The Legacy of John Alexander Mackay

Samuel Escobar

The missionary legacy of John A. Mackay can be measured by the deep mark that his life left in both the church and the world during the twentieth century. When Mackay died in 1983, the impact of his life and teaching upon Latin American culture was summarized by Luis Alberto Sánchez, well-known historian and literary critic in the Spanish language, who at that time was also vice president of Peru. He wrote that Mackay had been “one of the men to whom Peru and Latin America are indebted the most,” because of his interpretation of the Latin American spiritual condition. We could add the key role played in Peruvian culture by the school he founded, and the decisive formative influence he had on the lives of two giants of Latin American history in our century: José Carlos Mariátegui and Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre. In many of the books of Mackay’s library in Princeton, the dedicatory words of Latin American authors from the right and the left—Christian and non-Christian alike—express affection and recognition of the influence that he exerted on them.

At Mackay’s funeral William Felmeth, vice president emeritus of Princeton Seminary, summarized Mackay’s work for the church universal, described him as “one of the great pioneers of the Christian ecumenical movement.” A cursory look at the main points of Mackay’s career shows how it is intertwined with the great milestones of missionary and ecumenical history in our century. The writings of Latin American ecumenical theologians like Emilio Castro and José Miguez Bonino, or evangelicals like René Padilla and Pedro Arana, show Mackay’s pervasive influence. In Latin America he pioneered a new form of evangelism to reach the unchurched and paganized elites, especially university students. He drafted documents that are points of reference of church history in our time and created metaphors and aphorisms that are part of the theological heritage of the church universal. His life and career were a unique blend of the best of the evangelical and the ecumenical movements.

Stages of a Missionary Life

Mackay’s former students and colleagues in Peru give testimony to the impact of his presence on their lives in the early years of his missionary career, coinciding in this with the testimony of those who shared his retirement life in Meadow Lakes, New Jersey. Writing about Mott, Unamuno, and Speer, Mackay expressed his conviction that one life can exert decisive formative power upon other lives, and he patterned his own life according to that conviction. Mackay’s biography can be constructed around decisive moments that he himself identified when he was invited to “ascend the balcony of remembrance . . . and in retrospective mood describe the road I have traversed, interpreting the things learned on the way.” The vast reservoir of his life experiences can be arranged in five stages.

Childhood and early youth in Scotland (1889-1906). John Alexander Mackay was born May 19, 1889, in Inverness, Scotland, in the home of Duncan and Isabella Mackay. His earliest memories included the Scottish landscape of “shores of the sea loch and the hills behind the shore” and family life centered around the Bible and prayer, with which the day started and ended. The Mackays were members of the Free Presbyterian Church, and John recalled more than once the piety and devotion in that community, but also its petty and almost sectarian parochialism. However, he could not forget that in its membership there were men and women, like his parents, “who were saintly Christian people in the deepest sense.” In 1903, “at a communion service celebrated on a hillside under the auspices of this denomination Jesus Christ spoke to my boyhood heart and I became his forever.” As an octogenarian in 1970, he recalled, “I experienced a revolutionary change of attitude toward God, toward myself and toward others. Of a sudden I found myself a new being. . . . Moments of rapture were not uncommon in those first months. In solitary hikes among the Scottish hills I conversed with God. Jesus Christ became the center of my being.”

Student days and training for mission (1906-16). The Royal Academy of his hometown prepared him for entrance in the University of Aberdeen in 1907. There he studied philosophy, became active in student groups, and discovered a missionary vocation. In 1910 Robert E. Speer visited Aberdeen and had a powerful impact on Mackay, who recalled the encounter: “I felt when I saw him and heard him that I had never listened to a more extraordinary speaker in my life.” Mackay’s missionary vocation was clarified and focused by his friendship with Jane Logan Wells, a student of the Training Center for Teachers, who later on became his wife and partner of adventures. He received his master of arts in 1912 and the following summer sailed for the United States to study theology at Princeton, where he became involved in the Student Volunteer Movement. In the Christmas vacation of 1913 there began a friendship with three men who became the heroes of a host of young people, as they became mine: John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, Samuel M. Zwemer. The relationship thus formed was to be decisive for the church in our century.

