLaren initially lectured in both conservative Anglican and moderate to liberal Episcopalian settings, he is now a fixture in Episcopalian church networks and he has been forthright about his affirmation of committed gay relationships in Christianity. Julio had yet to read these pronouncements at the time of my interview with him, but he describes his own Emergent journey in terms that are strikingly similar to McLaren's.

### **Mediation and Convergence**

Mediated religious messages are never hermetically sealed; they are always in the flux of formulation and articulation. "The media are not delivery devices but the generation of

experiences, forms of shared consciousness, communion, or community that allow people to assemble meanings that articulate and extend their relations to one another” (Morgan 2008:7). In this chapter I have demonstrated how various kinds of media and religious mediation have helped steer different life trajectories on the road to convergent faith. Some of those mediated paths have created forms of social association that are naturally congenial to the ACNA’s institutional goals of conservative consensus; others have created encounters that can be grafted on to the institutional project of convergent Christian consensus in the ACNA, but do not have any inherent link to these institutional goals; still others have the potential to undermine, even unwittingly, conservative Anglicanism in the Americas with a more progressive trajectory of convergent combinations. The proliferation of diverse kinds of Christian media that sometimes run through the same or similar transnational and global networks means that people often make pragmatic selections about whether to adopt, adapt or re-create the media they encounter. This complicates cross-cultural and cross-territorial attempts at regulating a convergent orthodoxy.

## CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

In this study, I have demonstrated how certain major theories in the study of global religion, such as the intensification of global consciousness and the transnational religious networks that result from such perceptions, are useful in studying emerging trends, such as the reorientation of the Anglican Church in North America toward the Global South, based not only on perceived theological agreement but on the discourse of a natural convergence of Evangelical, Charismatic and Catholic spiritual emphases. My conclusion, then, will illustrate the ways in which my study's major themes dovetail with the study of globalization and the dual processes of deterritorialization—the delinking of meaningful socioreligious relationships from bounded territorial units—and reterritorialization—the reinforcement of old and new connections between socioreligious arrangements and relatively bounded spaces. I do so first by explaining the language of flows and hybridity, which emphasize the fluidity of borders in an age of time-space compression, facilitated by global travel and increased communication. Hybridity is often articulated in contrast to orthodoxy, or “right belief,” but in my case studies church leaders present the hybridity of congregational convergence as natural and, in that way, synonymous with proper orthodoxy. I will also examine what this particular wedding of hybridity to “orthodoxy” suggests about how debates over human sexuality will continue to reconfigure erstwhile taxonomies of Christianity.

I will also evaluate the relevance of seemingly passé frames of analysis, specifically the nation-state. Although national boundaries are less relevant to the transmission of ideas across space in this global age, they are still very real and powerful, especially to the bulk of the Latina/o congregants in my two United States case studies who migrated to the U.S. In this sense, the nation continues to be an important, though not predominant, frame of analysis. I

favor the discourse of networks to articulate transnational interactions and to qualify the unbounded connotations of “flows.” The Emergent Church, with its newfound connections to Latin America, illustrates the relevance of networks across political boundaries, and I discuss Brian McLaren’s incorporation of liberation theology in order to illustrate the relevance of changes to global Charismatic and discursive networks in religious studies.

I conclude with a vignette on global icons, which I see as central to the future of religious studies. The study of religion has been increasingly focused on popular or lived religion in recent decades, fueled by the realization that the behaviors and beliefs of congregants are creatively constructed and constrained and do not always reflect the religious views touted by their elite religious leaders. I have found, however, that in spite of this discrepancy, global religious networks are diversifying so swiftly that these frenetic connections produce a potentially disorienting rush of new ideas and practices, which are often mediated by personalistic figures, or global icons, who articulate these changing networks on a global stage. Alfredo Cooper, pastor of La Trinidad and chaplain to the Chilean President Sebastian Piñera, best represents this trend in my case studies, although it can also be seen by the centrality of such figures as Katharine Jefferts Schori and Brian McLaren in this study. I explicate this trend using a multilevel analysis of the Chilean mining crisis that I covered in the introduction to this work. I posit that “global icons” who live and are perceived to represent particular habituses will continue to emerge as the most densely material expressions of existing and reconfigured plausibility models in global Christianity.

Since convergent Christianity has been swept into other dynamic sea changes, such as the growth of Christianity in Africa, Asia and Latin America, I also examine the ways that shifting discourses of Christian culture have shaped the field of perception about possible convergent

identities and what this means for further study on this subject. “Certainly, the depiction of strategising actors needs to be combined with an appreciation of the structural constraints on individuals and groups in their production of boundaries” (Coleman and Collins 2004:5). Hence, I demonstrate in this concluding chapter that the mingling of previously separate segments of Christian faith within an institution that seeks to assert a global orthodoxy renews the need for mobile and multi-sited academic cartographies.

### **Theories of Globalization**

Leaders of the ACNA seem to be both products and perpetrators of what David Harvey has called “the intensification of global consciousness.” During prolonged strife surrounding the theological status of homosexuality and attendant controversies over varying levels of inclusion for LGBT people in the Anglican Communion, conservatives connecting both through older practices of missionary movement and comparatively newer forms of electronic communication have perceived affinities between their minority theologies in the Global North and the majority theologies of the Global South. The selective points of commonality included shared conservative viewpoints on human sexuality, and similarly convergent practices of faith. These conservatives then became key purveyors of this particular expression of accelerated global consciousness in order to meet some of their own institutional objectives. Conservatives Anglicans in various regions, but especially North America, have thus appropriated a globalist discourse from scholars and a religious discourse from various Christians who have envisioned previously segmented aspects of Christianity—Evangelical, Catholic, and Charismatic—converging in Spirit-directed and global “streams of faith.”

The explanation of globalizing processes as “flows” resonates with these groups since in such aquatic terms leaders of the ACNA can represent their institution as a by-product of the rushing, inscrutable movements of God’s Spirit. Indeed, since water and spirit both evoke

fluidity it is not surprising that scholars like Birgit Meyer would claim that “the study of Pentecostalism reveals the intricacies of the entanglement of global flows with local settings” (2010:116). I certainly witnessed plenty of entanglement between the global and the local at my three Spirit-centered case studies, and I am not suggesting that leaders of the ACNA are intentionally disingenuous and duplicitous about the mingling of different kinds of Christian faith in the Anglican Communion in general and their “province-in-formation” in particular; but transfluvial metaphors on their own fail to capture the “relatively stable but always contested differentials of power, of inclusion and exclusion, of cooperation and conflict, of boundary-crossing and boundary-making” that was evident at my interconnected sites (Vásquez 2010:298) “Networks,” by contrast can give transfluvial metaphors greater explanatory power. “Networks simultaneously conduct and restrict flows of goods, capital, people and religious identities, and practices across multiple spaces, from the personal to the transnational and global, producing both deterritorialization and reterritorialization” (Vásquez 2010:164). I have thus drawn on the potential for network theory to illuminate those contested crevices and corners that institutional leaders might prefer remain in the shadows.

Like Manuel Vásquez, “I have focused on networks as a way to underline the fact that religions on the move entail the activity of specific individuals and groups that are located in and connected through shifting but binding differentials of power” (Vásquez 2010:310). I have used the primarily emic term of “convergence” as a heuristic, organizing category in a study that reveals the “material density of multifarious institutions, rituals, and practices through which a discursive formation is structured” (Bergunder 2010:53). In this concluding chapter, I consider how this study of convergent Christian networks emanating from nodes located within a

mainline denomination has revealed broader levels of coalition, contestation and change afoot in global Christianity.

