The Legacy of Orlando Costas

Samuel Escobar

Orlando Costas left the church universal an invaluable legacy by his short but intense missionary life (1942-87). He lived passionately every stage of his missionary pilgrimage in contrasting worlds: the United States and Latin America, the academic world and the Hispanic ghetto in North America. He consecrated his mind to the demanding tasks of missiological scholarship with imagination and creativity. He conceived and developed lasting missionary institutions, and he discipled a generation of activists and thinkers in Christian mission. In most of his writings Costas engaged in what Latin American theologians have called "reflection on praxis." This continuous conversation with himself and dialogue with his interlocutors provide significant milestones through which we can trace his missionary involvement and evaluate his missiological legacy.

In an autobiographical piece written for the Lausanne-sponsored Consultation on Gospel and Culture, held in 1978 at Willowbank, Bermuda, Costas outlined what he called his three conversions. The first took place in 1957 during the Billy Graham New York Crusade, when he crossed the frontier of saving faith in Jesus Christ, coming out of a restless and turbulent youth. The second was the rediscovery of his Hispanic American cultural roots and a renewed awareness of the importance of the church, which took him out of Bob Jones University into a pastoral ministry and university studies in Puerto Rico. The third was his "conversion to the world," when as a student in Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, ministry with a Spanish-speaking congregation in Milwaukee got him involved in social activism on behalf of his parishioners. His missiological work was an effort to incorporate every aspect of these conversions into a holistic perspective that can well be described by the title of one of his books, The Integrity of Mission. He did not view these conversions as accomplished facts; rather he sought to grow in depth in each one of them, incorporating his new experiences and reflections into a deeper understanding of his vocation.

Stages in a Missionary Pilgrimage

Orlando Enrique Costas was born in Puerto Rico, June 15, 1942, within the God-fearing Methodist family of Ventura Enrique Costas and Rosaline Rivera. He was twelve when his father moved from the beautiful landscapes of the "island of enchantment" to the Hispanic ghettos of large U.S. cities. His conversion to Christ came in the middle of the identity crisis and rebelliousness that so many Hispanic young people experience. Twenty years later Costas recalled, "That night something strange occurred in my life... something unique did happen on June 8, 1957, in Madison Square Garden, and has been happening ever since." His sensitivity to the painful transition experienced by youth of ethnic minorities in U.S. society is matched by his emphasis on the transforming power of the Gospel that he experienced that night. This experience is probably the origin of his deeply held commitment to the centrality of evangelism for the life of the church. The church and its evangelizing task was the theme of his first book in 1971, and it was also the central thrust of his last and posthumous book Liberating News: A Theology of Contextual Evangelization.

The year after his conversion Costas found himself as a student in the well-known center of American fundamentalism, Bob Jones University in South Carolina. He credited his time there for the discovery of evangelism and the importance of preaching. Through the example of a Puerto Rican student colleague he developed "a passionate concern for the communication of the Gospel." But he also recalled a disturbing experience: "I came face to face with Anglo-Saxon culture in its worst form... the puritanical value system... the shameless defense and justification of racism... and the triumphalistic belief in the divine (manifest) destiny of the United States." He also became aware of the Latin American world and of what he called "my hidden Latin American identity."

Back in Connecticut and New York, at the age of nineteen, Costas became pastor of a small storefront church of the Disciples of Christ. He was an enthusiastic evangelist and a gifted musician whose voice had been professionally trained, but he became convinced that he needed biblical and theological training, for which he enrolled at Nyack Missionary College. While doing practical work at an Evangelical Free Church in Brooklyn, he met—and married—Rose Feliciano. Their marriage formed a decisive partnership. Costas's friend Guillermo Cook had this to say, "Certainly Orlando could not have functioned as he did without his lifelong lover, companion and executive secretary, Rose Feliciano Costas. She steadied him, carried out research, typed and retyped his manuscripts, handled all of his correspondence, managed the office, kept track of his busy schedule, endured his explosive temper and Latin machismo—and somehow found time to be an efficient wife and the mother of two lovely daughters, Annette and Dannette."

