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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Of Divine Import:

The Maryknoll Missionaries in Peru, 1943 - 2000

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

History

by

Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens

Committee in charge:

Professor Eric Van Young, Chair

Professor Michael Bernstein

Professor Dain Borges

Professor George Lipsitz

Professor Richard Madsen

Professor Michael Meeker

Professor Kenneth Serbin

2001

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Chair

University of California, San Diego

2001

For my parents

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VITA

1992 B.A., California State University, Long Beach.
1997 C. Phil in History, University of California, San Diego
2001 Ph.D. University of California, San Diego

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Modern Latin American History

Minor Field: Colonial Latin American History

Outside Field: Anthropology

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Of Divine Import:
The Maryknoll Missionaries in Peru. 1943 - 2000

by

Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens

Doctor of Philosophy in History
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Professor Eric Van Young, Chair

In the post World War II era fear of Communism and peasant-based revolutions which pervaded the western hemisphere contributed to religious and political leaders in Central and South America welcoming a veritable flood of foreign missionaries to their countries. It was believed that spiritual and material aid to the regions' poorest people would buttress a religious foundation, alleviate poverty, and promote modernization, thereby staving off the threat of Communism. My research

examines the efforts of one mission organization, Maryknoll, to achieve these goals by transforming the predominantly indigenous people of Puno, Peru into modern Catholics and citizens. I examine the development of the missionaries' proselytization and modernization programs and the impact they had on Peru from 1943 to the present. In doing so, I illustrate how the Maryknoll mission movement and its influence were shaped by a combination of global changes that facilitated Maryknollers' settlement in Latin America, ideological influences stemming from the missionaries' communities of origin in the United States, and the missionaries' adaptation to local expectations about the role Catholic clergy should play in society. There was a reciprocal relationship between the missionaries and the people they proselytized so Maryknollers who sought to transform society in Puno by introducing "orthodox Catholicism" and modernization ultimately were transformed themselves.

The Maryknoll missionaries who settled in Peru in 1943 were fierce American nationalists, virulent anti-Communists, and doctrinaire Catholics for whom Faith was evidenced by observance of Sacraments and obedience to hierarchy. The missionaries believed implicitly that by introducing their religious practices and elements of modernization including education, medical care, and credit cooperatives they would transform these backward highland regions into modern, progressive centers. By 1968, however, the Maryknollers' goals and ideals appeared transformed. They became vociferous critics of American policy, advocates of social change, and promoters of inter-cultural Catholic faith. My dissertation provides an analysis of global changes that influenced Maryknoll and the local contexts in which these

changes were experienced and shows Maryknoll's impact on political and economic development in Peru.

I: Introduction

In 1942 Father Arthur J. Allie was acting as director of the Maryknoll mission chorus for a passenger variety show aboard the *Gripsholm*.¹ While the entertainment might suggest otherwise, passengers complaining about their accommodations were reminded by Edward Savage Crocker, an American Embassy official, that this was not a “pleasure cruise.”² The ship carried men and women, priests and nuns, Protestant Ministers and their families who worked and resided in Asia, where they had been arrested by Japanese officials after the declaration of “a state of war between the Anglo-American powers and Japan in the far Pacific”.³ The approximately nine hundred passengers were the fortunate participants in an exchange program, whereby they would return to the United States to be traded for Japanese prisoners of war, who would in turn be sent home. Father Allie and his fellow Maryknollers had been released from Stanley Internment Camp in Hong Kong. He is said to have joked that he “likes to think of this trip in comparison with Moses leading his people from bondage. Instead of Egypt, there’s the Co-Prosperity Sphere; instead of Moses we have Ambassador Grew, and the promised land – U.S.A.”⁴

The Maryknollers were among one-hundred-and-twenty-five Catholic priests and nuns aboard ship as well as missionaries representing some forty Protestant

¹ Max Hill, *Exchange Ship* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942), 268-269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153 and 221.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269

denominations.⁵ The Catholics and Protestants aboard the *Gripsholm* were representative of a much larger exodus of missionaries who, as a result of the advent of World War II, had been expelled from their fields of labor in Asia. Their return to the United States, while it was surely seen as a blessing by their churches, also presented a difficult logistical problem. With most of the world closed to travel and settlement by war, where could American missionaries proselytize?

For the Catholic Mission Society of America, popularly known as Maryknoll, the placement of missionaries returning from Asia represented just half the problem. The very conditions of war which closed Asia to mission endeavors created an economic boom in the United States that benefited the country's growing Catholic population. America's Catholics were for the most part European immigrants, their children, and grandchildren. In the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, when they arrived in the United States, immigrants struggled to establish communities founded on their ethnicity and Catholic faith. By the 1930s, however, their children and grandchildren had adopted a relatively homogenous "white" American Catholic identity and had become the primary beneficiaries of union movements and New Deal programs of the era.⁶ Union recognition and New Deal programs together with the drastic reduction in European immigration in the 1920s contributed to placing these Catholics in an especially strong position to benefit from the economic boom created by the war economy. Many started to attain the "American Dream" of middle-class status, inextricably linked with a vision of a single-family dwelling, where the wife

⁵ Ibid., p. 272

spent her days caring for household and children, while the husband sallied forth to work to earn the family's keep.

Although America's Catholics were moving up in the world, they were still close enough to their ethnic communities of origin to have ambivalent feelings about their success. Hard work, self-sacrifice, and poverty were part of life in ethnic communities. The Catholic Church called on parishioners in these communities to offer the suffering that resulted from their poverty up to God. So, while first- and second-generation Americans were encouraged to strive to improve their economic status, there also seemed something almost unholy in achieving success.⁷ Maryknoll offered these men and women and their children an opportunity to give something back to the world – to share the foundations of religious faith and economic aid during crisis that had enabled their parents to attain the dream so less fortunate people in the world might do the same. And as Maryknoll observed in its publicity magazine, *The Field Afar* (later named *Maryknoll*) “America Answer[ed] [the] Call . . . America

⁶ George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998) and Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

⁷ See Robert Orsi's discussion regarding the feelings of guilt associated with “making it” in the United States for people who grew “up in cultures, religious and ethnic, that advocated self-control and self-denial, sacrifice and delayed gratification . . . They may have begun to ‘disdain’ the culture of the enclaves, as Fisher writes, but the immigrants’ children could not free themselves of it. this class of moral sensibilities was exacerbated, furthermore, by the fact that the immigrants’ children were trying to make it – and were by then succeeding – in a society that had not welcomed their parents and in which they were uncertain of their own places” Robert A. Orsi, “‘Mildred, is it fun to be a cripple?’: The Culture of Suffering in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Catholicism,” in *Catholic Lives, Contemporary America*, ed. Thomas J. Ferraro (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997) 37-38. Robert Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude: Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) Maryknoll's development also corresponded with that of the cult of St. Jude, which Orsi argues evolved out of the context of the depression and the corresponding shift in Catholic communities from ethnic enclaves to more dispersed settlements. The character of Catholicism changed from a local, ethnically-influenced religion, to a more national religion. See also: James Terence Fisher, *The Catholic Counterculture in America, 1933-1962*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

became mission-minded so quickly as to make us wonder if it was ever anything else. Mission vocations have sprung from almost every corner of the forty-eight States in one generation.⁸ An ever-growing volume of prayers and resources followed their train.”⁹ Maryknoll was thus faced with the paradoxical problem of an expansion of support for world mission and a contraction of mission territories. The organization might have kept its missionaries home to work among United States citizens until the war ended; or, it could have sent them to serve as military chaplains; or, finally, it might seek new mission fields. Bishop James E. Walsh, Maryknoll’s Superior General, chose the third option. With the approval of the Holy See, Bishop Walsh selected Central and South America as the new focus for Maryknoll’s labor – at least until the war ended.¹⁰

The selection of Catholic regions as mission fields represented quite a departure for Maryknoll whose founders’ purpose in 1911 had been “to establish a

⁸ While vocations may have been coming from all over the United States, those for mission came predominantly from the northeast. A 1957 survey by the mission secretariat of Washington, D.C. indicated that four ecclesiastical territories supplied almost one-third of the entire overseas contingent of missionaries. The figures were: Boston, 600; Brooklyn, 433; New York, 338; and Philadelphia, 301. Five other archdioceses and dioceses contributed more than one hundred each, for an additional 716, or 14 percent of the total: Pittsburgh, 195; Chicago, 172; St. Louis, 126; Providence, 115; and Newark, 108. Thomas J. Bauer, M.M., “The American Missioner,” *The Field Afar*, January 1957, 12-16.

⁹ “American Answers a Call” in *The Field Afar*, March 1944, 22-23. One of Maryknoll’s founders, Father James A. Walsh was named director of the Propagation of the Faith in the archdiocese of Boston in 1903. “in his first year, he doubled Dr. Tracy’s [his predecessor] income; next, he tripled it; and then quadrupled it. He made the Catholics of the Boston area aware of the missions. The amount of money he brought in during his first year as director was one fourth of the money contributed by the entire United States, and more than any other diocese in the world.” Albert J. Nevins, *The Meaning of Maryknoll*. (New York: McMullen Books, Inc., 1954) 26-27.

¹⁰ “It was voted that missionaries returned from Eastern Asia by the war would, for the most part, be given Latin America assignments according to openings which are expected to develop as a result of the General’s investigations. These assignments will in the ordinary course of events be regarded as temporary, the missionaries to return to their original fields when they are again opened, their places in Latin America to be taken by members of future ordination classes.” This item was “Previously omitted from Minutes of May 12, 1942” and thus appended to end of Minutes of Meeting of May 18. See “Council Minutes,” 974 cited in William D. McCarthy, M.M. *Notes for a History of the Maryknoll Society in Peru*. (Unpublished Manuscript).

society for the conversion of non-Christians.”¹¹ Maryknoll’s reputation had been built on missionaries’ proselytization of “the Orient.” Even the Maryknoll Center in upstate New York, an immense western-style stone structure with a prominent bell tower, whose green pagoda-style roof with upward sloping edges offset by red columns, presented a somewhat incongruous melding of elements of eastern and western architecture, reflected this foundation. Nevertheless, Central and South America, in addition to being practically appealing by virtue of their accessibility despite World War II, also had characteristics which made them seem ideal mission fields. The countries of these regions suffered a scarcity of clergy so dire that Maryknoll suggested it threatened Catholicism’s very foundation. This threat would become graver yet with the onslaught of Protestant missionaries, which was sure to follow their expulsion from Asia. Moreover, the regions’ poverty and the dearth of clergy seemed to make the people of Central and South America potentially more vulnerable to Communist infiltration. Finally, United States’ interests were increasing throughout the region, so Maryknollers’ goals cohered nicely with those of their country.¹²

Latin America came to appear the ideal site for Maryknoll to prove that Catholicism, far from representing a threat to America’s promise as Protestants had argued, would enhance the country’s position in the world. America’s Catholics, who

¹¹ Jean-Paul Wiest, *Maryknoll in China: A History, 1918-1955* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1988) 25.

¹² Maryknoll’s Father General, James E. Walsh insisted that the selection of Central and South America as mission fields was not the result of pragmatic necessity. “Maryknoll is going to Central and South America because the Holy See desires us to go. Maryknoll is not going to Central and South America because some of our missionaries were excluded from the Japanese Empire, nor because the lands of the Western Hemisphere alone remained accessible for travel. We would not go for either or both of these reasons. The return of some of our missionaries simply permitted a more extensive beginning than would have been possible without their assistance.” Bishop James E. Walsh, Superior General,

shared a foundation in faith with their Southern neighbors, could help the United States improve relations with its "good neighbor." Maryknoll Superior General James E. Walsh suggested that Latin Americans perceived United States' Protestantism as a threat, making it a potential barrier to establishing good relations. He observed:

Even politicians who were not concerned with religion have agitated their own people against the United States by emphasizing the materialism and Protestantism of our nation. Moreover, there has been, and still is, much genuine fear on the part of Catholics in Latin America, lest a growing interest in the United States should be accompanied by an enervation of that Catholic Faith which is their pride and basis of their culture.¹³

Latin Americans seemed to have reason to be concerned that United States encroachment would diminish their religious faith. Historians in the United States had, after all, posited that Catholicism was the cause of Latin Americans' backwardness and underdevelopment. In keeping with Max Weber's theory, they seemed to conclude that only Protestants had the requisite disciplined, rational practices of worship that might be converted to disciplined labor to establish the foundation for modern Capitalist societies.

The Maryknoll missionaries' European ancestors had been forced to contend with this dominant American Protestant stereotype of Catholicism as inherently backward and anti-democratic. Indeed, that assumption was one of the influences that made Latin America seem to Maryknollers an ideal mission field. Maryknollers believed that, while Latin American Catholicism might indeed be a bit backward, American Catholicism was distinct. It was a modern religion, characterized by

"Memorandum for Latin American Maryknollers" January 21, 1943. MMA, Regional Superiors' Monthly Informational Reports to the General Council.

rational, disciplined practices of worship. By establishing this form of Catholicism among the people of Latin America it would be possible to draw them along the continuum toward modernization.

It seemed to Maryknoll (and others) that the most backward of Latin America's Catholics were the "Indians." As Bishop Walsh observed in regard to Latin American Catholicism:

Some of their customs are of Latin origin, others of Indian origin. Among the better-educated Catholics, we understand there is a tendency to shake off some of the time-honored mannerisms of their faith, a tendency to believe that the traditionalism of their ways is hampering them. Among the uneducated, however, there is a tendency in the opposite direction; and, among what might be called the more native element among the population, their historic past is receiving increasing emphasis.¹⁴

In a vague way Bishop Walsh implied that there was a continuum of Catholicism in Latin America. The most educated people were the least traditional Catholics. As one moved along the continuum to the indigenous population the degree of "traditionalism" increased to the point that upon reaching the "native element" there was more emphasis on their "historic past" than on their Catholicism. Thus for Maryknoll, Catholicism seemed a measure of modernity and class as well as a religious practice. This assumption was in keeping with that of anthropologists of the era who classified indigenous people according to their acceptance of "Catholicism." The most sedentary, advanced indigenous people also were said to be the most Catholic, while the most "primitive" retained their pre-conquest religious practices.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ The assumptions regarding a religious continuum are evident in Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain. (New York: Free Press, 1965, c. 1915). They are

By converting Latin America's indigenous people to modern Catholicism, Maryknoll might thus help to draw them along the continuum toward modernization. In doing so the missionaries believed they would serve the interests of the United States, Latin America, and the indigenous people themselves. Moreover they would prove to American Protestants that Catholicism, far from being an anti-modern anachronism, would engender modernization.

Peru was among the first countries that Maryknoll selected as a proselytization field in 1943. Initially the missionaries hoped, in keeping with their labors in the "Orient," to work among Peru's Chinese population. Instead, however, they quickly turned their attention to the indigenous population. Bishop Walsh reported that when he mentioned the possibility that Maryknoll would accept an "Indian Apostolate," the Papal Nuncio, "took it like a trout grabbing a fly, said there was work waiting everywhere. . ."¹⁶ In just a few months Maryknoll received approval to establish a mission in Puno, a frontier region on the border with Bolivia in Peru's Southern Andes known for its rusticity and less-than-ideal living conditions.¹⁷ Father Garvey, future "Punoknoller" reported being warned by Father Carey, a veteran of the department, to: "get rugged, Fathers; get rugged". . . our house in Puno is at an elevation of nearly

also implicit in the studies compiled in Julian Haynes Steward, ed. *The Handbook of South American Indians*. (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963). Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997) 14 observes that: "Reacting against the acculturation and modernization paradigms of the 1950s-1960s rural sociology and applied anthropology, Andeanist ethnographers of the 1970s (many of whom, incidentally, were advised by ethnohistorians) took to the field in search of "the Andean," defined as resistant cultural traits and practices previously documented in the "ethnohistorical record."

¹⁶ James Anthony Walsh, July 27, 1942 MMA

¹⁷ General Council Meeting Minutes of August 17, 1942 state that Maryknoll would accept a mission territory on the frontier of Bolivia subject to approval by the Holy See cited in William D. McCarthy, *Notes for a History*.

13,000 feet. Moreover the weather is cold." The wisdom of Father Carey's words seemed confirmed with reports by Peruvians. Father Garvey lamented that: "'Hace frio,' is the only comment people have for Puno. Inquires from parties who had been there, garnered the following replies: 'words just can't possibly describe how miserable it is.' And from a Peruvian, 'it is the worst place in South America. God certainly never intended that any of his creatures should be forced to live there.'"¹⁸ Although these descriptions surely represented a slight exaggeration, they also reflected Puno's status as a peripheral region of Peru. Even today advising Limeños that you intend to live in Puno elicits responses ranging from sympathetic sighs to questions about sanity.

Although it was remote, Puno was one of Peru's most indigenous and largest departments. There it seemed Maryknollers would be able to fulfill their goal of converting the indigenous people to "modern Catholicism," thereby drawing them along the continuum to modernity. Maryknoll's ideal, conformed closely with that of the Peruvian government. Puno's indigenous population had engaged in a number of devastating rebellions in the 1920s and the government sought means to control them and to incorporate them into the nation.¹⁹ Catholicism was seen as an integrative force among Peru's ethnically and economically diverse population. Thus there was a confluence of goals between the Maryknoll missionaries and the Peruvian government.

¹⁸ Francis Garvey, M.M. Maryknoll Society Diaries, Peru May 18 – June 6, 1943. MMA.

¹⁹ Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

Although Maryknoll's initial goal was to establish an Indian apostolate in rural Peru, local exigencies mandated that the missionaries also would serve the interests of an emerging middle class in urban Peru. In Puno Maryknollers helped educate the children of white-collar workers who could not afford to send their children to school in Peru's urban centers. In the 1950s Maryknollers followed the migration of rural residents to urban Lima and Arequipa, working both in lower middle class communities and in new urban settlements (*barriadas*).²⁰ In the *barriadas* Maryknollers acted as state substitutes by providing credit and housing loans, education, and medical care. The missionaries thus helped ease and engender the country's transition to urbanization and industrialization. From the mid-1950s to the late-1960s, Maryknollers became conduits of material aid from the United States to Peru's poor. In doing so, they fulfilled their goal of serving as "goodwill ambassadors to the United States." The networks Maryknollers had created to facilitate their dissemination of spiritual aid came to serve as a means of disseminating material aid. In rural Puno Maryknoll developed a catechetical system in which indigenous communities elected representatives to act as intermediaries with the missionaries. Through this system of intermediaries, which depended on established systems of social organization and the manner in which they were linked to religion, communities gained access to spiritual and material innovations. These innovations were, however, incorporated into an existing cultural framework. A variation on the catechetical system also was established in Maryknoll's centers of labor in urban areas.

²⁰ Juan Velasco renamed the *barriadas* "pueblos juvenes" or young towns, suggesting their potential for development and incorporation.

My dissertation analyzes Maryknoll's experience in Peru from 1943 to 2000. Although the Maryknoll movement was relatively small, peaking at just 131 missionaries in Peru in 1968, it was representative of a larger influx of foreign missionaries to Latin America generally and Peru specifically in the 1950s and 1960s.²¹ Maryknoll's experience and influence was unique in many ways, but it was also emblematic of the role missionaries played at a crucial transitional point in Peruvian, and indeed, world history. Through their provision of aid and their creation of networks, the Maryknoll missionaries helped ease Peru's transition to "modernization" and to strengthen ties between the country and the United States. In this sense, the missionaries fulfilled their goals, but not with the results they hoped for. The missionaries wanted to create a better world, but the very system of which they were a part made it impossible to obtain that goal in the long-term. The Maryknoll missionaries' role was made possible by the manner in which Peru's established tradition of Catholicism conditioned the missionaries' incorporation among distinct social sectors, ensuring that clergy enjoyed legitimacy and government support despite their status as foreigners. The research suggests that public religion, long posited to be a force that would disappear as societies "modernized," actually played a crucial role in engendering modernization.²²

²¹ Angelyn Dries, O.S.F. *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998). Dries observed that while all of Latin America experienced a huge influx of clergy during this period, Brazil and Peru received the largest number of missionaries in relation to the countries' respective populations. Edward L. Cleary, O.P., *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985), 14-15 reports that of all the diocesan priests from the United States who went to Latin America, 68% went to Peru.

²² José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Maryknoll's mission labor in Peru occurred in three distinct phases corresponding with transformations in the United States, the Universal Catholic Church and Peruvian society. I examine each of these phases in turn to illustrate how these inter-related factors influenced the Maryknoll mission movement. This analysis also shows how Maryknoll missionaries acted as both a force for continuity and change in Peruvian society. This contrast is nowhere more evident than in the manner in which the missionaries influenced the image of the priest. When the first Maryknoll priests settled in Puno in 1943, they were accepted into society because of the established role of clergy. Yet that role in many ways contradicted fundamentally Maryknollers' ideal of the priest. In rural Peru priests were associated with *hacendados* (large landowners) with whom they served as a force of control over and exploitation of the indigenous people. Within a decade Maryknoll had changed this image so priests came to appear as potential allies of indigenous people and providers of spiritual and material benefits. Despite this change Maryknoll, nonetheless maintained the ideal of the priest a white, wealthy outsider. While he might be an advocate, these characteristics nonetheless separated the priest from the indigenous people he proselytized. In the final phase of the mission endeavor from 1964 to 1980, Maryknollers sought to escape this image only to find themselves trapped in the very priestly ideal they had created. This transformation was neither the only, nor the most important one evident in the Maryknoll missionaries' experience in Peru. It is, however, emblematic of both the influence the missionaries had and the unintended consequences of their labor.

Understanding the distinct phases of the Maryknoll mission movement requires an analysis of the contrasting ideals of Catholicism held by Peruvians and Maryknollers. These ideals would establish the terms of negotiation between the proselytized and the proselytizers. Thus, the first two chapters of the dissertation analyze the development of Catholicism in the distinct local contexts of the United States and Peru to illustrate the points of potential confluence and conflict in the religious practices and beliefs of the Maryknoll missionaries and the people they proselytized. The first chapter examines the development of the Catholic Church in the context of the United States where immigrants brought a foreign faith to their adopted country. As was true in Latin America, Catholicism provided a basis for incorporation of foreign peoples (in this case European immigrants) into American society. European Catholic missionaries established Churches and schools to teach immigrants' children the ways of their adopted country. As the most educated members of the communities, Catholic priests often served as intermediaries between them and American governing officials. In Peru Catholicism had an historical tradition dating back to the colonial era when Spanish missionaries' proselytization of indigenous people drew them into the Spanish kingdom. In some measure the Maryknoll missionaries' role in the twentieth century could be seen as analogous. Even though they acted independently, the Maryknoll missionaries appeared as religious representatives of the United States whose power was expanding into Latin America. I look specifically at the potential for confluence in indigenous and Catholic religious beliefs which made possible the incorporation of missionaries into indigenous social networks.

Chapter three examines the period from 1943 to 1954 when Maryknoll missionaries worked to establish Catholic parishes in Puno modeled after those of their communities of origin in the northeastern United States. I look specifically at how Maryknoll's ideal of establishing an "Indian apostolate" among the people in Puno was reformulated. In Peru the missionaries were led by the Catholic hierarchy and the national Peruvian government to serve an emerging middle class in addition to indigenous people. Maryknollers were thus placed in a position of reinforcing the role of Catholicism as an ideological force integrating distinct class and ethnic groups and linking the Church and the state. During this period efforts to provide material aid took the form of individual priests offering token assistance by providing food aid and minimal medical care whenever possible.

The next period I analyze is 1954 to 1963 which corresponded with a dramatic shift in the world order. With the end of the Korean War and the McCarthy era, America entered a new phase in the Cold War during which the Maryknoll ideal of providing spiritual and material aid to combat the threat of Communism seemed increasingly appealing to mainstream Americans. The 1950s were, in fact, characterized by a surge of religious fervor in the United States, which seemed a response to the "red menace." The disorganized methods of providing social aid to the poor evident from 1943 to 1953 were replaced by organized programs of education, medical care, and credit cooperatives designed to improve living conditions and promote modernization. This period corresponded with a dramatic increase in United States investment in Latin America. Peru underwent a radical socio-economic restructuring characterized by a shift from rural to urban production and a resulting

movement of citizens from rural to urban centers. These efforts culminated in the advent of the Alliance for Progress in 1961. It seemed to Maryknoll that under its Catholic president, the United States was promoting policies that considered the common good of greater importance than profit. Maryknoll worked to facilitate the provision of this aid.

In the period from 1964 to 1980 the perception that programs like that of Maryknoll would promote the development of a more just social order seemed gradually to dissipate. The Second Vatican Council called into question the ideal of mission and its goals. America's Catholics also had to cope with the assassination of "their" President, John F. Kennedy, which marked the decline of the sense of optimism that had propelled the Maryknoll mission movement. The confusion and dismay felt by many American Catholics following Kennedy's death was enhanced by the Vietnam Protest and Civil Rights movements and compounded by the Second Vatican Council's reformation of the Catholic Church. While Vatican II was welcomed by many as an opportunity to reconsider the beliefs and practices of their religion, it left others feeling displaced. As was true of most Catholic religious organizations at this time, Maryknoll underwent a dramatic transformation. The number of seminarians and novices entering Maryknoll plummeted, while the number of priests and religious leaving surged. Donations to Maryknoll also declined. The missionaries who stayed and the few men and women ordained in the 1960s retained an ideal of America's promise and of their role in transforming the world. They sought to distance themselves from the United States government. Instead of working as

“Ambassadors of Goodwill for the United States,” the missionaries came to serve as critics of American foreign policy.

This period also marks the final stage in Peru's "transformation," culminating in 1968 agrarian reform that was facilitated (indeed made possible) by an alliance between the Peruvian Church and Military. Juan Velasco, the leader of a left-wing military regime that instituted the radical agrarian reform program with dramatic consequences in Puno, turned to Catholic clergy and their popular networks for support. In the absence of strong political parties with links extending through distinct regions of Peru, the Catholic Church became the principal force of support behind this change. The Catholic Church and the military were united by their opposition to traditional landowners and to American imperialism. This source of unification placed Maryknoll necessarily outside of the alliance. So much for good neighbors. Thus while the missionaries supported the Velasco regime, they did so quietly.

Instead of becoming political activists at this time, Maryknollers in Peru sought to develop an inter-cultural Catholic faith. By understanding indigenous culture they hoped to adapt Catholicism more effectively to it. The missionaries believed that to achieve this goal they would have to develop closer relations with the people they proselytized. Doing so required bypassing the established catechetical system of indigenous intermediaries. The missionaries also reduced their provision of aid to communities. Maryknollers thus sought to dismantle the systems they had created during the preceding twenty-five years. They found themselves trapped by the very categories they had created.

The conclusion of the dissertation examines Maryknoll's legacy by reviewing the period from 1980 to the present. Alberto Flores Galindo argues that Peru's civil war in the 1980s resulted from the agrarian reform's elimination of hacendados and its failure to promote an alternative means of access to the government. He suggests that hacendados were the only links between remote indigenous communities and the Peruvian national government. I would suggest that Catholic missionaries, through their development of the catechetical system and the provision of aid had helped to weaken and displace hacendados in the 1950s and early 1960s.²³ With the decline of the Maryknoll mission movement after 1968 and a general reduction in the number of Catholic clergy in the country, these networks and aid attenuated. Indigenous people were left poor and isolated with no evident means of improving their conditions. In 1982, Peru was struck by a devastating drought followed by inundations. These conditions would seem to suggest a moral decay of the type historically interpreted by Andean people as evidence that the time had come to restore moral order by "turning the world upside down." The Shining Path guerrillas' apocalyptic vision, mandating total destruction of the established order would surely seem appealing in these conditions.²⁴ The measures Maryknoll took to improve conditions could provide only temporary amelioration of conditions rather than the type of transformation they had hoped for.

I hope this analysis will contribute to understanding why religion has played, and continues to play, a central role in society. Extensive research has been done on

²³ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y Utopía en los Andes*. Cta ed. (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994).

Catholicism's role in the encounter between indigenous people and Europeans during the colonial era.²⁵ This work has greatly enhanced our knowledge of how established cultural norms among the indigenous people influenced the trajectory of the Spanish colonial project. While researchers recognized the centrality of religion in the colonial era, until the 1980s when the advent of Liberation Theology and the increasingly important role of Protestant Evangelical groups made religion difficult to ignore, it was neglected by researchers studying contemporary Latin America.²⁶ Most examinations of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latin America emphasized the primacy of economic or material conditions as the driving forces behind social and political development. My research attempts to carry the emphasis on cultural encounter evident in studies of the colonial era into the contemporary period. I argue that religion was foundational to relations between the United States and Latin America. The research is thus in part a perspective on a distinct face of imperialism, one founded in religious motivations that were invisibly woven together with political and economic motivations. It also illustrates how the "traditional" religiously-based

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The literature on the colonial period encounter between missionaries and indigenous people is extensive and includes, but is not limited to, the following: Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), Serge Gruzinski, *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands: Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520-1800*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) Rafael, Vicente, L. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) Todorov, Tzvetan, *The Conquest of America*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1982).

²⁶ For a review of some of the recent literature on religion in Latin America see: Manuel A. Vásquez, "Religious Pluralism, Identity, and Globalization in the Americas," in *Religious Studies Review* 26, no. 4 (October 2000): 333- 341, Thomas C. Bruneau, "Power and Influence: Analysis of the Church in Latin America and the Case of Brazil" in *Latin American Research Review* 8, no. 2. (Summer 1973): 25-51, Daniel H. Levine, "Religion and Politics, Politics and Religion: An Introduction," in *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 21, no. 1, Special Issue: The Church and Politics in Latin America. (February 1979): 5-29.

social structure of indigenous communities provided the means of incorporating “modernity,” while at the same time ensuring that while it changed elements of existing socio-cultural structure it did not undermine or destroy it.



II. Making Modern Missionaries

The Catholic Missionary Society of America founded in 1911 by Fathers James Walsh and Anthony Price was until the 1960s a quintessentially American organization. During the era following World War II, when Maryknoll experienced its most rapid growth its advertising campaign appealed to the goals, ideals, and nationalism of working-class first- and second-generation Americans living in the northeastern United States. It asked the children of staunchly Catholic Irish, German, and Italian immigrants to labor to improve the world by playing a part in God's plan to have Catholicism reach every corner of the earth. It would not have been possible for either Maryknoll or the young men and women who entered the seminary and convent to question the justice of converting people to their religion since it seemed obvious to them that they were playing their parts in God's divine plan. Nor were they concerned about Maryknoll's close association with the United States government, since they saw their religious sensibility and their nationalism as inextricably linked.¹ While the majority of the Maryknollers began their careers as self-proclaimed nationalists with a desire to save foreign people by introducing them to orthodox Catholicism and improved social services, by the 1960s the ideals of many of its members were in radical opposition to those of the United States government, the working class

¹ Interviews with a number of the nuns and priests who served in Maryknoll in China, Central and South America during the World War II era, reveal that they were clearly nationalistic. One Sister noted that when she left for her first mission field in Mexico in the late 1940s, she packed an American flag in the bottom of her suitcase and believed that the worst thing that could possibly happen to her

immigrant communities from which most of them had come, and conservative members of the Catholic Church. This chapter provides an overview of this development and the local and global influences that contributed to Maryknoll's transformation.

I ask specifically how Maryknoll underwent such an apparently radical change during the course of a few decades. Some might argue that it resulted from the Second Vatican Council, which marked a general liberalization of the Catholic Church, and from the Civil Rights and Vietnam protest movements, which transformed American society during this period. But, attributing transformation to the 1960s seems to conflate cause and effect—it uses change to explain change, but fails to address the root cause in the preceding decades. Maryknoll's transformation seems to have been influenced by the confluence of three interrelated factors. First was the development of Maryknoll's core ideals about its missionaries' purpose, their relationship to the United States, and the United States' role in the post-war world. These ideals were derived in part from Maryknoll's members' and supporters' experience in working-class communities in the 1930s and 1940s. The second influential factor, which in large measure evolved from these ideals, was Maryknoll's decision to provide spiritual and material aid to many of the world's most impoverished peoples. Working among the poor would contribute to Maryknoll's gradual re-evaluation of the potential for social change and to increased awareness of the structural conditions which inhibited it. The third influential factor was gender norms, derived from standards of working-

would be being forced to renounce her American citizenship. Regina Johnson, M.M., interview by author, Oaxaca, Mexico, 26 August 1995.

class ethnic communities in the northeastern and midwestern United States and from Catholic norms in those communities. These norms would determine Sisters' and Fathers' missionary roles, establishing priests as authority figures, which may have inhibited them from developing close relationships with people, and nuns as nurturing helpmates whose roles as nurses and teachers brought them into peoples' homes and families, thus opening the way if not for friendship, then at least for close contact. Such differences may have contributed to the development of related but separate ideologies, with nuns becoming more conscious of local culture earlier than priests. This chapter emphasizes the development of Maryknoll's foundational ideals in the 1940s and suggests how these ideals would contribute to the missionaries' increasingly critical view of America's role in the world.

Understanding this transformation requires that Maryknoll's origins and ideals be examined through the lens of the history of working-class immigrant communities in the United States. The majority of men and women who became missionaries and supported Maryknoll through donations came from these communities in the midwestern and northeastern United States. Their history is inextricably linked with Maryknoll's. It was their fervent support for and contribution to Maryknoll that helped formulate the Sisters' and Fathers' ideal of missionary work. These ideals were rooted in Irish, German, Italian, and Polish immigrants' struggles to attain economic stability, community and American identity. When European Catholic immigrants arrived they faced formidable social and economic obstacles to incorporation into American society. Many Protestant elites viewed them as foreign

interlopers whose Catholic Faith, cultural norms, and union activism threatened America's promise.²

The Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America's foundation in 1911, shortly after the Vatican removed the United States from its list of mission territories, represented an important step in Catholic immigrants' assertion of their American identity and of their place in the universal Catholic Church hierarchy. Through Maryknoll, as the society would be known popularly, European immigrants and their descendants asserted an American identity that was inextricably linked to their Catholic Faith and created an ideal of America's role in the world, which depended on their contribution, and was rooted in their common experiences of community, faith and labor. Maryknoll's magazine, *The Field Afar* (later named *Maryknoll*) gave voice to these ideals, which grew out of immigrants' and first- and second-generation Americans' lives in "ethnic enclaves." There was in fact a reciprocal relationship between the magazine and its subscribers so it reflected communities' ideological change, but also influenced it. Examining Maryknoll's "transformation" through the images and ideas that appear in the magazine from the 1940s to 1970 will thus provide insight into the evolution of Maryknoll, of working class ethnic communities, and by extension of the American nation. This chapter will serve as a background to understanding the goals and ideals that would condition the Maryknoll missionaries' work in Peru.