### **Classifying My Case Studies in Current Taxonomies**

This project called for significant mobility. I traveled from my base in the American Southeast to the Global South, from Chile to the American Southwest, and back from Texas to Florida. I have thus found Thomas Tweed's considerations about the perspective of the mobile ethnographer to be instructive: "Theories . . . are *sightings* from sites. They are positioned representations of a changing terrain by an itinerant cartographer." (2006:11). There were times during my travels when I was not conscious, or only barely so, of borders. During air travel, I would read, dose off, or just let my mind wander as the aircraft flew over multiple territorial demarcations—on the flight to Chile, our route was digitally mapped, and the position of the plane on our current flight path was continually updated on the screen. When a border agent in Atlanta, who had the power to deny my reentry into the country, became confused about my status as a Canadian studying in the United States and returning from a South American nation, I experienced the kind of bodily concern for borders that you can measure in sweat. This was an important reminder to me about the different ways that people experience borders, and all the variables of class, citizenship, and status that can make borders seem like pebble-sized obstacles for certain people at particular moments, and immovable barriers for many others throughout their lives.

Even though I have demonstrated ways that new hybrid forms of Christianity have reconfigured erstwhile borders between institutions, people, and theologies, I am not arguing that borders are no longer relevant in global Christianity. Indeed, new hybrid formations should make scholars even more attentive to borders—especially ongoing processes of border-making and border-crossing. It is meaningless to speak about such movements if we do not have solid

explanatory models of what the current configurations look like, both reflexively for participants and from the perspective of fresh academic taxonomies.

Hybridity is entirely contextual, relational. What is strikingly hybrid in one setting may not even be noticeable in another. The significance of hybridity extends only so far as the reach of the boundaries that it transgresses. If hybridity subverts a provincialism, outside the province it has no meaning. (Nederveen Pieterse 2003:106).

Throughout Latin American history, syncretism has abounded in encounters between religions and cultures. The Roman Catholic Church has had varying official attitudes to syncretism in its long history within Latin America, but it has opened space for its own brand of Spirit-centered faith, Charismatic Catholicism. The difference, though, between that potential border zone and my convergent cases is that scholars like Andrew Chesnut have offered convincing accounts that Catholic Charismatic Renewal draws increasingly tight borders of identity as a Catholic movement, and one that is self-consciously distinct from Protestant Pentecostalism (Chesnut 2003:65).

When I found out that there were U.S. Latina/o churches remaking and inhabiting worlds in which otherwise competing images and practices were important coexistent and constituent elements, and not clearly identified in either the Protestant or Catholic camps, I was intrigued to explore the imaginative material combinations embedded in such constructions. There were moments when the sanctuary of St. Bartolome was a Catholic world in which bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, and the Virgin of Guadalupe was an ever-watchful figure, available for supplication to Catholic-minded congregants. I watched one woman at San Bartolome approach the painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe with her young son in her arms. She stood close and seemed to prayerfully gaze at the painting while she interjected instructive comments to the child, whispering to him and then pointing at the painting; then whispering and pointing again. At other moments, that same spot was inhabited by a different set of dominant

symbols. On Tuesday evenings, the Holy Spirit was the central figure, invoked through urgent prayers and embodied in people who collapsed under the perceived weight of spiritual power.

Drawing on Arjun Appadurai, Birgit Meyer avers that the “most salient aspect of globalization—at least for scholars in the social-cultural sciences—concerns its cultural dimension: the possibility for people to deploy alternative imaginaries that give rise to new kinds of public cultures” (Meyer 2010:117). I was struck, then, by the salience of mobility in the new combinations I was studying. Some people’s convergent experience was the culmination of having crossed various Catholic and Protestant paths in their journeys from Latin America to the United States. Jaime is an example from my case studies of the kind of convergent journey that seems to have expanded “alternative imaginaries” and led to “new kinds of public cultures.” Still, even within the same institution, the Anglican Communion, it was not always easy to find patterns in the imaginaries of my varied informants.

Some important figures like David, who contribute to the spiritual life of San Bartolome and likeminded Latina/o churches in the Fort Worth area, have decided that the backdrop of either Protestantism or Catholicism is too limiting. David has carved out an identity by refusing these stock labels and thus “the other” against which he defines himself is a Christian who believes the ecclesiastical boundaries of any one particular denomination or Church are coterminous with “authentic” Christianity. David considers himself a spirit-filled, Christocentric follower of God who has embraced the *via media* and declared that Catholic and Protestant “passports” to heaven have expired and been supplanted by more inclusive certification. He affirms one way to God, Jesus, but not one ecclesiastical formulation of that path.

Others, like Iris, seem to be edging closer to an Evangelical or Protestant Pentecostal identity and understanding of faith, one that eschews the prominence of saints and images more

closely associated with Catholicism. When, for example, someone gifted her husband with a large statue of a saint, she was mortified and exclaimed, “Where are we going to put this?!” But when the occasion demands she will join a processional line to kiss a doll representing the baby Jesus. Where then are we going to put her? What are the most appropriate analytical categories for any of these diverse hybrid expressions of faith? To answer these questions it is necessary to examine the ways that various Christian groups are currently classified.

### **Classifying Networks by Common Theological Features and Linked Histories**

There are theological features and historical links that would suggest that all of my case studies should be placed within a broad network of pneumacentric Christian faith. Some scholars have used the term “pneumatic” or “pneumacentric” as descriptors for religions that stress the dynamic and active role of a spirit or spirits in the lives of practitioners (Chesnut; Vásquez). There are various ways of addressing the pneumacentric expressions within Christianity; some prefer the broad term Pentecostalism, even for groups that fall outside of official Pentecostal denominations (Robbins 2010:156). Others use more narrow terms of classification, distinguishing between self-identifying Pentecostal denominations and those “established older churches,” such as the Catholic Church and Lutheran churches, which have groups of believers who have combined Pentecostal practices with other longstanding rituals in their churches. Such groups have been called “Charismatics” (Anderson 2010:19), and, since La Trinidad interacts with official Pentecostal denominations, I have primarily used the term Charismatic for the participants in my case studies so as to avoid confusion; but my case studies are relevant to broad conceptions of global Pentecostalism.

Despite their varying institutional links, all three of my case studies have a Charismatic Christian ethos; that is, the leaders of all three churches believe the Holy Spirit plays a pivotal part in their Christian lives and they have sought to fan the flames of varying Charismatic

features among their congregations. I witnessed multiple participants from all three of my case studies either practice or speak positively about characteristics generally considered Pentecostal and Charismatic: speaking in tongues, prophecy, faith-healing, dance, hand-raising during emotive singing and other embodied worship patterns. Not all of these features were present to the same degree or in the same spaces within each of these congregations, and that diversity was a telling feature about the diverse local shapes that convergence can take.

Birgit Meyer insists, “In the future, more work is needed that investigates new connections in the Pentecostal global networks, along which ideas, media products, preachers and believers circulate” (Meyer 2010:120). My study of new levels of relational association and institutional configurations arranged around “convergence” is an example of new connections in a broadly conceived Pentecostal global network, and one in which Charismatic Christianity is a sub-network. My study also dovetails with the work of scholars who have advocated the fruitfulness of studying Pentecostalism as a discursively constructed network of various Christian groups. Michael Bergunder explains, “Pentecostalism understood as a network could be formally identified without any need for a preconceived normative or analytical definition (such as Evangelicalism plus speaking in tongues as initial evidence of Spirit baptism, or a ‘movement’ concerned primarily with the *experience* of the working of the Holy Spirit and the practice of spiritual gifts). . . .” (Bergunder 2010:55). Rather, Pentecostalism should be understood as “constant and contested discursive processes of negotiation” (Bergunder 2010:54). Bergunder does not reject the importance of studying theology or identifying common features and practices between various groups, but he does qualify their inclusion in studies of networks: “Theology and practices in a network have to be retrieved as they show themselves in discursive articulation and not in respect to historical and theological ‘traditions,’ ‘roots,’ or ‘essences.’” (Bergunder

2010:55). Such an understanding would leave room for the inclusion of the kind of hybrid constructions of convergent faith that I have documented in this study. Also, as Bergunder argues, “How a Pentecostal network is embedded in other discursive networks (e.g., Evangelicalism, Protestantism, Christianity, religion, conservative politics) must always be explored” (Bergunder 2010:54). As a movement within the broadest networks of Pentecostalism, convergence is likewise embedded in even wider networks of Evangelicalism, and it is playing a prominent role, which Evangelicals are noticing, in reconfiguring the shape and adding new connections to those networks.