During a summer evangelistic tour of Puerto Rico, Costas became convinced that in order to minister to Latino people he needed to work and study in a Latino country. Thus he returned to his native Puerto Rico with Rose and their first daughter to be a student at the Inter American University and a pastor of the Yauco Baptist Church, where he was ordained February 13, 1965. Out of that formative experience he recalls the development of two of the most important convictions that shaped his missiology. First, he says, "I discovered the church as an institution; that is, as a complex system of distinctive beliefs, values, rites, symbols and relationships which maintain a line of continuity with the past and through which the Gospel is communicated and lived." Second, he declares, "These studies led me to rediscover my Puerto Rican identity, to affirm my Latin American cultural heritage, to begin to question the political hegemony of the United States in Latin America and to consciously break with its culture." In one of his books he recalls that at this stage he traveled to the Dominican Republic and experienced firsthand the 1965-66 crisis, when U.S. marines invaded that country to support a military coup against an elected president that the
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ment of the church growth movement, and the return of evangelism to the agenda of both the World Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. At the seminary in Costa Rica he was successively or simultaneously professor of communications and missiology, academic dean and coordinator of studies, and chair of the Department of Religious Communication. Beginning in 1972 he became active in the Latin American Theological Fraternity (LATF), and in 1977 he was elected to its Executive Committee. He became one of the prime movers of CLADE II, the Second Latin American Congress on Evangelism (1979) called by the LATF. He wrote in 1984, "My theological reflection has been linked to the itinerary followed by the Fraternity." At INDEF he was secretary of theological studies, later on secretary of research and communications, and then secretary of studies and publications.

Costas's intense activism is reflected in a vast amount of written material: articles, reports, interviews, and chapters of books. One of the important ministries that he practiced was to encourage his colleagues to write and publish. After two years in Costa Rica he edited a volume in Spanish about the theology of evangelism, with contributions from eight of his colleagues. He had imposed on himself a discipline that many of his colleagues envied. He tried to write every one of his sermons, lectures, or presentations, later on adapting them for publication. In this way he kept a continuous reflection on praxis, relating his new insights with the ideas he had expressed earlier. A course on preaching that he taught in 1970 was published in 1973, and it continues to be one of the few textbooks on preaching written originally in Spanish that is at the same time practical and theologically informed. His first book in English appeared in 1974 and is based on the course "World Mission of the Church" that he taught in January 1973 at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. The book was saluted enthusiastically in a foreword by Paul Rees from World Vision: "What makes this book arresting and timely is that it springs from the informed mind and the aroused conscience not of a European or a North American but of a Latin." Peter Wagner, of Fuller Seminary School of World Mission, stated that the book was "a substantial work on missiology," and he warned readers, "Parts of it will rub some evangelicals against their grain. Parts of it will irritate ecumenists to the core. . . . Costas's material is not missiological Pablum, it is strong meat and must be read and studied as such."

Costas believed that to publish was a way of carrying on an ecumenical and global dialogue, involving the submitting of one's ideas to the purifying process of criticism and evaluation from others. His ideas were being developed within an atmosphere of confrontation, debate, and turmoil. Costas recalled, "No sooner had we begun to take a few steps toward the development of a Latin American theology and a contextual missiological reflection than we began to feel the heat from North America, particularly the United States. Since I was one of the most vocal of the San José LAM-related theologians, I began to be quoted and misquoted. . . . I decided to take the bull by the horns. I started to put in writing some of my developing missiological insights." Intentionally, then, the book The Church and Its Mission was addressed to the evangelical missionary community in the United States. "But it was situated in the experience of a Puerto Rican Christian who, having been helped by the Anglo-American church earlier in his life, now felt constrained to minister prophetically to it."

Research, reflection, and publishing in both Spanish and English were important aims of an institution that Costas designed and founded in 1973, the Latin American Center for Pastoral Studies (CELEP). According to Guillermo Cook, Costas was asked by several Latin American students and faculty of Biblical Seminary to create the evangelical equivalent of the Catholic Instituto de Pastoral Latinoamericana, which Cook described as "a think tank to which a number of the early liberation theologians belonged." Through CELEP, Costas started two periodicals, one in Spanish (Pastoralia), the other in English (Occasional Essays, later Latin American Pastoral Issues), which became sources of information about missiological developments in Latin America and the world. Costas directed CELEP for six years.