² David W. Noble, *The End of American History: Democracy, Capitalism and the Metaphor of Two Worlds in Anglo-American Historical Writing, 1880-1980*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985). Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays*. (New York: Knopf, 1966), James J. Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

The War Years: Maryknoll's boom

Although Maryknoll was founded in 1911, it did not experience rapid growth until the World War II era and the decade of the 1950s, when first- and second-generation Americans were socially and economically established in the country. Many of the parents, relatives, and neighbors of the young men and women who entered Maryknoll during these years were active in union movements of the 1930s, which culminated in corporations' recognition of workers' right to organize and to be represented. Lizabeth Cohen argues that the strikes of the 1930s helped establish a "moral economy" among workers who believed that employers, beneficiaries of their labor, were obliged to treat them fairly by providing decent working conditions, reasonable wages, a degree of job security, and protection in case of injury or illness.³ In short, humanitarian ideals had to take precedence over profit in the workplace. She and Michael Denning both suggest that labor organizing and the rise of mass culture also helped create a new sense of American identity rooted in people's labor and ethnicity.⁴ These ideals would be fundamental to Maryknoll's conception of its role as a missionary order and its view of America's role in the world.

Young men and women who entered Maryknoll had also experienced or heard about their communities' struggles through the Great Depression. They knew that in times of need their neighbors turned to the Church and to ethnically-based social aid organizations. This knowledge contributed to an ideal of the Church based not only

³ Lizabeth Cohen, *Making A New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

on faith, but also on its role in helping people through economic crises. Indeed, the parish was the center of community, to such an extent that when asked where they lived, most residents responded by citing the name of their parish instead of their city.⁵ Turning points in community members' lives were celebrated by Catholic ceremonies, which reinforced the church's centrality: birth corresponded with Baptism, early childhood with First Communion, Adolescence with Confirmation, Adulthood with Marriage, or, perhaps Holy Orders, and Death with Last Rites. Male Priests and Bishops who administered these Sacraments could thus offer means of eternal salvation and of successful passage through life. Often priests were also the best-educated members of the ethnic communities. They guided parishioners through crises, provided them with economic assistance in times of need, and helped families survive internal conflict.⁶ Through their position in society priests gained tremendous respect and even love, but this position also created a seemingly unbridgeable social barrier between them and their parishioners.⁷

While priests were linked to parishioners through their administration of Sacraments, aid, and counseling, Sisters lived with them through their daily lives. They educated their children in Catholic schools which proliferated in the midwestern and northeastern United States. By working with children Sisters learned about

⁴ Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso Press, 1996).

⁵ John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and Andrew M. Greeley, *The American Catholic: A Social Portrait* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977). 215

⁶ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries...* 6-53.

⁷ This distance is evident in "Mr. Q Man Comes to Maryknoll," *The Field Afar*, April-May 1945, 38-39. Maryknoll seminarians responding to a survey to determine the characteristics of the "typical Maryknoll seminarian" consistently asserted that "Once he decided to go to Maryknoll, he mentioned

families, visiting when a child needed extra help, and always laboring to discern the condition of the family's faith. The vast majority of young men and women who entered Maryknoll attended these schools, where Sisters taught academic subjects and provided a Catholic moral framework. Catholic schools helped establish a moral foundation for communities and served as a source for future religious vocations. They also played a central role in gaining new converts to the faith.⁸ Schools for African-American students, for example, would become the central means of attracting African-American families to the Church.⁹ The nuns nurtured children and families and in doing so buttressed the foundation of Catholic faith and community.

The Great Depression of the 1930s sapped the economic vitality of ethnically-based community aid organizations and local Catholic parishes, which had traditionally offered support during economic crises. Having exhausted these resources, ethnic communities in the midwest and northeast ultimately were forced to turn to the government for assistance. They gradually came to view their relationship with the state in terms of reciprocity—in exchange for voting for Franklin D. Roosevelt they gained the support of the United States. In Chicago there was a “two-thirds increase in voter turnout between 1924 and 1936, with essentially all of these new participants voting Democratic.”¹⁰ Thus, through their support of Roosevelt and his New Deal programs, immigrants and first- and second-generation Americans gained enfranchisement and a greater sense of nationalism, augmenting that which

the fact to a priest with whom he was acquainted, but he did not approach his pastor because he was “a little afraid of him.”

⁸ “We thank you,” *The Field Afar*, April 1943, 44. “From the hundreds of Catholic schools over the country have come practically all of our 789 priests, Brothers, and students.”

⁹ McGreevey, *Parish Boundaries*, 56.

they earned through participation in union movements.¹¹ They began to see provision of aid to the needy in times of crisis as the American government's obligation to the people who supported it, an ideal that would extend to their view of America's international role in the post-World War II era. They recognized their poverty was not their fault. It resulted from an economic crisis for which all their previous labor and saving had left them unprepared.¹² The European descendents' willingness to support their country was fundamental to their new status. They were "Americans" and once their economic position improved they would do whatever they could to help their country and impoverished people throughout the world.

"The Field Afar" in the war years

The new sense of nationalism immigrants and first- and second-generation Americans gained through their participation in unions, mass culture, and the New Deal placed them in an awkward position with the advent of World War II. It has often been described as the last "good" war because there appeared a clear demarcation between good and evil. Hitler was the incarnation of evil. Mussolini appeared a madman. Dark forces were attacking our erstwhile Mother, England. But while these characteristics established a clear boundary for Americans of British descent and for citizens with an ideological opposition to fascism, they were insufficient to gain the support of many immigrants. People of German and Italian descent were forced to choose between loyalty to their homelands and to America. Those of Irish descent could feel little enthusiasm for fighting to save the British

¹⁰ Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 256.

¹¹ Denning *The Cultural Front*.

¹² Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, 252-258.

whose government repressed their Republic of Ireland. In addition to ethnically based ambivalence, Catholics, strong anti-Communists, found it difficult to stomach the United State's alliance with Stalin. Catholic, working-class ethnic Americans could neither oppose the war, thus appearing un-American, nor, wholeheartedly support the fight against their homelands. Japan's bombing Pearl Harbor—a seemingly clear case of aggression—provided these communities with a legitimate reason for supporting America's war effort despite their ambivalence. Indeed, their participation in the war provided another way to assert their American identity.

The articles that appeared in Maryknoll's *The Field Afar* during the war years emphasized the missionaries' support of the war, but by sedulously avoiding references to the European front, they kept from appearing anti-German, anti-Italian, or pro-British. In this way they asserted their sense of American nationalism while eliminating the element of divided loyalty. Maryknoll's pro-allied forces nationalism appeared in *The Field Afar's* repeated assertion of a close relationship between missionaries and soldiers. This was evident in the magazine's selection and publication of letters from supporters who were in the military themselves, or, whose husband's, sons, and friends were serving in the war. In the April 1943 issue of *The Field Afar*, for example, virtually every letter published had been written by someone in this category. Maryknoll also maintained a regular column entitled "Friends in the Military," which described the experiences of Maryknoll supporters who were in the service and noted military honors they received. By praising "Friends in the Service" Maryknoll emphasized the central role its working-class first- and second-generation supporters were playing in the war effort. Catholic soldiers were on the front fighting

for America (though what they were fighting against was never clear in the magazine) and Maryknoll was there with them. “Wherever young Americans in the service may be, either at home or overseas, Maryknoll friends and benefactors of Maryknoll are right there among them. And Maryknoll is right there with them, too. We often think of these friends, and we pray for them. We regard them as part of the Maryknoll family—in a real sense, they, and all our friends, *are* Maryknoll.”¹³ Another column entitled “On the Mission Front” clearly implied that Maryknollers were doing their bit for the war effort by serving as missionaries. Finally, Maryknollers were described with their brothers, and in some cases sisters, who were in the military.¹⁴ These articles suggested that missionaries and servicemen and women were doing their part to support the war effort. All of them were American nationalists and all of their work was equally necessary for victory.

“The Field Afar” in Asia

Maryknoll’s depiction of its missionaries’ as crucial agents in the war effort was even more evident in *The Field Afar’s* accounts of priests’ role in war-torn Asia. The articles described missionaries who experienced many of the same hardships and were exposed to the same dangers as were servicemen and women. *The Field Afar’s* account of the bombing of Father Russel Sprinkle was a typical portrayal of the Maryknoll missionary priest in China.

Japanese Bombs have finally caught up with Father Russell Sprinkle. The most-bombed Maryknoll missioner in the Orient is in Memorial Hospital at Wuchow...Father Sprinkle is an awesome figure to natives of his South

¹³ “Friends in the Service” *The Field Afar*, April 1943, 10-11.

¹⁴ See for example “June Ordinations,” *The Field Afar* June 1945, 6-9 where the author states that “practically every one of the new priests has brothers or sisters serving with the armed forces of our country.”

China neighborhood, and something of a legend. He has survived an incredible number of Japanese air raids in South China....he still serves the unending swarms of refugees spiritually as well as with food and medicine. His escapes from bombs and bomb fragments cover a span of almost seven years.

The Field Afar, March 1944 p. 2

Father Sprinkle is shown to be equivalent to soldiers in his bravery and in his experience of direct conflict, but he also appears to exhibit something more: he is “an awesome figure to natives.” His strength derives not from his bravery (though this is evident), nor the power of bombs (as it does for soldiers), but from his service to refugees. By providing for both their spiritual and material well-being, Father Sprinkle has become “an awesome figure.” While the missionary exhibits the same bravery and experiences the same hardship as the soldier, he is differentiated from him by his provision of spiritual and material support. Through this distinction, Maryknoll implied that American missionaries and American soldiers worked in concert. Only by combining labors could they win the ultimate victory of gaining native peoples’ support. Although the United States’ government sustained the effort by supplying guns and bombs, American people (specifically Maryknoll’s working-class supporters) through their support of Catholic missionaries had to supply the necessary spiritual and material aid. This aid ultimately would win people’s hearts, so while the military might win the battle, it was up to the missionaries and their American supporters to win the war

This conclusion is implied in *The Field Afar's* "Refugees surround him,"¹⁵ which describes the almost miraculous meeting of an old man and his young son separated during their thousand-mile journey to Maryknoll's refugee camp. The priest asks the child "How did you know where to go?" to which he responds "My father told me to look always for the mission cross if we were separated, he said I should always find help and safety there." Thus Maryknoll missionaries offered a place of refuge and homecoming in the midst of chaos and helped reunite a family wrenched apart by war. The article concluded with the boy's father observing "Look, my son. The Beautiful Country of the Starry Flag sends to China both American comrades in arms and American messengers of eternal salvation." This man suggested that America was beautiful because it provided not only the necessary weapons of destruction, but also the means of salvation.

By linking Maryknollers to military personnel and asserting that missionaries' efforts were crucial to the war effort, Maryknoll presented an American identity founded in Catholic ideals and working-class experience. While Protestant critics had suggested immigrants' Catholicism would prevent them from becoming loyal American citizens, those immigrants and their children were demonstrating that their faith served as the basis for their nationalism. What's more, they suggested their ideal of charity—derived from both their faith and their experience of poverty during the Great Depression—would ultimately lead foreign peoples to love, esteem, and emulate America. This belief created a specific form of charity, which became positive not only in and of itself, but also because it provided a means to attract people to

¹⁵ Rev. Joseph P. McGinn, "Refugees surround him," *The Field Afar* April 1943, 9.

Catholicism and thus to America. Charity's role in attracting converts is consistently demonstrated in articles describing Maryknollers' labors among refugees and lepers. "The Magnet of Charity" in which Father Arthur Weber describes his experience with refugees in Yeungkok Hui, China typified this view. He asserted: "I have been asked how I got these converts, and I am at a loss to explain. While we were able to keep the dispensary open, the charity manifested there must have impressed itself on these people. Certainly I never had much opportunity to talk with them about religion."¹⁶ The charity manifested through missionary priests' work in the dispensary was shown to have led the Chinese people to recognize the value of Christianity. People are helped both materially and ultimately spiritually through charity.

Maryknoll, America, and the Post-War World

Maryknoll's promotion of Catholic charity and spirituality as the foundation for its contribution to the war effort would also be crucial to its formulation of its role in the post-war world. By establishing Christian values as the basis for world peace, the order presented an implicit prescription for America's role in the world and suggested that American Catholics would be crucial to this role. *The Field Afar* accomplished this end in part by suggesting that effective proselytization efforts in the pre-World War II era could have prevented the advent of conflict. A typical example of this claim is evident in "How much are we to blame?," an article written in the form of an interview between a priest and a Japanese professor.

"I think the Catholic Church missed a wonderful opportunity in Japan."
The modern young Japanese professor weighted his words...

¹⁶ Father Arthur Weber, "The Magnet of Charity," in *The Field Afar* March 1944, 16.

"you know," he went on, "you Catholics have not made in recent years a really serious attempt to bring your philosophy of life to Japan. You sent over a handful of men, yes. How much of an effort was that to spread the doctrine of Christ?"

.... "In the last thirty years, we Japanese have been looking for a new way of life. We went to America, and what did we get? Automobiles, machines, movies, pleasures! We turned the other way, to the Russians. They gave us Karl Marx, and that gave us more than one headache! We tried England, and England showed us social layers from baronets to paupers. We tried Germany, and you know what we got there...." I feel that you have cheated us. If you had given the people this truth, we should never have come to the crisis in which you see us today."

The Field Afar. April: 1943, p. 5

By first introducing the Japanese speaker as a "pagan" *The Field Afar* suggested that spreading Catholic ideals would not be an imposition, but would instead fulfil the receiving culture's desire for "truth." There was an element of admonition in the Japanese professor's assertion that: "you sent over a handful of men, yes. How much of an effort was that to spread the doctrine of Christ?" This assertion implied that America's Catholics had not fulfilled their obligation to the world, but it also offered a sign of hope. It's not too late. By supporting Maryknoll's endeavor in the post-World War II era, it would be possible to establish a foundation for lasting world peace. The capitalistic forces of the United States were shown to be incapable of serving this end, for they only offer commodities and pleasure. Marxism causes headaches and England suffers from rigid social stratification. The ideal world was thus defined as one in which social inequities are abolished, and people were united through common faith. This view appears to reflect experience in working-class ethnic communities, where Catholicism helped eliminate conflict among European ethnic groups, and New Deal programs and unionization helped establish a

more just social order. There would be no more “paupers” in America as there were in England.

The implicit condemnation of America’s capitalists who only offered commodities and pleasure was made explicit in *The Field Afar*’s prescriptions for the post-war world. Maryknoll suggested that working-class peoples’ conception of a “moral economy,” gained through their participation in unions and their Catholic ideals had to encompass all business practices. This prescription was evident in *The Field Afar*’s publication of an address given by Father Gannon, S.J., President of Fordham University, to business leaders. Father Gannon asserts that:

To make right the future of the world...it will take man teachers, nay writers, many missionaries working many years, but behind them must be an international business world...which not only talks about the common good, but honestly considers it of greater importance than profit...

The Field Afar. April-May:
1945, pp. 42-43

Missionaries, teachers, and writers precede business in importance in making “right the future of the world.” But while they might establish a foundation, businesses themselves must buttress this foundation by promoting a form of international business which honestly considered the “common good of greater importance than profit.” Maryknoll had demonstrated that its missionaries were central to the war effort. In the same manner they were showing that their labors, made possible by their supporters, were necessary “to make right the future of the world.” In contrast to their alliance with servicemen and women, however, in which they abstained from directly critiquing the United States’ war efforts, they were also prescribing a Christianization of business practices. As was true of their assertions of the possibilities offered by

Christian values, which were made through the words of a Japanese professor, they relied on the President of Fordham University's words to make their claim about business. Maryknoll would refrain from directly stating its prescriptions for creating a world based on Christian values until the 1950s.

If missionaries, teachers, writers, and businessmen were all to be central in creating a just world, so too was the American government. Maryknoll suggested that the United States must offer Christian charity to the world. Just as it had helped America's working-class immigrants through the Great Depression by establishing New Deal programs, it must extend its generosity to needy people of other countries. This was first evident in *The Field Afar's* praise for the Allied Forces' provision of aid to India. The article suggested that if America claimed its involvement in World War II was designed to insure "Freedom from Want" and "Freedom from Fear," then it had to work to establish freedom throughout the world. The author asserted that: "over a stretch of months, 'Freedom from Want' and 'Freedom from Fear' did not exist for the starving population of Bengal, India," implying that these freedoms could not be limited to countries involved in the war. Provision for freedom had to depend on its value alone, rather than on a potential threat to the international order. For, as *The Field Afar* observed: "if we really believe all men are brothers, we all share a measure of the blame." The article concluded on a hopeful note: "A gleam of light in this stark tragedy was the willingness of the Allied leaders to accept responsibility and the determined and efficient measures taken to alleviate the mortal distress." As the wealthiest of the Allied leaders, America had a responsibility to assist the world, and the opportunity to do so. American charity would lead foreign peoples to recognize,

admire, and seek to emulate the United States' good will. Maryknoll missionaries would do their part to spread this good will, but the American government and its business people would also have to do theirs.

Maryknoll's goals and those of the American government and its businesses appear incompatible to members of contemporary society, who, while they might see the former seeking to spread good will by providing spiritual and material aid to impoverished peoples, generally view the latter as primarily concerned with power and profit. But, for Maryknoll and its working-class supporters, this relationship seemed complementary rather than contradictory. In the 1920s America's businesses gradually learned that efficient production required providing for the well-being of their workers. This knowledge did not markedly change business practices until union recognition, resulting from workers' strikes in the 1930s, made such change unavoidable (a fact workers recognized), but it contributed to developing a partnership between business and unions, which appeared ultimately to benefit both owners and workers. Unions would, in theory, support workers' interests, so businesses could in turn rely on them to insure control over the workforce, and thus efficient production. This change made it appear that businesses recognized that treating workers well would contribute to their enterprises' profitability rather than diminishing it. New Deal programs also suggested to first- and second-generation Americans that the government recognized that aiding impoverished peoples would promote social and economic stability. And the Marshall Plan and the creation of the World Bank, made it appear that the United States would extend policies like those of the New Deal throughout the world to help promote development. In short, humanitarian ideals

appeared good for business and for America. The World War II era economic boom increased optimism by suggesting that conditions would continue to improve. Given this environment it is not surprising that Maryknoll and its working-class supporters would fail to see a conflict between their desire to help American government and businesses and to provide for the spiritual and material well-being of impoverished people throughout the world.

Latin America: The Test Case

By asserting that Christian ideals offered a foundation for “making right the future of the world” *The Field Afar* implied that Maryknollers might serve informally as American representatives in foreign countries. Because Latin America was already Catholic it appeared an ideal testing ground for Maryknoll’s prescriptions for the post-war world. Developing Latin America as a mission field in 1943 clearly derived in part from the purely practical fact that the region was accessible despite World War II. Nonetheless, the coincidence between Maryknoll’s entering the region and the United States’ increasing influence there is difficult to ignore. Although American interests and the War’s impact were important they were not the only factors in Maryknoll’s decision to send missionaries. The region suffered from a shortage of priests, widespread poverty, the expansion of Protestantism, and a threat of Communism, making it an ideal mission field. Maryknoll could provide spiritual and material aid to the region’s impoverished peoples, thereby asserting an American Catholic identity through its missionaries’ and supporters’ crucial role in spreading United States’ good will. Indeed, as Monsignor William Barry, chairman of the Cultural Interrelations Committee for Canada, the United States, and Latin America, observed in an address

published by *The Field Afar*, “we Catholics alone speak the spiritual language of Latin America, and all who do not are looked upon with suspicion and distrust, *one* of these men of Maryknoll, is *a thousand* in cementing inter-American friendship. The best ambassadors of good will to Latin America have been priests and nuns.”¹⁷

Maryknoll implied that a shared faith would overcome obstacles of language, nationality, and social class, a belief derived in part from experience in working-class ethnic communities, where Catholicism and labor unified ethnically diverse European immigrants. Since Catholicism predominated in Latin America, improving relations between the region and the United States would be a matter of linking them through faith. This possibility is evident in *The Field Afar*'s publication of Jack Starr Hunt's Central Press Association account of a meeting between Maryknoll's Superior General, Bishop Walsh, and Mexico's President Camacho.

Characteristic was President Camacho's recent interview with Bishop James E. Walsh, of Maryknoll, New York. Camacho asked the interpreter how Bishop Walsh liked Mexico.

The interpreter replied, “what can the Bishop say of a country that wears the Virgin's Mantle for a sky?”

The President was impressed. He told the Bishop that a few days previously he had inaugurated an astronomical observatory, and near it there was a small church. On entering the church and seeing the crucifix and the Madonna, he recaptured a precious treasure that he had believed lost—the notion of heaven that he had had during his childhood.

The Field Afar. April: 1943, p.15

The account suggested that despite needing an interpreter, Bishop Walsh and President Camacho communicated at the level of faith. The Bishop's characterization of Mexico, notorious for its anti-clericalism, as “a country that wears the Virgin's Mantle for a sky,” might offend the president, but he is instead shown to be

¹⁷ “Father Ambassador,” in *The Field Afar* April-May 1945, 6-8.

“impressed”. It appeared that despite recent conflict with the Church, Mexico retained faith and appreciated recognition of it as characteristic of the country. Bishop Walsh’s comments led President Camacho to tell him that he recently entered a church and “recaptured a precious treasure that he had believe lost—the notion of heaven he had during his childhood.” If Mexico’s leader could recapture his faith upon entering a church, then so could the country. In fact, another *Field Afar* article suggested Mexicans had never lost their faith. It noted that: “in recent years, there have been, as we all know, some changes in religious observances in Mexico, but nothing has been changed in the hearts of the *Inditos*. With a unique sense of humor, the natives of the country call these changes “interruptions,” and no one thinks about them, particularly in the pueblos.”¹⁸ The president and the majority of Mexico’s indigenous population were shown to share the Catholic faith despite recent conflicts between the church and state, implying that the desire for salvation had not been extinguished in Mexico. If the most anti-clerical, and perhaps the most anti-American, Latin American nation was receptive to Maryknoll than surely the rest of the region would be as well.

Maryknoll suggested its role as an intermediary between the United States and Latin America would depend on the existing faith, but also on the characteristics that made its missionaries crucial to the war effort. Providing spiritual and material assistance to Latin Americans would win their hearts, leading them to recognize America’s good will. Charity would not be necessary to attract people to Catholicism, as it was in Asia, but only to provide a necessary material basis to establish orthodoxy. Maryknoll suggested that Latin Americans, especially indigenous people, had both the

¹⁸ “Easter in Mexico,” *The Field Afar* April 1943, 46-47.

faith and the desire to become full participants in the universal Catholic Church, but lacked the priests, economic resources, and literacy to learn contemporary doctrine. Their effort to provide these resources led Maryknollers to settle in remote regions, where indigenous people had been most neglected by their respective states and by the Church. Priests and Sisters labored in these regions to ameliorate people's material conditions and to develop a native clergy. The importance of their role was elucidated by Father Collins in "Where Time Stopped":

These Indians are eager for instruction, but few of the adults can read or write, and they must learn their prayers by rote... Yet these are deeply religious folk. They turn out to the last man, woman, and child for Mass. They have their own chapel... they recite the Rosary with difficulty, but they are eager to learn—almost pathetically eager. If they could study the Catechism, they would learn more quickly, but print is a mystery to them. To know this is to understand how sorely they have need of us.

The Field Afar. March: 1944, pp. 40-42

The Indians were shown to have all of the pre-requisites for participation in universal Catholicism. They had faith, attend Mass, try to pray, and were eager to learn, but their illiteracy prevented them from gaining complete knowledge of their religion. Maryknollers were shown to be "sorely needed" because they could provide both religious instruction and education. In doing so, it appeared that they would advance not just the interests of the Church, but also those of the nations where they proselytized. Maryknollers could thus be both proselytizers and modernizers.

The Field Afar also suggested that developing a native clergy would be necessary to strengthen Latin America's Catholic foundation. Plans to establish a seminary were already hinted at in a 1943 article, which suggested that Maryknollers would turn to Latin America's poor, inviting them to become priests who could

provide spiritual guidance to the nation. In “Senor Pepito and the Crocodile” Father Nevins described Father Fowler’s encounter with a young boy in an inland Bolivian village. When the priest asked the child “And what do you really think you would like to be when you grow up?” he responded “A fisherman, Padre; a great fisherman!” ‘It was his life’s ambition! A fisherman.’ In the context of the article, the boy’s goal seemed to reflect the limits imposed on the child by his poverty, but the conclusion suggested another possibility:

The Padre eyed the barefoot boy, musingly. Yes, there was something very fine in that little fisherman of his, to whom a hundred years were as a day. What a link there was, and always had been, between fishermen and savers of souls! Were not Peter and many of the other Apostles fishermen? Come to think of it, Senor Pepito might turn out to be a really good fisherman. Some day, when the Padres from Maryknoll would be able to open a seminary for South American vocations, a really fine fisherman might not be so bad.

Field Afar (April: 1943) pp. 6-8

By linking the Bolivian boy to Peter and the other Apostles *The Field Afar* reminded its readers that the Church was founded by poor men like Senor Pepito. It implied that given the opportunity, poor young men in Latin America could establish orthodox Catholicism in their communities.

Catholicism which would undergird relations between the United States and Latin America could perform the same role in linking the elite and the impoverished of the region. In “Thou Shalt Not Kill” *The Field Afar* described the development of an impoverished Indian boy whose family was evicted from their land by a wealthy *hacendado* into a priest who can grant forgiveness to the man he swore to kill in his youth.

“Hush!” said the priest. “I promise you that God will forgive you, if you are sorry. I promise you, by the blood of Jesus Christ.”

“Oh, He cannot, He cannot forgive me, moaned the man.

“Now listen!” commanded the priest firmly. “My family lived in the village in the valley. You drove us out, together with the other Indians. My father died of cold and hunger and sorrow. My mother starved until she died. You have killed my mother and my father. And now, listen: I forgive you. Isn’t God better than man? Can not God forgive you, if I can?”

Maryknoll March: 1948, pp. 32-35

Both the *hacendado*, who begs God’s forgiveness, and the priest were transformed by Catholicism. It reversed the relationship between wealthy and impoverished by allowing the poor man to demonstrate his moral superiority and allowing him to speak in the name of God. For Maryknoll, establishing Catholicism among Latin America’s poor people meant establishing Christian ideals in Latin America.

Laboring among impoverished peoples would take Maryknollers to remote regions enabling *The Field Afar* to depict them as adventurers. While they were not threatened by bombs like the Maryknollers in Asia, they appeared equally brave in stories, describing their trips to distant communities. *The Field Afar* suggested that people’s enthusiastic reception fully rewarded priests for the hardship of the journey. Father Kiernan’s harrowing trip to Ayapata was a typical account of the priests’ journeys:

I had started out that morning from Macusani to go to Ayapata, thirty miles away. It is a village which had not seen a priest for a long time...High above me, jagged Andean peaks reached into the black threatening sky. Just ahead loomed an opening between the peaks. It was the mountain pass to which I had been climbing for what seemed endless and agonizing days. As my mule slowly picked its way along the treacherous trail, each motion of the beast left me gasping, since at an altitude of 15 000 feet the least exertion is fatiguing. We had hardly entered the pass when the dark clouds broke loose, and I was engulfed in a

blinding blizzard, the wind of which seared my face and removed all vision.

The Field Afar. March: 1944, pp. 8-10

Father Kiernan used the first person singular, making him appear a rugged American individualist who braved hazardous Andean terrain to reach a distant village long neglected by Catholic clergy. The article implied that serving as a missionary priest in Peru would require more than offering masses and sacraments, though these offerings would be the ultimate goal, it demanded strength, vigor, and bravery equal to that of the missionaries who survived bombing in Asia.

Although missionary priests might suffer from their rigorous journeys, *The Field Afar* showed they would be rewarded by enthusiastic greetings from people they encountered. This enthusiasm was consistently emphasized in the early accounts of missionary work in Latin America, while the challenge of re-establishing faith was only hinted at occasionally. Father Witte's account of his experience in Jacaltenango, Guatemala offered one of few examples where both enthusiasm and the priests' potential frustration were evident:

Even before we reached the outskirts, a delegation came out to meet us. As we entered the village, greetings came at me from all sides, and I felt an immediate liking for these friendly people....Immediately the clamor for baptisms began, and from that Monday afternoon, till my departure on Friday morning, I had not a moment free... They were interested in Baptism yes; but not only in Baptism, as it has been in all other villages. These people wanted Mass; they wanted confession and Communion; they wanted Benediction and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament; they wanted to get married; and above all, they wanted me to stay with them always.

"Padre's Delight," *The Field Afar*. June: 1945, pp. 2-5

While Father Witte was clearly pleased by the friendly reception in Jacaltenango, the community members' desire to participate in the Church through its Sacraments appears more important. Priests were depicted as adventurers, but overcoming physical obstacles was only the means to achieving the desired end of saving souls. Their goal was to serve Catholics through material aid, but also by offering the sacraments of Marriage, Communion, Confession, and Last Rites, which were the foundation of America's Catholicism. But Sacraments could only be given where people recognized their importance and as Father Witte observed, many indigenous people were only interested in Baptism. Maryknollers recognized indigenous people's faith, but their lack of interest in sacraments meant it did not conform to American standards. As a result, they were forced not only to offer sacraments, but to try to teach people about their centrality to Catholicism. We observed that priests in northeastern American communities were loved and respected by their parishioners, but also separated from them by their role. In Latin America this gap would in some ways increase because of priests' apparent individualism (foreign to people for whom family was both the unit of production and the foundation of the community), their education about and administration of sacraments, and their role in literally building churches and seminaries, which enhanced their power.

As was true in the United States, Sisters would live with people through their daily lives, teaching in Maryknoll schools and offering them medical care in Maryknoll clinics.¹⁹ They were seen as auxiliaries who, by providing these services,

¹⁹ M. Adriance, "Agents of Change: The Role of Priests, Sisters and Lay Workers in the Grassroots Catholic Church in Brazil," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 3 (1991), 299.

would enable Priests to perform their sacramental role. One result of this difference—derived from United States’ gender norms and the Catholic Church’s prescriptions for nuns and priests—was a less glamorized and individualized depiction of the Sisters in the few articles which featured them in *The Field Afar*. In contrast to the Fathers who were consistently described and shown in photographs individually, the Sisters were photographed together, or, with women and children of the communities. While Fathers appeared to attribute success to their own labors, the Sisters seemed to focus more on God’s miracles and assistance from others. In her account of the Maryknoll Sisters’ arrival in Nicaragua, Sister Marie Estelle observed:

Our last stop on our way to our new mission in Nicaragua, was at Managua, where the Sisters of the Assumption overwhelmed us with thoughtfulness and kindness....the Bishop welcomed us in the native tongue. With a tremendous spurt of courage—and a band accompaniment—I replied, in Spanish, telling them that our hearts had been here long before our arrival, and thanking them for all the work they had done for us...[when we entered the convent] As by a magnet, we were drawn to the doors of the Chapel—a bit of heaven....Already the thoughtfulness and sincerity of the people have made a deep impression upon us. They are frightfully poor and we wonder how they manage to exist on their meager resources.

“Happy Landings in Nicaragua” in *The Field Afar*. June: 1945, pp. 36-37

Notably absent from the account were references to Nicaraguans’ religious faith, or, to their response to the Sisters as religious. Sister Estelle was struck first by their “thoughtfulness and sincerity” and second by their “frightful poverty,” characteristics and conditions which are not described in relation to the Nicaraguans’ faith. The tone of the account was that of a letter sent home from a holiday trip. It did not emphasize the Sisters’ bravery but their fear, resulting not from daunting physical obstacles, but from their inability to communicate. It requires “a tremendous spurt of courage—and

a band of accompaniment” for Sister Estelle to utter her first Spanish words. The courage she gains through accompaniment is also evident in her use of “we, us, our” to describe her experience. Indeed, it does not appear as her, individual experience, but as that of the community. Neither did she emphasize the people’s enthusiasm (though it is evident in the article), but instead expressed the Maryknoll Sisters’ gratitude to the Sisters of the Assumption and the Bishop who “overwhelmed [them] with thoughtfulness and kindness.” They did not take action but are “drawn like a magnet to the doors of the Chapel,” implying that their work would be facilitated by God and community, rather than Sisters’ individual endurance, strength and bravery.

Maryknoll in the 1950s

Maryknoll retained many of the foundational ideals that were evident in the 1940s, but in the 1950s these ideals evolved in the context of American social change and experience in mission fields. Continuity was insured in part because the men and women who entered Maryknoll in the 1950s often did so because they were influenced by *The Field Afar*.²⁰ We have seen that ideals presented in the magazine derived in large measure from Maryknollers’ experience in their communities in the northeastern and midwestern United States. While the structure of American society changed dramatically in the 1950s, with increasing numbers of Catholics from these communities moving to suburbs, parents continued teaching their children similar

²⁰ A survey of seminarians in 1956 revealed that 35 percent of them were introduced to Maryknoll by reading *The Field Afar*. “Why Maryknoll?” *Glen Echo* 1956. Additionally, one in five Maryknoll Sisters responding to a survey in 1971 cited *The Field Afar* as one of the most important factors in the development of their decision. Joan Chatfield, “First Choice: Mission, The Maryknoll Sisters, 1912-1975.” (Ph.D. diss. Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, 1983.

values and sending them to Catholic schools. Accordingly, they retained many of the values evident in the 1940s.

Maryknoll's view of charity was among the factors that evidenced both continuity and change. We observed that *The Field Afar* emphasized the value of charity, but in the 1940s it appeared as a means of attracting people to Catholicism, or, in the case of Latin America, to strengthening its foundation. In the 1950s, charity gradually came to appear important in and of itself and as something which Americans' were obligated to provide. This view was evident in Maryknoll Superior General, Bishop Raymond A. Lane, address to Maryknoll supporters:

The accident of birth has placed us without any merit of our own in a country of plenty. Only one human being out of twenty enjoys such a privilege. If we mean the "Our Father" when we say it daily, we should accept the responsibility of membership in the human family."

Maryknoll. April: 1954, p.9

Bishop Lane implied that as the world's wealthiest Catholics, Americans had an obligation, mandated by faith, to share their wealth with the world's poor. He did not link this charity to propagation of the faith, but made it appear necessary simply by virtue of the fact that Americans could afford to give. Charity was also seen as a means of preventing the spread of Communism, though this never appeared as the primary goal. Instead, it was seen as a secondary benefit. Comments like "The average annual income for a family in the region of Jacaltenango, Guatemala is about \$40. Missioners report such conditions make fertile ground for the Reds"²¹ Made it evident that charity might help improve conditions, thereby reducing the threat of Communism, but they did not make this assertion directly.

Similarly, within the mission field, priests increasingly were shown to view provision of material aid as of equal, or, perhaps even greater importance than spreading the Faith. This was evident, for example, in Father Gerbermann's response to an encounter with children in the highlands of Guatemala.

The more daring of the children came up close, to get a better look at the two strange travelers. All had inflamed, running eyes. Their bloated stomachs indicated they were much in need of nourishing food. Surely, here was work to be done; the corporal works of mercy will be the first thing on our program. We must return soon with medical equipment—time enough after we've treated their ailments to teach them about God.