Like Pentecostalism, Evangelicalism can be delineated according to theology and shared features. The classical grouping of Evangelical qualities is drawn from David Bebbington’s work on *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, in which he offers a quadrilateral of Evangelical “priorities”: “*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed, *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross” (Bebbington 1989:2–3). This cluster is still salient in Evangelicalism, but new models of conversion in Evangelicalism call for a networked approach that would help make sense of the expanding ranks and characteristics of a movement whose leaders take great care to reflect on and monitor the shifting borders of their brand of faith.

Some of those leaders sound exasperated about the litany of subdivisions arising within Evangelicalism and are subsequently anxious that an identity they hold dear is being stretched beyond cohesion and explanatory power. Consider what one such Evangelical wrote in an introduction to a comparative work entitled *Four Views on the Spectrum of Evangelicalism*. In what seems like intentionally vertiginous style, Collin Hansen enumerates the growing range of

Evangelicalism: “Simply labeling ourselves evangelical no longer suffices. We are conservative, progressive, postconservative, and preprogressive evangelicals. We are traditional, creedal, biblical, pietistic, anticreedal, ecumenical and fundamentalist. We are ‘followers’ of Christ’ and ‘Red Letter Christians.’ We are everything so we are nothing” (2011:1). That lament is not the final word in that book, obviously, but the four contributors making their cases for “Fundamentalism,” “Confessional Evangelicalism,” “Generic Evangelicalism,” and “Postconservative Evangelicalism,” respectively, do not come to consensus.

Other leaders believe that the growing cultural and theological variety within Evangelicalism has shaped the movement so profoundly that the most pivotal point of the movement, conversionism, is undergoing a radical reinterpretation, and to them, this seems a positive change. It is particularly germane to this study that such an article was featured as the lead story on the online edition of a foundational evangelical publication like *Christianity Today* because several factors that the author highlights relate to the contours of convergence that I have sketched in this study. In “The New Conversion: Why We ‘Become Christians’ Differently Today,” Gordon T. Smith avers:

It is not an overstatement to say that evangelicals are experiencing a "sea change"—a paradigm shift—in their understanding of conversion and redemption, a shift that includes the way in which they think about the salvation of God, the nature and mission of the church, and the character of religious experience. Although there is no one word to capture where evangelicals are going in this regard, there is a word that captures what they are leaving behind: revivalism (2012).

He proceeds to argue that the reasons why Evangelicals are increasingly conceiving of and experiencing conversion as a gradual, lifelong process of commitment, rather than a definitive Pauline turning point, include the following factors: “cross-pollination from other Christian traditions,” “the global character of evangelicalism and the impact of Pentecostalism,” and “a recovery of both the evangelical and the ancient Christian heritage”; in other words all of the

most salient factors that I have pointed to in this study. He draws attention to Robert Webber specifically as a key figure who has “profiled the ‘ancient’ Christian heritage, urging evangelicals to draw on the wisdom of the church fathers and the liturgical and catechetical practices of the early church.” Since scholars have pointed to the ways that networks are sustained, in part, through “their publications and other media production,” it is useful to consider how participants in my case studies fit within such mediated connections (Robbins 2004:125).

There have been times when the study of Christianity has suffered from imbalanced attention to theological ideas, as if the sophisticated musings of a few represented the lived practices of many. As a result of that legacy, it may be tempting to highlight frenetic hybridity on the ground as a way of giving the lie to the message of stable orthodoxy from above. In this work I have documented multiple layers of divergence between various authorized narratives and lived religion on the ground—both among laity and clergy. In the case of convergent Christianity, though, it is important to keep in mind that there is also sometimes surprising correspondence between theological propositions and creative grassroots combinations. To ignore the correlation as a scholar would be to simplify a complex phenomenon, one that requires continual rethinking and reformulating. Consider, for instance, some of the surprising ways that the religious lives of the convergent Christians in my study mirror Robert Webber’s Ancient-Future faith designs.

### **Ancient-Future Faith Paradigm at San Bartolome**

There were aspects of services at San Bartolome that fit Webber’s paradigm of postmodern Evangelical faith, such as their elaborate ritual enactment of incarnational theology. The incarnation is a theological term for the idea that God became flesh in the person of Jesus. In *Ancient-Future Worship* (a sequel to *Ancient-Future Faith*), Webber points out that Evangelicals

have difficulty giving theological significance to Christmas because they have a poor understanding of the incarnation. In Webber's view, many Evangelicals say plenty about Christ's atoning death on a Christ, but if that is the crux of the salvation message, then celebrating the birth of a baby in a manger seems retrospectively anticlimactic. Webber found a more robust meditation on the incarnation in Eastern Orthodox Christianity:

As I read Byzantine Theology (over and over again, mulling it in my mind and heart), I realized that the missing link in Western theology is a deep appreciation for the incarnation and subsequent Christus Victor theme of how God incarnate won a victory over sin and death. For example, in the West many seem stumped by the virgin birth. We believe in the miraculous conception, but we are not sure what to do with it. Not so with the Eastern fathers. They know exactly what to do with the incarnation. God in the womb of the Virgin Mary united with his entire creation in order to reverse the fallenness of creature and creation by taking into his own body the consequence of sin, which is death (Webber 2008:160).

San Bartolome, in keeping with Webber's observations on the Orthodox Church, has inherited a series of ritual practices from Mexico that focuses all senses on the incarnation. Through touching, kissing, bathing, bowing, sprinkling and all the other acts associated with honoring the baby Jesus during their Christmas Eve service, they articulate a "deep appreciation for the incarnation," which is an obviously vivid and essential component of their community of faith.

The connections between Webber's Ancient-Future faith model and ritual life at San Bartolome are also evident in their treatment of conversion as a continuum. Webber believed that the crisis conversion experiences orchestrated in Evangelical settings had run their course and that the multiple stages of Christian initiation that the early church practiced were more compatible with postmodern environs.

This early church evangelism assumed four things. First, it was based on Christus Victor [Christ as victor over the powers of death and evil] understanding of the death of Christ. Second, it presupposed that the church plays a mothering role in the process of salvation. Thus the church was referred to as the "womb" in which the formation of the new convert was nourished. Third, the rituals of the church pertaining to salvation (passage rites) were treated as external means of organizing an internal experience. Fourth, conversion was understood as happening in various

stages of development; a person was led through a maturation that led to baptism and entrance into the church as the culminating events of the converting process (Webber 2008:148).

San Bartolome also exhibits a concern for social justice that abounds in Webber's works. Father Juan and congregants pray for immigration Reform, take active steps to change health care policies that hurt undocumented workers, and incorporate such concerns in special liturgies of contemplation.

### **The Relevance of the Emergent Movement**

Other groups in my study have extended the blend of convergent worship and social action in the ancient future faith model of convergent worship, but they do so in networks increasingly connected to progressive institutions like TEC. The "emerging" and "Emergent" movements began as groups of mainly disaffected Evangelicals whose reappraisal of faith in a postmodern age led them to a series of proposals similar to Ancient Future faith: intentional acts of community building within and outside the church, experiential and experimental worship patterns, a convergent appreciation for theological practices and beliefs across the wide spectrum of Christianity, and a pronounced emphasis on social justice in the Bible. Scot McKnight explains the differences between the two related terms for this movement.