Mackay graduated from Princeton in 1915 and spent four months taking an exploratory trip of Latin America for the Free Church of Scotland. From it came the conviction that Peru would be the country where he would go as a missionary. Following advice from B. B. Warfield, one of his teachers at Princeton, Mackay spent the 1915-16 academic year in Madrid,
where he studied Spanish intensively and lived in the “Residencia de Estudiantes,” a center of intellectual ferment. During the Christmas vacation of that year in Salamanca, he met Miguel de Unamuno, Christian thinker and mystic who exerted a deep influence on Mackay’s missiological outlook. About his student pilgrimage, Mackay says: “At the core of my movement from one academic center to another was a preoccupation with what I had come to regard as God’s call to be a Christian missionary. I sought the cultural preparation that seemed most expedient to equip me for effective missionary service.”

Missionary service in Latin America (1916-32). Mackay married Jane in August 1916. Of their relationship he said: “We were one, both in our evangelical commitment, our religious experience, and also in a desire to devote ourselves to missionary activity.” After some weeks of visits to local churches promoting interest in the new mission field opened by the Free Church of Scotland, they sailed for South America, arriving in Lima, the capital city of Peru on November 21. Mackay’s exploratory trip had convinced him that he would not be entering Peru as an unwelcome intruder, and that in Lima, there was “a great and unique sphere for a Free Church Educational Mission.” With his wife’s help he took over a school that the Regions Beyond Missionary Union was at the point of closing, and both dedicated their energies to turning it into a model educational institution. Those who have studied the impact of Mackay’s school—Colegio Anglo Peruano (later to be named Colegio San Andrés)—judge his effort to have been successful. In response to the social conditions in the country, Mackay developed financial and educational policies that would allow him “to touch the community at as many points as possible of its social structure.” Three of the Mackay’s children were born during their time in Peru: Isabel Elizabeth, Duncan Alexander Duff, and Ruth. Their daughter Elena Florence was born in Scotland.

Mackay entered San Marcos University and took an active part in the cultural life of Lima. In that way he attracted as teachers for his school a group of young intellectuals and writers that constituted a liberal generation open to change and reform, the vanguard of a new Peru, and he exerted upon them a transforming personal influence. In 1918 he obtained a doctorate from San Marcos; later, the university invited him to occupy the chair of metaphysics. Sánchez recalls that in the university Mackay “was one of the most beloved teachers… the kind of teacher with whom you stay to talk after the classes… from whom you would not like to depart.”

Two events during that decade were the source of spiritual and political ferment in Latin America: the Mexican revolution of 1910 and the movement of university reform in 1918. Grasping their significance, Mackay became an able interpreter of both, and within the framework of the ferment they produced he carried on an evangelistic ministry lecturing in universities. It was at this point that he became influential especially on Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre, a Peruvian student leader who taught in Mackay’s school. Haya became the founder of APRA, a movement that has marked Latin American politics ever since. In May 1923, Haya led a massive demonstration of students and workers against the efforts of President Augusto B. Leguia to regain popularity by consecrating Peru to a bronze sculpture image of the sacred heart of Jesus. Sick and pursued by the police, Haya took refuge in the boarding department of Mackay’s school, where he remained in hiding until the secret police caught him in October 1923.

In 1925, in Montevideo, Uruguay, Mackay had another encounter with Robert E. Speer, who was attending the Congress on Christian Work in South America. Mackay’s trips had opened a new field to his vision, and he decided to leave his educational work in Peru for evangelistic work among students all over Latin America, under the auspices of the YMCA. He moved to Montevideo in 1926 and then to Mexico. “For a little over six years,” writes Latourette, “Mackay traveled and lectured not only in South America but also in Mexico, and made a profound impression upon audiences of the educated of these lands. He gave about three or four months annually to lecturing, and the rest of the year to writing, to teaching in the secretaries training college, and to the Association in Buenos Aires.” Two books that Mackay wrote in Spanish during this period are the result of his evangelistic and teaching ministry: El sentido de la vida and. . . Mas yo os digo. Both have been reprinted many times. On the basis of his missionary experience, when Mackay participated in the first meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem (1928), he was able to speak convincingly about “the evangelistic duty of Christianity” and “the power of Evangelism in Latin America.” These themes became distinctive notes of his contribution to the ecumenical movement: the imperative of evangelism for the church, and the legitimacy of evangelical missionary work in Latin America.