Maryknoll. August: 1954, p. 4

The work to be done no longer appeared directly related to proselytizing, which seems secondary in this account. Instead, Father Gerbermann suggested that missionaries' first responsibility was providing aid, which he implied was mandated by God. This response was especially revealing in the context of the account, which is introduced with a description of the problems priests experienced in the community whose members were not responsive to Catholicism. The community's truculence would make it seem an ideal place to use charity to establish the faith, but instead Father Gerbermann separated the provision of aid from proselytizing.

The separation between Catholicism and charity also reflected a general change in Maryknoll's view of how to bring people to the faith. Accounts in *Maryknoll* began to emphasize the importance of getting close to people in mission territories and understanding their culture and society in conjunction with introducing

²¹ *Maryknoll* April 1954, 1.

Catholicism. In Father Considine's description of missionary work, for example, the goal appears accommodation rather than conversion.

Here is the principle of missionary accommodation stated in simple language. To win men's hearts, the missionary must get as close as possible to his people. Everywhere, in Asia and Africa today, thoughtful missionaries are insisting on this requirement: they must know their people, be close in affection to their people, and then they can hope to bring them to God.

Maryknoll. July: 1954, p. 20

One result of this new emphasis on getting close to people was that priests gradually came to appear less adventurous. As Bishop Walsh observed: "we need good men not heroes....the missionary of today...does not need quite the same iron frame. He can be a little less hardy and still pass muster."²² Priests' work increasingly seemed closer to that which the Sisters, who had in some sense always been close to the people, were doing. In contrast to the Sisters, however, whose relation to people evolved from their role as teachers and medical practitioners, the Fathers were shown to be able to improve their relations with people by gaining knowledge of their history, culture, and society. Historical and anthropological references began appearing with increasing frequency in priests' accounts of their mission work.²³ This change may also have reflected Maryknoll's desire to appeal to a Catholic populace that had become more educated in the post-war period. American society in general and

²² *Maryknoll* July 1954, 36.

²³ See for example: Alphonse Schiavone, "The Rainmaker" *Maryknoll* April 1954, 1-2; "The Dancers," *Maryknoll* May 1959 15-17; Joseph Rickert, "The Peppermint People," *Maryknoll* July 1954, 1-3; G. H. Ratermann, "All Mixed Up" *Maryknoll*. May 1954, 3-4; and "Costumbre Christians of San Juan Ixcoy," *Maryknoll* April 1959, 22-24.

Catholics in particular gained increased access to higher education in the late 1940s and 1950s.²⁴

Finally, while Maryknoll refrained from directly critiquing American foreign policy and business in the 1940s, relying instead on other people's words to propose a Christianization of both, by the 1950s it began offering direct commentary.

Maryknoll's proposals were not overtly critical of America, but they established a set of Christian guidelines for evaluating foreign policy, suggesting the future possibility of a more critical stance if America failed to Christianize business and international relations.

Latin America, which served as a testing ground for Maryknoll's prescriptions for the post-war world, would also be a key region for questioning whether or not these prescriptions were being followed. In the 1950s Maryknollers maintained close relations with the American government and its businesses. Maryknoll Sisters' diaries from Guatemala make frequent reference to the Sisters' association with United States Embassy personnel and to aid they received from the United Fruit Company and Grace Lines.²⁵ Despite this association, it appears that Maryknoll also began to recognize what in one sense, experience in working-class communities, whose members had struggled through the depression and fought to gain union recognition, had taught it: American government and business had often been more concerned with power and profit than with the common good. This recognition was most evident in Albert J. Nevins, M.M.'s account of "Why Latin Americans Don't Like Us." He

²⁴ McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries...* 80-83.

²⁵ See for example: Monte Maria diaries December 3, 1953, July 28, 1954, April 13, 1955, January 2, 1956, March 2, 1958, MMA.

provided a long list of “memories” which contribute to Latin Americans dislike of the United States.

Colombians still remember the part the United States played in separating Panama from them... Nicaraguans still recall the marching footsteps of American marines, who garrisoned their country in the 1930s. Cubans find it difficult to forget the Platt Amendment, which allowed the United States to intervene in Cuban national affairs, and which was not abandoned until 1934.

Past business practices of United States corporations did little to help the situation. Many American companies pirated the nations of Latin America, extracting huge profits through the exploitation of cheap manpower.

“American corporations robbed the wealth from our soil,” declared a Bolivian, “and they did this at the expense of the masses who, despite their work were left starving.”

Maryknoll. April: 1954, pp. 21-24

Father Nevins concluded this list of abuses by noting that “all of these things are of the past. There is no historical doubt that we made some mistakes. It is to our credit that we have also attempted to rectify them.” But how would Maryknollers respond if these “mistakes” were repeated? If American foreign policy and businesses continued to reap profits at the expense of Latin America’s masses? Mistakes of this type violated all Maryknoll’s ideals of America’s role in the world and might force them to question their association with it.

Indeed, by the 1970s Maryknollers throughout Central and South America were calling into question their association with the United States. They also considered the role they may have played in buttressing support for an unjust capitalist system. The missionaries’ response to this re-evaluation depended on the particular context in which they labored. As a result, it was distinct in each country and region where they missionaries worked. Maryknollers in Asia, whose greatest fears about

Communism seemed fulfilled by the Maoist Revolution, remained politically and religiously conservative. Those in Africa, while they increasingly turned toward promoting an inter-cultural Catholic Faith that would conform to local religious beliefs and practices, tended not to become overtly political. In Central and South America, Maryknollers became advocates of Liberation Theology and the Option for the Poor, but the manifestation of this support was distinct in each country. Missionaries in Central American countries became the most “radicalized,” some to the degree of promoting armed revolution as a means of transforming the system and thereby establishing the Catholic faith. Maryknollers in Peru, while they became associated with Liberation theology, worked within the existing social and political structure. They labored to distance themselves from the United States government by eliminating programs that had been funded by it. The missionaries in Peru also emphasized developing a Catholicism that conformed to the cultural norms of the indigenous people in Southern Peru.

It would be a mistake to attribute the transformation of Maryknoll to any single cause. Myriad factors ranging from individual’s disposition, to experience in mission fields, to general change in the Catholic Church and American society in the 1960s contributed to this change. One factor, whose influence seems to have been underestimated, however, was the idealism Maryknoll carried from the 1940s through the 1950s and 1960s. Working-class first- and second-generation Americans who entered Maryknoll at this time remained suspicious of capitalists, who had exploited their labor and that of their ancestors, and perhaps of the American government, which they had little reason to support until the advent of the New Deal. But they were also

optimistic, perhaps even idealistic, in their belief that in the World War II era things had changed for the better and would continue to do so. Unionization, the New Deal, the Marshall Plan and the World Bank all contributed to the view that America could “honestly consider the common good of greater importance than profit.”

These ideals derived not only from first- and second-generation Americans’ experience with labor, but also from their Catholic faith. The “Red scare” would destroy union movements in the 1950s, but it could not eliminate ideals like those of *Maryknoll*. Ironically, it appears that American Catholics, sworn enemies of Communism, may have helped carry the ideals of the 1930s and 1940s labor movement into the 1950s. *Maryknoll*’s prescriptions for the post-war world would continue to be evident in its magazine in the Cold War era. They may have provided one of the foundations leading *Maryknollers* in Central and South America to question the role that capitalism and their American government played in perpetuating poverty in the region.

III: Catholic Clergy and Catechists: Historical Precedents for Encounter

As the only Catholic religious organization founded in the United States for the exclusive purpose of mission, Maryknoll was unique, but its missionaries' experience was shared by many Catholic orders from throughout the world which settled in Peru in the twentieth century. The Vatican's interest in Latin America increased in response to the apparent threat of Protestantism and Communism in the post-War era, and the result was a large influx of foreign missionaries.¹ Missionaries came to serve as intermediaries among disenfranchised Peruvian citizens, the national government, and (because of the missionaries' status as foreigners) even the world. This role culminated in Peru with the Catholic Church's support of Juan Velasco, the controversial leader of a leftist military dictatorship which in the 1960s instituted a radical agrarian reform and recognized the rights of many "squatters" to occupy unsettled land in urban areas.² This occurred for example in Ciudad de Dios, where foreign Catholic missionaries, including Maryknollers, aided local residents in obtaining government recognition and thus legalization of their settlement. While Velasco's reforms may not appear radical in hindsight, when he was serving in 1968 Peruvian elites viewed them as a dramatic threat to their interests and the reforms did

¹ Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., *The Missionary Movement in Catholic History*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998) 247 and Edward L. Cleary, O.P., *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985) 14-15.

fundamentally restructure Peruvian society. To implement successfully his reforms, Velasco needed a popular base of support, but there was no political foundation to provide it. As Flores Galindo points out, in rural areas hacendados were the key intermediaries between indigenous communities and the state apparatus and in newly settled urban areas there was minimal political infrastructure. The vast majority of Peru's impoverished and/or indigenous residents were therefore disenfranchized.³ Velasco turned to the Catholic Church. The Peruvian Church played a central role in the transformation of the country introduced by Velasco. The Church's ability to fulfill this role depended on both the legitimacy it enjoyed historically and on contemporary foreign missionaries who helped develop an organizational basis among the *clases populares* and had the financial resources to build this foundation of support. The Church's informal alliance with the Velasco regime lasted until Francisco Morales Bermúdez took over the government in 1975. His increasingly dictatorial measures and violations of human rights made it impossible, however – indeed embarrassing – for the Church to maintain its loyalty to the regime and to call on the *clases populares* to support it.

During this period of the twentieth century foreign Catholic missionaries came to play roles similar to those which had been played by Spanish missionaries during the colonial era. They became important links between “marginalized” people, insulated from state control, the Peruvian state, and (because of the missionaries' status as foreigners) even the world. Moreover the indigenous intermediaries who

² Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *La Iglesia en el Perú*, (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1996) 401-427.

³ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994)

facilitated the clergy's access to indigenous communities in rural areas appeared similar to colonial era caciques. This re-emergence of an apparently "colonial social order" occurred despite the dramatic decline in the Catholic Church's power in Peru in the nineteenth century. In the post-independence era the number of Catholic clergy in the country plummeted, going from 3,000 priests for a population of 2,000,000 in 1820 to 2,265 for a population of 18,000,000 in 1984.⁴ In remote rural regions like Puno this decline was even more pronounced.⁵ The attenuation of Church power resulted not just from the reduction in numbers of priests, but also from the Peruvian state's active efforts to limit the power of the Church, which frequently seemed a competitor for the loyalty of Peruvian citizens. Despite the decline in power and the state's active efforts to diminish Church control in the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century the relationship among the Church, the state, and *clases populares* seemed analogous to that evident in the colonial era, except that the role of the Church

⁴ Ibid. p.65.

⁵ The importance of foreign missionaries in Peru becomes evident through an analysis of the *Anuario Eclesiastico* of 1964. There were four Archdioceses, fourteen Dioceses, twelve Prelaturus Nullius, and eight Apostolic Vicariates. All twelve of the Prelaturus Nullius had been created after World War II, had foreign bishops (USA, Germany, Spain, Malta, Italy), and had predominantly foreign clergy. They were also in predominantly rural regions or newly urbanized areas. All eight of the Apostolic Vicariates were had been created in the twentieth century, had foreign bishops (7 Spain, 1 Canada) and had predominantly foreign clergy. They were all in the Amazon and often frontier regions. In the nineteenth century, shortly after independence, there were intense debates about the role Spanish missionaries were playing in protecting the frontiers of the newly sovereign Peruvian nation in these Amazon regions (see R.M. Taurel, *Colección de obras selectas contemporaneas del Perú*. Tomo II (Paris: Libreria Mézon, 1853) Foreigners were thus serving as the Bishops of twenty of Peru's thirty-eight ecclesiastical jurisdictions in 1964. In Lima the number of religious priests fell from 711 in 1790 to 155 in 1857 and of the 271 religious in Lima in 1908, only 130 were Peruvian by birth. Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *La Iglesia en el Perú*. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru Fondo Editorial, 1996) 69. The decline in the number of clergy was even more acute in remote departments like Puno where the number of clergy fell from 92 priests in 1866 (*Historiografica de Puno, Iltmo y Rdm. Sr. Dr. D. Juan Ambrosio Huerta, Dignisimo Obispo de la Diócesis*, p. 163) to 51 priests in 1900 (*Anexos de la Memoria del Prefecto del Departamento de Puno. Puno 9 Junio de 1900* (Biblioteca Nacional E834 30)). By 1947 there were only 37 priests in Puno and only 10 were Peruvian (*Anuario Eclesiastico* 1947, Centro de Bartólome de Las Casas).

was now being performed by foreign missionaries and indigenous people came to participate in a more overtly “political” way.

Suggesting a continuity between the colonial and contemporary periods based on the role of clergy and indigenous intermediaries risks essentializing and implying that Peru and its residents were frozen in time. The social and political relations of the colonial period, in this view, would be identical with those of the contemporary period. In fact, my point is to illustrate that the continuity in social structure actually provided the foundation for change. Researchers have recognized the central role that indigenous intermediaries in Peru played during the colonial period and the nineteenth century. Steve Stern has written extensively about the role of caciques and the manner in which it changed during the colonial period. Mark Thurner, examining the nineteenth century formation of the Peruvian state argued that:

The shift from dual colonial republics toward a unitary liberal republic undermined the fragile logic of indirect rule, opening the gates to direct state domination over, and atomization of, Andean peasant societies. The colonial chiefs who frequently held office by bloodright and for the duration of their adult lives, were usually literate in Spanish and well versed in Quechua language and culture. They had been the mediating “intellectuals” of colonial rule. The postcolonial alcaldes, however, were local justices of the peace with tax collection and policing roles, and they rotated into office for one year and then left. Most were either illiterate or semiliterate. They accumulated significant and legitimate prestige as respected figures in community politics, but they were rather less than the socially mediating intellectuals of colonial rule that the chiefs could be; thus, they were significantly more dependent on non-Indian intellectuals in their dealings with the state.⁶

⁶ Mark Thurner, *From Two Republics to One Divided: Contradictions of Postcolonial Nationmaking in Andean Peru*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997) 141.

The system of mediation changed radically in the post-colonial era. It would thus be an error to suggest that the system of rule through hierarchically linked intermediaries characteristic of the colonial period, was equivalent to that of the contemporary period. Yet, I would suggest, that it is important to recognize that there were similarities in the social structure. Although, *alcaldes* of the nineteenth century and catechists of the twentieth century appear to have enjoyed less prestige and power than caciques of the colonial period, they played analogous roles. They were elected by their communities and were considered by both those communities and external state or ecclesiastical officials as legitimate representatives of those communities.

I would suggest that this continuity has its foundation in the relationship among ecology (material conditions), social organization, and religion (culture). In Puno, for example, survival required that indigenous communities maintain access to products cultivated in a number of distinct ecological zones. To achieve this end, it appears that a system evolved whereby communities sent representatives to cultivate land in a variety of zones, thereby insuring access to the products of each.⁷ This form of social organization seems to have been readily adaptable to a system for responding to incursions by outsiders. Representatives sent to distinct zones to acquire products, might also serve as intermediaries with outside groups. The apparent result was that indigenous communities in Puno had a mechanism built into their socio-cultural norms for responding to outsiders through intermediaries. Indeed, this system of intermediation would seem to be an important characteristic of Peru. Recognizing its centrality may risk “essentializing,” but ignoring it implies that people exert complete

control over their environments, or material conditions. It seems, instead, that in Peru there was a dynamic relationship among material conditions, social organization, and religion. Social organization and religion were sufficiently malleable not only to adapt to change, but to provide a means of incorporating new people, resources, and cultural norms into an existing socio-cultural structure.

The succeeding chapters of my dissertation examine this relationship in the twentieth century through an analysis of interaction between Maryknoll missionaries and the people they proselytized, but I believe that a complete understanding of the process demands reference to the colonial era and an analysis of how relations among the Church, the state, and the people unfolded. This chapter offers a preliminary analysis of that unfolding by looking specifically at the relationship between religion and social order. I hope to illustrate that intermediaries' position in Spanish and Andean society was religiously conditioned and that these intermediaries shaped the introduction of new ideologies. In doing so, they facilitated change, but by incorporating these new ideologies into an established socio-cultural framework, they also ensured a measure of continuity. I have examined and compared key events through which it is possible to see the development of this relationship. Although this has been a gradual process, involving confrontation and accommodation, there have been points of eruption, documented by Spanish authorities, an examination of which can provide insight into the role religion has played as a conservative, but also potentially revolutionary force in Peruvian society.

⁷ John Murra, *Organización económica del estado Inca*, (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno, 1989).

The transitional points I have identified and tried to compare are the Taki Onqoy movement in 1565, Arriaga's guide to the Extirpation of Idolatries published in 1621, and the Túpac Amaru rebellion in 1780. These events were selected because they were what might be described as crisis points during which the relationship between religion and social order in the Andean and Spanish world, whose boundaries were never entirely clear, became evident in documentation. In fact, it appears that Andean people instigated these changes by rejecting or confronting the Spanish. The Taki Onqoy movement, for example, appears to have motivated the extirpation of idolatries, suggesting that Andean people actively shaped the development of Peruvian society by forcing the Spanish to respond. During these points of eruption the process of unconscious adaptation to the religion and practice of the "other" was disrupted. Andean and Spanish people made conscious efforts to reject, confront, and/or accommodate the religious practices of the other.

I believe that through this examination it is possible to illustrate the role Andean religion played in helping to create a foundation for civil society in Peru. Similarities between Catholic and Andean religious rites and beliefs contributed to creating a shared vocabulary and thus the appearance of a shared moral order. In fact, while the terms and practices were the same, the meaning Andean people attached to them was often distinct from that of their Spanish meaning. As I hope to show in the analysis of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, the result was the possibility of using a common vocabulary to justify a movement, but then having that movement undermined once the divergent Andean meaning of the terms and rituals became evident. Andean religion also created the foundation for civil society because it was

inextricably bound with social order. I suggest, specifically, that the system of hierarchically ordered intermediaries, which was essential to Andean practices of worship, was replicated in the civil realm. Andean people believed that their well-being required making sacrifices to the gods and ancestors. Within each community, certain members were “chosen” to serve as priests who were charged with interpreting the ancestors’ demands for the community and overseeing the rituals and sacrifices that would satisfy these demands. Since failure to worship properly was considered a sin, which the gods would punish by sending plagues, pestilence, natural disaster, etc., these priestly intermediaries played crucial roles in ensuring community well-being. I believe that outsiders to the community could be incorporated if it was perceived that they could perform an analogous role. In other words, if these intermediaries made crucial sacrifices to the gods, thereby ensuring the well-being of Andean communities, then they would be accepted by those communities as legitimate, and worthy of receipt of sacrifices. It would seem that the caciques who acted as intermediaries with the Incas, whose massive state-level rituals would seem to promote community well-being, were incorporated in this way. I am suggesting here that Spanish Catholic priests were incorporated in the same way and for similar reasons.

Although there were many similar ritual forms and beliefs in Catholicism and Andean religion, I emphasize the centrality of the religious rite of confession. This rite, I believe, established the foundation of Andean social order because it served as the basis for reciprocal relations among Andean communities, priests, and gods, and thus established the key means for incorporating Spanish priests in a role analogous to

that of Andean caciques. My initial interest in confession resulted from my examination of the Maryknoll missionaries' work among indigenous people in Puno. Within a very short time after the missionaries' settlement in Puno, they were approached by indigenous people requesting visits to the sick in which confession would be offered.⁸ Indeed, indigenous people's active pursuit of confession in cases of illness was in marked contrast to their outright refusal to marry, to take Communion, or to Confess weekly, religious rites which were for Maryknoll the foundations of Catholicism. The Maryknoll priests' diaries are also filled with accounts of indigenous people's "irritating practice" of returning to the confessional a dozen times to ensure they had revealed every sin.⁹ Finally, the priests' accounts of Easter describe hours and hours spent in the confessional box listening to Quechua or Aymara speakers, expressing repentance.¹⁰ Confession, in fact, appeared to me one of the central rites (though of course a long second to fiestas) that provided Maryknoll priests access to indigenous communities.

Confession was a well-established religious ritual among pre-Columbian Andean people. They had a tradition of confession prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, who sought, sometimes consciously but often unwittingly, to replace the Andean ritual forms with their Catholic equivalents. Although Andean and Catholic conceptions of sin and practices of confession differed, there were enough similarities to ensure a potential confluence between the two distinct ritual forms. Andean people

⁸ Donald Cleary, M.M. March 1943, Puno, MMA.

⁹ Donald Cleary, M.M. April 1944, Macusani, MMA.

¹⁰ Donald Cleary, April 1944, Puno, Thomas J. Carey, M.M. March 1944, Stephen Foody, M.M. 1944, Macusani, MMA. James O'Brien, M.M. interview by author, tape recording, Pamplona Alta, Lima, 29 May 1996.

classified theft, murder, adultery, failure to worship, and disobedience to Inca laws as sins. There was thus a merging of the civil and religious realms such that sins might include acts against the gods, the ancestors, or against the Inca. Andean people believed that punishment for sin would fall not only on the responsible individual, but also on her or his family and community. If a child were born deformed or became ill and died, it was seen as evidence of the parents' sins. Natural disasters, plagues, and pestilence were also forms of punishment. Confession was a preventative measure and a means of alleviating divine retributions of this type. To prevent disasters, community members were called upon to confess to Andean priests during the fiestas celebrated in honor of the ancestors, or *huacas*. By demanding confession, and divining to ensure that individuals had revealed all their sins, the *hechizeros*, or *Ichuris* (strawmen) ensured community well-being and served as the fulcrum of relations between the community and ancestors.¹¹ When natural disasters struck the Incas would perform a massive, state-level ritual, *Ytu*, in Cuzco, during which everyone confessed, fasted, prayed, and processed through the streets.¹² Through this ritual the Inca state helped to ensure the well-being of all Andean communities, thereby participating in a reciprocal relationship with those communities and with the gods.

The Catholic conception of sin and punishment differed from that evident in Andean religion, but Catholic ritual of confession, like that of Andean religion, reinforced a reciprocal and hierarchical order among God, the priest, and believers.

¹¹ José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las indias*. 1590 (Mexico: Fondo de cultura económica, 1940) 259.

¹² Rafael Varón Gabai, "El Taki Onqoy: las raíces andinas de un fenómeno colonial" en Luis Millones, ed., *el retorno de las huacas: estudios y documentos del siglo XVI* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990) 373-375.

The individual who sinned sought God's forgiveness through the mediation of the priest, who was empowered to act in God's name. The wages of sin were, at least in theory, paid by the sinner, who would be punished in the next life by condemnation to limbo, purgatory, or hell for evil deeds of commission, omission, and thought committed in life. In practice, though, Job's comforters were neither the first nor the last to assume that misfortune was God's punishment for sin. Catholic clergy and commoners tended to attribute misfortune, illness, disease, and disaster to sin, but official doctrine asserted that punishment would come upon death. Confession was thus meant to save the soul of the individual, to guarantee that she or he would spend eternity in heaven. It was the responsibility of the individual to seek forgiveness through the priest to whom she would reveal her sins. Confession was private. So private, in fact, that not even the priest was to see the face of the penitent which was hidden behind a screen or curtain.

Although there were thus differences between Spanish and Andean ideals of confession, sin, and punishment, there were enough similarities to ensure the possibility of a kind of confused confluence of rites. Because confession was foundational for both Catholic and Andean traditions, ensuring as it did the salvation of the individual and the community, respectively, it became, I believe, a central site of both contention and resolution in relations between Andean and Spanish people. Its centrality is evident in each point of conflict and conciliation between the "victors and the vanquished". Participation in Catholic Confession with a priest, became a means of asserting Spanish dominance and a measure of Andean people's acquiescence. Once Andean people accepted the power of the Spanish God in their communities,

they also had to acknowledge the power and authority of his representatives, the Spanish priests who thereby became intermediaries between the Andean and Spanish republics. Confession thus played an important role in Spanish assertion of authority, and though it was a religious rite, confession became inextricably linked to a civil order.

Andean people interpreted the Spanish invasion through a religious framework in which the idea of sin and punishment through illness, death, disease, and crop destruction played a crucial role. The perceived relationship between sin and misfortune would surely have influenced their response to the first European diseases that decimated Peru's population and preceded the Spanish conquistador Pizarro's arrival by some twenty years.¹³ As a result of this decline, forms of Andean technology that increased productivity were lost. Much of the infrastructure developed during the era of the Inca empire fell into decay. Roads that facilitated transport between regions crumbled or were overgrown by vegetation, irrigation systems were desiccated, and agricultural terraces slid down hillsides. The decline in productivity caused by destruction of infrastructure was exacerbated by the decimation of the population. The labor force was inadequate to maintain infrastructure or to produce the goods necessary for survival. Demand for tribute contributed an added dimension to the destruction by requiring that the relatively small numbers of surviving laborers devote a substantial portion of the fruits of their labor to supporting parasitic

¹³ Linda A. Newson, "Indian Population Patterns in Colonial Spanish America," in *Latin American Research Review* 20 (3) 1985: 41-74.

Spaniards. Vast herds of alpacas and llamas, central to Andean religious rites, were slaughtered for their coats and meat, which could be sold to earn tribute money.¹⁴

Since Andean people believed that illness, untimely death, disaster, and crop destruction resulted from sin, it seems likely that they would have interpreted these conditions as evidence of an imbalance in the moral order. The violent conflict between the warring factions of Huascar in Cuzco and Atahualpa in Cajamarca, would likely have enhanced this perception. Rituals to prevent the onslaught of disease were performed by the same authorities charged with performing rituals associated with war, suggesting that both were conceived similarly and would thus be seen as evidence of moral decay.¹⁵ Andean people's perception of moral disorder and their uncertainty about how to respond to Spanish assertions that Andean forms of worship were a "a mockery," are portrayed by Giovanni Anello Oliva, a Jesuit priest, whose account of an Andean myth was disseminated after the Spanish arrival. In this myth a bearded man donning Western clothing was said to have emerged from the sea and demanded that Andean people discontinue their worship of the Inka and worship only Pachacámac, seen as equivalent to God. This myth paralleled that of the first Inca's emergence from Lake Titicaca to teach Andean people how to worship. Andean people were said to have responded to the westerner by trying to stone him, but when two Andeans chased him trying to catch, and presumably kill, him they were struck

¹⁴ Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, "Pastores de alpacas de los Andes" in Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, comp. *Pastores de puna: uywamichiq punarunakuna* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1977) 25-27.

¹⁵ Varón, "las raíces andinas . . ." 372 and Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986).

dumb and returned only able to gesticulate to explain their experience. Shortly thereafter the population, seemingly in punishment, was decimated by plague.¹⁶

Whether or not this was a myth created in hindsight to explain the Spanish presence it suggests the difficulty faced by Andean people confronted with decimation by European disease and the destruction of their culture and way of life. The conflation of the Andean myth of the origin of Tawantinsuyo in which the Inka king is said to have emerged from Lake Titicaca, with the Spanish biblical stories in which non-believers are struck dumb and punished, illustrates the conflict Andean people faced in melding their religious traditions with those of Catholicism. What's more, it hints at the turmoil they might have experienced in trying to determine how to respond to the disasters that befell them. Restoring order might just have required increased loyalty and service to the Andean and Inca gods – a type of mass reconciliation and penance perhaps. Yet this perspective would have been complicated by the presence of the Spanish missionaries who insisted that the Inca religion was false, “a mockery” of true religion. Additionally, the decline of the Inca state made it impossible to perform the massive rituals, like *Ytu*, that had been crucial to restoring moral order. The Taki Onqoy movement which started in 1564 seemed an initial response to this disaster. Analysis of it reveals the difficulty Andean people faced in trying to reconcile their traditional forms of worship with the presence of the Spanish.

Taki Onqoy

¹⁶ Giovanni Anello Oliva, S.J. *Historia del reino y provincias del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1998) 160.

In 1564 Luis de Olivera, a priest in the bishopric of Cuzco, discovered an indigenous movement that seemed to threaten the tremulous foundation of Spanish Catholicism and domination of the region. The movement was widespread,¹⁷ extending through the departments of Arequipa, Apurimac, Ayacucho, Cuzco, Hancavelica, and Lima,¹⁸ and Olivera's discovery resulted in the implication of some 8,000 people as participants. Most researchers analyzing *Taki Onqoy* have accepted implicitly that it was a rebellion against Spanish rule, and have sought to explain the causes of its development, decline, and impact on Spanish policy and perspective.¹⁹ I would like to reconsider these evaluations by analyzing whether or not it is valid to classify *Taki Onqoy* as a rebellion, or if it would be more appropriate to define it as an active, conscious resistance. Examination of *Taki Onqoy* and its extirpation by Spanish officials will also reveal that religious beliefs contributed to creating a new social order, even as they served the basis of Andean resistance to Spanish rule. By examining the role different participants in the movement played, the variation in their responses to Spanish efforts to undermine the movement, and the manner in which Spanish asserted their authority over the Taki Onqoists, it is possible to see how new social actors were incorporated into the Andean hierarchy. Finally, I hope to illustrate

¹⁷ The extent of the movement has been the subject of some debate. Steve Stern suggested that the Taki Onqoy rebellion was linked with the Inca resistance movement in Vilcabambab, but Rafael Varón Gabai has argued that the sources do not support this conclusion. He suggests the movements were separate and correlated only in their timing. Rafael Varón Gabai, "El Taki Onqoy: las raíces andinas de un fenómeno colonial" in Luis Millones, compilador *el retorno de las huacas: estudios y documentos del siglo XVI*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1990) 346.

¹⁸ Luis Millones, compilador, *Las informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz: documentos para el estudio del Taki Onqoy*, (Cuernavaca: CIDOC, 1971) p. 0/6.

¹⁹ Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, second edition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993) and Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

that confession played a crucial role as evidence of adherence to Andean forms of worship, and thus a means of asserting loyalty to *huacas*, and evidence of a transfer of loyalty to Spanish religion and authority, and thus obeisance to it.

Taki Onqoy was not quite a rebellion (though it has been described as such by most researchers), but it had rebellious implications. Adherents were not called upon to act directly, but only to demonstrate loyalty to traditional figures of worship and rejection of Spanish ways. In fact, the movement's leaders were not even human. People were possessed by the ancestors, *huacas*, who had "returned" (if they had ever left). The possessed shook, trembled, and danced insanely.²⁰ Through them the *huacas* gave notice to Andean people that they must return to the old ways. One Spanish observer described the adherents' vision of the future as follows:

Todas las guacas del reyno, quantas avían los cristianos derocado y quemado, avían resucitado, y dellos se avían hecho dos partes: los unos se avían juntado con la guaca *Pachacama*, y los otros con la guaca *Titicaca* y que todos andavan por el ayre hordenando de dar batalla a Dios, y vencelle, y que ya la trayan de vencida y que quando el Marqués entro en esta tierra, avía Dios vencido a las guacas y los Españoles a los yndios; en pero que agora dava la buelta del mundo, y que Dios y los Españoles quedarian vencidos desta vez y todos los Españoles muertos, y las ciudades dellos anegadas, y que la mar avía de crecer y los avía de aogar, porque dellos no huviese memoria.²¹

All of the huacas of the kingdom, all those the Christians had abolished and burned had been resuscitated, and they were banded in two parties: some had joined the huaca *pachacama*, and the others the huaca *titicaca* and all were roaming the heavens, commanding to wage war against God and to defeat him and that they were already winning and that when Pizarro came to this land, God had defeated the huacas and the Spanish the Indians: but now the world was turning and God and the Spanish would be defeated this time and all the Spanish would die, and their cities would

²⁰ Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, p. 52.

²¹ C. de Molina C. de Albornoz, *Fábulas y mitos de los incas*, edición de Henrique Urbano y Pierre Duviols, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1988 – Información y Revistas, S.A.) 130.

be flooded, and the sea would overflow, drowning them so there would be no memory of them.

The rebels were thus the *huacas*, who would defeat the Spanish and their God. Andean people merely had to demonstrate loyalty to those ancestors. They were not called upon to take up arms, or even to confront the Spanish a passive resistance would suffice. Andean people would demonstrate their loyalty by rejecting all things Spanish: religion, clothing, language, and labor, and by embracing those same things in their Andean form. In exchange for their loyalty, the *huacas* would extirpate the Spaniards: “they had planted many fields of worms, to put them into the hearts of the Spaniards, their livestock from Spain and the horses.” Disloyalty would result in punishment, as the worms would be planted “also in the hearts of the Indians who remained Christian.”²² All of these manifestations of the “rebellion” resemble what might be characterized as “everyday forms of resistance” in contemporary indigenous society.²³ The language, clothing, forms of labor and worship of Andean people in contemporary society are still distinct from those of Peru’s mestizos. The maintenance of these practices is not, however, articulated as a conscious means of resistance. It appears instead to result from established practices within communities, rejection of which would itself be a kind of resistance to demands of community. What appears to have differentiated Taki Onqoy from this more common form of resistance, suggesting that it marked a key transition point, was its being labeled with a name, *Taki Onqoy* or *Ayra*, its articulation of a code of behavior for indigenous

²² Steve Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples* 53.

people in their relations to Spanish, and its prediction of specific dire consequences for the Spanish and for Andean people who failed to adhere to the movement's precepts. These factors suggest that in contrast to everyday forms of resistance, which appear often to be culturally determined, unconscious modes of behavior, Taki Onqoy revealed a clear consciousness of "cultural" resistance as a means of rejecting the Spanish, their religion, and their rule. Religious practices and beliefs provided both a means of resistance and justification for it. They also contributed to undermining the movement.

First I would like to consider some of the factors which would seem to suggest that *Taki Onqoy* was not a rebellion, but a kind of conscious resistance, indicating that Andean people recognized the need to acknowledge the Spanish presence, even if that acknowledgement took the form of a passive rejection. Spanish officials' discovery of Taki Onqoy, suggests that if it were a rebellion, it was an extraordinarily quiet one. Luis de Olivera, the Spanish priest who discovered it, seems to have done so accidentally. There is no evidence of confrontation. Instead he is said to have been "el primero que vio de la dicha yronía o ydolatría"²⁴ and he learned that it was not only in his province of Parinacocha, "but in all the rest of the provinces and cities of Chuqicaca, La Paz, Cuzco, Guamanga, and even Lima and Arequipa" where many "of them had fallen into great apostasies, separating themselves from the Catholic faith after having received it and returning to the idolatry they used in the time of their

²³ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Steven Rendall, translator, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) see especially "A very ordinary culture" p. 1-42.