To prevent confusion, a distinction needs to be made between "emerging" and "Emergent." Emerging is the wider, informal, global, ecclesial (church-centered) focus of the movement, while Emergent is an official organization in the U.S. and the U.K. Emergent Village, the organization, is directed by Tony Jones, a Ph.D. student at Princeton Theological Seminary and a world traveler on behalf of all things both Emergent and emerging. Other names connected with Emergent Village include Doug Pagitt, Chris Seay, Tim Keel, Karen Ward, Ivy Beckwith, Brian McLaren, and Mark Oestreicher. Emergent U.K. is directed by Jason Clark. While Emergent is the intellectual and philosophical network of the emerging movement, it is a mistake to narrow all of emerging to the Emergent Village (McKnight 2007).

The Emergent Village emblem is on the back of Phyllis Tickle's work *The Great Emergence*, a book in which she argues that the model of previously distinct quadrants of Christianity,

represented by such terms as “Social Justice Christians,” “Liturgical Christians,” “Conservative Christians” “Renewalists,” is giving way to a “gathering center” where people increasingly partake in a combination of the various emphases represented in those quadrants. On the top of the back cover there is also an indication that this book is one of the “Emergent Village resources for communities of faith.” In addition, there is a telling blurb on that back cover which dramatizes the ways that “Emergent/emerging” Christianity has been appropriated by mainline Christianity and particularly by the global icons of progressive forms of Christian faith. In writing on that back cover, the Presiding Bishop and Primate of TEC, Katharine Jefferts Schori, does not spare superlatives in her recommendation of this work:

Phyllis Tickle offers a creative and provocative overview of multiple social and cultural changes in our era, their relation to previous paradigm shifts, and their particular impact on North American Christianity. This is an immensely important contribution to the current conversation about new and emerging forms of Christianity in a post-modern environment—and a delight to read!

Leo Sanchez mentioned in an interview that during her stay in Northern Florida, Jefferts Schori had trumpeted the Emerging Church as an important model for TEC’s future.

Indeed, it is not only leaders of TEC who are excited about the promise Emergent networks hold for the future of the mainline churches. In *Toward a Hopeful Future: Why the Emergent Church is Good News for Mainline Congregations*, co-pastors of a Disciples of Christ church in Springfield, Missouri, champion the same themes that Robert Webber explored in his various *Ancient-Future* books. “Emerging forms of worship tend to be participatory, multisensory, and interested in a return to ancient practices and symbols, all the while remaining open to postmodern expressions of faith and life” (Snider and Bowen 2010:9). Furthermore, they recognize that these terms refer to a “diverse network” (2010:22). The parallels are legion between the convergent discourses within conservative segments of the Anglican Communion and the increasingly combinative language used in these more progressive Emergent circles.

A striking parallel between the conservative hybridity I have documented and these more progressive combinations of Christian faith is that these Emergent leaders also use the language of “convergence” and they do so while employing the same organic metaphors that leaders like Robert Duncan have used to reinforce the idea that combinations in the ACNA are by-products of an external force (the Holy Spirit), and not primarily human and strategic efforts. Snider and Bowen explain,

We certainly want to help progressives connect with emergents, but not by advocating some sort of extreme faith makeover. Instead, we wish to point to the convergence that we’ve observed in relationship to emergent church culture and progressive faith traditions—a convergence that is spontaneous, organic, and *unexpected* (2010:51).

Here convergent discourse is combined with implicit pneumatic discourse, where the unpredictable Spirit is thought to be reconfiguring the North American religious landscape, a rearrangement leaders only need to point out, rather than rework by their own efforts. In fact, progressives are even using the same aquatic metaphors so ubiquitous in conservative segments of the Anglican Communion. Marcus Borg, who is Canon Theologian at Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Portland, Oregon, explains on the back of *Hopeful Future*, “Convergence between streams of emergent and progressive Christianity is a striking and hopeful happening.” What is absent from these selections is a reference to the global.

### **Global Emergence and Global Networks**

Brian McLaren is a notable author and speaker who once straddled the line between Evangelical and Mainline Christianity. In 2006, he made Time Magazine’s list of the fifty most influential Evangelicals, but in North America he now spends the majority of his time among mainline churches. He is a notable figure in the Anglican Communion in general and TEC in particular. In the past, McLaren had been a guest speaker at events that some might see as being diametrically opposed to one another. In 2006, for instance, he spoke at the winter conference of

the Anglican Mission in the Americas, which has since become a “mission partner” of the ACNA. His global fame has also earned him speaking engagements in much less conservative confines. He spoke at the Anglican Lambeth Conference of 2008 and most recently he shared at the Episcopal Church’s General Conference of 2009.

McLaren, like other Emergent leaders, generally eschews strict doctrinal formulations and stresses, instead, the power of embodied narrative and community in spiritual transformation. In 2006, he gave an address at the commencement ceremony for graduates of a convergent worship institute called International Worship Institute (IWS), which carries on Robert Webber’s legacy of “Ancient Future Worship.” Indeed, McLaren has encouraged a wide array of practices in his effort to bring narrative to life in Christian worship. For McLaren that narrative is primarily a story of social justice increasingly informed by theologians and writers from the Global South. His experience could even be considered a product of “reverse mission,” the idea that people in lands which North American Protestants had once tried to convert are reappearing as spiritual influences in the North American context (even after their deaths) via new networks of Global South to Global North ministry. In a travelogue, McLaren noted, “I’m writing from a pretty little garden in a courtyard at a small hotel in El Salvador. I just returned from visiting the Catholic Church where Archbishop Oscar Romero was shot in 1980. We also visited the Jesuit residence where six Jesuits, their housekeeper, and her daughter were shot in 1989. I’m moved, inspired, and also a little shaken up.” In addition, McLaren has read some of the most notable Latin American writings of liberation theology, including those of Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutierrez, and has incorporated their prophetic denunciations of structural injustice in his most recent works.

McLaren's experience in El Salvador in 2006 was part of a month long trip through Latin America he took to learn from and speak with various segments of Latin American Christianity. The trip helped solidify growing links between Emergent Christianity in North America and progressive expressions of Latin American Evangelicalism that are organized in a network called "*La Red del Camino*" ("Network of the Way"). This is an important example of ways that progressive networks that overlap Evangelical and Mainline frontiers are being connected to similar movements in Latin America. La Red del Camino held a conference in Argentina, in which one of the keynote speakers was a leader from a church that was planted out of La Trinidad in Santiago, Chile (the church that I referred to in chapter 4 as having another leader whose view of biblical inspiration seemed closer to that of TEC than Bishop Zavala's). At the conference in Argentina in 2011 the leader from Chile spoke on the theme, "*Que decimos cuando decimos evangelio?*" ("What are We Saying When We Say "Gospel"?") During that meeting of Lutherans, Anglicans, Baptists and Pentecostals, the participants reaffirmed a number of goals at the core of their identity:

The necessity to connect more with this network [*La Red Del Camino*] and to continue believing in this form of the church, which is countercultural within the Evangelical world. Themes addressed included social injustice, the apathy of churches on that subject, the lack of community proposals in the field of microenterprise, and all the possibilities we have in Christ as the people of God.<sup>1</sup>

Back in 2006, Brian McLaren's trip to Chile had been organized by this same network. The leader from the church plant out of La Trinidad told me that he hopes to invite McLaren again on a second speaking tour in Santiago. For now, the church uses McLaren's book *The Secret Message of Jesus* in their small group studies and reflects on Jesus' imperative to give first place and priority to the downtrodden and oppressed. It remains to be seen how this

---

<sup>1</sup> I am not providing this source so as to protect the anonymity of the participant from my case study.

message will resonate in a post-dictatorship Chile still haunted with the eerie silence of incomplete truth and reconciliation, and at La Trinidad where Alfredo Cooper once traded liberation theology for Pentecostal emphases. Regardless, the impact of the trip on McLaren speaks to how progressive, religiously-informed political views can be carried through complex networks from the global South to the global North. McLaren explained, “Chileans know that the CIA planned the assassination of one of their presidents, Salvador Allende, and helped install in his place a military dictator, Pinochet, who killed thousands of Chileans who were fighting for democracy. I don’t think most Americans know much about this.”