In 1929 the family spent a furlough in Europe, and Mackay again visited Unamuno, then exiled in France. Then he spent four months in Bonn, where he became a close friend and the first tutor in English of Karl Barth. This theological giant had a decisive influence on Mackay’s theology and on his move from the YMCA into a new sphere of service directly related to the church. Though confessing that he agonized about it, Mackay says that “the decision, when finally made, was influenced by the place which the Church and life in a local parish had had upon the thought of Karl Barth.” So in 1932 the Mackays left Mexico, and he became secretary for Latin America in the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

Active service to mission from North America (1932-59). A wider sphere of influence opened for Mackay’s missionary passion. An important part of his job description was the education of persons and congregations for mission. Though some of his literary dreams could not be accomplished because of what he called “a violent transition from literary freedom to administrative responsibility,” it was in 1932 that he published what may be his most famous book: The Other Spanish Christ, an effort to interpret the spiritual reality of the Iberian and Iberoamerican nations.

In 1936, Robert Speer was again influential in Mackay’s decision to accept an urgent invitation to become the president of Princeton Theological Seminary, and professor of missions and the history of religions. A Methodist friend had convinced him that “a theological seminary campus could also be a mission field” and that consequently “his missionary vocation need not end.” Mackay’s alma mater had been torn apart by bitter controversies and theological battles, and among the Presbyterians to whom it was related, the situation had become one in
which “an alternative was needed which moved beyond both Fundamentalism and Modernism.”32 He committed himself to work for what he called the restoration of theology, giving again a central place to the Bible as God’s authoritative Word and at the same time insisting upon the missionary thrust that should characterize theological work.

The magazine Theology Today, which Mackay founded in 1944, became a key factor in the impetus for what has been called the biblical theology movement. He wrote in one of his editorials: “The Bible is . . . more than a repository of great literature and of high religion, more than the source book of revealed truth; it is above all else the supreme medium of divine-human intercourse. This view of the Bible stands closest to the pristine Christian tradition, and is that which is representative of Protestant Christianity at its best . . . . Here God speaks directly to men today in all the complexity of their need, in all the phases and aberrations of their human situation.”33 Some of Mackay’s key convictions as they took shape in this stage of his life are encapsulated in three books that he came to see as “an undesigned trilogy”34 with a message summarized in his famous aphorisms: A Preface to Christian Theology (1941), where his message was “Leave the balcony for the road”; Heritage and Destiny (1943), which embodied the thought, “The road to tomorrow leads through yesterday”; and Christianity on the Frontier (1950), whose burden was, “Take the road to the frontier.”

Under Mackay’s leadership at Princeton a doctoral program was begun in 1940, and an Institute of Theology for continuing education began in the summer of 1942. Facilities like the Campus Center were built as an expression of a pedagogical philosophy that was consistent with Mackay’s theology.35 Cintrón rightly comes to the conclusion that “as President of Princeton Seminary Mackay brought to an end an old order of theological rigidity and inaugurated an era of dynamism and progress in all aspects of the life of the theological institution.” Many who graduated from Princeton in those years remember the personal touch of Mackay’s relationships with the students, and the energetic and efficient cooperation of his wife, Jane, to keep the doors of their home always open to students, teachers, and staff.

During this period Mackay participated in the development of the ecumenical movement, at the service of which he put his unique administrative and diplomatic skills. Trying always to bring to it the fire of his evangelical zeal, he also demonstrated a high regard for church order, historical awareness, and ecclesiastical strategy. His participation as chairman of Commission V in the “Conference on Church, Community, and State” in Oxford (1937) was the source of one of the famous slogans that Mackay coined, “Let the Church be the church.” Between 1947 and 1957 he was honorary chairman of the International Missionary Council and presided at its meetings at Whitby, Willingen, and Ghana. He took an active part in the preparations for the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches (1948), where he opened the session, entitled “The Missionary Legacy to the Church Universal.” The burden of this message was that the ecumenical movement should keep true to its origins in the missionary movement and that for the Christian church to be truly the church, it must be a missionary as well as a worshiping fellowship. After the formation of the WCC he served as member of its Central Committee from 1948 to 1957. He was also active in the formation of the Federal and National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. From the ground of this practice as an enthusiastic servant of the church universal came his creative reading of Scripture, evident especially in his commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians: God’s Order: The Ephesian Letter and This Present Time (1953). To these years belong also the series of lectures he presented at Austin (1952) and Buenos Aires (1953), published under the title Christian Reality and Appearance (1969).