²⁴ Molina, *Fábulas*, 129.

infidelity.”²⁵ This excerpt from Molina’s account implies that Andean adherents of *Taki Onqoy* did not confront Spanish authorities, whether religious or civil, but merely sought to “separate themselves.” In fact, the time it took to discover this widespread movement would suggest that in practice, the Andean people were quite separate from the Spanish, who had little access to indigenous communities where the “apostasies” were evident. It does not, in fact, appear from Molina’s account that Spanish authorities feared a rebellion *per sé*, but were instead apparently most concerned with this apostasy, which signified the debility of Spanish control over Andean people. While Spanish civil and religious officials adhered to a policy of two states, one Spanish one Indian, they sought to insure their control over both of them. By separating themselves, indigenous people effectively threatened this control. While it was not quite a rebellion, the *Taki Onqoy* movement nonetheless had important implications in the civil realm. The effectiveness of the movement was limited, however, by the very presence of the new Catholic ideology, fear of the powerful Spanish God, and the decline of the Inca state. Loyalty, crucial to any effective rebellion, seems to have been lacking in *Taki Onqoy*. Albornoz’s testimony is filled with examples of hundreds of people coming to him to reveal their “sins and errors” and to beg forgiveness.²⁶ These defections suggest that Andean people had already recognized, in some measure, the power and authority of the Spanish God and his representatives, and the need to incorporate them rather than embracing an exclusively Andean religion and social order.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²⁶ Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, p. 76, 80, 89, 94, 99, 103, 104, 131, 136, 141 for examples.

The manner in which Catholic orthodoxy was contested by Andean people and imposed by Spanish clergy becomes evident through a brief analysis of some of the specific claims of the movement's adherents and the responses of the Spanish. The participants in the *Taki Onqoy* movement:

no creyesen en Dios ni en sus mandamientos y que no creyesen en las cruces ni ymágenes ni entrasen en las yglesias, y que se confesasen con ellos y no con los clérigos, y que ayunasen ciertos ayunos ciertos días en sus formas no comiendo sal ni agí ni maíz ni teniendo cópula con sus mugeres, sino solo bebiendo una bebida de acua destenplada sin fuerça, y mandándoles les adorasen e ofreciesen de las cossas suyas naturales como son carneros e otras cosas, y que ellos venían a predicar en nombre de las guacas Titicaca, Tiaguanaco y otras sesenta, y que ya estas guacas avían vencido al Dios de los cristianos. . . ²⁷

Do not believe in God nor in his Commandments and that they do not believe in the crosses nor images neither do they enter the churches, and that they confess with their own and not with the priests, and they fast certain fasts on certain days in their form and do not eat salt nor aji nor corn nor having sex with their wives, but only drinking a tasteless water, and they are ordered to adore and sacrifice their native goods, things like sheep and other things, the Andean priests had come to preach in the name of the huacas Titicaca, Tiaguanaco and sixty others, and that already these huacas will have vanquished the God of the christians.

It seems evident in this quote, taken from testimony about Albornoz's tireless efforts to reveal the *Taki Onqoy* movement, that while adherents claimed not to believe in God it would be more accurate to say they did not believe He was their God. Indeed, the fact that they believed their huacas "had defeated the God of the Christians" makes evident their belief that he existed. Adherents sought to demonstrate that despite this defeat, the *huacas* were superior to the Spanish God and

²⁷ Ibid., p. 63-64.

were deserving of Andean people's exclusive loyalty.²⁸ Similarly, while they claimed not to believe in "the crosses or images or to enter the Churches" subsequent testimony suggests that it was not so much that they did not believe in these Catholic images, as that they did not believe them appropriate to or necessary for Andean worship. This perception becomes more evident in later testimony asserting that:

"Look at how all those that are baptized and those that are not, all enter in the church, but if this were the Truth that the Christians say they could not enter in the Church those that are not baptized"; and making the said sermons and other hechizeros their evils and { }, they carried a cross to their meeting house and placed it into a corner. And their sorcerer preachers spoke in that house with their huacas and the huacas responded to them saying, "Look how this stick has not spoken for the cross, and he who speaks to us is our God and Maker, and him we ought to adore and what the Christians preach to us is a mockery."

"Miren como todos los que son bautizados e los que no lo son todos entran en la yglesia; pues si fuera verdad lo que dizen los cristianos no pudieran entrar en la iglesia los que no son bautizados"; y que haziendo los dichos predicadores y otros hechizeros sus maldades y vellaquerías, en la casa donde las hazían metían una cruz e la ponían a un rincón, e los tales predicadores hechizeros hablaban en la dicha casa con sus guacas e cómo las dichas guacas les respondían a los que predicavan: "Veis como ese palo no habla por la cruz, y que este que nos habla es nuestro dios y criador y a este hemos de adorar e creher, e los demás que nos dizen e predicán los cristianos es cosa de burla"²⁹

Evident in this testimony is both a recognition of similarities between Andean religion and Christianity and a desire to establish the former as superior to the latter for Andean people. What made the *Taki Onqoy* movement possible, and indeed the continued practice of Andean religion, was that the uninitiated were not permitted to enter the crucial spaces of worship. "Not all the Indians come to the principal Huaca,

²⁸ Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 60

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 147.

nor enter in the site, or house where the Huaca is, but only the Hechizeros, who speak with it, and bring sacrifices/offerings to it.”³⁰ Implicit in this testimony is a criticism of Catholicism for allowing non-believers to enter the Church. What kind of religion was Christianity, then? Surely not one appropriate to Andean beliefs. There also appears to be an identification between the Andean huacas and the Christian crucifix. Indeed, what Christian image could be more apt to a religion in which dead ancestors – huacas – were primary figures of worship and adoration? Christ is for Catholics the ultimate huaca. He is said to have died for the sins of the world and in doing so to have saved it, suggesting a reciprocal relationship analogous to that which served as the foundation of Andean forms of worship. There was thus a strong potential for Andean people to identify with the image of the crucifix. This testimony suggests an effort to eliminate that identification, not by disregarding the power of the cross, but by asserting that “this stick has not spoken for the cross, and he who speaks to us is our God and Maker, and him we ought to adore and what the Christians preach to us is a mockery.” Even the words used to criticize Catholicism, taken from the mouths of Spanish missionaries seeking to assert the superiority of their religion, reveal the degree to which Andean people recognized an overt competition between their faith and practices and those of the Spanish.³¹

The *Taki Onqoy* movement had as its roots and goal to maintain an exclusively Andean world, but it also revealed Andean people’s recognition that this goal was unattainable. People had already come to believe in the power of the Spanish God,

³⁰ Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería San Martín, 1920) 53-54.

and even those who did not learned that passive resistance in direct defiance of Spanish Catholic precepts would be rooted out and destroyed. Catholic rituals were inextricably linked to punishment. Confession, penance, and catechesis were central to reconciliation, or obeisance. Failure to conform to Catholic precepts meant punishment in both the civil and religious realms. Adherents of the movement who did not repent, or did not do so quickly enough, were subject to fines, imprisonment, and whipping as well as more “religious” punishments.

In fact, the punishment Albornoz prescribed for adherents of the *Taki Onqoy* movement was highly variable and depended on their response to him, the severity of their “offenses,” and their status in the hierarchy of Andean authority.³² Those who voluntarily renounced the movement and promised to correct their lives appear to have been treated leniently

“... ellos binieron por lo mucho que se les predicaba a conocer el hierro que avían hecho y en que estaban llorando e prostados por tierra, que a todos daba contrición y piedad según y de la manera que ellos se venían a acusar pidiendo misiricordia, prometiéndole de enmendarse a que no cometerían ni harían más semejantes maldades e delitos e ofensas contra el servicio/ de Nuestro Señor, lo que pedían con mucha umildad y reverencia, y como a tales el dicho Cristóbal de Albornoz los rescibia con todo amor y caridad llorando con ellos, ynprimiéndoles penitencia saludable conforme a sus delitos e acrehecciones, con mucha piedad e misirecordia . . .”³³

After much preaching they came to recognize their errors and they were crying and prostrated themselves on the ground, feeling contrite and pious and the way I saw it they came to accuse themselves and asking mercy, and promising to ammend their ways and never again to commit similar evils and crimes and ofenses against the service of Our Lord, and they asked with much himility and reverence, to these people, the said

³¹ Sabine MacCormack points out the hechizeros' use of Spanish terminology to discredit Catholicism. MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 184.

³² Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 64.

³³ Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, 94.

Cristóbal de Albornoz received them with great love and charity, crying with them and impressing upon them healing penance in conformance with their crimes and excesses with great piety and mercy.

Although it is difficult to determine if the words used in this account accurately described the actions of the Andean people, it appears that they used the Catholic terms of sin and confession to repent for their participation in the Taki Onqoy movement. By offering an act of contrition, central to the Catholic rite of confession, asking mercy, and promising with humility and reverence not to commit similar crimes and offenses against the service of God, the Andean people acknowledged the power of the Spanish God and of his representative, the visitador, Cristóbal de Albornoz. While those who repented voluntarily were said to have been received with love and mercy, those who failed to beg forgiveness, or who were considered instigators of the movement, received harsh punishments.

todos los susodichos caciques principales de sus numerados por consentidores y encubredores de los indios ayras taqui ongos y por idolatras de guacas en esta visita dichos y numerados en cada cincuenta azotes y en que dentro de un año hiciesen todos ellos la iglesia mayor de este curacazgo en este pueblo de morocolla donde todos se juntasen las fiestas principales el cuerpo de la dicha iglesia les mando lo hiciesen todos de comunidad con sus indios porque fueron tambien culpados y que la madera clavazon de las puertas y cerrojos la comprasen los dichos caciques de sus haciendas y que la dicha iglesia fuese de ciento y cincuenta pies y asi mismo fueron condenados en ciento y veinte pesos de plata corriente para la dicha iglesia deste dicho pueblo que ansi han de hacer para con ellos se compren las cosas necesarias para la dicha iglesia como son ornamentos y dosel segun de la forma que el cura ...³⁴

All of the aforementioned caciques principales [those listed previously as] consentors and concealers of the Indians Ayras Taki Onqos and for idolatries of the huacas in this said visita and in number of each fifty lashes and in that inside of a year all of them build the major church of this

³⁴ Millones *informaciones de Albornoz*, 1/9-10.

curazgo in this town of morocolla where all join together for the principal fiestas; the body of the said church was orderd to be built by all of them together as a community with their Indians because they are also guilty and the wood for the doors and locks were to be bought with the caciques' money and the church was of one hundred anf fifty feet and in the same way they were condemned to one hundred twenty pesos of silver for the said church of the said town . . . and that they will have to buy the necessary things for the church like the ornaments and { } following the expectations of the priest.

In fact, what is notable is that punishment fell on caciques and principales for consenting to the movement and hiding it. Luis Millones argues that the severity of punishment depended not only on the degree of the participants' involvement in the movement, but also on their social status. He asserts that those who were simply followers of the movement received harsher punishment if they were of a higher social status. And indeed, in this quote it appears that the caciques and principales' only "crime" was in hiding, rather than instigating the movement. The form of punishment Albornoz inflicted on adherents of the movement reveals the type of accommodation sought by the Spanish and the response by Andean people. The Spanish sought to establish a hierarchically ordered society, which was founded on shared religious precepts. They recognized that this end could only be achieved by using intermediaries in the communities, who were charged with enforcing religious orthodoxy and thus conformity to the civil order. The manner in which Albornoz sought to eliminate the apostasy of Taki Onqoy also illustrates that the Spaniards recognized that if they could not control these intermediaries they had no power.

Steve Stern argues that the "rebellion" failed because of the internal, incipient class contradictions which ensured that key members, specifically caciques, of society

who were benefiting directly from the Spanish rule would withhold their support of the movement. He observes that “though Taki Onqoy acquired impressive support among the kurakas and lesser elites, the data we have hints that, as a social group, the native chiefs did not throw their influence and prestige into enthusiastic leadership or backing of the movement.”³⁵ Few caciques were arrested for fomenting the rebellion. They were not leaders. Instead, their failure was in not revealing the “sin and errors” to Spanish clergy.³⁶ But the implications of this omission are extremely important. They reveal a key component of the indigenous communities’ social organization and of the mechanisms they used to evade Spanish colonial (and other) control. Evasion was defense. The Taki Onqoy “rebellion” was so silent that only through “su buena yndustria y abilidad y zelo de acertar que tiene,” Albornoz “descubrió entre los dichos naturales la seta y apostasía. . .”³⁷ [“Through his great industriousness, ability, and zeal” Albornoz “discovered among the indigenous people this sect and apostasy”] Through their silence the caciques in essence protected their communities and their *huacas*. Silence was a form of leadership, but it was leadership that obeyed a communal rather than an individual logic. While Stern argues that the movement failed because caciques were more concerned with their own interests than those of their communities, their role as intermediaries who could shield communities from the prying eyes of Spanish officials made the movement possible. Andean people could worship their *huacas* in the presence of the Spanish, so long as the intermediaries refused to reveal these acts of apostasy to the clergy. Spanish recognition of this role

³⁵ Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 64.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁷ Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, 63.

seems evident in their severe punishment of caciques. It was they who were carted off to prison, forced to endure catechetical lessons, dragged to confession, and sent to church service. Their punishment reflected Spaniards' recognition that without caciques, they could exert no influence over indigenous communities.

Given that *Taki Onqoy* was a movement in which the huacas were to vanquish the Spanish God, it is not surprising that practicing the Andean form of confession was necessary for adherents. The Andean rite of confession was performed ritually at fiestas in honor of the huacas and in times of crises, including illness, inclement weather, and crop destruction. All of these conditions were central to the *Taki Onqoy* movement. In the preceding decades the Andean population had been decimated and disease continued to be rampant. The return of the huacas would seem to offer a means of salvation. Loyalty to the old ways, signified specifically by performing the rites, including confession, that were demanded as part of the reciprocal relationship with the ancestors seemed necessary. Andean people's repeated efforts to illustrate the superiority of these traditions over Catholicism, suggest, however, that this was a period of intense and conscious questioning about the efficacy of these practices. Confession thus became the pivot on which loyalty turned. By confessing in the Andean way people asserted the superiority of their religious traditions. By confessing in the Catholic way they acknowledged the power of the Spanish God over them, thereby accepting the authority of his intermediaries, Spanish priests.

The Spanish visitador, Cristóbal de Albornoz, probably quite unconsciously, tapped into Andean ideals about confession and sin in his effort to eradicate the apostasy of the *Taki Onqoy* movement. Adherents' beliefs were consistently

described as “errors, sins, apostasies” Albornoz was said to visit the pueblos and settlements and

[Albornoz] Ante todas cossas a rogado y suplicado a Nuestro Señor por la conversión y enmienda de los dichos naturales, haziendo procesiones generales con todos ellos, y diziéndoles sus misas con toda diligencia, y predicándoles y dándoles a entender el oficio de su venida y cómo hera por su bien y quietud y remedio de sus ánimas y conciencias, y que no pretendía otra cossa, y que haziendo ellos de su parte lo que en sí era a acusándose de sus culpas, que él les venía a reformar y dar penitencia saludable con caridad, porque de otra manera serían muy castigados. . .³⁸

[Albornoz] started by praying and begging Our Lord for the conversion and improvement of the said natives, making general processions with all of them, and saying mass with diligence and preaching to them and giving them to understand the purpose of his coming and how it was all for their good and well-being, and remedy of their souls and consciences and sought nothing else, and if they did what was expected from them that is to accuse themselves of their sins, he would reform them and give them healing penance, because any other manner they would be well punished.

The goal was thus “conversion and improvement” which was achieved through a combination of preaching, processions, prayer and confessions. The descriptions of Andean people’s voluntary renunciation of the movement were described as “voluntary self-denunciations” in which they “promised to improve their lives . . . and denounced their sins and errors and asked for penance.”³⁹ In at least one case those who came to beg forgiveness had taken the names St. Mary and St. Mary Magdalene and other saints names to express their reverence for the Catholic saints.⁴⁰ It is thus evident that many Andean people, even adherents of the Taki Onqoy movement, already accepted the efficacy of the Spanish Catholic religion.

³⁸ Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, p. 65.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁰ Millones, *Informaciones de Albornoz*, 2/46

Taki Onqoy was not a rebellion, but it reveals that at this point there was a conscious recognition of the need to find an effective means of coping with the Spanish and their religion. Indeed, the relative paucity of adherents, the voluntary confessions, and the abstainers all suggest that this was a highly volatile period during which people were desperately trying to find strategies for addressing the Spanish presence and the series of demographic, social, and agricultural disasters that preceded their arrival. The means of coping was necessarily religious, both because these disasters were interpreted through a religious framework of explanation and because religion was the foundation of social order. Whether consciously or not, the Spanish by demanding “confession” as part of the evidence of repentance tapped into Andean norms and ideals about reciprocity. Confession was, as I have suggested, the fulcrum of reciprocal relations among the gods, the people and the land. By forcing Andean people to participate in Spanish confession clergy fundamentally changed this set of social relations, or, at the very least took steps towards doing so. In fact their efforts could not have succeeded were it not for the responsiveness of the Andean people, who perhaps as a result of their religiously influenced perception of the causes of disaster, accepted Catholic confession. Confessing meant acknowledging the power of Spanish gods for Andean and not just Spanish people. It also meant acknowledging Spanish clergy’s authority over Andean and not just Spanish people.

While Stern argues that the movement was evidence of recognition among Andean people that there could be no middle ground, no compromise between their traditions and Catholicism, it seems that it had the opposite impact on the Spanish. It brought about recognition that Spanish and Andean religion continued to operate in

tandem. It also made evident that the Spanish could not control this confluence of faith and practices and led to a renewed effort to assert authority over indigenous communities by enforcing religious orthodoxy. In the aftermath of the Taki Onqoy rebellion the first texts or guides to the “extirpation of idolatries” were written. Sabine MacCormack argues that the movement also prompted a fundamental re-evaluation of Andean and Incan religion and culture among Spanish chroniclers. To “extirpate” idolatries it was necessary not only to identify them, but also to recognize where they fit into an overall system of social organization.

When Arriaga wrote his guide to eliminating idolatry, published in 1621, many of the same forms of “rejection” of Spanish Catholicism and culture from the Taki Onqoy movement were still evident. An examination of Arriaga’s extirpation of idolatries will thus reveal how Andean people took steps toward resolving the conflict between maintaining loyalty to their religious traditions and corresponding forms of social organization, and acknowledging the irrevocable presence of the Spanish with their religion and practices. It will also hint at how they responded to the Spanish religious hierarchy’s last push to eliminate Andean practices and what were the factors which mitigated against this extirpation.

The Extirpation of Idolatries:

Sabine MacCormack argues that the extirpation of idolatries marked a significant shift in Spanish missionaries’ view about establishing the Faith among the Andean people. In the preceding century the dominant perspective was that conversion would be accomplished through a program of catechesis and gradual exertion of influence. The same methods that had been used by the early Christian

martyrs would be used in the Andes, where the people, unlike the Jews and Muslims of the Old World, had not yet been exposed to the Faith and thus could not be expected to embrace it immediately. By the seventeenth century, however, this tolerant perspective had been replaced by an intolerance equivalent to that exhibited by the Inquisition towards heretics and non-believers.⁴¹ A century was judged an adequate period of time to accustom the Indians to Catholicism. If they had not embraced it by this stage, then in the view of the Spanish hierarchy, force would be necessary.⁴² Indeed, MacCormack argues that the methods for extirpating idolatries advocated first by Polo de Ondegardo and subsequently by Arriaga, were modeled on those of the Inquisition.⁴³

Arriaga published an extensive guide, composed of three sections, one devoted to religious practices, the next to the causes of idolatry, and the last to its elimination. In the first section Arriaga provided a detailed description of the Andean religious practices, specifically those associated with adoration of the Huacas. He offered comprehensive descriptions of Andean rituals, in which he named the Andean religious leaders responsible for performing rituals, the products used in ritual

⁴¹ In fact conditions in Peru appeared remarkably similar to those which contributed to the creation of the Inquisition in Spain. Although the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel in 1469, they remained quite distinct. The Inquisition was, in fact, the only institution that united them and indeed all of the distinct regions of Spain. Additionally, Spanish society was culturally divided among Catholics, Muslims, and Jews. J. H. Elliott argues that enforcing Catholicism appeared the only means of uniting this geographically and socially divided country. See: J.H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963) 96-99.

⁴² In fact Susan Ramirez work would suggest that this perception changed among local clergy as early as the mid-sixteenth century. They quickly became dissillusioned with the indigenous people's potential to become Catholics, while the Church hierarchy, it seems held out the hope that this goal could be achieved. For the latter, it became a question of changing proselytization methods. Thus the shift described by MacCormack from an emphasis on catequesis and gradual influence to one of force and extirpation. Susan Ramirez, ed. *Indian-Religious Relations in Colonial Spanish America*. (Syracuse University, 1989).

⁴³ MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 387-392.

offerings and their origins, and the role the common people played. In the second section he offered an analysis of indigenous people's failure to convert. In the final section Arriaga established specific guidelines for extirpating idolatries, including who should be consulted to serve as aids, how communities should be approached, and what should be the desired end of the extirpation.

Through an analysis of Arriaga's *La extirpación de la idolatria en el Perú*, it is possible to illustrate how Andean religion and Spanish perceptions of it had changed since the *Taki Onqoy* movement. It is evident that elements of Catholicism had been incorporated into Andean forms of worship, which helped establish Spanish parish priests as well as local civil authorities, as intermediaries between indigenous communities and the apparatus of the Spanish Church and state hierarchy. It also appears that confession continued to play a key role in both "Andean" religion and in the Spanish imposition of Catholicism. Finally, the form that the extirpation of idolatries took suggests that Spanish Catholicism and the means of introducing it were being adapted to Andean religious practices and social organization. The extirpation of idolatries entailed a hierarchically ordered disinterment. Visitadores came from the center to the periphery to impose a kind of ideological control and order upon the indigenous people whose practice of Andean forms of worship signified their "separation" from the Spanish sphere. Although the Visitadores charged with enforcing the extirpation of idolatries enjoyed greater power and status than local civil and religious authorities, they had to depend on those authorities to enter indigenous communities. They thus came to rely on an Andean system of intermediaries and sought to link those intermediaries more strongly to Catholicism.

Arriaga observed that every indigenous community practiced the Andean form of confession as part of the fiestas held in the *huacas*' honor. People also confessed when they were preparing for long journeys.⁴⁴ Arriaga seemed chagrined to observe that most Andean people had confessed various times in their lives in the Andean form, but few had done so with a Catholic priest. Despite his recognition that Andean rituals were still central to community life, Arriaga suggested, perhaps hopefully, that the same fervor and solemnity were no longer evident in their celebration.⁴⁵ Even if one accepts Arriaga's evaluation of a decline, it is evident that many features of Andean life that had been condemned as a "rejection" of Spanish ways, and thus a threat to civil society, continued to exist, though there was no overt call to reject Spain as there had been in *Taki Onqoy*. One area showing both continuity and change was the form of Andean confession observed by Arriaga.

Durante el ayuno se confiessan todos los Indios, y Indias con los que tienen este oficio, sentados en el suelo el que oye, y el q'se confiessa en lugares que suelen tener en el campo diputados para este efeto. No confiessan pecados interiores, sino de haber hurtado, de haber maltratado a otros, y de tener más que una muger (porque tener una aunque sea estando amancebado, no lo tienen por pecado) acúsanse también de los adulterios, pero la simple fornicación de ninguna manera la tienen por pecado . . .

During the fast all the Indians (men and women) confess with those who have this office, seated on the ground, both he who listens and he who confesses in designated places for this purpose. They do not confess interior sins, but of to have stolen, to have mistreated others, and to have more than one woman (because to have one although they are living together is not considered a sin) adultery is also charged, but simple fornication in no manner is considered a sin.

⁴⁴ Arriaga, *Extirpación de idolatrias*, 33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

While the Andean rite of Confession continued to be central to the fast undertaken as part of the festivities to honor the huacas, suggesting continuity, it had also changed in its form and in the times it was practiced. During the Inca era, it appears that the major state-level rituals in which confession and penance played a central role were the C'pac Raymi Caym Quilla in January⁴⁶ and the Ytu, held in response to crises, including war, pestilence, and earthquakes, and thus at variable times.⁴⁷ Arriaga observed that “Acabadas las confesiones en las fiestas solemnes, que suelen ser tras cada año, la principal cerca de la fiesta del Corpus, o en ella misma, que llaman Oncoy mita. . . The Onqoy mita appears a new addition to Andean practice of confession. A possible explanation for this adaptation may be found in the records of the *taki onqoy* movment and in the methods of proselytization used by the Spanish missionaries. We have already suggested the possibility that when adherents of Taki Onoqoy “raised a cross I their meeting house and placed it into a corner. And their sorcerer preachers spoke in that house with their huacas and these same huacas gave answers to these preachers [who then said] “look how this stick has not spoken for the cross, and he who speaks to us is our God and Maker, and him we ought to adore and what the Christians preach to us is a mockery”⁴⁸ they equated Christ with their huacas, implying that he played an analogous role for Spaniards. This perception would surely have been enhanced by the Spanish missionaries’ efforts, following their

⁴⁶ Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, edición y prólogo de Franklin Pease G. Y. vocabulario y traducciones de Jan Szeminski, Tomo I (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993) 177.

⁴⁷ Varon, “las raíces andinas”, 369-371.

⁴⁸ McCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 184.

own traditions of home, to introduce annual confession during the Easter season.⁴⁹

Through this unintentional coincidence, it seems that the missionaries' contributed to Andean people's belief that Jesus Christ was a kind of Huaca. This view would also have been validated by the Catholic emphasis on Christ as God's son, thus equal to the Inca as son of the Sun.

Adaptation of aspects of Catholicism appear, however, to reflect only one element of change. Andean people seem also to have adopted, or perhaps reincorporated, ritual forms that had been exclusive to the Incas. Sources indicate, for example, that confession had been public for commoners.⁵⁰ Garcilaso de la Vega in fact insists on this point, arguing that Spanish clergy, in their early efforts to seek similarities between Andean and Catholic rituals as evidence of God's presence, incorrectly asserted that private confession existed among commoners. He argued that only the Incas could confess privately and did so by going to a secret site where they spoke directly to the sun and then bathed in a river to wash their sins away. Arriaga's account of the extirpation suggests that by 1621, Andean commoners had adopted a variation of this confession form. "Tambien tienen otro modo algunos para purificarse de los pecados sin dezillos a otro, que es refregarse la cabeza con su Pasca, y lavarse en algún río la cabeza, y así dize que el agua lleva sus pecados,"⁵¹ which seems quite similar to "el Inga no confesaba sus pecados a ningún hombre sino sólo al sol, para que él los dijese al Viracocha y le perdoase. Después de confesado el Inga hacía cierto lavatorio para acabar de limiarse de sus culpas, y era en esta forma, que poniéndose en

⁴⁹ Pedro Borges, *Métodos Misionales en la Cristianización de América: Siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1958)

⁵⁰ See: Acosta, Cobo, Guamon Poma, Garcilaso de la Vega.

⁵¹ Arriaga, *Extirpación de Idolatrias*, 52.

un río corriente, decía estas palabras: “Yo he dicho mis pecados al sol, tu río los recibe; llévalos a la mar, donde nunca más parezcan.”⁵² Indeed, with the decline of the Inca kingdom it would seem that Andean people would have to accept responsibility for performing state-level rituals or look to the Spanish to perform this role.

Arriaga’s description evidences continuity and change among both Andean and Catholic people: for the former it was in forms of worship, while for the latter it was in their ideal of “conversion” and how best to achieve it. In effect “conversion” meant asserting Spanish spiritual and material control over the Andean people so civil and religious goals were inextricably linked. It is evident that while Spaniards’ goal of conversion remained the same, their explanation of why they had been unable to achieve it after nearly one hundred years had changed since the *Taki Onqoy* movement. Where Molina attributed the movement to Satan’s corruption of the Indians,⁵³ Arriaga offered a range of explanations. The devil’s hand was still evident to Arriaga, who observed that there were “errors, or traps by which the devil and his ministers have persuaded and blinded all the Indians. . . they understand, and it is said, that all that the Priests preach is the truth, and the god of the Spaniards is a good God; but that everything that is said and taught by the Priests is for the Gentlemen and Spaniards, while for them are the Huacas and their Malquis, and their fiestas, and all the other things that their ancestors have taught them and the elders and the Hechizeros have taught; and this is the common perception of the Indians, something

⁵² Cobo, *Historia del nuevo mundo*, 206-207.

⁵³ Molina, *Fábulas*, 130-131

often repeated by their hechizeros”⁵⁴ But the traps set by the devil and his minions were in Arriaga’s view only one problem and not, apparently the most important one, nor less an insurmountable one. A greater problem was ignorance. “de esta falta de doctina y ensenanza nace la suma ignorancia sin hablar con encarecimiento, que tiene de las cosas de nuestra Fé, y delante de Dios, y de los hombres tienen menos culpa los Indios, que quien no les a ensenado, como tiene excusa de no saber matemáticas, quien nunca las oydo, y así a cada paso dicen los Indios, nunca me an ensenado esto, nunca me an dicho esto . . . esta ignorancia es causa de los errores, que tienen muy creídos. . .”⁵⁵ and resulted from clergy’s inability to proselytize indigenous people in the plethora of remote indigenous communities. This problem would have been severe had there been no competition from Andean religious figures, but in fact as Arriaga observed:

los muchos ministros, y maestros que tienen de ellas, como se vé en los que an sido descubiertos y penitenciados en todos los pueblos. Y hecha la quenta de todos mayores, y menores, de ordinario se halla para diez Indios y para menos un ministro, y maestro. Cada Aylo, y parcialidad tiene sus sacerdotes particulares, y acontece no aver quedado en un Aylo más que tres, o cuatro casas, y esas tienen su Huaca, y sacerdote particular, que la guarda. Y aylo e vesto, donde no avia quedado sino sólo un Indio con su muger, y en él avia quedado el sacerdocio, y el cuidado de la Huaca, de su Aylo. Según esto bien se dexa entender que tenniendo como tienen tantos maestros, que en todas ocasiones, y a todos tiempos les están repitiendo las cosas, que aprendieron con la leche, y que son conforme a su capacidad, y inclinacion, y no teniendo quién les enseñe los misterios de nuestra Fé, que son tan superiores a su entendimiento, sino como dize el refrán tarde, mal y nunca, quanta ignorancia tendrán en las cosas de la religión Christiana . . .⁵⁶

They have many ministers and teachers, as has been seen when they have been discovered and penanced in all the communities. And having made

⁵⁴ Arriaga, *Extirpación de idolatrias*, 79.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 68-69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73-74.

an account of all the major and minor, ordinarily it is found that for every ten Indians there is at least one minister and teacher. Each aylo and parcialidad has its own priests, and it happens that aylos of no more than three or four houses and these have their Huaca and their own priest to guard it. And I have seen aylos, where no more than one Indian and his wife are and in them has stayed a priest to care for the Huaca and its aylo. Following this it is best to understand that having so many teachers with them on all occasions, and in all times, repeating to them things that they learn with their mother's milk and that conform to their ability and inclination, not having someone to teach them the mysteries of Our Faith that are so superior and their understanding but as has been said, their knowledge is bad and there is great ignorance.

The problem of a glut of Andean teachers and ministers was compounded by a dearth of Spanish clergy. What was worse, in Arriaga's view, was that Catholic clergy, who did labor among the Andean people, frequently failed to fulfil their religious obligations. He observed, for example that "no ha sido pequenza causa de no tener el conocimiento, y estima debida de la confesión, la poca que algunos de sus Curas les an puesto, no sólo, no exortándoles a la confesión entre año, pero juzgando por impertinencia el admitelles á ella, quando por devoción quieren confesarse algunos."⁵⁷ [priests have no esteem for nor knowledge of confession and this is no small reason/cause for their failure to fulfill their religious obligation. They show that lack of esteem and knowledge by not exhorting the Indians to confess this year . They thought it was improper to admit to confession some Indians who wanted to confess.] And that " . . . en quatro ni cinco meses no vían al Cura, y quando venía allí estava quatro o cinco dias y luego se bolvia, a otro pueblecillo suyo, bien pequeno por ser de mejor temple. Pues qué maravilla que aya Idolatrías; donde tan pocas vezes, y tan de páso está el Cura, y donde tan de asiento ay tantos ministros, y maestros de

ellas?”⁵⁸ [in four or five months they do not see the priest and when he comes he is there four or five days and then goes to another of the little towns of his . . . so no wonder that there are idolatries, where so few times and for such short periods there is a priest and where such established idolatry has so many officials and teachers.] In fact, recognition of the failure of Spanish clergy had been evident in the Taki Onqoy movement as many priests were punished for their laxity.⁵⁹ Additionally, while some priests had learned Quechua and Aymara, most had not.

Muchos curas hazen sus oficios muy exactamente, y como se puede desear. Pero algunos ay, que saben la lengua, mas ni tienen exercisio, ni uso de predicar, otros, ay que ni saben la lengua, ni menos lo que an de predicar, ni tienen libros, ni cuidan de ellos, otros ay, que son buenas lenguas y saben y pueden predicar, pero no lo hazen por yrse como dixo el otro, *en comunem errorem*, y quando lo hazen es muy de cumplimiento, y sobre peine, sin tomar de propósito el ensenalles.⁶⁰

Many of the priests fulfill their offices very exactly, and as one could wish. But there are some who know the language, but have no ability to use it, neither th ehabit to use it, others there are that neither know the language, nor less that of what they preach, nor have any books, nor care for the, others there are that are good speakers and know and can preach, but they do not do it because they live, as they say, in *comunem errorem*, and when they do it, it is for appearances without real intention of teaching them.

Although Andean people no longer articulated rejection of the Spanish language as part of a conscious program of resistance as they had in *Taki Onqoy*, they effectively did the same thing. Indigenous languages created a kind of impenetrable wall between communities and Spanish outsiders.⁶¹ Passing through this wall

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74

⁵⁹ Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, 100.

⁶⁰ Arriaga, *Extirpación de idolatrias*, 66.

⁶¹ The problem of language had been addressed by Polo de Ondegardo who, in his work on extirpation, advocated the development of schools to teach indigenous children spanish. El Licenciado Polo de

required that Spanish clergy attach themselves and their ideas to indigenous and Spanish intermediaries, who would effectively carry them into the communities, in the same way that active transport in cells makes possible the transmission of outside materials through the cell wall.

This role had been performed by caciques, but Arriaga identified them as a fundamental part of the problem noting that “el mayor trabaxo que al principio se ofreció en el descubrir estas idolatrías, fué de parte de la resistencia de los Indios, y contradicción de los espanoles, y de los Indios, en no descubrillas, y de los demás en no creer que las uviese. . . . y en special los Caciques que eran los que con más instancia negauan en público.”⁶² While Steve Stern dismissed the caciques, suggesting that they failed to lead effectively the Taqui Onqoy “rebellion” by serving only to shield rather than to promote it, he seems to have overlooked what was a key strategy (whether conscious or not) for protecting indigenous communities and ensuring cultural continuity. In their role as intermediaries, caciques facilitated change and helped to ensure continuity in indigenous communities. By serving as active transporters of outside ideas and people, they carried new influences into indigenous communities, but in their role as interpreters caciques helped ensure that those ideas were presented in a form that fit the existing socio-cultural framework. I do not believe this was due entirely to a conscious effort. Instead it seems in part the indirect result of established socio-cultural norms for addressing outsiders through the use of intermediaries and

Ondegardo, *Informaciones acerca de la Religión y Gobierno de los Incas segunda parte* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería San Martín, 1917) 176.