This study has been about the ways that U.S. Latinos and Latin Americans have created distinct brands of convergent Christianity in a globalized and fracturing denomination, in which non-white and non-Western Christianity has newfound spiritual capital. Some Emergent church leaders and observers have lamented (or critiqued) the predominance of white and middle class figures in the Emergent church. Given its multid denominational and multicultural character, Iglesia San Pedro may be a model of where the Emergent Church is heading: articulating an inclusive message of convergent spirituality shared across cultural divides. At least one sample of Emergent literature has stirred Leo Sanchez. After reading McLaren’s *Generous Orthodoxy* and while Leo was still in the CEC, he meditated on convergent faith and spiritual guidance: “As an Anglican in the CEC, having had the opportunity to interact, learn and love Christians from almost every conceivable tradition, I identified completely with many of the concepts and illustrations in this book. A coincidence or the Spirit at work in many different places in the Church????” The repetitive interrogatives concluding Sanchez’s post bespeak two central themes I have deduced in examining convergent Christianity: ecumenism—dialogue, sharing and cooperative interaction between various segments of Christianity—and calling. Convergent

ecumenism, in both liberal and conservative settings, is, for insiders to these movements, a first step to addressing where the Spirit is moving. Convergent Christians believe the Spirit is leading across denominational lines. According to this view, then, there are many viable options of where to settle into a spiritual home. Becoming involved in one particular Spirit-honoring place requires a sense of leading and calling—at least in hindsight, if not with foresight. Figures like Brian McLaren, Alfredo Cooper, Katharine Jefferts Schori, Father Alberto Cutie, and the other internationally renowned people I have treated in the study, and who move through and are well-known in various transnational and global religious networks, are key mediators of these diverse and potentially disorienting networks. People are making connections to these networks through relational associations, and prominent figures help embody these connections.

### **Global Icons**

This insight draws on what Simon Coleman found about the ways various elite religious figures can be siphons for broader notions concerning the transnational networks of Charismatic faith in Sweden. He explains, “Charismatics tend to perceive events through individual social action and personality, and just as we saw how Ekman stands for Swedish influence over the world, so Sumrall represents revivalist history and influence coming to Sweden” (Coleman 2004:125). These living icons are not only drawn from elite ranks, as Joel Robbins points out: “Pentecostal churches are often unadorned because the worshipers themselves become, through the actions of the Spirit, icons to be seen by one another” (Robbins 2010:165). And this process is reinforced through media. “The use of videos even opens up the possibility for ordinary participants to turn themselves into iconic objects of contemplation by allowing themselves to be ‘inscribed’ into the official framing of a service” (Coleman 2004:172). The extensive use of media at La Trinidad provided particularly provocative material to consider how politicians,

religious leaders, and local lay people are inscribed into the official framing of the ministry of La Trinidad.

In a 2012 video celebrating their 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary as a local church, members of the media ministry at La Trinidad put together a high-polished montage of various representative figures and ministries from their church. Over the musical backdrop of “Get up Offa That Thing” (with the late American soul singer James Brown bellowing “Good God!”), pictures of local congregants and lay leaders praying, taking communion and performing various evangelical outreaches throughout Chile accompany images of Alfredo Cooper in all his national prominence and religious globetrotting. There is, for instance, a picture of Cooper with the miner Jose Henriquez and the President of the United States, Barack Obama. There is also a picture of the President of Chile, Sebastian Piñera, with his hands on the knees of an infirm man, while the Catholic Chaplain to the President, Luis Ramirez, and the Evangelical chaplain, Alfredo Cooper, both stand in priestly garments, smiling affectionately at the scene. That particular iconic image is inscribed with greater textual details on the website for the church. There anyone who clicks on this picture can read a transcript of the Christmas message Cooper delivered at “El Palacio de la Moneda,” or “The President’s Palace,” along with Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Pentecostal, and other representative of Christian traditions in Chile.

At this 2011 celebration of the annual holiday event, Cooper acknowledged the hard work of the president, his cabinet and the opposition, and he implored the various esteemed politicians and others in his midst to voluntarily “invite Jesus to be king of our lives.” He explained that during President Obama’s visit to Chile, Obama had noted in a “private conversation” (presumably with Cooper) that “the community of survival that they formed in the mine was a

prayerful democracy (*La comunidad de supervivencia que se formó en la mina fue una democracia orante*).” Cooper continued,

Isn't that what we are in Chile? I am therefore profoundly thankful that in this country prayer has been reintroduced, in this place of government (“*en esta casa de gobierno*”), and from it to the rest of the country. Certainly Jesus reigns over the lives and the countries of those who give their voluntary votes to him. As Jesus himself put it in the Sermon on the Mount, “Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all else will be added unto you.”

In addition to this wedding of the rhetoric of evangelical personal conversion to political conversion, Cooper also discursively fused the Charismatic emphasis on healing prayer to the power of the president. He explained,

Last year, a girl that was dying from cancer participated in this event. She is a great admirer of the president and she asked for an opportunity to meet him before dying. That day we prayed for her and extraordinarily she didn't die; she has continued recovering. We are calling it “El Milagro de la Moneda” (the Miracle of the Moneda). This year, in similar conditions but affected by Amyotrophic Lateral Sclerosis, with not very promising prognosis, [we will pray for] Michel Mardones, beneficiary of a wheelchair from the mission of the Presbyterian Church, believer in his Savior, and also desiring to meet his president, whom he profoundly admires.

Here we have a striking dramatization of the ways that transnational religious links—represented by Barack Obama's comments and that president's connections to Cooper through the Pentecostal miner Jose Henriquez—have been deployed to sacralize a particular political expression of the nation-state in a setting in which the various constituent elements of convergence—Evangelical conversion discourse, Charismatic healing prayer, and the representation of Catholic and Eastern Orthodox leaders—are all on public religious stage. All of this is then compressed into a video for the local church, which focuses not only on reaching their city, nation and world for “King Jesus,” but seeks an intimate spiritual connection with the potentially unnoticed individuals of society, given iconic presence in this case by the man with ALS, Michel Mardones. This demonstrates how the individual can be drawn into the global

level of analysis by global icons like Alfredo Cooper, adding political and social dimensions to an otherwise personal journey.

Even so, these processes are contested by some of the same virtual means that they are propagated. For instance, Cooper wrote on Facebook that he had prayed on his birthday that he would receive a hug from his beloved president Sebastian Piñera, and was thrilled when Piñera not only offered an embrace but encouraged the visiting king of Spain, Juan Carlos I, to do the same. Cooper then advertised the upcoming service at La Trinidad encouraging readers, “To know how to evangelize a king, I will reveal everything in this Sunday’s sermon.” Most of the responses to that post were joyful, affirming, and expectant, but one man offered an incisive, biblically-informed critique: “What a privilege . . . I hope that the king stops killing defenseless animals [a possible reference to reports that the Spanish king had recently gone on an elephant-killing safari in Botswana]. . . and as to the president . . . you could evangelize him about the rich young ruler, seeing that he is one of the richest men in this country, applying the well-known formula . . . buy cheap and sell at high costs.” (“Que privilegio.....ojala que el rey deje de matar animales indefensos...y al presidente..se le podria evangelizar sobre el joven rico, siendo uno de los hombres mas ricos de este pais , aplicando la conocida formula...comprar barato y vender caro.”) These sentiments dramatize the multiple levels of power at work in constructing conceptions of the local, national, and global.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

It is clear that traditional boundaries between denominations are increasingly blurred and that people are multiply embedded in various local, national and transnational networks since some networks overlap other meaningful boundaries. Accordingly, borrowing and religious exchanges continue to outpace efforts to harness religion in tight doctrinal borders. Also, the discourse of a flourishing non-Western and non-Anglo Christian faith is gaining ground in many

contemporary Christian circles with disparate North American views as to the most salient themes of that non-Western faith, and different applications of what kind of impact Global South patterns of faith should have on North America.