Within the volatile social and theological ferment of that decade, Biblical Seminary became the focus of a bitter controversy at the center of which was liberation theology. Costas's reading of the situation in his autobiographical notes identified three groups that were at odds with each other. One identified wholeheartedly with the new theology, one was open to interact critically with it, and one was diametrically opposed to it. Costas says that he was part of the second group, but he felt that the social and ecclesiastical context pushed toward polarization, and it was increasingly impossible to take a middle-of-the-road position. Finally there was a painful break with the seminary, though he says that the reasons for his leaving were more administrative and personal than theological. It was also a bitter disappointment: "The dream we had of making the Seminary an Evangelical institution committed to the Latin American context and independent from American missionary power centers had been frustrated (at least for me)."

Amsterdam and Back to Latin America

At the end of his first missionary term in Costa Rica, Costas and his family moved to the Netherlands, where he pursued doctoral studies in missiology at the Free University of Amsterdam under the famous Dutch missiologist Johannes Verkuyl. Here he wrote his doctoral thesis Theology of the Crossroads in Contemporary Latin America, which is a massive survey of missiological developments in mainline Protestantism in the period 1969–74. His trips through Latin America during his first missionary term in Costa Rica and his insatiable curiosity had enabled him to become familiar with the vast amount of literature generated within mainline Protestantism, especially in the ecumenical world. The thesis is a good source of historical and bibliographical information for anyone interested in understanding events, personali­ties, and movements from Latin America that had a decisive influence in shaping the agenda of Protestant ecumenism worldwide. Like other writings, his thesis reflects Costas's commitment to take seriously the thinking of other theologians and missiologists, even if he might be critical of them.

From Amsterdam Costas's family moved to Birmingham, England, where Orlando carried on research and taught as a William Paton Fellow at the well-known missionary training center in Selly Oak Colleges.
For his second missionary term in Costa Rica (1976–79) Costas was commissioned by the United Church Board for World Ministries. He recalled with a measure of pride and joy that he and Rose were commissioned in the same Congregational Church of Salem, Massachusetts, where Adoniram Judson had been commissioned 163 years earlier. In this new period Costas’s missionary work focused on the direction of CELEP, and he traveled extensively for short-term teaching and lecturing assignments all over Latin America. He was also active in the board of the Latin American Theological Fraternity. At this point he had been able to systematize his understanding of the mission of the church, and between 1975 and 1978 he completed *The Integrity of Mission*, which was published in 1979 simultaneously in English and Spanish.\(^{20}\) The introduction gives an idea of the audiences for whom the material was originally prepared: missionary and pastoral conferences of several mainline denominations in the United States. Costas states that he intended “to provide a popular interpretation of mission combining my evangelistic, theological, pastoral, ethical and liturgical interests with a holistic view of mission and a contextual biblical methodology.”\(^{21}\)

**Back to the Hispanic Margin**

During his second term in Costa Rica, Costas was in constant demand as a speaker and teacher not only through Latin America but also in other parts of the world. Invitations from Hispanic churches in the United States provided an opportunity to experience again the difficult but fertile transitions that these growing evangelical communities were experiencing. “During that period,” he recalls, “it became clear to me that I had an important ministry to fulfill as a minority, Hispanic missiologist.”\(^{22}\) He felt there was a need to interpret the Christian mission “from the periphery,” from the perspective of those Christians from ethnic minorities in North America who had not been the main actors of the missionary enterprise—Asians, blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

His return was made possible in the fall of 1980 by an invitation from Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, to become the Thornley B. Wood Professor of Missions. Costas interpreted his missionary work in Latin America as a time in which he had been developing his perspective from the Latin American periphery. His return to North America did not mean a change of locus or perspective, “I came back . . . not to be one more professional in the growing American ‘missiological market’ but rather to continue to do missiology from the periphery—this time the periphery of the American metropolis.”\(^{23}\)

In his installation address at Eastern, February 20, 1980, Costas reflected about the seminary’s motto “The whole Gospel for the whole world,” inverting the terms of the famous phrase to “The whole world for the whole Gospel.” He stressed his contextual concern in order to take seriously the conflictive world in which mission was to take place in the 1980s, involving its culture, institutions, and structures. At the same time, he affirmed his evangelical conviction that had been deepened and enriched with a holistic thrust during his Latin American missionary experience. His words were an agenda of what education demands of the gospel; and if we can foster in them a ‘spirituality for combat’ we shall have been indeed faithful to the whole Gospel and sensitive to the fullness of the world to which God has sent us.”\(^{24}\)