⁶²Arriaga, *Extirpacio de idolatrias*, p. 8 See also Ondegardo p. 179 Por eso son tan perjudiciales los casiques nobrados en los repartimientos, pues para adular a los Indios, y poderlos estafar a sus salbo se

translation of Spanish terms and concepts into locally comprehensible terms.

Caciques also acted as shields by limiting outsiders' knowledge of life and conditions within indigenous communities. They could and, as in the case of *Taki Onqoy*, did protect local knowledge and practices from Spanish incursion.

The central role of intermediaries as both facilitators of change and protectors of tradition, becomes evident through an examination of the procedure Arriaga proposed for "extirpating idolatries". What also becomes apparent is that this role, which had been the exclusive purview of indigenous caciques, was increasingly being taken up by Spanish priests and local governing officials. Arriaga recognized that he had to rely on these intermediaries to access indigenous communities. In fact, the sources he identified as barriers to conversion, caciques and priests, were also the facilitators of its solution.

Parish priests played an especially crucial role in accessing communities.

Arriaga asserted that

"los Visitadores por otra parte, de ninguna manera quieren yr sin los Padres; porque fuera de que para ellos es de mayor autoridad para con Indios, ye Espanoles, la asistencia de los Padres, los an menester para consejo, y direccion de muchas cosas, en que se hallan muy perplexos y dudosos . . . para el intento de las visitas, que es descubrir sus Idolatrias, y quitarles sus Huacas, la mayor ayuda es la de los Padres; que ellos hablan a los Indios, muchas vezes, y les quitan los temores, y les mueven con sus sermones; los Indios acuden a ellos como a Padres, que les quieren bien, y hazen oficios de intercessores con el Visitador, y de el Visitador con los Indios."⁶³

The visitadores for their part, in no way should consider going without the priests; because they have the greatest authority with the Indians and the Spanish, the assistance of the priest to give them council and direction in

hacen ciegos protectores de sus disbaríos. Debieran sercenarse estos superfluos mandones y se ebitarian muchos incombenientes.

⁶³ Arriaga, *Extirpación de la idolatria*, 121.

many things in which they may be perplexed and doubtful . . . For the purpose of the visitas, which is to discover the idolatries, and to destroy the huacas, the greatest help is that of the priests; they speak to the Indians, many times, and alleviate their fears and move them with sermons; the Indians come to them like to fathers, and they love them well, and they can in their offices serve as intermediaries (intercedors) for the Indians with the visitador, and as as visitadores with the Indians.

The parish priest had thus assumed an ambiguous position in society. He was simultaneously a member of the Catholic Church, and thus part of the Spanish authority structure, and a participant in Andean society. Through him it was possible to bring the authority of the Spanish center into the indigenous periphery. At the same time the priest's position seemed precarious. He depended for his authority on status conferred by the Catholic Church hierarchy, which could take it away. At the same time, however, his status was affirmed in indigenous communities, where priests acted as paternal figures.

The parish priest's authority in these communities in turn, ensured him a degree of power in the Spanish Catholic hierarchy, because he became the only means of enforcing ideological orthodoxy. Members of the Catholic hierarchy could not access indigenous communities. The priests' ability to enforce orthodoxy was limited by practical necessity, however, as he was dependent on indigenous people for financial support⁶⁴ and by his religious beliefs and their influence on his perception of his role and that of Catholicism among indigenous people.

⁶⁴ See for example, Garci Diez de San Miguel, *Visita Hecha a La Provincia de Chucuito por Garci Diez De San Miguel en el Año 1567* Tomo I. (Lima: Ediciones de la Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1964) 15-64 and as evidence that support increased rather than decreasing, Luis J. Ramos Gómez, comp. *Las Noticias secretas de América de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa (1735-1745)* Tomo II. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1985) 189.

Priests' efforts to enforce the Spanish Catholic ideal of order on indigenous communities depended on their personal proclivities, and upon the extent to which they sought to protect their status in their communities while avoiding the violation of their own religious precepts. Orthodoxy could not be enforced uniformly in all indigenous communities because of these differences among priests. While Arriaga asserted that Visitadores were not to enter communities without the aid of the priest he also noted that priests could not act alone "sin visitador, no an sido bastante para juntar la gente a sermón, undía, quando más muchos, que son menester para enenallos despacio, y menos hazelles confesar tan de propósito, como la necesidad lo pide esta primera vez."⁶⁵ [without the visitador, the priests themselves have not been enough to summon the people for sermons for one day, much less for many, as it is needed to teach them properly, and they have been also unable to make them confess as thoroughly as it is necessary this first time.]The priest and the Visitador were to play complementary roles "lo que es codfesalles es solo de los Padres, y a los Indios se les dá a entender la diferencia, que ay de la confesión al examen que les hecho antes el Visitador, y no se a experimentado ni rebeldía, ni dificultad, ni doblez en confessarse. Antes algunas cosas que avían encubierto en el examen al Visitador tocantes a las Huacas; las descubren en las confesiones."⁶⁶ [confession itself is only for the priests and the Indians are given to understand the difference that there is between the confession and the examination previously done by the visitador and they are not to experience rebellion nor difficulty, nor duplicity in confessing themselves.

⁶⁵ Arriaga, *Extirpación de idolatrias*, 121.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

On the contrary, some things that have been covered in the examination to the visitador about the huacas; they are discovered in the confessions.]

Priests did not become members of indigenous communities, but they played key roles in them. They provided religious services that came to seem increasingly crucial to both the Spanish church and state, and to indigenous communities. The importance of these services stemmed from their role in both divine and terrestrial orders. Indigenous people's participation in sacraments, as we have seen in the Taki Onqoy movement and shall see in our analysis of confession, signified their acknowledgement of the validity and power of a Spanish world. They also signified their participation in this world. Indigenous people gradually came to believe in the efficacy of Spanish rites for their lives. The Spanish Catholic Saints and God could protect their crops or punish their sins. Priests became the intermediaries for this pantheon and in doing so served a key role for the Spanish state. Indigenous people in turn gained intermediaries whose power stemmed from the Spanish republic. Priests could potentially have greater influence as spokesmen for indigenous communities than could caciques, whose power and legitimacy were limited by their origins in the Republic of Indians. Because of their unique position as intermediaries between God and indigenous people, and between the Spanish state and indigenous people, priests enjoyed power in both the Spanish and the Indian republics.

Caciques, who in the conquest era had been the sole intermediaries between indigenous communities and Spanish religious and civil authorities, appeared in Arriaga's text to play a role complementing that of the priest and analogous to it in some ways. Just as priests were fundamentally part of their communities of origin in

the Spanish Catholic world, and more specifically the Church, caciques were part of their indigenous communities of origin. Both priests and caciques, however, came to play roles that removed them from those communities of origin, while still enabling them to perform key services for those communities. Both acted in some measure to ensure a kind of order. Like priests, caciques were ultimately loyal to their communities of origin, in part perhaps because they were not fully accepted into their adoptive Spanish communities any more than priests were fully accepted into indigenous communities. Caciques' role was also double. On the one hand, they helped facilitate indigenous communities' access to religious services provided by the Spanish Catholic Church. On the other hand, they protected "traditional" Andean religious practices by controlling relations between outsiders, including priests, and their respective communities. Even if they spoke Quechua or Aymara priests could not access whole communities without caciques' assistance. This is evident in Arriaga's advice to the Visitadors: "Prevéngasse con tiempo al Cura, y Caciques del pueblo donde an de yr, de el día que a de llegar, para que esté toda la gente junta, para recibir al Visitador como se dixo arriba; y en redibiéndoles el meido, y diziéndoles el intento de la Visita, que no es a castigalles sino a ensenalles Aquí les dirá cómo todos los días se an de juntar muy de mañana a sermón y a la tarde a puesta del Sol, que se tocará la campana al catecismo, y que no falta nadie, por que se an de llamar por padrón."⁶⁷ [warn well in advance the priest and the caciques of the town where you are to go of the day that you will arrive so that they can unite all the people to receive the visitador as has been said above; and after appeasing their fears and telling them

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 124-125.

the intent of the visita, that it is not to punish them, but to teach them, the priest will direct them to come and unite every day for a sermon very early in the morning and when the sun sets in the afternoon, the bells will be rung for the catechism and that no one be missing, they are going to use the parish lists.] Indeed, the extirpation of idolatries, and virtually every subsequent effort to transform indigenous communities, has necessarily operated through a system of linked intermediaries.

The role of this hierarchically ordered group of intermediaries and their relationship to religion generally and confession specifically becomes more evident as Arriaga advances his prescriptions for the extirpation of idolatries. “El intento que se pretende, de que los Indios descubran, y den sus Huacas, Malquis, y Conopas, y las demás cosas semejantes, de que queden desengañados de sus errores, instruídos en los misterios de nuestra Fé, y absueltos de los pecados en que an estado toda la vida, por medio de la confesión, . . . es lo principal.”⁶⁸ [the said purposes, that the Indians reveal and give their Huacas, Malquis, and conopas, and the rest of the similar things, that they be liberated from their sins, and instructed about the mysteries of our Faith, and absolved of their sins in that they have been in all their lives, through the means of confession, are the principal goals.] The purpose was thus to discover evidence of idolatry, to destroy the objects of worship (the huacas), to teach catechism to indigenous people, to forgive their sins, and to impose penances. These purposes were woven together with the Catholic rite of confession. Central to the Andean ideal of confession was the precept that failure to confess all sins was itself a sin. There were elaborate means of preventing people from slacking in their obligation to confess.

Acosta writes “Tienen por opinión que es pecado notable, encubrir algún pecado en la confesión, y los ichuris o confesores averiguan o por suertes o mirando la asadura de algún animal, si les encubren algún pecado, y castíganlo con darle en las espaldas cantidad de golpes con una piedra hasta que lo dice todo, y le dan la penitencia, y hacen el sacrificio.”⁶⁹ [they have in their opinion that it is a notable sin, to cover some sin in confession, and the ichuris, or confessors, find out ascertain through tricks or by looking at the intestines of some animal, and if they discover a sin that has been covered, they punish him by giving a number of hits on the back with a rock until it is said enough, and then he is given penance and he makes a sacrifice.] Whether consciously or not, the Spanish extirpators seemed able to benefit from this stricture by incorporating confession as a central element of their efforts to uncover idolatries.

The Visitador charged with invading closed communities was meant to use a combination of cunning, persuasion, bribery, and threats to obtain testimony about local practices of “idolatry” from community informants. Among those to be called on as informers were the elders of the community, whose importance in influencing the norms of the communities was thus implicitly recognized by the Spanish Catholic officials. “Algún Indio viejo, que parezca de buena capacidad, y teniéndole en parte, que no le hable persona ninguna sino solo el Visitador, y los Padres, le procurán regalar, y acariciar, y le dirán, cómo no vienen a castigar a él, ni a los Indios, sino a hacelles buenos Christianos.”⁷⁰ [an old Indian who appears of good mental capacity, having him in such a place so he is not allowed to speak with anyone else, but only the

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 122-123.

⁶⁹ José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las indias*, (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1940) 259.

visitador and the priests, will procure gifts and coas him, and tell him how they have not come to punish him or the Indians, but to make them good Christians.] If initial persuasion did not suffice, Arriaga advocated plying the elder informant with food and drink day after day and “exhortalle con más instancia, y si dixere, que no sabe, se le dirá, que el Demonio le endurece el corazón, para que no confiese su pecado, y vaya al Cielo, etc.”⁷¹ [exhort him with greater insistence, and if he says he doesn’t know he will be warned that the devil has hardened his heart, for not to confess his sin, and go to heave, etc.] By suggesting that the elder sinned by refusing to reveal the whereabouts of the community huaca and hechizero, the visitador effectively placed him in the position of potentially deciding the fate of his community. It was a no-win situation for the elder. If he revealed the whereabouts of the huaca he betrayed his community, but if he refused (thus sinning) he risked incurring the wrath of God, who might punish the community by sending plague and pestilence.

The cacique was to be questioned next by the Visitador, who was to ask him “en buena conversación, y amistad otras antigüedades, como adónde dezían sus viejos, que ivan las almas antes, que los Españoles les diessen noticia del Cielo y del Infierno. Y es cosa certíssima, que el Cacique sabe todas las Huacas, y sus fábulas, y antigüedades. A bueltos de esto se les a de preguntar de las Huacas de otros pueblos comarcanos, para llevar alguna noticia dellas, y de sus sacerdotes, y ministros, lo qual importa mucha.”⁷² [in good conversation and firendship about other old practices like where did his elders say souls go before the Spanish had told them of heaven and hell

⁷⁰ Arriaga, *Extirpación de idolatria*, 133.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 134-35.

and it is certain that the cacique knows all the huacas and their myths and antiquities. After this is done they are asked about the huacas of the other nearby towns, for to carry notice of them and of their priests and ministers, that is very important.] Arriaga thus knew that the caciques were aware of the “idolatry” practiced in their communities and sought to protect it. There was an implicit threat that dissimulation would lead to condemnation. The visitador implied to both cacique and elder that while God might have forgiven ancestor worship before the Spanish arrived because the people were ignorant, they had now been exposed to the “truth” of Christianity and their truculence would be punished.

Caciques were placed in the position not only of informing the Visitador of the Huacas’ location and identifying the *hechizeros* charged with their care, but also with guiding him to the homes of these caretakers and acting as interpreters. These intermediaries were thus forced in this situation to betray their communities. It seems possible that they retained some element of authority despite this betrayal because their communities had accepted elements of Catholicism. Caciques would thus appear to be acting in the interests of the community, though it must have been an extraordinarily awful position. The key intermediaries, caciques and *hechizeros*, who were the fulcrum of relations between indigenous communities, their ancestors, and the outside world were reduced if not to powerlessness, then at least to extraordinary weakness by the Spanish. Yet without the assistance of these indigenous intermediaries and the Catholic parish priests, the extirpation would not have been possible. Paradoxically it seems that the power of caciques was enhanced by their

association with the new religious power even as they were forced to betray their Andean ancestors.

After the Visitador had interrogated the caciques and hechizeros and confiscated the huacas, he demanded that all the indigenous residents of the communities be called to town for sermons, catechism, and confession.⁷³ The caciques, parish priests, Camachicos of the Ayllos, Alcaldes and Fiscales were charged with responsibility for ensuring that everyone came to the plaza for mass, processions, and examination. After Mass the Visitador

se pondrá . . . en la Iglesia con su messa delante, y en ella una cruz, o un Christo crucificado; tendrá un libro para este propósito blanco, destinto del otro donde escribió, lo que fué averiguando de Idolatría, y si el mismo, en diversa parte de él, y poniendo este título. Acusaciones de los Indios del pueblo de tal parte, tal día, mes, y Año; . . . quedado fuera de la Iglesia, para ser examinados, los de algún Aylo, y estando el Indio en pie, porque no entienda, que es confesión, y haga distinción de ella, a la deposición judicial.⁷⁴

Will seat himself at a table in the church, with a cross on it, or a crucified Christ. Have a white book for this purpose, different from the one where the evidence of the idolatry is written, or if in the same one, then in a different part of it, putting this title: "Accusations of the pueblo of this part, this day, month and year." . . . the people to be examined from the particular aylo stand outside the church. Have the Indian stand so that he is not confused, thinking that this is confession, and he makes the distinction between it [confession] and the judicial deposition.

Although Arriaga sought to separate the religious from the civil it seems evident that the two were inextricably bound. With the crucifix of Christ on his desk the Visitador asked a series of questions, claiming that their testimony would constitute a judicial rather than religious confession. Even young boys were

⁷³ In fact, the whole procedure of the extirpation of idolatries itself appeared as a religious rite very much like that of Ytu, in which confessors forced people to organize en masse to reveal their sins in public and this confession followed with penance, fasting, and processions.

questioned. “sólo preguntalles, si an mochado Huacas, confessado, y ayunado al uso de su gentilidad, que estas tres cosas son las primeras que les enseñan sus Padres.”⁷⁵

[only question them if they have worshipped/adored huacas, confessed, and fasted according to their gentile practices and that of these three things, the first should be told to the priests.]

The caciques, principales, and Hechizeros who had been forced to play the central role in revealing the huacas and forms of worship were now called to service in questioning community members. “señalando a los Hechizeros con una cruz, a la margen, y para ser mejor conocidos el cacique, o principal del Ayllu, que asiste, hasta que acaba de examinar su Ayllu, lo advierte quando para examinarse. Y quando alguno de los que van llamandose por el padrón estuviere absente escribirá su nombre . . .”⁷⁶ [placing a cross in the margin next to the names of the hechizeros, so they can be better known, the cacique or principal of the ayllu, who attends until the examination of his ayllu is finished, and advises the people of the examination and when they will be called by the parish census if anyone is absent mark his name.] The priest was to be kept apart from this procedure, being introduced only at the point of true confession when God would forgive the people’s sins. The procedure leading up to this point is worth quoting at length because it reveals the centrality of confession and the manner in which the status and power of the parish priest as representative of God and the Catholic Church was established.

. . . a este tiempo todos los que están examinados, . . . , se hincarán de rodillas quitándose los hombres las mantas, y las mugeres las llicllas, y

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 149.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 149.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 150.

quedándose en cuerpo, fuera de la puerta de la Iglesia en dos, o tres órdenes, y poniéndose el Visitador a la puerta de la Iglesia con sobrepelliz, y estola dos o tres varas en la mano, les dirá en pocas, y graves palabras. Cómo hasta ahora han sido hijos del demonio, y estado en pecado; y que es necesario, que se conviertan de corazón a Dios nuestro Señor, haráles hazer algunos actos de detestación de sus errores, y protestación de nuestra Fé; y que juren de nunca dexalla, haziendo la cruz con la mano derecha levantada, porque se mueven los Indios mucho con estas ceremonias exteriores; y es muy ordinario dezir, quando al cabo de algún tiempo después de la visita se confiessen; quando les preguntan, si han adorado otra vez Huacas. Después, que lo juré nunca más e adorado Huacas, ni mingado Hechizeros, Y etc. Después les dirá que assí como ellos suelen castigar a los hijos quando son traviessos, y no son obedientes; que assí nuestra Madre la Iglesia tiene mandado, que les castiguen pero con piedad, y que les acoten con aquellas varas, para absolvelles de la excomunió, y que de esta manera lo haze con los Reyes, y con los Príncipes, y les suplicará de suerte q'ellos hagan buen concepto de lo que es excomunió. Y assí les absolverá, o conforme la fórmula del Manual Romano, o la que está en el Directorio Inquisitorum, que pondremos al fin, que es más solemne. Y todo es menester, para que cobren estima de las ceremonias, y censuras Ecclesiásticas. Después que hayan entrado en la Iglesia les dirá con aquello que an hecho, no es el sacramento de la Confesión, y que assí, aun no les a perdonado Dios sus pecados, que es menester que se confiessen con los Padres, y no con él que es Iuez.⁷⁷

After all have been examined. . . they will have to kneel down, removing their cloaks and the women their llicllas, and in two or three rows. The Vistidar standing outside the door of the Church with his surplice and stole and two or three sticks in his hand, he should tell them in few and solemn words how until now they have been children of the devil and had been in a state of sin; and that it is necessary that they convert their hearts to God Our Father, and make them to make some assertions of their hatred of their errors and a profession of our Faith; and then swear never to leave it, making the cross with the right hand raised, because the Indians are greatly moved by these exterior ceremonies and its very usual for them to say when at the end of the time of the visit they have confessed when they are questioned if they have adored again the huacas "after I sower never again, I adored the haucas o worked with the hechizeros, etc" After tell them how it is just like when they punish their children when they are naughty and are not obedient; in the same way the Mother Church has the mandate to punish them but with piety, and the visitador will lash them with the sticks, to absolve them of excommunication, telling them how he does the same to kings and princes, and will ask them if they understand

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 150-151.

well the concept of what is excommunication and then absolve them either according to the formula of the Roman manual, or with is written in the Inquisition directory that we will decide on later according to which is more solemn. And all that is needed then is to cover the ceremonies and the Ecclesiastical censures. After they have entered the Church he will tell them that what they have done is not the sacrament of Confession, and that for this reason God still has not pardoned their sins, that it is necessary that they confess with the Priests, and not with him (the visitador) because he is a judge.

After the examination the Hechizeros and principales of the ayllos were to bring the huacas to the Visitador so they could be burned in the central plaza.⁷⁸

The extirpation of idolatries thus re-articulated an existing system of hierarchically ordered intermediaries in a Catholic framework. By establishing Catholicism as a necessary foundation of moral order, the Spanish placed themselves and their designated authorities in the position of guardians of community well-being. By requiring that the caciques and hechizeros participate actively in this procedure, the visitadores – perhaps unintentionally – helped to reinforce these indigenous authorities' power by linking it to Catholicism. At the same time the Catholic priest, as the primary mediator between indigenous communities, God, and the Spanish Church and state hierarchy, gained status and power within both the indigenous communities and the Spanish hierarchy. The Andean and Christian ideals of sin and confession were central to the foundation of this reformed social order. The Catholic priest, the cacique, and the hechizero were the guarantors of communal well-being because they could ensure moral order, and in the case of priest and hechizero attain forgiveness for individuals and the community. Establishing Catholicism with these

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 152.

officials as guardians of the community had unintended consequences which become evident through an examination of the Túpac Amaru rebellion.

Tupac Amaru:

Manuel Marzal has argued that as a result of the extirpation of idolatries, Peru's Indian peoples finally became Catholic. In fact, by the eighteenth century Andean people did identify themselves as Catholics and the practices of this religion had become central to the socio-cultural norms and social structure of indigenous communities. As one observer noted

el Catolicismo, reconciliado en estos neófitos, luce hoy más bien que antes, según se deja ver por las demostraciones muy cristianas que tributan; pues es muy de admirar, que habiendo sido todos unos ateístas declarados, unos incipientes contumaces; en sus dichos y hechos sin cotejo, se hayan demostrado al presente muy proclives al culto divino, cuidándose por sí mismos a ser los primeros en las celebridades y funciones, no solamente de los titulares, sino aún de los que son por devoción; las festejan con aquella grandeza, según exige el día imitan a Abel en sus ofrendas; hacen sus novenas, y otras fiestascumplir las penitencias satisfactorias. . . ⁷⁹

The Catholicism reconciled in these neophytes, shines brighter today than before as it can be seen through the very Christian demonstrations they offer; because it is very admirable, that having been all of them open atheists, some incipient, others declared, in their words and deeds without comparison, now they have demonstrated their great proclivity for the divine cult, they themselves being the most devoted to celebrations and functions, not only the formal ones, but those of personal devotional nature. They celebrate with pomp and ceremony, and according to the imitation of Abel in his offerings; they make their novenas and other fiestas . . . they complete complete satisfactory penances.

Indigenous officials charged with performing these rituals, or with persuading Catholic clergy to perform them for the community, gained power and legitimacy

⁷⁹ Francisco A. Loayas, ed. 1780 *Estado del Peru, Tomo V* "Código estrito en 1780 y que contiene datos importantes sobre la Revolución de José Gabriel Túpac Amaru por Rahpael Jose Sahuaraura Titu Atauchi" (Lima: 1944) 8.

within their communities. Catholicism thus contributed to internal social organization and to establishing links between communities and outsiders. It would appear that by accepting Catholicism Andean people had capitulated to Spanish authority and forms of organization. In fact, the reality was more complex. Andean people embraced Catholicism, but in doing so they transformed it, making it conform with their established religious beliefs and practices and forms of social organization. The Catholicism of Peru was decidedly Andean.

Spanish officials who sought to impose Catholicism on Andean people in the preceding centuries believed that by doing so they would establish the foundation for their authority. In fact, Catholicism also provided a justification for rebelling against that structure of authority. By identifying themselves as Catholics, Andean people gained a measure of equality with and potentially even moral superiority over Spanish people. This identity provided both practical and psychological benefits, which become evident through an analysis of the role Catholicism played in the Túpac Amaru rebellion of 1780-1782. By wearing the mantle of Catholicism, rebels could claim to be acting in the interests of the Spanish God and King. In doing so, they justified their movement and overcame the fears of Andean people who might capitulate, as they had in the Taki Onqoy movement, to Spanish authorities because they feared the powerful Spanish God. However, Catholicism also established certain inherent limits to rebellion. Rebels would have to justify their opposition to Church officials, specifically priests, who as we have seen enjoyed tremendous prestige and power within indigenous communities. Indeed, the central role that priests played as

both supporters and opponents of the Túpac Amaru rebellion reveals the complexity of Andean people's Catholic identity.

The extent to which Catholicism had become embedded in Andean structures of power is evident in the legal certification of his position sought by the cacique of Oropesa. The legal recognition of the cacique was done through the Spanish civil authority, with reception by the indigenous community, and in the presence of the protector of "Indians" and the priest, illustrating the manner in which civil and religious authority were linked to control over indigenous communities. The cacique justifies his position through reference to his ancestry, his personal qualities, his upholding of Spanish law, and his serving as moral guardian of Catholicism in his community.

. . . en inteligencia de su muy calificado derecho y de la idoneidad que le acompaña se halla exerciendo todo lo que es de el cargo y cuidado de los Casiques y Gobernadores assi en la cobrança de tributos como en lo demas respectivo al entero de mitas y dirección de los indios en el referido su pueblo tan a satisfacción de el actual Correxidor como se deve colegir de el informe que a su pedimento le hace a la superior comrehencion de Vuexcelencia. . .⁸⁰ Y mando al Segundo, Principales y demas indios de dicho pueblo os obedezcan [y] respetan, y acaten, cumplan y executen vuestros ordenes y disposiciones en todo aquello que no fuere contrario a nuestra Santa Fee Catholica y buenas costumbres y política Christiana, cuidando de que los referidos indios acudan a la Doctrina y a Misa los dias que les corresponde, y evitando el que no tengan ningunos vicios entre si castigando los que huviere en lo que a Voz tocare, y por razon de dicho empleo se os guarden y hagan guardar todas las honras, gracias, mercedes, franquezas, livertades, prerrogativas, exempciones é inmunidades.⁸¹

Recognizing that he is not only older than twenty-five, but also married to a person of equal rank and knowing how important it is that he obtain the said title, because knowing that it is his right and that he is appropriate [for the position], [since]at the present he is exercising all the power and

⁸⁰ *Tupac Amaru y la Iglesia: Antología* (Lima: Edubanco, 1983)110.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112-113.

responsibility of caciques and Gobernadores in regard to the collection of tribute as well as administering the mita and directing the indians in his town very much to the satisfaction of the present corregidor as must be evident in the report that he requested that the corregidor send to your excellency (the viceroy) [in order that the viceroy was informed of everything he needed to make a proper decision about the case the supplicant also provided him with two certified birth certificates, his own and that of his father] and in that of his father it said that he was the legitimate son of Don Juan Inga Pacuar [Pauca] the last cacique of the town holding a legal title in accordance he is soliciting an equivalent title so that he can fulfil his responsibilities with the legitimacy and formalities necessary and since this grants no small benefit to the king, for all his interest in the authorized governance of the Indians and will give greater power to exercise his office with great solemnity. . . . with the power granted by the title

I order the segundo, principales and other Indians of your town to obey and respect and obey and comply and execute your orders and dispositions in all those matters that are not contrary to our holy catholic faith and good customs and the Christian order (politica christiana ciudade de dios) ensuring that the said Indians go to Sunday doctrine (catechism) and Mass on the days they are supposed to, and preventing them from having any vices and punishing existant vices according to your jurisdiction and in accordance to that appointment you will receive all the honors, exemptions, mercedes, franquezas, liberties, prerogatives and immunities.

The cacique's legitimacy had by the eighteenth century thus come to depend on a combination of his claim to nobility and his ability to serve effectively the Spanish Church and State. It also depended, however, on his being accepted by his community as its legitimate representative, authorized to act as intermediary with outsiders and as a link to the community's *huacas*, or ancestors. The cacique's authority thus derived from both Spanish civil and religious authorities and from his indigenous community. To retain his legitimacy the cacique had to find a balance that would enable him to serve the interests of these distinct groups.

Although Andean people identified themselves as Catholics they continued their “Andean religious practices.” Their interpretive framework for analyzing conditions in the world appears to have retained a decidedly Andean character, while being articulated in Catholic idioms. In the era preceding the rebellion, power had fallen into the hands of a kind of triumvirate of priests, caciques, and corregidores, who together and individually were notorious for their abuse of indigenous people, as evidenced by the oft repeated saying “Cura, Curaca y Corregidor todo es peor”.⁸² Yet one of the factors that seems to have contributed to the rebellion was the Spanish state’s efforts to undermine the power of the traditional authorities within Andean communities. Creole priests and indigenous caciques both lost autonomy as a result of the Bourbon reforms, which sought to impose Spanish authorities over these local intermediaries. This effort to undermine an Andean social and religious order may be a factor which contributed to the rebellion.

Jürgen Golte has argued that the rebellion was the direct result of economic abuse by corregidores, who enforced the *reparto de mercancías*, demanding that indigenous people purchase useless goods at inflated prices. The decline in the power of indigenous people’s intermediaries, priests and caciques, eliminated one potential recourse against these impositions. Without intermediaries indigenous people could not protest to the Spanish king the abuses by his local Spanish representatives. Although economic conditions were surely influential in the rebellion, they appear not to have been the sole factors in fomenting it. Alberto Flores Galindo suggested that a

⁸² Boleslao Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru y los orígenes de la independencia de hispanoamérica*. tercera edición (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Editora Latino Americana, 1967) 232.

series of natural disasters compounded the impact of economic injustices. “the epidemic of 1720 in Cusco, that devastated the highlands of Calca and extended to the extreme of Lima”, said to be “one of the worst that has been experienced since the discovery; torrential rains and inundations that destroyed Zaña in 1727; the destructive earthquake of 1746 in Lima – apparently the worst in the recorded seismic history; and climatic upheavals in 1779 and 1780 – intense rains and inundations in Arequipa and Cuzco.”⁸³ From an Andean perspective these conditions combined with their experience of the corrupt Spanish officials to suggest strongly a decay in the moral order.

These conditions of disorder in the human and natural order appeared similar to those which preceded the Taki Onqoy movement some two centuries earlier. Many researchers have suggested that like their predecessors in Taki Onqoy, participants in the Túpac Amaru rebellion interpreted these conditions as evidence that the world would again take a turn so that moral order might be restored.⁸⁴ In contrast to adherents of the Taki Onqoy movement, however, who looked to a return to traditional Andean forms of worship as both a means of restoring this order and the desired end, Túpac Amaristas sought to establish a “Catholic” order, which would recognize caciques and priests at its foundation. They argued that corrupt Spanish officials were

⁸³ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca: Identidad y utopía en los Andes*, cuarta edición (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994) 121. I have some concerns about these causal links. It seems that citing an epidemic in 1720 to explain a rebellion in 1780 is a bit of a stretch. Nonetheless, it does seem evident from other sources, especially Szeminski that Andean people sensed their society was in a state of moral decay. For an excellent analysis of the Andean perspective on changes in the economic sphere and its relationship to religious order see: Frank Salomon, “Ancestor Cults and Resistance to the State in Arequipa, ca 1748-1754” in Steve Stern, ed. *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World 18th to 20th Centuries*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) 148-165.

⁸⁴ Leon G. Campbell, “Ideology and Factionalism during the Great Rebellion, 1780-1782” in Steve Stern, ed. *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness*, 110-142, 115.

preventing Andean people from becoming full participants in the Catholic faith. They sought to establish an Andean Catholic world with a Spanish King and God and an Inca king serving in Peru. This ideal, which combined elements of Catholicism and Andean religion, was a significant departure from the Taki Onqoists ideal of a return of the huacas. Another contrast was that while adherents of the Taki Onqoy movement were called upon to reject passively Spanish Catholicism, culture, and authority, while worshiping the huacas who would defeat the Spanish and their God, Túpac Amaristas actively participated in the movement. They were called upon to fight corrupt Spanish officials and to create the foundations for a new moral order. Andean people had become the protagonists in the fight to establish moral order. They no longer relied on the ancestors to act on their behalf.

As “Catholics” Túpac Amaristas were liberated, at least temporarily, from the fears that plagued their predecessors in the Taki Onqoy movement. They did not have to be concerned about potential defeat by the Spanish God and King, since they were fighting on their behalf. Indeed, the choice of rebelling on the King’s birthday, and Túpac Amaru’s assertions that the Spanish King would sanction their actions, reveal the degree to which he relied upon Catholic identity to support the rebellion.⁸⁵ Indeed, therein lay one of the problems that would ultimately undermine the rebellion. While Túpac Amaru’s rebellion utilized Catholic terms, it evoked unanticipated responses from Andean people, which demonstrated their own religious ideals rather than those of the creole priests with whom Túpac Amaru sought to ally. The “brutality”

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

exhibited by Andean people who sought to eliminate the Spanish served ultimately to undermine the potential for alliance with creoles.

Jan Szeminski has provided an excellent analysis of the manner in which Andean Catholicism justified Túpac Amari's killing of Spaniards during the rebellion. He suggests that Andean people believed they would pass through three epochs in their "ascent" from a pagan to a Christian community. The Spanish conquest, which introduced indigenous people to Christianity, constituted the first epoch or phase of this transformation. Túpac Amari believed that after the Spaniards were established in the new world, their faith in Christianity dissipated. They became corrupt and abused the Andean people, who by virtue of their embrace of Catholicism gained moral superiority over the Spanish. This era of Spanish corruption constituted the second epoch, during which indigenous people were prevented from fully realizing their Catholic Faith by Spaniards who barred them from positions of authority in the Church and state. Andean people concluded that their only recourse was to kill the degenerate Spaniards who hindered their Christian development. Szeminski argues that Andean people were confident that God and the Spanish king would approve their actions because natives were the chosen people who would establish the true Christian community, presided over by an Inca ruler, after the Spaniards had been annihilated. The third epoch of the Andeans' religious transformation would occur when this Christian community had been established. Szeminski argues that ritualized killing of Spaniards in the Tupac Amaru rebellion reflected adherents' belief that the Spanish had lost their humanity during the second

epoch by defying the wishes of God and King and brutalizing the Andean people.

Accordingly, the Spanish had to be killed not as humans, but as beasts.⁸⁶

Adopting Catholicism, however, required that Andean rebels claim superior status over the Church's appointed agents, the most powerful non-Andean representatives in indigenous communities: priests. While Szeminski suggests that "all" Spaniards had to be killed, however, priests appeared as something of an exception: some were killed but many were spared.⁸⁷ The very foundation of the rebellion in Catholicism ensured that priests, by virtue of their status as legitimate intermediaries between people and God and between indigenous communities and the Spanish King, occupied an ambiguous position and could not be dispensed with easily. The priest problem is evident in Túpac Amaru's response to his followers, who demanded that corrupt priests be executed with all other Spaniards. What, he asked, would the Andean people do at the hour of their deaths, without the intervention of the priest who offered Last Rites and Confession?⁸⁸ It is also evident in the ambiguous role priests played in the rebellion. Lillian Estelle Fisher argues that the Túpac Amaru rebellion expanded most rapidly in regions where both the caciques and priests sympathized with the rebellion, and that in areas where this confluence of support did not exist, people did not rebel.⁸⁹ In fact, during the first phase of the rebellion Túpac Amaru was allied with the Bishop of Cuzco, Peralta y Moscoso. Túpac Amaru even

⁸⁶ Jan Szeminski, "Why Kill the Spaniard?" *New Perspectives on Andean Insurrectionary Ideology in the 18th Century*, in Steve Stern, ed. *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness*, 166-192.