The most important networks to the future shape of global Christianity are those which fall under the broad category of “Evangelicalism” and “Emergent/Emergence.” I would argue that even though San Bartolome and La Trinidad are appropriately classified within Evangelical networks, and Iglesia San Pedro is more closely connected with Emergent Networks, the similarities of discourses and combinations of faith in these networks means they are not hermetically sealed from another. Furthermore these networks present both local and far-flung links, which people increasingly navigate via pneumacentric discourses and practices. In the process, both kinds of networks have hybridized so extensively that the idea of a centripetal core of orthodoxy is becoming increasingly implausible. For conservatives within Evangelical networks the only solid point of differentiation from perceived liberals remains their continued insistence that homosexuality is sinful. Even for conservatives, though, the pneumacentric elements in their midst, with the idea of an unpredictable Spirit who does new things, threatens to topple the plausibility structures supporting that stance. Barack Obama, for example, has been inscribed as a global icon into the transnational religious networks and global consciousness relevant to La Trinidad, but he now says that his Christian views of homosexuality “evolved” and he wholeheartedly supports gay marriage.

### **A Call to Further Research**

The preponderance of the trope of globalization in convergent and Emergent circles points to possibilities of how people from diverse cultural backgrounds and from different Christian denominations and traditions may negotiate the vagaries of globalized life; for there are ever-expanding motives and means for mobility across religious, geographic and cultural spaces, but

few signs of direction about where to go or who to be. “Postmodernity signifies the absence of a consensus as to the agenda for an identity, hence the demise of the pilgrim metaphor for travelers of modernity’, while people travel without the prospect of relief at arrival” (van Harskamp and Musschenga 2001:245). The pilgrim metaphor has often had a connotation of people travelling to a single predetermined destination. Many of the participants in this study, however, believe that they have been led to multiple points in an ongoing journey, and the trope of calling is compatible for the complex narratives they design after settling or while on the move. Charting their course from an academic perspective will require more in-depth interviews that are attentive to the array of religious media products people consume, the networks through which both people and products travel, and the broader institutional discourses that respond to and shape social and political processes. We need to take all these narratives and discourses seriously without taking them for granted.

That task will require an academic mix of humility and clarity, bold assessments and qualified conclusions. If this sounds disorienting, perhaps we will be in the right frame of mind to listen to narratives that are weaved through ever-shifting borders, boundaries that belie their novelty by sometimes firmly constricting and constraining the imaginative and practiced possibilities of global Christian faith. In short, we should not underestimate the continued salience of borders, nor should we discount the expansive practices and imaginative possibilities of global Charismatic convergent Christianity.

## LIST OF REFERENCES

- A thousand questions. *YouTube*. Retrieved July 1, 2011  
(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiNBmNI88Pk>)
- Adams, Elizabeth. 2006. *Going to Heaven: The life and election of Bishop Gene Robinson*. Brooklyn, NY: Soft Skull Press.
- Anderson, Allan. 2004. *An introduction to Pentecostalism: Global charismatic Christianity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, Allan, Michael Bergunder, Andre Droogers, and Cornelis van der Laan, (eds.). 2010. *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Anderson, Justice. 2005. *An evangelical saga*. Longwood, FL: Xulon Press.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: Regents.
2010. Archbishop Duncan, other religious leaders voice shared commitment to protect marriage. *AnglicanChurch.net*, December 6. Retrieved October 10, 2011  
(<http://www.anglicanchurch.net/?/main/page/180>)
2010. Archbishop's address to the annual council. *AnglicanChurch.net*, June 8. Retrieved October 10, 2011 (<http://www.anglicanchurch.net/?/main/page/118>)
2011. Archbishop's State of the Church address: Provincial Council 2011. *AnglicanChurch.net*, June 21. Retrieved October 10, 2011 (<http://www.anglicanchurch.net/?/main/page/258>)
- Armendariz, Ruben P. 1999. In *Protestantes/protestants: Hispanic Christianity within mainline traditions*, edited by David Maldonado, pp. 239-254. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.
- Atiemo, Abamfa Ofori. 1993. *The rise of the charismatic movement in the mainline churches in Ghana*. Accra, Ghana: Asempa Publishers.
- Badillo, David. 2006. *Latinos and the new immigrant church*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Barber, Benjamin. 1992. Jihad vs. McWorld. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1992/03/jihad-vs-mcworld/3882/>.
- Bebbington, David. 1989. *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Berger, Peter. 1990. *The sacred canopy: Elements of a sociological theory of religion*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.

- Bergunder, Michael. 2010. The cultural turn. In *Studying global Pentecostalism: Theories and methods*, edited by Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, Andre Droogers, and Cornelis van der Laan, pp. 51–73. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Booty, John, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, (eds.). 1998. *The study of Anglicanism*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Bourdieu, Jean-Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bremer, Thomas. 2004. *Blessed with tourists: The borderlands of religion and tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Burgess, Stanley and Gary McGee, (eds.). 1998. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Butler, Perry. 1998. From the early eighteenth-century to the present day. In *The study of Anglicanism*, edited by John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, pp. 30–52. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- ¡Caminemos Juntos! (Let Us Walk Together!) 2012 celebrates annual gathering this summer. *Anglican 1000*. Retrieved May 16, 2012 (<http://anglican1000.org/?/main/page/655>)
- ¡Caminemos Juntos! A consultation on Hispanic/Latino ministry in North America. *Anglican 1000*. Retrieved May 16, 2012 (<http://anglican1000.org/?/main/page/420>)
- Carson, D. A. 2005. *Becoming conversant with the emerging church: Understanding a movement and its implications*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Chan, Simon. 2006. *Liturgical theology: The church as worshiping community*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
- Chesnut, Andrew. 2003. *Competitive spirits: Latin America's new religious economy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Coleman, Simon. 2004. *The globalization of charismatic Christianity: Spreading the gospel of prosperity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Coleman, Simon and Peter Collins. 2004. *Religion, identity, and change: Perspectives on global transformations*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.
- Conger, George. 2011. Southern Cone backs Anglican covenant. *Anglican Ink*, December 20. Retrieved February 10, 2012 (<http://anglicanink.com/article/southern-cone-backs-anglican-covenant>)