At Eastern, Costas found a community that had been moving toward the recovery of an evangelical legacy of holistic mission. The seminary had a theological tradition that included openly evangelical theologians such as Bernard Ramm and Culbert Rutenberg. Ronald Sider, activist theologian and founder of Evangelicals for Social Action, became one of Costas’s colleagues. Sider had written the foreword to *The Integrity of Mission*. The student body at Eastern has a significant African-American presence, and the seminary was committed to ethnic pluralism and integration also at the faculty level. Besides thriving in his teaching activity, Costas established links with the Hispanic communities in the northeastern region of the United States, and as a result of his initiative Eastern created a department of Hispanic ministries, offering courses and conferences in Spanish. An important collection of books in Spanish and about the Hispanic world was developed intentionally in the library and named after Santiago Soto Fontán, a well-known American Baptist from Puerto Rico who had done missionary work in New York. For theological education with a special emphasis on laypeople from minorities, Costas designed the Eastern School for Christian Ministry. He became the founder of a section of the Latin American Theological Fraternity in the United States, organized a consultation about preaching and the Hispanic tradition, and edited the resulting book.\(^{25}\)

During this period Costas published what probably has been his most influential book in North America, *Christ Outside the Gate*, reprinted six times between 1982 and 1992. This volume is a collection of articles, lectures, and reports Costas had produced in the transitional period between his second term in Latin America and the beginning of his teaching in North America. Though each of its eleven chapters was prepared for different moments and audiences in conferences and consultations, there are some constant missiological motifs that inform the reflection:

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**Costas reflected powerfully on the incarnation as the key for a contextual missionary practice.**

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contextualization and incarnation, captivity and liberation, eucumenical and evangelical crosscurrents, church growth and evangelization as multidimensional phenomena. The book opens with a forceful Christological reflection about the incarnation as a key for a contextual missionary practice. It ends with a sermon that expounds Hebrews 13:12, where we are invited to meet Jesus “outside the gate” and bear the suffering he bore.

Costas was convinced of the need to incorporate in his reflection the fruit of the work done by his colleagues in the Third World, or, as he preferred to say, the Two-Thirds World. His trips and studies had convinced him that if nonwhite, non-Western theologians were going to be heard by the North Atlantic missiological establishment, they needed to talk among themselves and theologize together. From his leadership position in the Latin American Theological Fraternity, Costas became a moving force behind two conferences of evangelical mission
From the Two Thirds World (INFEMIT) was formed and has commitment to a North-South dialogue got him involved also in the consultation “Conflict and Context: Hermeneutics in the Americas,” sponsored by the Theological Students Fellowship of InterVarsity in the United States and by the Latin American Theological Fraternity. Costas also developed some analytic tools that guided the research and projects of several Doctor of Ministry students at Eastern. 

In 1984 Costas was invited to take the position of dean and the Adoniram Judson Chair of Missiology at Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Newton Centre, Massachusetts. He expected to use his administrative position for the development of projects and institutions that would express his missiological convictions, just as he had done at Eastern. He was also optimistic about summarizing his missiology in a three-part book about theological tools that guided the research and projects of several Doctor of Ministry students at Eastern. 

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Theologians from Africa, Asia, and Latin America in 1982 and 1984. Thus the International Fellowship of Mission Theologians from the Two Thirds World (INFEMIT) was formed and has continued to foster dialogue, education, and publications. His commitment to a North-South dialogue got him involved also in the consultation “Conflict and Context: Hermeneutics in the Americas,” sponsored by the Theological Students Fellowship of InterVarsity in the United States and by the Latin American Theological Fraternity. Costas also developed some analytic tools that guided the research and projects of several Doctor of Ministry students at Eastern. 

Every stage in the formation of Costas’s thought and every note of his missiology were nurtured by the particular missionary situation in which he was involved. A preacher by gift and vocation, his thinking was structured by a homiletical order that also expressed his systematic bent. His method involved integrating approaches from several theological disciplines. His works show first a way of reading the biblical text, taking seriously input from biblical scholarship but bringing to the text questions posed by the practice of Christians. In the second place, he presents a way of reading the history of the church, paying special attention to the lessons that can be derived from it. Third, like liberation theologians, Costas applied social analysis to the description and evaluation of the missionary enterprise. However, he used classic theological categories to provide a structure to his understanding and exposition of missiological lessons. With his own personal brand of eclecticism he felt free to take elements from diverse Christian traditions. Finally, Costas had a worldview and a stance that were increasingly shaped by his being a member of an ethnic minority. If we follow Costas’s work attentively, we will see how this method developed and was coming to fruition in his posthumous book Liberating News.