⁸⁷ Campbell, "Bishop of Cuzco" 260. See also Loayza, *Estado del Peru Series 1, 5*, *Con estos officios sacerdotales muchos Rebeldes se venían a nuestra tropa, y por esto no mataban a los sacerdotes, aunque los tenían consigo, haciéndoles decir misas en los cerros y campos*, 56.

⁸⁸ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, 123.

called for the creation of a kingdom of Peru in which he would serve as king with the Bishop of Cuzco at his side, so that together they would preside over the new Catholic order.⁹⁰

While Bishop Peralta was the most prominent Church official active in the rebellion, he was far from alone. Priests played an important role in the movement, providing everything from moral support from their pulpits, by exhorting parishioners to support the rebellion, to financial support for the rebels. Boleslao Lewin observed that despite their participation in the movement, every priest connected with it was absolved from responsibility for his actions.⁹¹ I believe this absolution reflected not so much priests' innocence as the Spanish state's recognition that retaining control over indigenous people required that the appearance of unity in the civil and religious realms be maintained. Indeed, the Bishop of Cuzco's excommunication of Tinta's Spanish corregidor, Antonio de Arriaga, had contributed to fomenting the Túpac Amaru rebellion. By excommunicating this official, Peralta effectively made him an enemy of the Church, thereby enhancing his vulnerability to indigenous people's anger.⁹² Spanish civil authorities' recognition of the necessity of allying with Church officials is also evident in their reliance on Bishop Peralta's prestige among indigenous people, even as these officials called privately for his removal from office.⁹³ This same reliance was apparent in the proceedings against doctor Carlos Rodríguez de Ávila, cura of Yanaoca and former teacher of Túpac Amaru. The fiscal

⁸⁹ Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy, *La gran rebelión en los Andes: de Túpac Amaru a Túpac Catari* (Lima: Petroperu, 1995) 64.

⁹⁰ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca* 122.

⁹¹ Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru*, 241.

⁹² Campbell, Bishop of Cuzco, 256-257.

charged with the prosecution wrote a letter on October 22, 1781 stating that “Con todo será bien se le corrija y reprenda seriamente sobre ambos excesos. Por ahora no es posible poner en ejecución este propósito, pues importa mucho su residencia en el pueblo para la pacificación de aquella gente rebelde y recientemente reducida a la obediencia, y que no se puede suplir su falta con la presencia de otro sacerdote extraño, que será menos, o acaso nada obedecido de los indios.”⁹⁴ [in spite of everything it will be good to correct and reprimand him seriously for both excesses. But now it is not possible to execute this purpose because his residence in that town is important for the pacification of those rebellious people so recently reduced to obedience and his absence could not be made up by a new priest who would be obeyed less or not at all by the Indians.]

In fact, priests were credited by many observers with primary responsibility for ending the Túpac Amaru rebellion. The visitador José Antonio de Areche observed that “los eclesiásticos y curas han sido indubitablemente una de las más poderosas fuerzas para que vayamos caminando ya a su extinción. . .”⁹⁵ [the ecclesiastical authorities and priests have been undoubtedly one of the most powerful forces enabling us to advance towards their [the rebels’] extinction.] When Bishop Peralta y Moscoso of Cuzco was threatened by Spanish officials he was transformed from an ally of the Túpac Amaru rebellion, into an enemy. Moscoso held religious services aimed at calming the populace. He dispatched pastorals to the *doctrinas* of Cuzco, persuading priests to remain in control of the indigenous people, and he raised money

⁹³ Ibid., p. 263.

⁹⁴ Lewin, *La rebelión de Túpac Amaru*, 235.

to defend the city of Cuzco. Finally, he converted his palace into a barracks to house soldiers and even formed clergy in the city into militia units under the command of the dean of the cathedral chapter, Manuel de Mendieta.⁹⁶

In fact, the failure of the Túpac Amaru rebellion seems traceable in part to the rebels' inability to dispense with priests' claims to moral authority.⁹⁷ This is evident for example in Túpac Amaru's response to Bishop Moscoso's excommunication decree, posted on the church doors. He is said to have torn it from the door

gritando a los yndios que ellos no podian ser excomulgados, pero como el Cura y los Ayudantes predicavan que verdaderamente estaban excomulgados y que se les havian de seguir mil trabajos, se le desertaban a cada instante tropas de yndios de lo que noticioso Jose Gabriel vino y dixo que del anexo de la doctrina de Checa havia quitado el cedulon, y que no balia para nada, pero no obstante esto se le apartaron todos los mestizos de la provincia de Chumbibilcas que heran mas de setecientos, diciendo que iban al Cuzco a confesarse y a hacerse absolver; de lo que enfurecido Jose Gabriel . . .⁹⁸

yelling at the indians that they could not be excommunicated, since the priest and the helpers predicated that they were truly excommunicated and that they were going to endure a thousand problems, troops of Indians deserted him [Túpac Amaru] all the time and after knowing this, José Gabriel came and said that he had taken the excommunication decree from the annex of the doctrine and that it was worthless, despite this all the mestizos from the province of chumbibilcas, who were more than 700 abandoned him, saying that they were going to Cuzco to confess and be absolved. . . .

The power of the decree is evident in the defections by indigenous troops which are said to have followed its public display.

⁹⁵ Mons. Severo Aparicio, O. de M., "la actitud del clero frente a la rebelion de túpac amaru" en *Actas del Coloquio Internacional: "Tupac Amaru y su tiempo"* (Lima: 1980) 73.

⁹⁶ Campbell, 260

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁹⁸ CDIP p. 225

Túpac Amaristas, and civil, and religious officials recognized the central role Catholicism had come to play among indigenous people. Civil and religious officials whose authority derived from their participation in Catholic rituals exercised tremendous power among indigenous people. Indeed, priests and caciques were the primary sources of authority in indigenous communities. In the Túpac Amaru rebellion both sides sought to establish themselves as morally superior by virtue of their Catholicism. Rebels and government officials justified their actions by claiming to serve the interests of God and King, while asserting that their opponents were violating those interests. It appears that ultimately Catholic clergy played a decisive role in undermining the rebellion. They exercised a moral authority which apparently exceeded that of officials claiming to act in the name of the Spanish God and King, and the Inca ancestors. Not only did Catholic clergy's power exceed that of Andean authorities, but it also exceeded that of Spanish civil authorities, a fact clearly evident in Bishop Moscoso's effective manipulation of those authorities.

Nineteenth Century

Andean influence and civil and religious authorities' recognition of the centrality of Catholicism as the foundation of social organization ensured that in the post-independence era, when other Latin American countries were dominated by liberal governments seeking to eliminate Church power, Peru was sending representatives to the Vatican and fighting to maintain the *patronato real* (the right to name bishops). Peru was, in fact, one of the few South American countries to retain this right, originally granted to the Spanish monarch. After independence Catholicism was declared the official religion of Peru and no other religions were admitted legally

to Peru until 1914, when freedom of worship was tentatively established. The Catholic hierarchy's recognition of the special role the Church played in maintaining the unity of Peru is evident in an "exposicion del capítulo metropolitano de Lima a la convencion nacional sobre la exclusion de los falsos cultos . . ." presented in 1855:

¿Cuál es pues, sino la unidad de creencia, el vínculo maravilloso que une, tan estrecha y dulcemente entre sí y en igualdad de derechos, á los peruanos? ¿Quién sino la fé Católica realiza el milagro continuo de mantener unidos en un solo cuerpo de nacion a pueblos y á razas tan diferentes? ¿Quién sino ella, salvando las distancias, allanando los Andes y las numerosas montañas de que está herizado el territorio, é impregnando de caridad los corazones, que de otra manera estarian dominados de invencible antipatías, establece y conserva el comercio de afectos, que hace que nos podamos llamar con verdad compatriotas y produce la comunidad de la vida social, esto es, la comunidad de pensamientos, deseos, é intereses: la capacidad de ser gobernados por una ley comun y por una autoridad Suprema?⁹⁹

What if not the unity of belief is the marvelous link that unites so tightly and sweetly and with equal rights the Peruvians? What if not the Catholic Faith realizes the miracle to maintain united in a single national body such distinct peoples and races? Who but her crosses such great distances, flattening the Andes and the many mountains that spike the territory, and filling with charity hearts that otherwise would be dominated by invincible antipathies, establishes and perserves the exchange of affection that allows us to truly call ourselves compatriots and produces the sense of community in social life, that is the community of thoughts, wills, and interests: the capacity to be governed by one law common to all and by a supreme authority.

The source, whose purpose it was to maintain Catholicism as the official religion of Peru, was clearly not unbiased. Indeed, his purpose was to demonstrate why the exclusion of "false cults" would benefit not only the Catholic Church, but the entire Peruvian society. Nonetheless, a surprisingly similar perspective was presented

⁹⁹ *Exposicion del Capítulo metropolitano de Lima a la convencion nacional, sobre la exclusion de los falso cultos y sobre los derechos de libertad y de propiedad de la Iglesia* (Lima: Impreso por

by one of Peru's civil authorities in the Congressional debates in 1849 about the future of the Spanish Mission College, Colegio de Ocopa, in Peru. Señor Valle, representative of the province of Jaujau, observed that:

. . . el proyecto que en este instante nos ocupa, es de utilidad general para la República, bien sea por el lado de la religión, bien por el aspecto social, como paso a demostrar.

Por de la religion: porque es la única casa que presenta ministros para anunciar la fe entre los infieles, y para conservar las varias reducciones hechas por ellos mismos de antemano, que si se abandonasen perderian toda idea de religion, volviendo á sus antiguas supersticiones. . . y *destruyendo toda relación con nosotros.*

Por el de la sociedad: porque estando aneja la civilización á la propagación del Evangelio, conforme se vayan catequizando algunas de las muchas tribus salvajes que vagan en esa inmensa region irán también adquiriendo los primeros elementos de la cultura, se relacionarán con nosotros, y formarán parte de nuestra asociacion política. ¿Qué le importa al Perú extender sus confines hasta los límites del Brasil, cuando la vasta estension que hay desde el pie de la cordillera oriental de los Andes, está á merced de tribus salvajes, que no permiten surcar con libertad los caudalosos rios que la riegan, y que debieran ser los canales, para con los preciosos frutos de estos países aumentar nuestra riqueza? Enárbolese la cruz en ellos, y á su sombra entrará la civilización, y con esta la union de tantas tribus con nuestra sociedad, y con esta union mil beneficios.¹⁰⁰

The project that occupies us in this instance is about the general well-being of the Republic, well-being be it on the side of religion, or the social aspect, as I will show.

For religion: because it is the only house/institution that has ministers to announce the faith among the infidels, and to preserve the various reductions already made by the missionaries, so if they are abandoned [the infidels] will lose all idea of religion returning to their ancient superstitions . . . *and destroying all relation with us.* (italics mine)

On the side of society: because being annexed civilization and the propagation of the faith as long as some of the many savage tribes that roam across that immense region are being catechized, they will also acquire the first elements of culture, establish relations with us, and form part of our political association. What difference does it make to Peru to

Francisco Solís, 1855) 5. Archivo de los Jesuitas, Lima Vargas Ugarte Collection, Peru Iglesia 39b, doc. 44.

¹⁰⁰ "Discusiones en el Congreso de 1849 sobre el colegio de Ocopa." En R.M. Taurel, compilador, *Colección de obras selectas contemporaneo del Perú. Tomo II.* (Paris: Libreria de A Mézin, 1853) p. 206. Italics mine. Archivo de los Jesuitas, Lima (0011316, v169).

expand the confines of its limits to Brazil, when the great extension that exists from the foot of the eastern range of the Andes belongs to savage tribes that do not allow the free navigation along its rivers, the very same that should be canals for precious fruits of those lands to augment our wealth? Let the cross reign over them and its shelter will precede civilization, and with it will come the union of so many tribes without society.

Catholic clergy thus maintained their status as the primary force of civilization among the “savages”. If the religious order of society were rejected, then the civil order would naturally follow. In the nineteenth century, then, social order appeared to depend more on religious than on civil foundations.

The reasons for this dependence and the potential for disorder which resulted from it become evident in a brief analysis of events in Puno in 1868 and 1869. In August of 1868 the Archbishop of Lima, José Sebastian de Goyeneche y Barreda, issued a pastoral letter “directed to the clergy and faithful of his diocese, in response to the catastrophe suffered by the towns of the South”.¹⁰¹ Archbishop Sebastian described a horrifying natural disaster in which

. . . ciudades arruinadas, casi instantáneamente, por uno de los mas espantosos terremotos de que haya memoria entre los hombres, y arruinadas, otra vez, por devorador incendio, que ha disputado los escombros al sacudimiento destructor; ciudades invadidas por el mar, que ha lavado con su ola espantable la sangre y el polvo de la primera ruina; campos antes feraces y cubiertos de ricas producciones, convertidos en horrorosos desiertos, en donde no nace una flor, ni sazonar pueden el grano y el fruto, alimento de inmensa muchedumbre; naves sumergidas en las ondas del Océano . . . edificios de propiedad particular y pública reducidos á polvo, sin que se pueda contar ni el número, ni, lo que es mas, la inmensa cifra de personas de toda edad, sexo y condicion, que, hoy no tienen mas techumbre que el firmamento, mas abrigo que un vestido hecho girones, ni mas pan que el de la miseria, ni otra agua que sus abundantes

¹⁰¹ Carta Pastoral que El Ilmo. Y Rmo. Señor Arzobispo de Lima Dirige al clero y fieles de su diócesis, con motivo de la catástrofe sufrida por los pueblos del Sur. (Lima: Imp. De “el Nacional”, 1868) Biblioteca de los Jesuitas – Lima Perú Iglesia 1, Vargas Ugarte doc. 17.

lágrimas ó las fétidas é impotables de rios y de pozos, antes cristalinas, y hoy turbias y mezcladas con extraños materiales; los templos del Señor desplomados ó amenazando ruina; los feraces valles, que tanta riqueza daban el Perú, secos, surcados por grietas, que no abrió la reja del labrador; centenares de hermanos, de compatriotas nuestros, víctimas de esta insólita catástrofe, que han hallado la no buscada sepultura en el propio domicilio, en las calles de las ciudades, en los campos, ó en el seno del mar.¹⁰²

Cities ruined, almost instantly, for one of the most horrendous earthquakes that has been in memory among men, and ruined again by raging fire, that has fought for the spoils with that destructive tremor; that had disputed the remains with the cities invaded by the sea, that has washed with its horrifying wave the blood and dust from the first ruins; lands before fertile, abundant in rich produce, converted into horrible deserts where not one flower is born and where grains and other goods do not grow food for the populace, ships submerged by the waves of the ocean or lanced over sand, as in an improvised hospital where are born a multitude of injuries one moment before healthy and full of life; buildings, private or public, people's homes reduced to dust, beyond count, nor the immense number of people of all ages, sexes and conditions that today have no other roof than the sky; no cover other than rags, nor daily bread other than the one that comes with misery, and no other water than their abundant tears or the fetid unpottable water of rivers and wells, before crystalline, today turbid and mixed with strange materials . . .

The cause of the disaster, in the words of the Archbishop, was

el Señor del cielo y de la tierra . . . Omnipotente como es, nada puede resistir á su querer: su mirada es el relámpago, el trueno su voz, el rayo su palabra. Santo por excelencia, mira con horror toda iniquidad; y, cuando su longanimidad abre paso á su justicia, visita, en un momento, con la vara de su furor las maldades de los hombres, y descarga el azote de su indignacion para castigar los pecados de los hijos de Adán. Siempre que estos abandonan su ley, y no andan por el camino de sus preceptos; siempre que violan sus justicias, y no guardan sus mandamientos, el Señor tiene el indisputable derecho de hacerles sentir su terrible poder. . .¹⁰³

The God of Heaven and of Earth. . . almighty as no one, nothing can resist his will; his look is lightning, thunder his voice, bolts his word. Holy among all, he looks with horror at all iniquity; and when his generosity

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 7-8.

gives way to his justice, he visits, in one moment, with fury, the evil of men, discharging the whip of his indignation to punish the sins of Adam. Always that violate his justices and do not guard his commandments, the Lord has the indisputable right to make them feel his power.

Although it surely was not his intention, the Archbishop's words reflected an Andean ideal of the causes for natural disaster. From his choice of metaphors (God's look is lightening, thunder is his voice, the lightening bolt his word) to his attribution of natural disaster to the sins of humanity, Archbishop Goyeneche evoked Andean imagery and ideals. In Andean cosmology thunder and lightening were gods who would punish people for sin, and natural disasters were divine retribution. Central to the causes of natural disasters in Andean and (at least according to Archbishop Goyeneche) Peruvian Catholic belief were "las disputas de los hombres".¹⁰⁴

Not only did Archbishop Goyeneche's description of God, and his assertions about the causes of the natural disasters that befell Southern Peru conform with Andean ideals, but so too did the ritual he called for in response to the disaster. In his pastoral letter, the Archbishop announced that

... ahora, que hemos pagado el tributo debido á la naturaleza, llorando amargamente nuestra desgracia, y que hemos tratado de pagar el noble tributo debido al Autor de la naturaleza misma, alabando sus misericordias en medio del castigo, y procurando descubrir algo de la magnificencia de sus designios, aun en el horror de las ruinas y en la confusion de los dolores que ellas han causado, vamos á daros algunos cosejos paternales para que nos ayudeis á desarmar la diestra justiciera de Dios, solicitando humildemente su misericordia.¹⁰⁵

And now that we have paid due tribute to Nature, crying bitterly over our disgrace, and that we have tried to pay noble tribute owed to the author of

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

nature itself, begging for his mercy in the midst of his punishment, procuring to discover something of the magnificence of his designs, even in the horror of the ruins and in the confusion of the pains that they have caused, we are going to give you some paternal advice, so you can help us help disarm God's righteous arm, begging him humbly for his mercy.

To supplicate God's mercy, the Archbishop planned a series of rituals to extend over three days in the Cathedral in Lima, which would include a solemn Mass, prayer, and singing. At the end of the three days

A fin de aplacar la Justicia Divina, irritada por nuestros pecados, ordenamos, bajo de santa obediencia, un ayuno riguroso, con abstinencia de carnes, á todos aquellos que hayan cumplido 21 años, y no estén legítimamente impedidos. Señalamos para esta penitencia el viérnes 28 del presente.

Exhortamos, . . . Pastoral, á todos los fieles sujetos á nuestra jurisdiccion, á que purifiquen sus almas en el Santo Tribunal de la Penitencia, y se alimenten con el Pan de los Angeles, en el banquete eucarístico, para que sus ruegos, partiendo de un corazon contrito y humillado, sean aceptos y agradables á Dios Nuestro Señor.¹⁰⁶

With the end of placating Divine Justice, irritated by our sins, we order below the holy obedience, a rigorous fast, with abstinence from meat to all those who are over 21 and have no legitimate impediments, we order this penance on the 28th of the present month.

We exhort, to all the faithful subjects of our jurisdiction that they purify their souls in the Holy Tribunal of Penitence take the Bread of the Angels, in the banquet of Eucharist, so their prayers, coming from a contrite and humble heart, can be pleasant to and accepted by the Lord Our God.

With the exception of the location in Lima and the fact that the rituals were presided over by Catholic clergy, Archbishop Goyeneche's prescriptions appear similar to the Andean ritual of *Ytu* performed during periods of crisis in pre-Hispanic Peru . . . "como cuando sobrevenía algún extraordinario temblor de tierra; en tiempo

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 18-19.

de gran pestilencia; cuando tardaban mucho las lluvias y era grande la necesidad déllas.”¹⁰⁷ This ritual included a period of fasting as well as processions of people specially dressed for the occasion. A notable contrast to the Catholic ritual was, of course, the inclusion of animal sacrifices, dancing, and drinking (though it is possible that these activities were included in the Catholic ritual but not pronounced by the Archbishop). The Catholic Church thus appears in some measure to have replaced the Inca state in its role as guarantor of community well being through provision of rituals necessary to appease the gods. Just as the Incas performed the ceremony of *Ytu* in their center in Cuzco, the Catholics performed theirs in their center in Lima. The same ritual forms are evident and even the assumption of sin as the cause of disasters.

In July of 1868, the month before these natural disasters, the bishop of the recently created diocese of Puno, el Ilustrísimo Juan A. Huerta, called a diocesan synod. The purpose of this synod was to establish a constitution, or set of ecclesiastical laws, for Bishop Huerta’s diocese. According to the Peruvian constitution of 1857, the bishop had to attain governmental permission prior to holding the synod. Bishop Huerta had dutifully written to the proper officials, but when he did not receive a response in what he considered a timely manner, the Bishop proceeded with the synod without the permission of the civil authorities. In fact, he received permission on September 16th, three days after the synod closed.¹⁰⁸ Having been chastised by the civil authorities for his failure to conform to legal mandates, Bishop Huerta responded with an even more flagrant violation of civil law. He

¹⁰⁷ Varón, “Raíces andinas” en Millones, *el retorno de las huacas*, 373-374.

published the “Constituciones del primero sinodo diocesano Punense,” again neglecting to attain permission from the civil government. What was worse was that “el catálogo de pecados reservados al Obispo, con que concluyen sus constituciones, es un sílabus, en el que se consideran como pecados graves muchos actos civiles autorizados por leyes, quedando éstas anatematizadas y condenadas por la declaracion del Reverendo Obispo que se ha obrogado la fácultad de crear pecados graves.”¹⁰⁹ Like their Inca predecessors, then, Peruvian authorities believed there should be an exact confluence between sin and violations of the civil codes.

Bishop Huerta and Felipe Paz-Soldan, the official in Lima who sought to control this truculent ecclesiastical authority, appear to have argued implicitly that the Church authority superseded that of civil authority among the indigenous people in Puno. The two officials differed, however, on their interpretation of the potential impact of the Church’s moral authority in this insistence, since each obviously stressed the interests of his respective institution. Paz-Soldan asserted that:

El Poder Judicial no tiene mas poder que el moral sobre las sentencias ya ejecutoriadas y por ellas, si una parte de la sociedad le tributa respeto y veneracion, otra lo mira con malos ojos. Pero el poder eclesiástico, presumido con su carácter sagrado, obrando sobre las conciencias y amenazando con excomuniones ú ofreciendo perdones, cuenta en su apoyo con la timidez, con la ignorancia y con el fanatismo. Hemos visto en el Perú tumultos capitoreados, fomentados ó provocados por ese poder, y ni uno solo por el Judicial . . .¹¹⁰

The Judicial power has no power other than the moral over the sentences already executed because of them, if one part of the society gives respect and veration to the Judiciary, the other looks at it with evil eyes. But the

¹⁰⁸ “Fundamentos en que se apoya la resolución suprema expedida en 20 del actual sobre el enjuiciamiento del obispo de Puno y su vicario general. (Lima: Imprenta del estado, 1869) Biblioteca Nacional X261.7 p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 25.

ecclesiastical power, invested with sacred character, working over the consciences and threatening with excommunications and offering pardons, counts on the fear, the ignorance, the fanaticism [of the populace]. We have seen in Peru uproars led, fomented, or provoked by this power, and not one by Judicial one.

Indigenous people were seen by both Bishop Huerta and Paz-Soldan as the most susceptible to this power. Huerta strongly implied that in its role as moral guardian, the Church had the only real control over the “semi-savage Indians”:

Si se quiere que la religion civilice, si se desea que el catolicismo ejerza influjo en las masas hasta hoy semi-salvajes de nuestros indios para dulcificar su ferocidad natural, si se intenta con tales fines proporcionar á los pueblos sacerdotes dignos de su santa mision; nada mas racional, nada más conforme á los eternos principios de la justicia que el derecho perfecto y exclusivo que otorgan los cánones á los Obispos para dictar sus leyes sinodales y la obligacion que les impone de reproducir ó ampliar ss mandatos aunualmente segun lo exigieren las circunstancias. Entrabar esta acción, haciéndola depender de la autoridad civil, seria desvirtuar sus resultados, o mejor dicho apostatar de la fe católica, tan cierto es esto, señor Prefecto que los soberanos españoles, los más solícitos quizá, los mas exigentes en material de regalías, léjos de enervar la accion de los obsispos en este sentido se tomaran la libertad de estimularlos al cumplimiento de su deber.¹¹¹

If we want religion to civilize, if we desire that Catholicism exercises influence among the masses until today semi-savages of our Indians to sweeten/pacify their natural ferocity, if these said ends we want to give to the people priests capable of this holy mission; nothing more rational shall be, nothing more in conformity to the eternal principles of justice than the perfect and exclusive rights granted by the canons to the bishops to dictate their synodal laws and obligations placed upon them to reproduce and expand their mandates annually, following the demands of the circumstances. To hamper this action, making it depend upon the civil authority would be to block their results or, better said, to fall into apostacy of the Catholic Faith; so certain is this, Mr. Prefect, that the Spanish sovereigns, the most solicitous it appears, the most conscientious about matters regarding their Royal rights, far from enervating the action of the bishops in this sense took the liberty of stimulating them to fulfill their responsibility.

While he was in agreement with the Bishop's assessment regarding the Church's authority over the indigenous peoples, Puno's Prefect differed considerably in his assessment of the impact that the synod would have on them:

. . . haciendo pesar el alarma y la inquietud consiguientes á un suceso tan escandaloso sobre los ánimos de personas inocentes, y enteramente extraños á los antecedentes y á la actualidad de esta ruidosa cuestion, tanto mas grave cuanto que se agita en el seno de una sociedad, en la cual existe una populosísima clase, la indijena, cuya susceptibilidad respecto de sus derechos relijiosos es en extremo delicado, y cuyos antecedentes, bien conocidos, reclaman el mas exquisito tino y la mas estudiada prudencia de parte de las autoridades que la gobiernan.¹¹²

. . . putting the weight of the alarm and disquiet proper to an event so scandalous over the souls of innocent persons, and entirely ignorant/alien to the antecedents and the details of this question, graver still when agitated in the center of a society in which a very populous indigenous class exists, whose susceptibility in respect to religious rights is delicate in the extreme and whose antecedents, well known, reclaim the most exquisite good judgement and the most studied prudence on the part of the authorities that govern.

In fact, when the bishop threatened to excommunicate the population of the province of Lampa because they refused to post the constitutions of the synod, the people were said to be terrorized. The parish priest charged with posting the constitutions and the excommunication order wrote to the Provisor y Vicario General de la Diócesis in October of 1869, apparently in a slightly panicked state, describing conditions in the community:

En este momento que son las doce y media de la tarde se ha amotinado el pueblo, y mientras yo me dirijia de la iglesia á la casa cural, me rodeó en la plaza una multitud de gente que me pedia á gritos le entregara la excomunion para quemarla. Poco despues se me entregó una nota del señor Sub-prefecto, en la que me intimaba suspendiese la promulgacion de

¹¹¹ Ibid. p. 12.

¹¹² Ibid. p. 19.

la excomunion dictada por S.S. Iltma. El Reverendo Obispo de la Diócesis con fecha 22 de Julio último, y mandado publicar por un oficio de fecha 5 de Agosto próximo pasado con motivo de tener que contestar á la referida nota del señor Sub-Prefecto, pude aunque á duras penas, retirarme á mi alojamiento, y mientras empezaba á contestar á dicha nota; se llenó la casa de gente, arrebataron todos los ejemplares del Edicto mencionado, con mas algunas de las notas de esa Vicaría General, las que fueron devueltas antes de salir de la habitacion, por el interés que tomaron el señor Alcalde municipal y el señor Sub-Prefecto. . . Mientras tanto, yo no me espongo, ni quiero que por imprudencia mia, suceda alguna fatalidad en esta poblacion; pues la actitud de este pueblo ha sido y es todavía aterradora. Quieren poner guardias á la iglesia, para impedir que los sorprenda con la publicacion del Edicto referido; pues dudan todavía, que tengo en mi poder algunos ejemplares del Edicto indicado, y esto despues de haberse impuesto de la nota de Ud., en que se hacia mencion de los siete ejemplares, los mismos que han arrebatado. Me es muy sensible no poder tal vez decir misa el día de mañana por ser Domingo. Voy á contestar a la nota de la Sub-Prefectura que no promulgo el Edicto de excomunion mientras no reciba nuevas instrucciones de la autoridad eclesiástica de la Diócesis.¹¹³

In this moment that is twelve thirty in the afternoon the people are rioting and while I walked from the church to the parish house, they surrounded me in the plaza, a multitude of people that screamed at me to give them the excommunication to burn it. a little later the Subprefect sent me a note in which he urged me to cancel the promulgation of excommunication dictated by the Illustrious Reverend Bishop of the diocese on the date of 22 of July last and mandated to publish according to the official notice dated 5 August with the purpose of responding to the referred note of the Subprefect, I could barely retire to my house, and while I started to respond to the mentioned edict, with some of the notes of the Vicariate General that were returned before they left the house for the interest that the municipal alcalde and the subprefect took. Now, in the meantime, I do not expose myself to danger nor want, as a result of some imprudence on my part, to result some calamity in this town, for the attitude of its people has been and still is terrifying. They want to put guards at the Church to impede a surprise publication of the referred to edict and this after having put a note of yours in which it has been mentioned the seven examples, the same that they have grabbed. To me it is very painful not to say the mass tomorrow since it is Sunday. I am going to respond to the note of

¹¹³ “Coleccion de las piezas que a consecuencia de los hechos que han tenido lugar en la villa de Lampa, con motivo de las últimas disposiciones episcopales, se han cambiado entre las autoridades que han intervenido en ellos. (Puno, Imprenta “La Iglesia Puneña”, 1869) Archivo de los Jesuitas, Lima 011239 Juan A. Huerta Obras Puno, 1868 (BN) (V231.1) 2 – 3.

the Subprefect that I will not publish the edict of excommunication until I receive new instructions from the ecclesiastical authority of the diocese.

What is evident in this priest's account is both his sense of frustration and responsibility for having to carry out the bishop's mandate, and the sense of absolute panic in the community of Lampa. The conflict between the civil and religious authorities, which pervades the correspondence between Bishop Huerta and Felipe Paz-Soldan of the national government, is also starkly evident. Finally, it is apparent that in this competition between the civil and religious authorities, the latter clearly have the upper hand when it comes to influencing the population. It appears that the local elite, the sub-prefect, are most fearful and it seems likely, though this is speculation, that their fear is not of excommunication *per sé*, but of the impact it will have on the "highly suggestible" indigenous population. Indeed, it seems likely that given the experience of the Túpac Amaru episode, during which the department of Puno was devastated, and the recent natural disasters, there was ample reason to fear rebellion.

Conclusion:

Let me now conclude with some suggestions about the implications of this schematic comparison of the role religion played at key points in relations between Andean people and outsiders, and with some questions that have been suggested by this comparison. First, it seems evident that far from being the conservative, traditional force that it is usually assumed to be, religion has played a central role in Andean communities' adoption of innovations. It has provided the basis for introducing new social actors and influences to an existing socio-cultural framework,

thus facilitating both continuity and change. Most importantly, intermediaries are embedded in this religious framework. Caciques and their equivalents performed as both protectors of tradition and introducers of innovations (or if one prefers, invasions). By controlling interaction between community members and outsiders on both material and spiritual planes, caciques were often able to shield their communities from at least some of the negative effects of invasive forces, whether Spanish missionaries and civil authorities or modernization in the twentieth century. Their ability to perform this role has depended on their communities' recognition of them as legitimate authorities. This legitimacy has enabled them to act in the name of the community, appeasing outsiders with material goods and with the appearance of conformity to new ideologies, and thereby protecting their communities. The problem caciques encountered was of course in finding a balance between the price of appeasement and the degree of protection it afforded the community. And, indeed, caciques have been notorious at times for using their status as intermediaries to enhance their economic and social position. But, perhaps community members are willing to overlook this self-enrichment (as long as it remains within reason) in exchange for caciques' service as guardians of community tradition and procurers of outside resources.

Religion (Catholicism in the era examined here, but later Protestantism as well) also provided the basis for introducing new intermediaries who could serve a role analogous to that of the cacique with the outsider community. Priests came to play this role because they provided religious services whose value came to be recognized by all social actors: Spanish, mestizo, Indigenous, African. They could

thus serve as intermediaries between the Spanish governing officials, who offered nothing of value in local terms, and indigenous communities. In practice this also meant that indigenous people gained representatives in the Spanish sphere whose legitimacy was fully recognized there. Priests could thus act on behalf of indigenous communities in a way that caciques, whose legitimacy depended most on their communities of origin (setting aside for now the degree to which they were legitimized by Spanish power), simply could not. Indigenous people thus gained a means of potentially persuading the dominant society to work on their behalf.

Adopting an Andean form of Catholicism also provided the benefit of a shared moral vocabulary, which enabled indigenous people to present their claims in a form that Spanish civil and religious authorities were forced to acknowledge. Spanish authorities needed little justification for extirpating the Taki Onqoy movement because it was an apostasy. Similarly, they could impose an extirpation of idolatries in the seventeenth century by claiming to be saving the souls of the Andean people. It was, however, more difficult to justify destroying a movement like the Túpac Amaru rebellion, whose adherents claimed to be acting on behalf of the Spanish God and King. Indeed, this claim made possible the alliance with Bishop Moscoso y Peralta, which initially gave the rebellion the potential for success. Even when the rebellion failed, the Bishop could act on behalf of indigenous communities (and, not coincidentally, his own interests) by curtailing the abuses of Spanish corregidores in exchange for the promise of peace. By deploying a shared vocabulary of Catholicism, Andean people were in some measure able to protect their traditions, since as we have

seen in the case of Confession (but also Baptism, Communion, and Marriage), there were parallel practices between the two religious traditions.

Although I have been implying to this point that Andean people's adoption of Catholicism was a practical strategy, which they consciously deployed to protect their established socio-cultural norms and practices and forms of social organization, I do not believe this is accurate. Instead, I believe this evolution was largely the result of the manner in which established socio-cultural norms and practices shaped the interaction between Andean people and outsiders. While Spanish and Andean people consciously recognized the power of religion as a motivating force for action, and as in the case of Túpac Amaru, sought to manipulate it, their ability to do so was limited by the practical fact that they could not control what people believed and thus how religion affected their behavior. Neither Spanish nor Andean people thus controlled the outcome of social development, though they might try consciously to shape it.