- Cooper, Alfredo. 1996. The use of scripture in the Iglesia Anglicana de Chile. In *The Anglican Communion and scripture*, edited by John Stott, pp. 180–187. Irvine, CA: Regnum Books International.
- Crockett, William R. 1998. Holy Communion. In *The study of Anglicanism*, edited by John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, pp. 202–215. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- DeArteaga, William. 1996. *Quenching the spirit*. Orlando, FL: Creation House.
- . 2002. *Forgotten Power: The significance of the Lord's Supper in revival*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- . 2004. Father Bill's Corner. Retrieved May 4, 2012 (<http://www.fatherbill.blogspot.com/>)
- Drescher, Elizabeth. 2010. Chilean miner rescue: Largest global spiritual event ever? *Religion Dispatches*, October 14. Retrieved April 2, 2012 ([http://www.religiondispatches.org/archive/atheologies/3551/chilean\\_mine\\_rescue%3A\\_largest\\_global\\_spiritual\\_event\\_ever](http://www.religiondispatches.org/archive/atheologies/3551/chilean_mine_rescue%3A_largest_global_spiritual_event_ever))
- Duncan, Robert. 2012. Reaching North America with the transforming love of Jesus Christ. Retrieved May 1, 2012 ([http://www.anglicanchurch.net/media/ACNA\\_Trifold\\_Low\\_Res.pdf](http://www.anglicanchurch.net/media/ACNA_Trifold_Low_Res.pdf))
- During, Simon. 1993. *The cultural studies reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ellingson, Stephen. 2007. *The megachurch and the mainline: Remaking religious tradition in the twenty-first century*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Garrard-Burnett, Virginia. 1998. *Protestantism in Guatemala: Living in the New Jerusalem*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Gerschiere, P. and B. Meyer. 1998. Globalization and identity: Dialectics of flow and closure. *Development and Cultural Change* 24(4):601–615.
- Ghosh, Bishnupriya. 2011. *Global icons: Apertures to the popular*. Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gill, Anthony. 1998. *Rendering unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the state in Latin America*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Glick-Schiller, Nina. 2005. Transmigrants and nation-states: Something old and something new in the U.S. immigrant experience. In *The handbook of international migration: The American experience*, edited by Charles Hirschman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, pp. 94-119. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Goodstein, Laurie. 2008. Episcopal split as conservatives form new group. *New York Times*, December 4, p. 1A.
- Gooren, Henri. 2007. Conversion careers in Latin America: Entering and leaving church among Pentecostals, Catholics, and Mormons. In *Conversion of a continent: Contemporary religious change in Latin America*, edited by Timothy Steigenga and Edward Cleary, pp. 52-71. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Grossman, Cathy Lynn. 2009. U.S. Anglican Church Launches, Will Ban Female, Gay Bishops. *USA Today*, June 21. Retrieved December 1, 2011 ([http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2009-06-21-anglicans\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2009-06-21-anglicans_N.htm))
- Hall, David. 1997. *Lived religion in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hansen, Collin. 2008. *Young, restless, and reformed: A journalist's journey with the New Calvinists*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books.
- Hansen, Collin and Andrew Naselli, (eds.). 2011. *Four views on the spectrum of Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Harper, Michael. 1979. *Three sisters: A provocative look at Evangelicals, Charismatics, and Catholic Charismatics and their relationship to one another*. Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers.
- Harvey, David. 1990. *The condition of postmodernity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hassett, Miranda. 2007. *Anglican Communion in crisis: How Episcopal dissidents and their African allies are reshaping Anglicanism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Haugaard, William. 1998. From the Reformation to the eighteenth century. In *The study of Anglicanism*, edited by John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, pp. 3-29. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt, and Jonathan Perraton. 1999. *Global transformations: Politics, economics, and culture*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Hervieu-Leger, Daniele. 1997. "What scripture tells me": Spontaneity and regulation within the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. In *Lived religion in America*, edited by David Hall, pp. 22-40. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Hocken, P.D. 2002a. Charismatic communities. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 473–476. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- . 2002b. Charismatic movement. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 476–519. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- . 2002c. Communion of evangelical Episcopal churches. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, p. 557. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- . 2009. *The challenges of the Pentecostal, Charismatic and Messianic Jewish movements: The tensions of the spirit*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Horsfield, Peter. 2008. Media. In *Key words in religion, media, and culture*, edited by David Morgan, pp. 111–122. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hunter, Todd. 2010. *The accidental Anglican: The surprising appeal of the liturgical church*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
- Irish, C.M. and C.B. Fulton. 2002. Acts 29 ministries. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 306–308. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Jencks, Charles. 1992. *The postmodern reader*. New York, NY: St. Martin's.
- Jenkins, Philip. 2007. Global Schism: Is the Anglican Communion rift the first stage in a wider Christian split? *Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*, May 14. Retrieved July 13, 2011 (<http://www.pewforum.org/Christian/Global-Schism-Is-the-Anglican-Communion-Rift-the-First-Stage-in-a-Wider-Christian-Split.aspx>)
- . 2011. *The next Christendom: The coming of global Christianity*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Jesus House Melbourne*. Retrieved from <http://www.jesushouse.org.au/#/about-us>.
- Kaleem, Jaweed. 2012. Katharine Jefferts Schori, Episcopal Church presiding bishop, speaks about gay clergy and birth control. *Huffington Post*, March 27. Retrieved May 1, 2012 ([http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/27/katharine-jefferts-schori-episcopal-church\\_n\\_1380572.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/27/katharine-jefferts-schori-episcopal-church_n_1380572.html))
- Kamsteeg, Frans. 1998. *Prophetic Pentecostalism in Chile*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press.

- Karkkainen, Veli-Matti. 2010. Pneumatologies in systematic theology. In *Studying global Pentecostalism: Theories and methods*, edited by Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, Andre Droogers, Cornelis van der Laan, pp. 223–244. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Kolker, Robert Phillip. 2002. *Film, form, and culture: Volume one*. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.
- Lalive d'Epinau, Christian. 1969. *Haven of the masses: A study of the Pentecostal movement in Chile*. London: P. Lutterworth.
- L'Hommedieu, Gary. 2010. Race card envy: The Bishop of Arizona's open letter. *Virtue Online*, April 25. Retrieved September 10, 2011  
([http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/article.php?storyid=12454#.T9t\\_KrWXRRg.s](http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/article.php?storyid=12454#.T9t_KrWXRRg.s))
- Lucas, Phillip Charles. 2003. Enfants terribles: The challenge of sectarian converts to ethnic Orthodox churches in the United States. *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 7(2):5–23.
- Lyon, David. 2000. *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in postmodern times*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Maldonado, David, (ed.). 1999. *Protestantes/protestants: Hispanic Christianity within mainline traditions*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.
- Maldonado, Michelle Gonzalez. 2010. God, "the 34th miner" in Chilean ordeal. *Religion Dispatches*, October 14. Retrieved November 14, 2011  
([http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/guest\\_bloggers/3548/god,\\_%E2%80%9Cthe\\_34th\\_miner%E2%80%9D\\_in\\_chilean\\_ordeal](http://www.religiondispatches.org/dispatches/guest_bloggers/3548/god,_%E2%80%9Cthe_34th_miner%E2%80%9D_in_chilean_ordeal))
- Martin, David. 1993. *Tongues of fire: The explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Marx, Karl. 1963. The eighteenth brumaire of Napoleon Bonaparte. In *The Marx Engels Reader*, edited by Robert Tucker, pp. 436–525. New York, NY: Norton.
- Mauss, Marcel. 1973. Techniques of the body. *Economy and Society* 2(1):70-88.
- McGee, Gary. 2002. Initial evidence. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 784–791. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- McKnight, Scot. 2007. Five streams of the Emerging Church. *Christianity Today* 51(2).
- McLaren, Brian. 2004. *A generous orthodoxy*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

- . 2006. *The secret message of Jesus*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, Inc.
- Meyer, Birgit. 2010. Pentecostalism and globalization. In *Studying global Pentecostalism: Theories and methods*, edited by Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, Andre Droogers, and Cornelis van der Laan, pp. 113–130. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Morgan, David. 2008. *Key words in religion, media, and culture*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nederveen Pieterse, Jan. 2003. *Globalization and culture: Global melange*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- New brochure highlights the vision of the Anglican Church in North America. *Anglican Church*. Retrieved May 1, 2012 (<http://www.anglicanchurch.net/index.php/main/page/227/>)
- Niebuhr, H. Richard. 1996. *Christ and culture*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Osterhammel, Jurgen and Niels Petersson. 2003. *Globalization: A short history*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Paden, William. 1994. *Religious worlds: The comparative study of religion*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Pena, Elaine. 2011. *Performing piety: Making space sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Poewe, Karla. 1994. *Charismatic Christianity as a global culture*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Pred, Allan Richard. 1990. *Making histories and constructing human geographies: The local transformation of practice, power relations, and consciousness*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Pytches, David. 2002. *Living at the edge*. Bath, England: Arcadia.
- Robbins, Joel. 2004. The globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33(1):117–143.
- . 2010. Anthropology of religion. In *Studying global Pentecostalism: Theories and methods*, edited by Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, Andrew Droogers, and Cornelis van der Laan, pp. 156–178. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Roberts, Bryan. 1968. Protestant groups and coping with urban life in Guatemala City. *American Journal of Sociology* 73(6):753–767.