Mackay was also active in the service of his own denomination. In 1954 he was elected president of the World Presbyterian Alliance and traveled widely, especially to Eastern and Latin Europe and Latin America. He interpreted the Presbyterian heritage for our times and at the same time interpreted the realities of Protestantism in other regions of the world for the North American public. His book The Presbyterian Way of Life (1960) is what he calls “the embodiment of a paradox” in his life: “On the one hand, I am today a more convinced and loyal Presbyterian than I ever have been before. On the other hand, I am less of a Presbyterian absolutist and sectarian than at any time in my life.”36 At the time of ideological inquisition brought to American life by the anti-Communism of Senator Joseph McCarthy, Mackay was moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and drafted the letter that was afterward adopted by the 166th Assembly of the church. This “Letter to Presbyterians Concerning the Present Situation in Our Country and in the World” has the distinctive note of Mackay’s prophetic voice and was a ray of light and hope in the darkness of those moments. Mackay was seventy when he retired from the presidency of Princeton in 1959.

A seasoned teacher in action (1960–1983). After retirement Mackay continued teaching and in 1961 was appointed adjunct professor of Hispanic thought in the American University of Washington. He returned to the love of his youth for the Hispanic world.38 In the agitated sixties, the explosion of a long-due social revolution, of which Fidel Castro became a symbol, had in Mackay a careful interpreter. Two articles in the Christian Century after his visit to Cuba (1964 and 1965) brought a great amount of controversy.39 In his interpretation of Latin America, Mackay kept both evangelical conviction and great sensitivity to political realities. Several of the themes that had demanded his attention through decades of missionary reflection and action were elaborated in a systematic way in his book Ecumenics: The Science of the Church Universal (1964). In it he aimed to address “everything that concerns the nature, functions, relations and strategy of the Church Universal, when the latter is conceived as a missionary community.”40

The seasoned teacher was also open to acknowledge the changes that were taking place in the Roman Catholic Church. For a man who had been a watchdog for religious freedom in Latin America against restrictive policies of conservative Catholicism, it was a great occasion to be asked in 1967 to address a conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP) on the subject of “Historical Perspectives on Protestantism.”41 In that piece Mackay welcomed the signs of change in Rome, but he also rejoiced in events and movements as varied as the growth of Pentecostal churches, the work of the Wycliffe Bible Translators, and the Church and Society (ISAL) movement, which was a forerunner of liberation theologies.42 His teaching and journalistic activity continued even after he moved with his wife to a life of quieter retirement in Meadow Lakes, New Jersey. Mackay went to be with his Lord on June 9, 1983.

The Theological Ground of Missionary Action

In his prolific writing as a theologian and a journalist, Mackay set the hard facts of everyday history under the light of biblical truth. As he said, “Relating itself to the realities of life theology must
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Mackay married a few basic ideas and lived with them to procreate theological reflection.

Lessons from a Missionary Style

Missionary life for Mackay had to be a Christ-centered life. He recalled many times the motto of Raymond Lull: “I have one passion in life and it is He.” The mark of greatness of his heroes Mott and Speer was for him that they could be described as Christ-centered persons. The blend of theology and commitment that this meant he repeatedly explained throughout the years: “I caught from St. Paul in his letter to the Ephesians a vision of Christ as the center and meaning of all things. As I have so-journed since then from land to land and from post to post, my faith has not wavered that Christ is the Saviour and the Lord of life. He has been in his historical and cosmic relations the master light of all my seeing; he has been the companion of my way.”

This relationship with Jesus Christ brings also an imperative call to missionary involvement: “Jesus Christ, the world’s Saviour, summons his whole Church to missionary action. He bids His Church to go in the Spirit of his love to all men everywhere for their physical succour. He commands His Church to bring all men everywhere to His living self for their spiritual redemption.” From the ground of this Christ-centeredness we can better grasp what Mackay called his incarnational approach to the missionary task.

_Incarncational style and cultural sensitivity._ It is amazing how many Latin Americans came to regard Mackay as one of their own. In preparation for his missionary service in Peru, he had learned to speak Spanish with perfection. Before presenting the Gospel to Latin American youth, he took pains to understand the Iberian soul, as is evident in the book _The Other Spanish Christ_, which has become a classic; as Sanchez points out, it is “a fundamental book to appreciate Latin American culture.”