Galilee and Macedonia

A sustained creative engagement with the biblical text is at the heart of Liberating News. Each chapter expounds a Bible passage in search for images and paradigms that allow Costas to develop a theology of evangelization from what he calls a “radical evangelical tradition” characterized by “a stream of evangelical theology and spirituality with a burning passion for world evangelization.” This reference to theology, spirituality, and evangelistic passion represents a departure from the traditional Anglo-Saxon evangelical emphasis on orthodox doctrine. This shift is confirmed when Costas refers to his four theological principles: “Scripture as a rule of faith and practice, salvation by grace through faith, conversion as a distinct experience of faith and a landmark of Christian identity, and the demonstration of the new life through piety and moral discipline.” By the explicit reference to truth and life, to theology and piety, to doctrine and missionary practice, Costas is underlining what evangelicals from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as from black and Hispanic churches in the United States, have emphasized: “Taking its missiological concern and theological principles to their roots and ultimate consequences.”

His Latin American pilgrimage had made Costas aware of the historical and social conditioning of the missionary enterprise. In one of the most forceful chapters in Christ Outside the Gate, he denounced the perennial alliance between the missionary enterprise and Western imperialism. “It was not by accident that mission work took an entrepreneurial shape. It occurred because the modern missionary movement is the child of the world of free enterprise.” He went on to say that the missionary movement had been an instrument for legitimating and preparing the way for agents of liberal economics or politics. That relationship explained why mission societies adopted entrepre-
neural strategies. Later in his career, however, as seen for instance in *Liberating News*, the tone of denunciation moved toward a more nuanced appreciation of the historical and missiological significance of “world formative” missionary movements such as those of Wesley, Carey, and the Moravians.

In his search for biblical light about the historical facts of mission, Costas takes us to a creative reading of the Gospel of Mark, in which he finds “the evangelistic legacy of Jesus.”

Focusing on the many references to Galilee as a starting point for mission, Costas concludes “that Galilee is a ‘key’ not only to understanding Mark but also to recovering and interpreting Jesus’ evangelistic legacy. I see in Mark a model of contextual evangelization from the periphery.” He believed he had found a hermeneutical key that allowed him to understand better what mission will be in the twenty-first century, when it will be based in the churches of the poor and the periphery of the nations. Instead of a mission based in Jerusalem, the center of power that can easily co-opt the missionary enterprise, Costas visualized a Galilean model: “But if we take Galilee as a serious evangelistic context, our praxis will never be alienating, dull, static or without challenge. For we will be forced to ask, Where is our base, who is our target audience and what is the scope of our evangelistic praxis? These are the types of questions that help us recover the prophetic, liberating, holistic and global apostolic legacy in the tradition of Jesus, our Messiah and Lord, Savior and Teacher.”

The socioreligious analysis of the United States as a mission field was also one of the issues that Costas pursued after his return from Latin America. The changing ethnocultural panorama of the nation is described critically in *Christ Outside the Gate*, where he placed under his missiological lens the crisis of church and theology in mainline Protestantism. One of his chapter titles is especially apt: “A New Macedonia: The United States as a Mission Field for Third World Christians.” More than a simplistic denunciation of the plight of minorities, here Costas offers an appraisal of the tremendous missionary possibilities of incoming minorities for a true conversion of American Christianity to Jesus Christ. Costas hears a Macedonian call coming from the critical American situation and sets a missionary agenda for Third World Christians in North America: they can serve as a mirror for the critical self-understanding of American churches; they can offer models of authentic contextualization; they can provide meaningful paradigms of dynamic, liberating church leadership in contrast with the highly clericalized American church; and they can offer a partnership for radical discipleship.