- Robertson, Roland. 1998. *Globalization: Social theory and global culture*. London: Sage Publishing.
- Rodgers, Ann. 2012. Bishop Robert Duncan is trading sacred places. *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 15. Retrieved May 1, 2012 (<http://www.post-gazette.com/stories/local/region/bishop-robert-duncan-is-trading-sacred-places-346621/>)
- Roseman, Sharon R. and Shawn S. Parkhurst. 2008. *Recasting culture and space in Iberian contexts*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ruiz Pena, Ninro. 2011. José Henríquez: “Me conmovió saber que Barack Obama aceptó a Dios y le impresionó al oír mi historia en la mina.” *Noticia Cristiana*, February 9. Retrieved May 1, 2012 (<http://www.noticiacristiana.com/iglesia/pastor/2011/02/jose-henriquez-%E2%80%9Cme-conmovio-saber-que-barack-obama-acepto-a-dios-y-le-impresiono-al-oir-mi-historia-en-la-mina%E2%80%9D.html>)
- Sanchez Walsh, Arlene. 2003. *Latino Pentecostal identity: evangelical faith, self, and society*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Shriver, Frederick H. 1998. Councils, conferences and synods. In *The study of Anglicanism*, edited by John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, pp. 202–215. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Slosser, Bob. 1980. *Miracle in Darien*. Plainfield, NJ: Bridge-Logos Publishers.
- Smilde, David. 2007. *Reason to believe: Cultural agency in Latin American evangelicalism*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Smith, Christian. 1998. *American evangelicalism: Embattled and thriving*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Gordon. 2010. *Transforming conversion: Rethinking the language and contours of Christian initiation*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Smith, Gordon. 2012. The new conversion: Why we "become Christians" differently today. *Christianity Today*, April 18. Retrieved May 20, 2012 (<http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2012/aprilweb-only/new-conversion.html>)
- Snider, Phil and Emily Bowen. 2010. *Toward a hopeful future: Why the Emergent Church is good news for mainline congregations*. Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press.
- Spittler, R.P. 2002. Glossolalia. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 670–676. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.

- Steigenga, Timothy. 2007. The politics of pentecostalized religion: Conversion as pentecostalization in Guatemala. In *Conversion of a continent: Contemporary religious change in Latin America*, edited by Timothy Steigenga and Edward Cleary, pp. 256–279. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Steigenga, Timothy and Edward Cleary, (eds.). 2007. *Conversion of a continent: Contemporary religious change in Latin America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Stern, Andrew. 2011. U.S. Catholic Church prepares to accept Episcopalians. *Reuters*, November 15. Retrieved April 12, 2012 (<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/15/us-usa-religion-union-idUSTRE7AE2TM20111115>)
- Stewart, Charles. 1999. Syncretism and its synonyms: Reflections on cultural mixture. *Diacritics* 29(3):40–62.
- Stoll, David. 1990. *Is Latin America turning Protestant?: The politics of evangelical growth*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Sumiala, Johanna. 2008. Circulation. In *Key words in religion, media, and culture*, edited by David Morgan, pp. 44–55. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Thigpen, T.P. 2002. Catholic Charismatic Renewal. In *The new international dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements*, edited by Stanley Burgess and Eduard van der Maas, pp. 460–467. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Thomas, Philip H.E. 1998. Doctrine of the Church. In *The study of Anglicanism*, edited by John Booty, Jonathan Knight, and Stephen Sykes, pp. 249–261. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Thumala, Maria Angelica. 2007. *Riqueza y piedad: El catolicismo de la elite economica chilena*. Santiago, Chile: Random House.
- Tickle, Phyllis. 2008. *The great Emergence: How Christianity is changing and why*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.
- Till, Barry. 1972. *The churches search for unity*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Toon, Peter. 2004. Episcopalianism. In *Who runs the church?: Four views on church government*, edited by Steven B. Cowan, pp. 19–70. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2005. *Friction: An ethnography of global connection*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tweed, Thomas. 2006. *Crossing and dwelling: A theory of religion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- van Harskamp, Anton and A. W. Musschenga (eds.). 2001. *The many faces of individualism*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters.
- Vasquez, Manuel. 1998. *The Brazilian popular church and the crisis of modernity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2009. The global portability of pneumatic Christianity: Comparing African and Latin American pentecostals. *African Studies* 68(2):273-286.
- . 2010. *More than belief: A materialist theory of religion*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Vasquez, Manuel and Marie Marquardt. 2003. *Globalizing the sacred*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Vasquez, Manuel, Philip Williams, and Timothy Steigenga, (eds.). 2009. *A place to be: Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican immigrants in Florida's new destinations*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Virtue, David. 2010. Plano, Texas: Archbishop Duncan says new Anglican movement is poised to be Anglican Century. *Virtue Online*, February 23. Retrieved April 10, 2012 (<http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/article.php?storyid=12151#.T9uGx7WXRRg>)
- . 2011. Sudanese Archbishop blasts TEC PB over sexuality. *Virtue Online*, December 16. Retrieved April 10, 2012 (<http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/print.php?storyid=15322>)
- . 2012a. Lima, Peru: Reverse Ordinariate set up to receive Catholic bishop and three priests into Anglican diocese. *Virtue Online*, January 16. Retrieved April 10, 2012 (<http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/article.php?storyid=15438#.T9uMMrWXRRh>)
- . 2012b. Lima, Peru: Cross cultural missions conference draws seven bishops, missionaries, Nashotah House students. *Virtue Online*, January 17. Retrieved April 10, 2012 (<http://www.virtueonline.org/portal/modules/news/article.php?storyid=15450#.T9uMK7WXRRh>)
- Wacker, Grant. 2001. *Heaven below: early Pentecostals and American culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ware, Timothy. 1997. *The Orthodox Church*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Webber, Robert. 1985. *Evangelicals on the Canterbury Trail: Why evangelicals are attracted to the liturgical church*. Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse Publishing.

———. 1999. *Ancient-future faith: Rethinking evangelicalism for a postmodern world*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

———. 2008. *Ancient-future worship: Proclaiming and enacting God's narrative*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books.

Weber, Max. 2002. *The protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Willems, Emilio. 1967. *Followers of the new faith: Culture change and the rise of protestantism in Brazil and Chile*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Yoder, John Howard. 1996. How H. Richard Niebuhr reasoned: A critique of *Christ and Culture*. In *Authentic transformation: A new vision of Christ and Culture*, edited by Glen Stassen, D.M. Yeager, and John Howard Yoder, pp. 31–89. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sean O'Neil received a BA in English and history after undergraduate studies at Dalhousie University and the University of King's College in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He also holds a Masters in International Affairs—Latin American Studies from Ohio University. Sean continued to explore interdisciplinary research in the Religion in the Americas program at the University of Florida, where he received his PhD in summer 2012. He has taught a wide spectrum of classes in religion, history, Latin American Studies, European Studies, and Modern Languages at various institutions of higher education. His academic interests include social ethics; US Latino and Latin American religion; religion and globalization; religion and disability; and religion, film, and popular culture.