Mackay formulated his incarnational style in a principle: “the evangelical word must become indigenous flesh. The person who represents Christ and seeks to communicate the Gospel of Christ . . . must identify himself in the closest possible manner with his human environment.” With that sensitivity, from his watchtower at Princeton Mackay kept an attentive eye on the Iberian world, but also on Asia and Europe, doing his best to be a well-informed missionary interpreter of other parts of the world for his American audience. This cost him much pain in the dark days of McCarthyism. As he stood for fairness and dialogue with China, and later on as he tried to provide a context for an understanding of the Cuban situation, he was attacked by those for whom anti-Communism had become a new form of idolatry. In this point he was in the noble succession of so many true missionaries who became interpreters of foreign realities to their own people, holding a prophetic self-criticism even at the cost of rejection and misunderstanding.

_A sense of history and strategy._ Mackay’s outlook was permeated by a deep awareness of momentous times and movements, which can be understood only within the frame of God’s _kairos_ in history. His strategic vision was nourished by this unique perception. When he arrived in Peru, he realized that the restless-ness of university students was a sign of the emergence of a new historical moment in which young people were the protagonists. The morass of a dying feudalistic order was going to be shaken by a new generation influenced by socialism and anarchism. In their search for justice, Mackay could detect in these young men a spiritual search, and he wanted to connect his missionary action with it through creative evangelism.

His moves to mission administration or theological education were also strategic shifts. He saw the timeliness of working to bring a renewed sense of mission and community to the theological task in his alma mater. He wanted to correct what he...
called "the root weakness of popular American Christianity . . .
namely its untheological character, its virtual disdain of theol­
ogy, its supreme and exclusive preoccupation with so-called prac­tical issues."58 Years later he explained how the launching of
the magazine Theology Today, the efforts to create new facilities,
and even the schedule of meals at his president’s home were set
within the frame of that strategic vision.59 Mackay’s writings
about the Second World War in the forties60 and against the
Vietnam War in the sixties61 were also born of this strategic sense
of the historical.

An evangelical and contextual stance. As we have seen, the
evangelical note of Mackay’s missionary practice and theology is
loud and clear. He had a definite Protestant outlook, but he saw
with great concern the growing “religious nominalism and theo­
logical illiteracy” that had become characteristic of Roman, Or­
thodox, and Protestant traditions, in which “appearance has
replaced reality.”62 He also wrote, “Protestantism, let it be em­
phasized, has not yet reached its religious majority, nor dis­
charged its full historical mission. It is still in process of becom­
ing; its heyday is not behind but before it.”63

As he spoke in ecumenical forums from the background of
his incarnational immersion in the Latin American reality, Mackay
opened a way for the recognition of the right of Latin American
Protestantism to exist in nominally Roman Catholic lands. In
North America he continued to be a defender of that type of
evangelical presence in Latin America and Latin Europe. His
eccumenical vision was open to new developments in Rome but
also firm in the conviction that the ecclesiological assumptions of
the Roman Catholic Church were unacceptable and that “no
amount of graciousness or evasiveness” should hide the differ­
ces. Still, he could write, “But Jesus Christ is Lord. Let dialogue
and friendly relations, in the spirit of Christ, and under the
guidance of the Holy Spirit, continue between Protestants and
Roman Catholics.”64

A missionary ecumenism. A deep sense about the significance
of our century as the “ecumenical era” moved Mackay to invest
time and energy in the great ecumenical conferences, of which
many documents reflect Mackay’s hand and style. Since 1948 he
kept insisting on the need for ecumenism to remain faithful to a
missionary vision, because the roots of the ecumenical move­
ment were missionary: “Evangelistic fellowship on the mission­
ary road preceded ecclesiastical fellowship in the home sanctu­
ary. Christian churches who took seriously their missionary
obligation and crossed the frontiers of non-Christian lands began
to transcend the barriers by which they had been themselves
divided in their own home countries.”65 He regretted the trend
toward making institutional and structural oneness the ecu­
menical ideal at the expense of missionary fervor, and he said
that “the pursuit of unity on the part of the Christian forces dare
never be made an end in itself.”66