My final point is that we probably ought to reconsider what we mean when we speak of a "colonial legacy". Following the work of Charles Gibson, there has been a recognition that the Spanish did not – indeed could not – impose their system of governance on the people they "conquered", but were forced instead to adapt to local structures. There is, however, still a tendency to view religion either as having had no influence on indigenous people, or as only having influenced indigenous people. What seems evident from this analysis is that Andean religion fundamentally shaped the form Catholicism took in Peru, and through it the form that civil society would take. Is it surprising, therefore, that Catholicism remained the official religion of Peru

until 1979.¹¹⁴ This alliance does not seem the result of a particular desire on the part of civil authorities to maintain Catholicism, but of a recognition (or belief) that they could not maintain social control without it. The relationship between the Church and state in Peru came to appear strikingly like that between the Inca Church and state because of a kind of organic pressure from the majority of the population.

¹¹⁴ Catalina Romero de Iguíñez, "Church, State and Society in Contemporary Peru, 1958-1988: A Process of Liberation" Ph.D. (New School for Social Research, 1989), 69.

**IV:
First Impressions:
Maryknoll Priests and the People of Puno, 1943 - 1954**

Puno's Bishop, Salvador Herrera, responded with great enthusiasm when he learned that a group of missionaries from the United States was considering his diocese as a site for their labors. Maryknoll had been looking for an "Indian apostolate" and Puno, where 92.36% of the population in 1940 was indigenous, seemed an ideal spot.¹ Indeed, with a population of 645,000 in 1940, Puno was the second largest and the most indigenous department of Peru.² It was also one of the poorest. It had the nation's second lowest literacy rate (14.22%), its highest proportion of non-Spanish speakers, and one of its most dispersed populations. 7,367 of its 9,764 settlements had fewer than fifty residents.³ There was only one road linking the department with the nation's capital and few roads linked the nine provinces of Puno's 67,703 square kilometer territory.⁴ While the construction of the railroad in the 1860s assured mail service and transport between the department and Peru's major urban centers and there was a telegraph office with a principal office in Puno and sub-offices in Azangaro, Macusani, Juli, Santa Rosa, Huancane, Moho, Lampa, Ayaviri, Sandia,

¹ Dan Chapin Hazen, "The Awakening of Puno: Government Policy and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru, 1900-1955" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5. Jesús Jordan Rodríguez, *Pueblos y parroquias de el Perú*, vol. 2 (Lima: Sociedad Geográfica, 1950) Puno was second only to Lima in the size of its population according to the census of 1940.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

and Juliaca, communication was slow and unreliable.⁵ Finally, like all of Peru, Puno suffered a dramatic shortage of clergy having only 28 priests in the department when the Maryknollers arrived in 1943.⁶ Puno's poverty and isolation, combined with its indigenous majority and shortage of clergy, made the department conform to the Maryknollers' ideal of a mission territory. The missionaries believed that in this remote department they would help to re-establish Catholicism among the neglected, impoverished indigenous people and in the process would provide them with necessary aid to improve their material conditions of life. The emphasis of the mission would thus be aid to the indigenous people. In fact, as we shall see, local demands proved to be quite different than the missionaries had anticipated.

This chapter will analyze the expectations of both the missionaries and the people of Puno and will illustrate how these expectations, grounded in assumptions about Catholicism and its role in society, led variously to conflict and confrontation, evasion and disregard. In doing so, it will illustrate the central role Catholicism played as a source of both continuity and change in Peru. Like the Spanish missionaries who preceded them by some four hundred and fifty years, the Maryknoll missionaries hoped to change society by transforming local religious practices. Achieving this goal might also have the indirect effect of drawing the region closer to the missionaries' country of origin: the United States. For Maryknoll, religious

⁵Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development: Economic Ideas in Peru's "Fictitious Prosperity" of Guano, 1840-1880*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 89-110.

In 1945 the means of Communication listed by Jordan were as follows: Puno-Arequipa-Camana, 467 km paved road, Camana-Lima 922 km. paved road, Puno-Juliaca 30 kkm railroad, Juliaca-Cuzco 338 Km railroad, Juliaca, Arequipa 304 km rairload. *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁶ William D. McCarthy, M.M. "Notes for a History of the Maryknoll Society in Peru," (unpublished manuscript) 43.

practices were inextricably linked with modernization and social order, so that introducing them became part and parcel of a modernization project they carried from the United States to Peru. For their part, the people of Puno sought both spiritual and material benefits. The type of benefits they wanted and how they sought to gain them depended, however, on their particular status in society, ensuring that even this Catholic modernization was unevenly distributed.

From 1943, when the first Maryknoll priests arrived in Puno, until 1954, when they implemented their first written proselytization program, the missionaries engaged in a complex process of negotiation with the people of Puno. As outsiders, Maryknollers had to rely on intermediaries to gain access to community members in both rural and urban Puno. In urban Puno, the department's Bishop, Salvador Herrera mediated relations between the foreign priests and the local people by determining the type of labor the missionaries would perform. In contrast, in rural Puno, local elites, governing officials, and indigenous sacristans mediated relations between the Maryknollers and the indigenous population which was separated from provincial centers by vast physical distances and an equally formidable language barrier. These systems of mediation gradually changed in Puno as the result of conflict and negotiation between Maryknollers and locals, much of which resulted from unconscious efforts by the missionaries and the local populace to assert their ideal of Catholicism.

Central to Maryknoll priests' ideal of mission was an image of themselves as macho adventurers – an image enhanced by Maryknoll publicity magazines and books. A popular Maryknoll series, entitled “Adventures of Men of Maryknoll,”

seemed almost to emphasize masculinity over priesthood. In fact, Priests' power and authority in the United States was founded in the patriarchal structure of the society and the Catholic Church. Their masculinity could not be expressed in a "traditional" or, for the era "normal" manner because they could not marry. What made priests' masculine authority possible despite (or perhaps even because of) their celibacy was the recognition that it was a necessary component of their power – that which along with Church sanction gave them authority to perform Catholic sacraments.⁷ In the Catholic communities of the Northeastern United States from whence most of the missionaries came, these sacraments were crucial to community, family, and individual well-being. Male priests were thus central figures in the community and their centrality depended on performance of sacraments which in turn depended on their celibacy. For the working class boys who entered Maryknoll, masculinity also was defined and reinforced by physical activity. Seminarians and missionary priests were portrayed in the Maryknoll publicity magazine as rugged individualists. They were real men who played sports, drank, and smoked cigarettes. In mission fields they would also be strong enough to endure "primitive" conditions and perhaps even face torture or martyrdom (which many actually hoped for). So, while Maryknoll priests might be sexually deprived they were not emasculated.

In Puno the sacramental power and physical prowess that granted Maryknoll missionary priests masculine power were lost. Neither mestizos nor indigenous

⁷ Although Catholic doctrine made it possible for priests who were not celibate to fulfill their sacramental role, on the grounds that it was the role and the Church sanction which made this fulfillment possible and not the man *per se*, in the American Catholic ideal celibacy was strictly necessary. For a wonderful fictional account of the contrast between the man and his role as priest see: Graham Greene, *The Power and the Glory* (1940; reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1990).

people proved to value Catholic sacraments in the same way Catholics in the Northeastern United States did and despite their youth and vitality the Maryknoll priests were incapable of performing their accustomed physical activities in Puno's 12,500 foot altitude.⁸ In fact, their effort to be rugged individualists caused many to become extremely ill, such that the average length of stay for the priests who settled in Puno in 1943 was less than 3 years.⁹ Finally, local people expected that priests would be "married" though informally of course. Priests' maintaining a "housekeeper" and her "nieces and nephews" was an established part of the Catholic Church in Puno. Among the indigenous people, in fact, neither men nor women were considered adults, and thus full participants in community, until they married. Celibacy for priests was not an established practice. The central factors that defined Maryknoll priests' masculinity seemed thus to vanish into Puno's thin air.

During the first ten years the Maryknollers labored in Puno they struggled in part to re-establish their authority and masculinity. It seemed impossible to them to retain the former without the latter and both were linked to sacramental life. Regaining authority entailed multiple strategies. First, the missionaries' sought to establish the parish ideal they brought from home among urban Puno's emerging middle class, thereby asserting the importance of the Church's sacramental life – the foundation of priests' authority. Second, Maryknoll priests working in rural areas

⁸Of the 13 priests who settled in Puno in 1943, 7 were in their twenties, 5 in their thirties, and only one over forty. Robert Kearns, M.M., *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru, 1943-1953*, vol 1 (Maryknoll: privately printed, n.d.) 131-146.

⁹Two of the original thirteen priests stayed in Puno for eight years, the others were there from two months to three years, with the average length of stay being 2.85 years. In 1945 Maryknoll established a policy of mandatory altitude leave after each six month period in Puno in the hope of reducing the number of illnesses. Kearns, *Maryknoll Peru*, vol. 1 40.

gained a measure of power and control by serving as “defenders of the Indians,” thereby acting in some measure against the interests of local hacendados. Ironically, a kind of paternalistic aid to the impoverished provided a means of asserting authority over both the wealthy and the impoverished.¹⁰ It also helped to establish Puno’s indigenous people as morally superior to local elites. Finally, simply by surviving in Puno’s harsh environment, the missionaries affirmed their masculinity – at least to their constituents back home. To locals, however, living in Puno hardly seemed extraordinary.

Each of the three means of restoring power and masculinity was held in check by established socio-cultural norms and environmental conditions. Priests in Puno traditionally had been allied with the local elite minority to control the indigenous majority in the department. Despite their abuse of indigenous people, priests provided religious services which seemed crucial to individual and community survival. The provision of these religious services and the way elites were incorporated into religious rituals performed by priests, ensured that priests exerted a powerful influence among Indians, mestizos, and mistis. From the time the Maryknollers arrived in 1943 until 1954, when they established specific programs to facilitate their labors, the missionaries struggled against these barriers, often without consciously recognizing them. Simply by trying to establish their own ideal of Catholicism, the missionaries confronted established traditions that were crucial components of the local social order.

¹⁰ A very similar thing occurred with in the indigenista movement composed of hacendados’ sons and daughters who sought to gain purchase in Limeño society and did so in part by defending the “Indians” who their fathers abused – a cynical but not entirely inaccurate view.

The people of Puno, on the other hand, sought to attain spiritual and material benefits from the Maryknoll priests, some of which were recognized as crucial to community survival, without fundamentally changing their established practices. Examining this period and the manner in which the Maryknoll missionaries were gradually, incompletely, and often unwillingly incorporated into the existing socio-political structure provides a means of illustrating how physical environment and established norms together shaped the trajectory of the Maryknoll mission endeavor in ways invisible to both the missionaries and the people they proselytized. Specifically, while the Maryknoll missionaries' goal had been to provide aid and to proselytize the Puno's rural indigenous majority, much of their effort in this first decade turns out to have gone towards the urban mestizo minority. By extension this analysis suggests how these factors influenced the social and political development of Peru. Specifically, it illustrates the manner in which religion was bound or helped bind social organization while at the same time serving as a means of incorporating new social actors and modern innovations in an increasingly globalized society.

Puno in the 1940s

In fact, the department of Puno had changed quite dramatically in the thirty years preceding the arrival of the first Maryknoll missionaries. From the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth-century European demand for sheep and alpaca wool had promoted the expansion of large haciendas which came to dominate Puno.¹¹ With the decline of the wool and alpaca export boom in the 1930s, the department's

¹¹ Nils Jacobsen, *Mirages of Transition: The Peruvian Altiplano, 1780-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca* cuarta edición (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994).

economy crumbled, but the majority of land remained in the hands of hacendados, thus depriving the indigenous majority of the population of control over their means of production. Hacendados also controlled directly and indirectly the political structure of the department, and served as the primary links between Puno and the national government. They were thus able to thwart indigenous people's efforts to protect themselves against abusive landowners, governing officials, and priests. The department's economic decline in the 1930s corresponded with a population boom that had started in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. There was thus rising demand for land and its products in this rural department in which prosperity for elites and survival for indigenous people depended almost entirely on agricultural production.¹² The social mobility of an emerging mestizo middle class was limited by lack of access either to the vast tracts of land that provided the elite their primary source of wealth or to education that would enable them to become white collar workers. The department's economic decline led to a reduction in the power of priests and hacendados, who by acting as intermediaries between the department's indigenous majority and the national government, had provided the primary source of stability in the department.¹³ As resources declined, indigenous people became increasingly

¹² "Traditional exactions of free labor and services, forced sales of produce, etc. apparently declined throughout the early twentieth century, but land seizures became ever more common. Both Indian complaints and outside observers indicated the intensification of land-related conflicts. Hazen, *Awakening of Puno*. p. xxx and 109.

¹³ The number of priests in Peru declined dramatically following independence and this decline was even more marked in remote provinces like Puno where access to resources was limited and living conditions were difficult. The diocese of Puno, created in 1861, had 92 priests in 1866. *Historiografica de Puno, Itmo. y Rdmo. Sr. Dr. D. Juan Ambrosia Huerta, Dignisimo Obispo de la Diocesis*, 163 AJ. By 1900 the number of clergy had declined to 51 priests all of whom were from either Southern Peru or Bolivia Anexos de la Memoria del Prefecto del Departamento de Puno. Puno, 9 Junio 1900 E834 30ff BN. By 1943 when the Maryknoll missionaries arrived the number had dropped to 28, William D. McCarthy, M.M., *Notes for a History*, 1943.

dissatisfied with these corrupt, abusive intermediaries and sought new outlets for their grievances against these figures.¹⁴

In fact, in the early twentieth century a variety of new potential intermediaries trickled into Puno. Before this time the department had been largely isolated from the Peruvian state, but after the turn of the century it became increasingly linked to it – physically through the development of infrastructure, psychologically through an increased sense of “nationalism” among its ethnically diverse residents, and personally through migration of Puneños to Lima. In the larger context, one of the central issues facing the Peruvian state in the twentieth century was how to incorporate remote rural regions like Puno. Indigenous residents of Puno were disenfranchised politically and marginalized socially, but they were making their presence increasingly felt in the nation through their participation in local rebellions, their protests registered both locally and with the national government,¹⁵ and their increased migration to the nation’s seat in Lima.¹⁶ Middle class mestizos from the provinces also started

¹⁴ Marcela Calisto, “Peasant Resistance in the Aymara Districts of the Highlands of Peru, 1900-1930: An Attempt at Self-governance” (Ph.D. diss., University of California at San Diego, 1993).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ In 1931 the department of Puno had only 10,341 voters, representing about 2.6% of the country's electorate while it's population was estimated to be over ten percent of the national total. Dan Hazen, *Awakening of Puno*, 5. As a result of an uprising in the department of Ancash, for example, President Prado called on Congress to appoint a special judicial body to hear Indian complaints. The Congress, with its many hacendado representatives, refused. Marcela Calisto, *Peasant Resistance in the Aymara Districts*, 24. See: Paul Gootenberg on uprisings and the manner in which they forced the national government to focus on provinces leading to the decision to construct railroads. Gootenberg, *Imagining Development*. See: Matos Mar on the massive migration from rural to urban puno. Elite Limeños' sense of horror at the "invasions" is evident despite his sympathetic view. José Matos Mar, *Desborde popular y crisis del Estado. El nuevo rostro del Perú*. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984). Subsequent research would suggest a kind of schizophrenia on the part of researchers of the "Indian problem" in their perspective on migration. On the one hand they seem to have resented the loss of "their center" on the other they saw this migration to urban as evidence of modernization and thus a positive sign. "Indians" would become citizens by moving from rural to urban popular. See: Carlos Franco, *La otra modernidad: Imágenes de la sociedad peruana* (Lima: CEDEP, 1991) Héctor Maletta, "Perú: ¿Pais campesino? Aspectos cuantitativos de su mundo rural, *Análisis* (1979): 6, 3-51.

migrating to Lima, where they gradually gained incorporation. These provincianos join the ranks as members of a Peruvian political elite – people whose power was politically rather than economically based. Puno’s mestizo middle classes lacked resources to send their children to Lima or even Cuzco or Arequipa to be educated. They had to rely on Puno’s meager offerings.¹⁷ As the national government came to recognize the need to promote officials who would be responsive to national rather than local hacendados’ interests, it may have looked to this emerging middle class to fulfill this role.¹⁸ Establishing them as such required, however, that they gain access to education which the state could not provide adequately. Indeed, while the government first announced plans to establish schools in Puno in 1906, the department with a population of 646,000 was still allotted only 354 schools in the nation’s budget in 1941 in contrast to Lima’s 615 schools for a population of 849,000.¹⁹

This was a small component of what governing officials, intellectuals, and Church leaders had come to call Peru’s “Indian Problem.” Peru’s elite recognized that the country’s indigenous population represented the biggest obstacle to their efforts to “modernize” the nation. Thus, they began to design programs—some of them targeted

Also illustrates a sense common among both Peruvian national and foreign scholars of Peru that “rural” denotes “traditional” and both are antithetical to modernization.

¹⁷ Indeed it seems likely that it was concern for this sector that led the national government to promote the establishment of normal schools in remote provinces starting in 1906, Hazen, “Awakening Puno”, 57. It was recognized that there were few “qualified” people to serve as local governing officials. *Memoria elevada a la dirección de gobierno por el prefecto del departamento de Puno, Manuel Eleuterio Ponce*. Puno, Junio 15 de 1900. E836 50ff BN.

¹⁸ National governing officials gradually came to recognize the futility of establishing laws to protect indigenous people when the judges meant to enforce those laws were complicit in abusing the indigenous population. Governing deputy Secada observed that it was impossible to legislate solutions to the “Indian problem” “When the envoys of almost all the Indian groups of Peru come to the capital asking for help, what answer do they get? To go to those same judges who did not protect them who obligated them to come here . . . Most Excellent Sir, in this manner, the regeneration of the indigenous race is impossible!” quoted in Marcela Calisto, “Peasant Resistance,” 25.

¹⁹ Hazen, “Awakening Puno,” 57 and 376.

specifically at Puno—intended to transform Indians into modern citizens. This effort was started in earnest in 1909 when intellectuals in Lima established the *Asociación Pro-Indígena*. They sought first to defend indigenous commissions sent to Lima by indigenous communities to register complaints and to publicize the abuse of Indians common in rural areas.²⁰ In 1918 the Chamber of Deputies passed a law authorizing the President to appoint regional commissions to study the social, judicial and economic conditions of the indigenous population. These studies resulted in a number of reform bills.²¹ In 1920 the *Comité Pro-derecho Indígena*, was founded and sent its first commission to Puno that same year. When the representatives arrived in Puno they were greeted by vast crowds of indigenous people seeking to register their complaints.²² While Peruvian nationals were key figures in the efforts to address the "Indian problem" they were not alone. Increasingly, foreigners came to play important roles by providing access to resources like education. Key among the advocates for change for indigenous people were Seventh Day Adventists from the United States led by Ferdinand Stahl, who settled in Puno in 1915, and are credited with having been the first to offer education to the department's indigenous population.²³ Shortly after the Adventists began their work, Manuel Núñez Butrón, a native of Juliaca who had been educated in Lima, returned to the department to start a program of Health Brigades.

²⁰ Thomas Davies, Jr., *Indian Integration in Peru: A Half Century of Experience, 1900-1948*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970) 54.

²¹ Marcela Calisto, "Peasant Resistance," 24.

²² In their report to the Government following the visit of the Pro-Indigenous Commission to the Department of Puno, Humberto Luna and Erasmo Roca noted that "thousands of indigenous people were at the railroad station awaiting the arrival of the Commission" P. Erasmo Roca S. *Por la clase indígena* (Lima: Compañía de impresiones y publicidad, 1935) 191.

These intermediaries played central roles in transforming social relations in Puno, introducing elements of modernization, and providing indigenous people with access to the national government, but they lacked institutional affiliations that would enable them to continue their projects in the long-term or to have an impact beyond the confines of the department. In contrast, because of their status as priests and the strong role the Church had played in Peru as a foundational element of the social and governing structure, Maryknoll missionaries had a much larger potential role in society. This potential was recognized by members of both the religious and secular local governing structure whose members labored to limit Maryknoll's influence over the department's populace by controlling the type of work they performed. Indeed, Puno's Bishop, clergy, and local elites seemed keen to gain economic benefits from the Maryknoll missionaries, to use the missionaries to buttress elite control over the indigenous majority, and to take priests' resources to appease the emerging mestizo middle class, while at the same time preventing them from having any real influence in the department. During the period from 1943 to 1954 then, the physical environment and these local elites seemed to conspire together to undermine the Maryknoll missionaries' efforts to "transform" society.

The Bishop's plans

Puno's Bishop had immediate plans for the American priests. He recognized that the missionaries could serve not only the spiritual, but also the material needs of Puno's populace. While Maryknollers sought to work in the department of Puno

²³ For an excellent analysis of the educational programs developed in Puno during the early twentieth century see: Dan Hazen, "Awakening of Puno".

because of its vast, impoverished indigenous population, it was almost immediately evident that Bishop Herrera sought to limit their labors to an emerging urban, mestizo middle class. Indeed, Maryknoll's experience in Peru in some ways epitomizes efforts in the country to solve the "Indian problem." For while the missionaries' goal was to aid the indigenous people it was the middle class that ultimately benefited most from the development initiatives Maryknoll introduced. This tendency has been evident consistently in Peruvian history. State-directed efforts to provide assistance to remote, rural regions like Puno often have most benefited an emerging middle-class because they usually took the form of developing infrastructure – roads, telephones, telegraphs, electricity – which was designed mostly to aid the urban centers of these rural regions.²⁴

The Maryknoll missionaries did not learn of the Bishop's plans until after they arrived in Puno. The Maryknoll General Council minutes from January of 1943, just a few months before the first priests' departure, noted that "No reply has been received to our inquires about the nature and extent of the work viewed there for our priests."²⁵ Judging by the extent of the labors he wanted the Maryknollers to perform, it may be that Bishop Herrera feared sharing his vision with them might dissuade them from coming to Peru at all. Once the Maryknollers arrived, however, the Bishop was quick

²⁴ For an analysis of the political discussions and economic factors which contributed to the decision to promote railroad development in Peru see Paul Gootenberg, *Imagining Development*. While the influx of NGOs in the 1980s has been viewed as a source of aid to the "marginalized" peoples of Peru, in fact, the middle sectors who run these institutes are generally the primary economic beneficiaries even as they suffer from the precariousness of their positions as employees whose positions depend on their ability to renew grants by appealing to the latest development scheme established by foreign donors.

²⁵ William D. McCarthy, M.M. "Maryknoll in Peru," (General Council Minutes, January 18, 1943, p. 1047) 14.

to advise them of his plans. In 1943, Father Kiernan wrote to Maryknoll Superior General James E. Walsh:

The Bishop wants us to do various things. In three months take over the teaching of English at San Carlos – he will see to it that the Adventist is kicked out. In six months take over the direction of the Colegio – six years of primary instruction. In one year bring the junior seminarians back here from Arequipa and run this place as a junior seminary, moving the Colegio to another location – whether he intends to build, I do not know. In six months to institute English classes for elderly men here. In three to six months send two priests to one mission and two priests to one other mission – places unnamed. He prefers to have them in twos. When we can preach in Spanish take over San Juan parish in town – the two men assigned there to live here. The joker seems to me to be that in all these things we shall have to assume the financial burden. The Bishop says that when we take over we can raise the tuition price and people will pay it – but the present tuition is 10 soles a year, about \$1.35. Raising it might mean 100 soles, but that would hardly be enough to pay the lay teachers who get 200 soles a month at San Carlos. He has also mentioned that we might build our own Colegio for the secondary or media school – but is that our work? . . . He has mentioned that he would like to have Maryknoll Sisters build a school for Indian girls. Perhaps I am wrong, but anything we put our hand to will have to be paid by us. Our income will never amount to more than \$1,000 yearly.²⁶

With the exception of the work in the unnamed rural provinces and the school for “Indian girls,” all these labors were designed to aid Puno’s middle class and none of them, as Father Kiernan implied in his cryptic “but is that our work?,” conformed with the Maryknollers’ ideal of their mission role. Father Kiernan also identified one of the central problems the missionaries faced: how to finance their labors. It was immediately evident that despite being a Catholic country in which the state supported the Church, the national government would not be able to finance fully the missionaries’ endeavors, although it would provide crucial assistance. The

Maryknollers were dismayed to learn that the middle class (the primary base of support for the Maryknoll mission movement in the United States and indeed the foundation for the Catholic Church in that country) in Puno seemed unwilling to support the Church. The priests discovered that the national government, the indigenous people, and Maryknoll supporters in the United States would be the main source of support for their endeavors in Puno even though the mestizo middle class minority would become the main beneficiaries.

Maryknollers were in essence to act as state substitutes by providing education to middle class mestizos, thereby augmenting the limited resources available to them. The Maryknoll missionaries eventually established a kind of alliance with the state to perform these services. Although initial inquiries about funding were received enthusiastically by state officials in 1944 it was not until 1945, two years after the missionaries' arrival, that the national government granted them a monthly subsidy of \$300.00, and another gift of \$2,000.²⁷ These subsidies certainly helped defray costs, but they were nowhere near the amount the missionaries' paid to operate the school, nor did they come close to what the government would have to pay if it were to provide this service.

While educating Puno's middle class mestizos was one role Bishop Herrera anticipated the Maryknoll missionaries would fulfill it was not by any means the only

²⁶ Arthur Kiernan, M.M. to James E. Walsh, M.M., April 16, 1943, Puno, MMA.

²⁷"A letter from Fr. Kiernan brings the joyful news that serenity is in the offing. Father met a number of Peruvian officials who expressed great interest in the school to be conducted by the Padres Norteamericanos. Different men of the educational department assisted Fr. Kiernan and were gushing in their promises to assist us in any way possible. I don't know, but as the man says, 'It seems to me I've heard that song before.'" Joseph B. Donnelly, M.M., January 1944, Puno, MMA. William D. McCarthy, "Maryknoll in Peru" 1945.

one. The Bishop also viewed the wealthy newcomers as a potentially important force in his diocese's rural communities, where the number of priests had dwindled to practically nil. The Bishop selected Carabaya and Sandia, Puno's most remote, sparsely populated, least accessible, and largest provinces as the sites for Maryknoll's rural labors.²⁸ In these areas it was assumed that the priests would perform the roles that had been established for them by historical tradition: they would work with local elites to help control the indigenous (and recently rebellious) majority. Indeed, the elites in these communities quickly sought to incorporate the missionaries into these established roles by controlling the priests' interactions with the indigenous people. Maryknoll's labors in urban and rural Puno will be examined in turn.

Puno is a cold, ugly, miserable town with no redeeming features. What's more the people hate us.

In one of his first letters to Maryknoll's Superior General, Father Kiernan complained bitterly about everything in Puno, but his least restrained diatribes were directed against Bishop Herrera. The Bishop initially seemed to represent everything that Maryknoll perceived to be "wrong" with Puno and local Catholicism. He was, according to Kiernan:

of the Quechua Indian type, [though] he says his ancestors were Spanish. He is dressed for the climate. Heavy underclothes, heavy cassock and two heavy capes. His appearance may be due to his poverty, but certainly much must come from the dirty surroundings. He is noted as being a very spiritual man and if he were not, then his so-called palace should make him so. It is the typical adobe building . . . his reception room is done in cheap red brocade, his library shows signs of better days and his sitting

²⁸ In Sandia there were 2.45 inhabitants per km squared and in Carabaya there were 3.92 inhabitants per km squared. The only province in the department to even approach this low population density was Lampa with 4.43 inhabitants per km squared. The remainder of the provinces all had more than 10 inhabitants per km. Jordán, *Pueblos y parroquias*, vol. 1, 380-383.

room has one chair and a good radio. His dining room would perchance be called a back-shed in the States. The cleanliness, smell and food are all in the same category. He has one of the few bathtubs in Puno, but it is used for storing water not for bathing. . . he has two servants, both Quechua Indians and he seems satisfied to go along any way they please.

The Bishop thus appeared to the Maryknoll missionaries as emblematic of the greater problems of Puno's Catholicism. Central to Father Kiernan's assessment of his superior were the stereotypical characteristics ascribed to indigenous people. The priest implied that the Bishop's hidden Quechua ancestry was at the core of the problem. Monseñor Herrera was "spiritual," but Father Kiernan attributed this spirituality not to the type of discipline and prayer that would be its "proper" source, but to the "poverty and dirty surroundings." For the American priests, Catholicism meant not just religious faith and practice, but an established hierarchical order to things. Seminarians were reminded frequently that order and cleanliness were inextricably linked to holiness. Maryknoll's founder, James A. Walsh was said to have told seminarians ". . . in speaking of the Resurrection, [about] Saint John's hurrying into the tomb and finding the linen cloths folded up, and the napkin, which had been placed about Christ's head, folded in a separate place. 'Please note,' he told his students, 'that the napkin was *folded* and in its proper place'."²⁹ It was only spirituality that evolved from this type of ordered, disciplined, clean prayer and devotion to duty that counted as evidence of true Catholicism. The priests were appalled by the apparent disorder and filth of the Church's pre-eminent

²⁹ Albert J. Nevins, *The Meaning of Maryknoll* (New York: McMullen Books, Inc., 1954) 57.

representative's "palace" – as Father Kiernan glibly denoted it – his clothing, and his person. To them these characteristics were simply incompatible with real Catholicism.

In his description of Bishop Herrera, Father Kiernan revealed many of the Maryknoll missionaries' unconscious racial prejudices and stereotypes. The Bishop was spiritual, poor, dirty. He lacked knowledge and aesthetic sensibility. Additionally, Bishop Herrera allowed his Quechua Indian servants to do as they pleased, implying that he somehow identified with them or felt comfortable with their practices, much in contradiction to the Maryknollers' goal of transforming Puno's indigenous population into modern, disciplined Catholics. Father Kiernan, who like the other Maryknollers in 1943 had yet to learn Spanish and would never learn Quechua or Aymara, observed that like Puno's indigenous residents who did not speak Spanish, the bishop was not able "to speak well any language he speaks." Indeed, the Bishop's apparent adaptation to indigenous lifestyle even extended to his diet. Father Kiernan complained that "he eats Indian with a result that Father Carey has taken off 20 lbs; Father Holfield 10; Father Murphy 16 and I have dropped 13. Even our own kitchen hasn't improved matters much, since the Bishop insists on putting his man in there." By identifying Bishop Herrera with the indigenous people of Puno, the Maryknoll missionaries revealed their assumptions about racial hierarchies and made evident that in their view part of the problem with Catholicism in Peru was that the clergy, far from setting a proper example for the "Indians," allowed themselves to share their traits and practices. As Father Kiernan bluntly put it in a passage edited out

of his letter to Bishop Walsh “One job, it seems to me is to get the clergy out of the dirt, both figuratively and actually.”³⁰

The Bishop's apparent personal failures were matched in the Maryknollers' eyes by his failure to prepare adequately for the missionaries' arrival. In fact, Bishop Herrera's enthusiasm for Maryknoll's labor in Puno appeared inversely proportional to his preparations for the priests' settlement. The Seminary of San Ambrosio, which was to serve as the priests' home as well as the site one of their primary labors, was, according to Father Kiernan:

. . . a rat and flea trap built in 1890 and it looks as though it had been left idle for years. The rooms are sickening the toilet facilities consist of a back-house that is used by everyone that comes through here. There are no bath facilities. . . . On the right is a chapel – dirty, so dirty and indeed of repair that we have though it better not to reserve the Blessed Sacrament . . . When we came there was nothing prepared for us. They had borrowed three beds for us and three washstands, and Father Murphy was put in a room in the Bishop's palace. All the linen was borrowed. The rooms weren't even swept.

Yet no matter how much the Maryknollers disliked Bishop Herrera's lifestyle and apparently lackadaisical attitude towards their arrival, they could not escape the reality that he was their superior. Indeed, this is what seemed to grate most on the Americans' nerves. That this man who seemed to them unclean, inarticulate, and Indian (the characteristics appeared inextricably linked in their descriptions), had the power to direct their labors appeared to the missionaries an unacceptable reversal of the natural order of things, yet as they would soon discover, this was only the beginning.

³⁰ Arthur Kiernan, M.M. letter to James E. Walsh, April 1943, Puno, MMA.

The fact that, as their superior, Bishop Herrera had the right to direct the Maryknoll missionaries' labor in the department of Puno seemed to limit the opportunities they had for instituting changes in local practices of Catholicism. Although the priests had been told that they would be given control of the town's parish, San Juan, which was really the only potentially lucrative work they might do in the department, the local clergy refused to turn the church over to them and the Bishop refused to demand that they do so. In their first years, Maryknollers' work was thus limited to running the pre-seminary of San Ambrosio, performing services for a number of the religious orders, and acting as assistants to the Bishop and local clergy in religious ceremonies on major feast days and Holy days. Not until March 1944 did Father Garvey report that:

Today the matter of chaplaincies was definitely settled. After months of gratuitous helping out and numerous occasions of confusion we were appointed the official chaplains at the school for Indian girls run by the Salesian Sisters, and at the orphanage directed by the Sisters of Charity. . . . We will be paid a small fee for the services, but one none-the-less welcome. Father Cleary was appointed chaplain to the Salesians, and Father Garvey temporarily to the orphanage. The orphanage will do our laundry in the future.³¹

Rather than working among the people of Puno, laboring to improve local practices of Catholicism, the Maryknoll priests were thus forced to preach to the converted, as it were, offering Masses for other clergy. Not only did this service not conform with the missionaries' ideal of their role, it was not even well-paid!

³¹ The priests' work with local religious orders was not officially sanctioned during their first year in Puno and was thus unpaid. "Finally discovered that we have been taking over the duties of Chaplain at the Hospital while one of the Franciscan Fathers, the official Chaplain, received his monthly offering from the Sisters" James Garvey, M.M. and Donald Cleary, M.M. March 1943, Puno and Donald Cleary, M.M. December 1943, Puno, MMA.

The Maryknoll priests were not excluded entirely from religious services for the people of Puno, since the Bishop frequently called upon them to "assist" at Masses performed on official religious and secular holidays. Their role, however, seemed designed more to buttress the power of the existing civil-religious structure than to allow them to "restore the faith." Indeed, a brief analysis of some of these ceremonies reveals the central role the Church played in the social structure of Puno. In the ceremony to celebrate President Prado's birthday, for example, Father Kiernan reported that: "The Bishop officiated and the Prefect of the Department of Puno was in attendance. After the Mass, the bishop motioned for the Maryknollers to follow him. We went out the front door of the cathedral where the 15th Infantry was drawn up and the band struck up "Anchors Aweigh." Across the square to the prefecture we went up into the assembly hall where the leading men of Puno were gathered."³² The Maryknoll missionaries were thus placed in a position subordinate to that of the Bishop, but by participating in the ceremony, they nonetheless lent a new kind of symbolic power to the department's prefect, its leading men, and the military. Celebrating mass in honor of the nation's president in the remote department ensured that the state and church remained unified, or at least allied, in the eyes of the local populace.

The manner in which the Church helped reinforce the authority of and was bound to the local and national government was even more evident in Easter celebrations described by the Maryknoll missionaries in their first year in Puno. As was true for President Prado's birthday celebration, the Missionaries were called upon

³² Kiernan to Walsh April 1943, MMA.

to play a subordinate role in the Mass. On Holy Thursday the Bishop Consecrated the host, arrogating to himself the power to perform the most symbolically important ritual in the Easter Mass, while the Maryknollers were called upon to sing the “Ave Sanctum Oleum” and “Ave Sanctum Chrisma.” Puno's civil authorities played an even more prominent role in this service than they had in that for President Prado.