**Missiology Within a New Ecumenicity**

His missionary experience and his participation in Evangelism in Depth gave Costas an acute awareness of the deep divisions that separate Christians in Latin America. He tried to develop a bridge-building ministry fostering and provoking dialogue between Protestants related to the World Council of Churches, evangelicals, and Pentecostals. Costas was active in CLAI, the WCC-related ecumenical movement in Latin America, and also in the World Evangelical Fellowship. He was one of the evangelicals who participated in the Evangelical–Roman Catholic Dialogue on Mission (ERCDOM, 1977–84). He could not always convince all his Latin American colleagues that they should cross the borders he crossed, but all sectors acknowledged the authenticity of his commitment to have fellowship and partnership with whoever shared his pressing sense of missionary obligation. This commitment accounts for the recognition of his missiological work in a wide diversity of circles. Besides his disciplined reflection and his administrative gifts, this ecumenical stance was also his valuable contribution to the Latin American Theological Fraternity. When we look at the sources of his thought beginning with his first book in 1971, we find all kinds of Catholic and Protestant thinkers.

Being a Hispanic theologian raised in the United States was an advantage for Costas; it explains in part his ecumenical spirit and vocation. On the one hand, he did not have that deep sense of being part of a religious minority discriminated against by Catholics, which is part of the experience of evangelical thinkers in Latin America. On the other hand, his way of understanding the Hispanic heritage was a polemical one because he had an acute sense of being part of a Hispanic minority within a predominant Anglo-Saxon culture. As a Puerto Rican who grew painfully into an awareness of his Latin heritage, he had come to perceive insensitive conservative Protestantism as part of the oppressive structure under which that minority lives. I think this awareness explains the promptness with which Costas adopted some of the categories of liberation theologies and their persistent anti-U.S. rhetoric. It is an experience that historian Justo L. González has described aptly. The other advantage Costas had as a Hispanic from North America was to be an American Baptist, a member of a pluralist denomination in which there is room for a truly contextual theological position.

Besides his fertile reflection and writing, Costas’s legacy is also evident in the work of his disciples. In spite of the hurried pace of his trips, his administrative duties, and his missiological involvements, he spared time to give guidance and encouragement, especially to many young theologians who saw in him a mentor and a teacher. His advice and academic counsel were accompanied by efforts to create opportunities for the younger generation in missiological debates and publishing ventures. In that regard his passing left a deep vacuum in the Hispanic world of the northeastern region of the United States.

I have been able to trace Costas’s influence in a variety of persons who acknowledge their debt to their teacher. Rev. Luis Cortés, whom Costas invited to work with him at Eastern Baptist Seminary, has developed Hispanic Clergy–Nueva Esperanza, a well-respected institution in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Its work of advocacy, job-training, nonformal theological education, and evangelism serves the growing Hispanic community as an expression of the “integrity of mission” that Costas championed. In Argentina, Dr. Norberto Saracco, who was Costas’s student in Costa Rica, leads FIET, a church-based theological formation-by-extension program that embodies the ideals of what Costas tried to do in CELEP. Guillermo Cook wrote, “Probably the greatest gift that Orlando had was that of discipleship. He poured himself into the lives of others and, more often than not, caused their creativity to bloom.” Cook recalled his own experience: “Orlando recognized some theological instincts in a discouraged and poorly equipped missionary (which my North American leaders had failed to detect) and encouraged, nudged, and bullied me into advanced studies. And in the process he opened me up to a whole new way of understanding and practicing theology—from the perspective of marginalized people.” The result was Cook’s book *The Expectation of the Poor*, a classic study about the Christian base communities.

More than a decade after his departure, the missionary legacy of Orlando Costas is a vibrant and continuous challenge for all of us at the beginning of a new century. It is a legacy that illustrates well the decisive paradigm shift that missiology requires of the new generation.

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Notes


2. La iglesia y su misión evangelizadora (Buenos Aires: Editorial La Aurora, 1971).


15. Christ Outside the Gate, p. xiii.


17. Costas wrote, “It was from this platform that I carried on my ministerial career” (Rose L. Feliciano Costas, Preface to Liberating News, p. ix).

18. Ibid., p. 31.


22. Christ Outside the Gate, p. xiii.

23. Ibid., p. xiv.

24. Ibid., p. 172.

25. Predicación evangélica y teología hispana (San Diego: Publicaciones de las Américas, 1982).


33. Liberating News, pp. 49, 70.

34. Christ Outside the Gate, pp. 71–85.


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