Conclusion

Mackay’s theology and missionary style are a legacy that has a
unique relevance to the contemporary situation. His criticism of
nominal Christianity and his persistent call to conversion and to
follow Jesus Christ on the road point logically to the kind of
holistic evangelism from which a socially transformative faith is
born. His sense of history informed by biblical categories gave
him a clear and informed grasp of the demonic potential of some
aspects of Marxist ideology that would lead to totalitarian re­
regimes. This is a valid corrective to the uncritical acceptance of
Marxist readings of history in some liberation theologies, a
corrective especially relevant today in face of the collapse of
Marxist theory and praxis in Europe. But equally relevant is
Mackay’s insistence upon the biblical demand and the moral
validity of the struggle for justice. His epistemology rooted in
biblical and Reformed emphasis on obedience to truth would
coincide with the current insistence upon praxis, though he
would prefer the term “obedience”—not a human initiative or
achievement, but human response to God’s initiative in Christ.

Mackay’s reading of the Protestant heritage has much to say
for North America in view of the current mood of retreat in
Protestant thought and action, and there is unique relevance also
in his criticism of an ailing ecumenism that has lost a sense of
mission. The deep theological roots of Mackay’s missiology,
matched by his evangelical fire, can be one of the necessary
correctives to the theological shallowness of the managerial
trends that are corrupting the evangelical missionary enterprise
today. In one of his final writings he said: “The supreme need in
the Church of our time is new men and women, persons commit­
ted to Jesus Christ and to the timeless values of the Church’s faith,
who at the same time are dedicated to cooperating with fellow
Christians in showing the present day significance of those
values.”67 John Alexander Mackay was one of those persons.

Notes

1. Luis Alberto Sánchez, “John A. Mackay,” El Observador (Lima), June 26,
1983, editorial page.
2. Luis Alberto Sánchez, “John A. Mackay y el Anglo-Peruano,” Leader
introduction to the 4th ed. of El Sentido de la Vida, by John A. Mackay
(Lima: Presencia, 1988).
forth PSB), n.s., 4, no. 3 (1983): 163.
5. “I have seen God break through into our human condition through John
Mackay,” said Rev. James K. Morse, minister to the Mackays at Meadows
Lake (“Reflections,” PSB, 4 no. 3 [1983]: 166).
8. JAM, Christian Reality and Appearance (Richmond: John Knox Press,
1969), p. 84.
(June 1967): 11.
Ecumenical Churchman” (Masters thesis, Princeton Theological Semi­
12. Details of this trip and Mackay’s suggestions appear in the Reports of the
General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1916 (henceforth RFCS)
(Edinburgh), pp. 666-68.
Life,” Journal of Presbyterian History (henceforth JPH) 56, no. 1 (Spring
14. Mackay quoted Unamuno frequently. See especially his doctoral disser­
tation at San Marcos University, published as Don Miguel de Unamuno: Su
personalidad, obra, e influencia (Lima: Casa Editoria Ernesto Villardón,
1919).
17. RFCS 1916, p. 666.
20. Sánchez, “Mackay y el Anglo-Peruano.”
(Lima), no. 46 (1973): 70.
22. See especially the references in JAM, That Other America (New York: Friendship Press, 1935), chap. 3.
23. About the much-debated issue of Mackay’s friendship with Haya de la Torre, see Mackay’s own version in ibid., pp. 102ff., and in The Other Spanish Christ (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 188-98; see also Luis Alberto Sánchez, Haya de la Torre o el Político (Lima, 1979), pp. 93ff., and Frederick B. Pike, The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), pp. 48ff., 260-61.
28. Ibid. 8:121-25.
30. Ibid., p. 290.
33. Ibid., p. 121.
43. JAM, Heritage and Destiny, p. 77.
45. JAM, Christianity on the Frontier, p. 88.
52. “In Spain he had learned a magnificent Castillian,” said Luis Alberto Sánchez (“Mackay y el Anglo-Peruano,” p. 49).
54. JAM, Ecumenics, p. 173.
56. This understanding was forcefully expressed in A Preface to Christian Theology (New York: Macmillan, 1941), and God’s Order (New York: Macmillan, 1955).
63. JAM, Christianity on the Frontier, p. 123.
64. JAM, Ecumenics, pp. 220-21.

Selected Bibliography on John A. Mackay

Books by Mackay

Books marked with an asterisk have been published in Spanish as well as in English, and most of them are currently in print. The best guide to the vast number of articles in magazines that Mackay left is found in the bibliography of Cintron’s work below.

1932 The Other Spanish Christ. New York: Macmillan.*

Works about Mackay

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