After benediction at the Repository, the Depository was locked and the key put on a huge red ribbon which in turn was placed around the Prefect's neck. The Prefect, the mayor and all the leading officials were in public attendance at all the Holy Week ceremonies. In the afternoon, twelve Indian beggars were lined up at the edge of the sanctuary and then the Bishop performed the traditional washing of the feet. After this ceremony, the Bishop and all the clergy visited all the repositories in Puno. A half hour after our visit, the secular government made their visits. In between the 15th Army Band accompanied many people who also visited each Repository.

The Bishop was charged with sanctifying the host and with bathing the feet of the indigenous people, suggesting that the Church would provide them with both the body of Christ, crucial to this Spring rite, and with succor. The consecrated host, however, was made accessible to the people by the Department Prefect who retained the tabernacle key. The indigenous people were thus symbolically dependent on both the civil and religious authorities who were inextricably bound through the ceremony. This hierarchical order was replicated in the visits to the town's repositories for the consecrated hosts, in which the Bishop led the procession, followed by the clergy, the government, and finally the military. This same processional order was followed on Good Friday when Cristo Yacente (the reclining Christ) was held aloft and followed by the Bishop, the clergy, civil authorities, and the military while people lined either side of the street paying homage to the figure of Christ as it passed.

Participation in this type of ritual offered the Maryknollers no opportunity to influence local practices of Catholicism. Instead, it forcibly incorporated them into existing practices. This was a far cry from what they had expected. If the missionaries could not have direct access to the people of Puno to enable them to proselytize, they hoped at least to establish an example of their ideal of Catholicism by creating a physical environment that conformed with that of the United States, where order and cleanliness were inextricably bound with practices of worship. In their first years in Puno, the priests' labor seemed limited to creating a kind of mini-America complete with heat, running water, electricity, and American food. Within a few short weeks of their arrival, the priests were scouting out Sears and Roebuck toilets, sinks, and a hot water heater in Arequipa. This purchase, along with one of a second hand stove, was made after Father Kiernan wired Maryknoll headquarters in New York to alert his superiors of the urgent need for heaters. By the 16th, just two weeks after the priests' arrival, Father Kiernan had already ordered beds, desks, and closets to be made for the Colegio San Ambrosio. Although the priests were not yet sure that this labor would be permanent they reasoned that by purchasing things that could "be moved later on" they could salvage their investment. This initial investment was to be only a tiny part of the total that Maryknoll would pour into Church infrastructure in Puno. The Maryknollers built so much, in fact, that the department's bishop would later joke "that Maryknoll would leave more ruins in the Peruvian altiplano than the Incas."³³

³³ Interview with Father McIntire, quoted in Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America: The Success and Failures of a Twentieth Century Mission Crusade*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979) 30.

The missionaries considered this construction necessary both to establish decent living conditions and to replicate the Catholic ideal of their communities in the northeastern United States. At home, the ordered and disciplined parochial compound was central to community life. But Maryknollers found that things were decidedly different in Puno and no matter how much they sought to create an American ideal in Peru, they would not succeed. Their efforts to construct an American environment, in fact, seemed to alienate local people who may have seen the Americans' obsession with cleanliness as an explicit criticism of their own lifestyle. Moreover, local clergy appeared as appalled by the Maryknoll priests as Maryknollers were by them. Father Kiernan reported for example, that upon visiting the newly refurbished Colegio San Ambrosio a Spanish priest "After seeing it all and ah, ahing for a while he put us back on our heels by saying that he wondered if we could save our souls when we could wash our bodies so easily."³⁴

Other examples of the locals' apparent alienation ranged from the type of overt criticism voiced by this priest, to a much more pernicious tendency to simply ignore the Maryknollers, to overt hostility, and ultimately to confrontation. During their first four years in urban Puno, the Maryknoll missionaries had only minimal interaction with the town's mestizos. Most of the priests' time was spent with the Bishop, members of religious orders in Puno, and foreigners.³⁵ The Maryknoll center

³⁴ Arthur Kiernan, M.M., February 1944, Puno, MMA.

³⁵ "Mr. Cavadine of the Arequipa U.S. Vice-Consulate calls. He is of our faith and a Georgetown graduate. Later in the day he called again with Dr. and Mrs. Tschoppic, American citizens who are in this part of the world for research work in Anthropology and Archaeology." Raymond C. Hohlfield, M.M., May 1943, Puno, MMA. "We meet an Italian who runs a general store in Puno who speaks perfect English. His father sent him to England to learn banking and he and his cousin end up in Puno with a general store. This Mr. Perodi was destined to help us on many occasions when our Spanish

came to seem a kind of center for foreign visitors, which undoubtedly enhanced the missionaries' alienation from the local populace. As the Maryknoll priests' first year in Puno came to a close, Father Cleary observed:

Ring out the old and ring in the new. It is the end of the year but only the beginning of our work here in Puno. In cold facts and figures we haven't accomplished very much. But facts and figures are not always a true indication. We have established our two Missions at Macusani and Cuyu-Cuyo. We have instructed our first First Communion class and have held our first graduation exercise from the Primary School. Reports from Lima indicate a favorable reception of our plans for a Seminary and Media. We have learned a bit of the language and some customs and are beginning to understand the psychology of the people. Little by little we have seen the indifference and hostility of the people decrease, so that only now in this last month or so, many greet us in the streets. Little enough for more than six months of work, but with the help of God and the prayers of the faithful the year of '44 will see a blossoming of what has just been begun .

³⁶

That Father Cleary could suggest that being greeted on the streets was a positively noteworthy change hints at the level of hostility the American priests experienced in Puno. Even the first Communion that Father Cleary counts among the missionaries' accomplishments was only marginally successful. He had observed on the occasion that: "some of the parents refused to permit their children to receive, saying that they were too young, or didn't have any new clothes, etc. It is a fine example of the indifference to the reception of the Sacraments that we have encountered here."³⁷

Indigenous people and to a lesser extent mestizo women appeared to be the only Puneños interested in the religious services Maryknoll offered. The priests' first

would not get us through. In another store we meet a Scotchman who runs a large hacienda some 40 miles from here. He introduced himself and told us that he had heard of our coming and that after we got settled he wanted us to come up and meet his Peruvian wife and children. He is just beginning the manufacture of butter and promises to keep us on his list when he starts selling it." Arthur Kiernan, M.M. April 1943, Puno, MMA.

³⁶ Donald Cleary, M.M., December 1943, Puno, MMA.

baptism in Puno – a full year after their arrival – was of an Indian child.³⁸ Their first confession was of a woman and their first sick call was of an indigenous man.³⁹

The Maryknoll priests, who had been led to believe by their superior that “. . . the Catholic faith is the real passport to the hearts of the people of Latin America. The Latin American people seem to have a genius for friendship, and above all, friendship with any priest who loves them and cares for them,” may have been slightly taken aback by the apparent lack of warmth exhibited by the locals towards them.⁴⁰ Lack of warmth might be a generous description. The actual hostility they felt took the form of everything from service people taking advantage of them as when they discovered that their cook was taking a share of the money meant to buy groceries to construction workers stealing building materials from the seminary.⁴¹ Father Hohlfed noted that “It was discovered this afternoon that twenty soles or about three dollars worth of tiles for our lavatory floor have gone out of our yard in the pockets of Indians who have been in and out.”⁴²

There was no shortage of reasons for the Maryknoll missionaries’ less than popular status in the department, but chief among them was surely their unintended, but still palpable cultural arrogance. They believed the American way of life, of

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ “In the hospital of San Juan de Dios, Maryknoll had its first baptism; Father Carey baptised George, an Indian boy.” Arthur Kiernan, M.M. April 1943, Puno, MMA.

³⁹Baptism see: Donald Cleary, M.M. “Trip to Ayaviri” 1943, MMA. Had our first sick call in Puno today – an old Indian who was sick with pneumonia. Father Lyons heard his confession and gave him last rites. He then spent an hour or so talking to the old man and promised to bring him communion tomorrow morning as he seemed fairly strong and in no immediate danger. . .” Donald Cleary, M.M. December 1943, Puno, MMA.

⁴⁰ “Memorandum for Latin America Maryknollers” by Bishop James E. Walsh, Superior General, January 21, 1943, MMA.

⁴¹ Raymond C. Hohlfed, M.M., May 1943, Puno, MMA.

⁴² Ibid.

religious practice, of doing, was the best way. To start, they spoke very little if any Spanish and did not begin to learn the language until well after their arrival in the department. Surely their inability to speak Spanish fluently made interaction with locals more challenging, but as any traveler knows there are many forms of communication that require only a minimum of words. Where the desire to communicate exists it can be done. But it may be that the young, rather self-righteous priests, were less than desirable conversation partners. Even they recognized that “Many are supposedly scandalized to see the way we talk to [Bishop Herrera], giving our opinions straight from the shoulder.” But they believed that in keeping with American ideals of directness, The Bishop “likes the manner better than the insincere bowing and scraping.”⁴³ If they were “scandalized” by Maryknollers treatment of the Bishop, some locals may have been even less enthusiastic about the priests’ building fetish – especially when it interfered in their lives. Father Kiernan reported:

[the] next door neighbor gets an injunction against us because we enlarged a window on his side and there is a Peruvian law about the right of “shade.” Bishop takes care of the matter. It turns out that Father Kiernan remembers seeing an old plan someplace in the seminary so he finds it to confirm his impression that the next door neighbor is a “squatter.” It takes a while to convince the Bishop, but finally he succumbs and he and his lawyer spend three days in the archives for original deeds. The sum of the matter is that the Seminary now has almost half an acre the authorities knew nothing about.⁴⁴

Father Kiernan’s response to the complaint may not have been ideal for developing good neighbors. Nor, it seems, would his conclusion that the “moral seems to be not

⁴³ Arthur Kiernan, M.M., February 1944, Puno, MMA

⁴⁴ Arthur Kiernan, M.M., May 1943, Puno, MMA.

to be stingy with people enlarging windows,” have endeared him to the folks next door.

Despite these rather bumpy beginnings, things did move along. San Ambrosio did prove a success, with enrollment reaching 118 primary students and 51 high school students in 1945. The priests were told that people had returned their children from Lima, Arequipa, or Cuzco to school them locally now that the seminary was opened.⁴⁵ And in 1947 things really started to look up, when the Maryknollers received notice that at long last the keys to San Juan, the local parish, would be turned over to them. But with that begins another story. First we need to address the other half of the Maryknollers labors, or as they put it their “real mission work”: their efforts in Carabaya, and Sandia, the indigenous rural provinces that Bishop Herrera had placed in their care.

Carabaya and Sandia

Priests were allied closely with hacendados in the hierarchy of Puno since they shared in common a reliance upon indigenous people for their wealth and thus the need to dominate this population. In virtually every report detailing abuses of indigenous people, hacendados, governing officials, and priests are listed as the

⁴⁵ “We are told that many people have sent their children away from Puno so they could attend better schools. The hope is that when ours is functioning perfectly, they will return their children to Puno.” Ibid. “Senor Terracez, the secretary of our school, arrived from a promotion trip of the Department on behalf of our school. He reported the idea of the school to be very well received among the better class people. However, as usual, they harped on the prices. Very many were reluctant to pay the 65 soles per month board (\$10.00 U.S.). Many promises of attendance were made to Señor Terracez, some by people who ordinarily send their children to Lima. Some vocations were secured, a matter in which most of the pastors were unfortunately lax.” James Garvey, M.M. and Donald Clearly, M.M., March 1944, MMA

primary perpetrators.⁴⁶ Indeed, the means of domination over indigenous people appeared a combination of control over resources (land) and religious power. Because priests, hacendados, and governing officials competed for control over the indigenous population, theirs was a tenuous alliance fraught with conflict. The alliance between priests and elites was influenced strongly by the ideology of individual priests as well as by their need for resources from indigenous people. Despite conflict, however, in times of crisis priests could generally be counted upon to come to the aid of the established elites. Priests played a crucial role in maintaining control over the indigenous people during uprisings. In the Rumi Maqui rebellion of 1915, for example, the authorities were forced to appeal to the local clergy to quell the unrest just as they had been forced to do during the Tupac Amaru rebellion.⁴⁷ In the evidence from the preceding chapter it was evident that the national and local government recognized implicitly and sometimes even explicitly that the Church was central to controlling the indigenous population. Local elites had very specific ideas about what priests should do, and these did not include Maryknollers' desire to change local religious practices foundational to the social order, or to their desire to improve the "condition of the Indian." The role of the Church and the priest was well established. Thus, from the point of view of the established hierarchy, changing religious practices was neither necessary, nor desirable. Instead, the purpose of religion was to maintain the status quo in which a minority controlled the majority of

⁴⁶ This triumvirate of power is evident in the Tupac Amaru rebellion (see Chapter 2) and in the reports of the first pro-indigenous groups that visited Puno. "Comision Pro-Indigena, Lima, 1922 Informe en Roca, P. Erasmo, *Por la Clase Indigena* Pedro Barrantes Castro, editor (Lima: Compañia de Impresiones y Publicidad, 1935).

people and resources in the department. The Maryknoll missionaries' ideology made the potential for conflict between them and the local elites greater than that which in some measure had always existed among priests, hacendados, and governing officials.

The goal of the local elite fundamentally contradicted that of the Maryknoll missionaries, whose purpose was to change local religious practice with the hope that doing so would contribute to modernization of local society through the "advancement of the Indian." For the Maryknoll missionaries the "quality" of one's Catholic practices was the ultimate criterion for judging people because it was fundamentally linked to all other aspects of life from maintaining the patriarchal structure of the family to organizing one's daily life. These practices were not limited to what happened in Church, though that was central, but encompassed "Christian behavior" which included treating those who were less well-off with a kind of paternalistic generosity. The elite of rural Peru were neither good practicing Catholics in the Maryknoll sense of participating in the sacramental life of the Church nor in their behavior toward the "ignorant Indians." Rather than trying to "enlighten" indigenous people, Puno's rural elite hoped to maintain them in a subordinate position. The Church was not only complicit in this subjugation, but was instrumental to it.

Although it is impossible to know with certainty why Bishop Herrera selected Carabaya and Sandia for the Maryknoll missionaries, it seems likely that the provinces' isolation from the Peruvian state and Church and their location on the frontier with Bolivia may have contributed to his choice. Sandia and Carabaya were a

⁴⁷ Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. *La Iglesia en el Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1996).

single province until 1875 when they were divided. Both were characterized by dramatic differences in altitude and climate within the province, extraordinarily low population densities, and a dearth of means of communication. Only 1,500 people inhabited Carabaya's 6,788 square kilometers in 1928 and in the same year Sandia had a population of 18,000 on its 15,187 square kilometers.⁴⁸ Despite their isolation, the two provinces were considered to be among Peru's wealthiest in terms of natural resources, so protecting them against Bolivian incursions and ensuring control over their diverse indigenous populations was important to Puno's and perhaps even the nation's well-being. Sandia was known for both its spectacular valleys where a warm, and in some places, even "semi-tropical" climate prevailed, making them perfect environments for agricultural production of a wide range of fruits and vegetables. Coca, coffee, corn, wheat, fava beans, barley potatoes, sugar cane, and even rice are among the products cultivated in these fertile valleys. In addition to the valuable agricultural production, gold panning was another crucial economic activity. Despite this wealth of products in the province the difficulty of terrain, in which the altitude ranges from a low of 2,847 (in Quiaca) meters to a high of 5,430 meters (in Poto), made the construction of roads and even means of communication among the province's eight districts exceedingly difficult.⁴⁹ Similarly, Carabaya, with which Sandia shared a frontier, is also an extraordinarily wealthy but isolated province. The wealth of Carabaya was founded on its abundant gold reserves which made the province the object of great interest for everyone from the Incas through the Spaniards

⁴⁸ Emilio Romero, *Monografía del departamento de Puno* (Lima: 1928) 327 and 348.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 348-353.

and to contemporary miners from throughout the world. The explorer Martin Conway is said to have declared that the mines of Carabaya could compete with those of the Transvaal, Alaska, and Australia.⁵⁰

In 1912 when Puno's Bishop Valentin Ampuero made his pastoral visit through the department, he observed that in the province of Sandia:

the roads do not deserve to be called roads. The districts of Quiaca and Sina have been without a priest for twelve years; now they are abandoned. Because they border Bolivia they are bolivianized, they don't even know the flag of their country. I have given instructions to the priests to instruct the faithful not only in their responsibilities as Christians, but also their obligations to their country.⁵¹

In fact, neither the Church nor the state asserted a strong presence in the provinces of Carabaya and Sandia. The absence of the Church may have been due in part to what was perceived as the poverty of the regions, where despite a wealth in natural resources, there seemed little created "wealth." Bishop Ampuero observed that the "parishes are very poor, and hardly give what is necessary to sustain a priest." The department prefect noted in his report of 1900 that the churches in these provinces were among the most decayed in the department. Even when the state began making inroads into remote regions like Puno, the inaccessibility of Carabaya and Sandia ensured that they remained isolated. When the first Pro-Indigenous Commission traveled to Puno to take indigenous people's grievances, Carabaya and Sandia were

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 326.

⁵¹ Informe: Que de la Santa Visita Pastoral Presenta el Itmo. Y Rvmo. Mons. D.D. Valentin Ampuero, Obispo de Puno, al Supremo Gobierno 1912 (Visitas: XXVII:24, AEP). See also: "El señor Ministro de Estado en el Despacho de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas me ha dirigido una comunicación manifestándome que ha dispuesto comisionar al Ingeniero don Moises Zamudio, Jefe de la División de Asuntos Técnicos de la Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas, para que organice una campaña que fortifique los sentimientos nacionalistas de la masa indígena en la zona fronteriza de Bolivia, y me solicita que considere la forma en que podría colaborar el clero de la región para el mejor éxito de la

the only regions not visited. Indigenous people from these provinces were told to travel to Azángaro or Ayaviri to register their grievances.⁵² It was simply not possible for the commission to travel the distance to get there.

In the absence of a strong state presence it seemed, as the Bishop suggested, that the Church might serve as both state surrogate and a force for nationalism. Bishop Ampuero noted that priests were instructed to teach the indigenous people that they were Peruvian citizens and to exhibit a flag in their offices. The latter might have been more difficult than he realized since the Prefect of Puno as late as 1930 was writing to the national government begging that it send flags because it had been two years since they had received any and those they had were “in a state of complete decay.”⁵³ The prefect also asserted that priests were failing in their civic duty by not maintaining the books of baptism, marriage, and death, crucial to identify citizens. Although the government passed an official law in 1936 calling for the establishment of civil birth, marriage and death registries, most people continued to rely on the records kept by the local priest, which were relatively more reliable and better organized.⁵⁴

comisión encomendada.” Alejandro Freundt y Rosell, Ministro de Justicia y Culto to Ilustrísimo Mons. Alberto M. Dettmann, Obispo de Puno 7 de diciembre de 1953, Lima.

⁵² P. Erasmo Roca S., *Por la Clase Indígena*, 251.

⁵³ 1930 Prefectura 298 9 junio 1930, AGN.

⁵⁴ Código Civil, Sección Sexta de los registros del estado civil. Eduardo García Calderón, *Constituciones códigos y leyes del Perú*, (Lima: Librería e imprenta Gil, 1935) 90-95. William P. Mitchell, *Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991) 133. Mitchell reports of a Province in Ayacucho in Peru's Central Highlands that “People need marriage and baptismal records often: to obtain identity documents, to contract marriage, to enter school. . . The church was the only source of birth records in Quinua until 1935, when the civil register was established. The church continued as an important source of such documentation until 1960, when Quineuenos began to register births systematically in the municipality rather than the church.”

Priests were thus crucial to maintaining the civil order through their administrative and symbolic acts. As was true in urban Puno, in rural Puno services to commemorate national secular and religious holidays provided an opportunity to display and reinforce the hierarchical order of society. The elaborate preparations for the patronal fiesta of Ayapata described by Father Meaney illustrate the relationship between town authorities, the Church, and indigenous people.⁵⁵

Preparations for tomorrow's feast continue. The candles are brought to the church, deposited at the sanctuary and the alferado with the mayordomos proceed to place them. There is a special ceremony for this. Beforehand, town officials and prominent members of the parish with the pastor are invited to a lunch at the place where the alferado is lodging. After the lunch, the candles are distributed among the guests, each one receiving a candle. The musicos lead the way, while the others follow. As they near the church the bells peal forth. Somewhere in the past, this ceremony doubtless had an impressive significance. Today, however, it was a rather cold ceremonial piece of formalism.⁵⁶

Although there is no reference to the ethnicity of the alferado, testimony in other contexts suggests that he is likely to have been indigenous as were the mayordomos. These indigenous men were thus responsible for providing the necessary candles for the fiesta. They also had to offer a meal to the town officials, prominent parishioners and the pastor, all of whom would have been white or mestizo at this time. The alferados also paid the priest the requisite fees for his services. The indigenous people

⁵⁵ See also: "Surprisingly enough things went off very well this morning. By insisting that the Mass take place at 9 a.m. because of those who wished to receive Holy Communion I stepped on the toes of a few of the leading citizens who thought that time extremely early to be up and around. As it turned out everyone was on hand, including the town officials and a Guard of Honor from the Guardia Civil, and we started at 9:15. Except when the chain on the thurible got tangled and some live coals fell on the rug (which one of the Indian servers promptly picked up in his bare hand and put back in the thurible) nothing untoward occurred. About 400 people were present in the Church and of those 70 received Communion. Not a great number, nor very gratifying, but at least a start." Donald Cleary, M.M., *Holy Week in Macusani*, April 1944, MMA.

⁵⁶ Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. February 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

thus provided the crucial base of economic support for the church and by serving the authorities accepted implicitly the established social order.

The manner in which the Maryknoll priests inadvertently helped subvert this social order by refusing to accede to established norms when they took over the parishes in remote Carabaya and Sandia also were evident in Father Meaney's description of this occasion. He noted that "A letter was sent to the alcalde informing him that unless the streets around the plaza were cleaned up by mass time tomorrow, there would be no procession there, in the traditional manner."⁵⁷ The letter was, of course, sent by Father Meaney who referred to himself in his diaries in the third person as "the pastor" and described his actions as those of "the pastor." In demanding that the alcalde have the streets cleaned, Father Meaney had asserted his independence from the official, and threatened (though indirectly and probably unintentionally) to undermine his power by making him responsible if there turned out to be no fiesta Mass. While the indigenous people were responsible for supplying the requisite materials for the fiesta, the governing officials, the town elite, and the priest were responsible for performing the ceremonies. Thus a cancellation of the Mass would be considered a violation of the reciprocal relationship among the indigenous people, the elite, and the town's Patron Saint. According to local tradition and lines of authority, the responsibility for this violation would fall upon the Alcalde, who could then potentially be held responsible for crop failure or any inclement weather which might be sent by the offended patron saint.

⁵⁷ Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. February 1945, Ayapata. MMA.

The potential for conflict between Maryknoll priests and local governing officials and elites resulted not just from their differing ideals of cleanliness as in the case of Father Meaney's demand for street sweeping, but a more general disparity in ideals about behavior and specifically about what made a "good Catholic." Indeed, as we have seen, cleanliness was, in the view of Maryknollers, part and parcel of being a good, practicing Catholic, but it was not the only requirement. For Maryknollers, Catholicism meant proper behavior inside and outside the Church. Inside the Church good Catholics participated in Sacraments, while outside the Church they were honest, moderate in their consumption, fair, and charitable. In the eyes of the Maryknollers, Puno's rural elite failed miserably on all counts.

Local elites' failure to support the Church and assist the indigenous people conformed with what the Maryknollers perceived as a more general moral turpitude evident in their comportment. Father Carey's description of a New Year's fest he was invited to attend in CuyuCuyo reveals the priests' perception of the local "gente decente":

Invited out to dinner. Many of the guests are groggy but they are still taking every drink. After four or five rounds they had the nerve to bring in hot soup. After the soup course everyone was talking at once all was noise confusion and dancing. They think that the only reason Father Michalik and I don't dance is because we don't like the women. They say we are the only priests who ever came here and didn't dance. I scrambled. The hotel was nice and quite. But glory be doesn't the son of the hotel keeper bring the whole mob of them here. They are dancing and singing in the dining room under my room. The people at this party are the "best" in town. They run the district the way they want. This place is like the Wild West when it was wild.

Father Carey's description reveals the mutual disdain of the priests and the local elite. The mere suggestion that a priest would dance with a woman in public would have been anathema to the Maryknollers, accustomed as they were to a religious order in which priests' authority was masculine, but somehow asexual.⁵⁸ In the context of rural Peru, however, priests' participation in common-law marriage was quite common. In fact, Father Carey intended to serve as pastor in Sandia and only remained in Cuyucuyo because the current pastor, Father Mariscal, "was living in the rectory with his family, [and] claimed that conditions were so crowded that he could not possibly find room for Father [Carey], and that although he intended to move on to his new assignment soon, it would take about six months to make the necessary arrangements".⁵⁹ Priests' physical distance from urban Puno provided them with a kind of insulation from the control of their superior, the Bishop, who could do little to enforce his demands that priests like Father Mariscal relinquish control of their parishes.⁶⁰ This distance assured a relative freedom that would not preclude dancing with local women. Father Carey was also appalled, however, by what he perceived as the drunkenness, revelry, and disregard for proper order.⁶¹ The locals, it seems,

⁵⁸ For an excellent analysis of this desexualized masculine power see: "The Bells of St. Mary or Why Priests drove us Crazy" in *Catholic Lives, Contemporary America*, ed. Thomas J. Ferraro (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

⁵⁹ Robert Kearns, *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru*, vol. 1, 61.

⁶⁰ Indeed, three of the Maryknoll priests were placed in the position of advising their predecessors that they had to leave their parishes and return to Puno. "It seems there is a native priest here who is assigned to Chuquito, but who likes Pucara so settled down here. He was not around this morning but showed up this afternoon at my room. I had orders from the bishop to tell the man to report to the bishop in Puno *quam primum*. The padre didn't like it but with a little persuasion will go tomorrow. John Byrne, M.M. October 1944, Pucara, MMA, also Thomas J. Carey, M.M. and Donald Cleary, M.M.

⁶¹ "The Macusani Carnival of 1945 will be an unpleasant memory for the pastor. Indians asked him to bless crosses for the occasion. He asked them what the cross means to a Catholic, they did not seem even to understand that he was asking them a question. Men of whom you would not expect it, were

showed equal disdain for these conservative priests who refused to participate in their celebration. Their response hardly corresponded with the Maryknoll ideal of respect for the priest.

The Maryknoll missionaries' distress by the apparent lack of respect by the local elite for the priest was exceeded by their disgust at the local elites' failure to respect Catholic precepts. They did not participate in sacraments. They did not fulfill Church mandates regarding abstinence from meat on Fridays. They did not contribute money to the parish. Father Cleary derided the elite for their failure by observing that "the Indians I could excuse because they have been neglected for years and have received little or no instruction. But the so-called "decentes" and educated people have no excuse."⁶² Their failure ranged from disregarding mandatory fasts on Holy Days of obligation to refusing to marry, confess, or take Eucharist. Even during the central religious holidays during which everyone in town attended Mass, the priests constantly lamented the elites' failure to participate in crucial Catholic rituals. The diaries are filled with observations like that of Father Cleary during Holy Week in Macusani.

Mass at 7 the Church was packed, complete with band, but unfortunately there were only about 30 communions. At 9:30 the Church was slightly less completely filled but only two communions. . . . After supper rang the bell for half an hour for the usual Sunday nite service of Rosary and Benediction. All that showed up were about 25 Indians. As they can't respond to the Rosary in Spanish and I can't say it in Quechua had only

drunk off their dignity those days with white flour all over their dark suits." Raymond C. Hohlfeld, February 1945, Macusani, MMA.

⁶² Donald Cleary, M.M., April 1944, Macusani, MMA.

Benediction and for that had to do a solo on the hymns. Guess there are too many parties tonight. . . ."63

Even people who appeared "good Catholics" did not necessarily conform with the Maryknollers' ideals. Father Meaney, in describing one of the women in town who assisted him by acting as intermediary with the indigenous people and advising him of local political intrigues, observed that she "might be considered one of the pillars of the church were it not for the fact that she is the unmarried mother of five children."⁶⁴ The priests seem to have felt little compunction about correcting the locals for the errors of their ways, as for example when Father Cleary was invited to dine at Señor Temistocles' home he "promptly put a damper on the proceedings by refusing to eat half the stuff because it had meat mixed up with it, and informing all present that they shouldn't eat it either. Perhaps not the nicest thing in the world for a guest to do, but these people have to learn sometime that the few days of fast and abstinence that prevail down here are meant to be observed."⁶⁵ Not only did rural elites refuse to participate in weekly Sacraments, they asked virtually nothing of the priests except that they perform crucial fiesta rituals. There is, in fact, only one reference to an explicit request made by a hacendado to a Maryknoller for religious services. When he visited Macusani for Holy Week in 1944, Father Cleary was asked by a hacendado some twenty minutes from town, that he come to bless his house, fields, and flocks.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid., See also "Mass well attended but nobody wants to go to confession or communion. I enjoy asking them in order to see the surprised look on their faces." Thomas J. Carey, M.M., January 1944, CuyuCuyo. MMA.

⁶⁴ Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. January 1 – February 15, 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Donald Cleary, M.M. April 3, 1944, Holy Week in Macusani, MMA.

The dearth of requests made by rural elite for religious services and their neglect of the sacramental life of the Church was more than made up for by the indigenous people whose religious demands, while they were minimal at first, began gradually to overwhelm the priests. Although the indigenous people's form of Catholicism did not correspond with that which the Maryknoll missionaries considered "orthodox," they did demonstrate Faith and thus the potential to become "good practical Catholics." The missionaries' foundational ideas about their purpose combined, with indigenous people's religious fervor and their poverty, especially when contrasted with the elites' "greed" and disregard for the Faith, led naturally to the Maryknoll missionaries' favoring the indigenous people over the local elite.

The missionaries' favoritism was, however, weighted heavily by condescension and paternalism, since it assumed that the indigenous people's failings, much in contrast to those of elites, resulted from ignorance rather than from a distinct view of what was Catholicism. The Maryknoll priests' descriptions of the Indians' practices, even when they included favorable comments about the indigenous people's faith, often derided them for the form of its manifestation. The result of this mixture of admiration and condescension was evident in priests' attributing indigenous people's participation in rituals primarily to a secular desire for pleasure and secondarily to their "religious" devotion. For example, in describing the Feast of St. John the Baptist, Father Michalik observed that:

The Vespers of the Feast of San Juan Bautista. And to the Indians it means another time for feasting and no work and plenty of music and dancing. This morning at mass at San Juan Church, the Indians brought along five fatted sheep all dolled up with colored ribbons and paint on their wool. After mass they were blessed according to the ancient custom

and off to the pueblos for the killing and feasting. Then more Indians came around to have some holy pictures and particles of wool blessed by the padre -- and all sorts of crude statuettes and images. . . but there's a deep devotion behind it all. These Indians may be poor and maltreated -- but they have a devotion that's deep and sincere and holy.⁶⁷

The priest's praise of the indigenous people's "devotion" comes almost as an afterthought, implying that the devotion was separable from the feasting, dancing, and drinking, when for indigenous people these acts and the "dolloed up" sheep were professions of devotion. The Maryknollers implied that the elite chose not to worship, while the indigenous people did not know how to worship, when in reality Catholicism was central to the lives of both groups, though its form was distinct. What came to surprise the clergy was that despite their "ignorance" the indigenous people demonstrated what seemed to the missionaries to be a much stronger religious faith and a greater potential for becoming "good practical Catholics" than did the local elite.

As Father Cleary observed at the patronal fiesta in Macusani:

The devotion—or at least what seems to me to be devotion—of these poor people impresses me deeply. I know they don't go to Mass or frequent the Sacraments, that the Fiesta is for most a Social event during which there is much drunkenness and other excesses. All this I know. But when I see them straining under the weight of the statue, when I see them crowding around our Blessed Mother, when I see them kneeling in the streets, when I see groups, many of whom are no more than children, dancing about the statue during the entire procession, then it seems to me that these poor uneducated Indians have a love, a faith in many ways deeper and more beautiful than that of which we sometimes feel so proud.⁶⁸

After deriding indigenous people, Father Cleary offered them the ultimate praise: their Faith was comparable, possibly even stronger, than that of American Catholics.

⁶⁷ Anthony M. Michalik, M.M. July 13, 1944, Puno, MMA.

Their faith was misguided, but that was not their fault. It resulted from years of religious neglect. The Maryknollers hoped to ameliorate this situation. As Father Cleary concluded: "The more I see of these Indians, the more I pray that God will provide us with both the men and the money to establish and maintain schools and a native seminary. For I feel sure that instruction in the Doctrine would make these people exemplary Catholics and priests of their own could easily keep them such."⁶⁹

Initially the evidence of Faith came in the form of indigenous people's fervent participation in processions and fiestas like that observed by Father Cleary in his first year in Puno. It soon became evident, however, that the people also wanted Sacraments. Father Carey complained that "These people in all my district have plenty of Faith in Masses and Baptism less in Matrimony and scarcely none at all in Confession and Communion and Extreme Unction. Most don't know what the later is".⁷⁰ In fact, his testimony and that of the other priests suggests either that Father Carey's conclusions were incorrect, or that in the presence of the Maryknoll priests, who were willing to provide religious services, things changed very quickly.

Indigenous people's demand for sacraments and other religious services and the times they sought these services was mandated by established religious and cultural practices which had over a long period of time become wedded to civil

⁶⁸ Donald Cleary, September 1943, Another Trip to Ayaviri, MMA.

⁶⁹ Ibid. See also: "After four days in Ollachea the parroco returns to Ayapata. The most consoling incident of this stay in Ollachea, and there were many, was the first communion of an old Indian who was born a Catholic, and who had gone through his eighty years of faithfulness to his religion without even knowing what the Blessed Sacrament is. At times, the ignorance of these poor Indians who stalwartly profess that they are Catholics is a caution. When faithfulness to the Church is predicated of these people, it does not always mean that they are practicing Catholics in the North American sense. So often with these people, it is a protestation rather than a life." Joseph P. Meaney, January 1 to February 15 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

⁷⁰ Donald Carey, M.M., January 1944 CuyoCuyo, MMA.

practices. This relationship is evident, for example, in Baptism, which as Father Carey noted, virtually everyone (mestizo and indigenous) had received and consistently sought. For indigenous people, the sacrament of baptism was necessary for both religious and civil reasons. Baptismal certificates served in lieu of birth certificates in Peru and were necessary for everything from avoiding military and labor drafts, to purchasing land, and enrolling in school. For indigenous people the significance of baptism was not, however, limited to this practical secular function. The sacrament also was necessary to ensure community well-being since people believed that an unbaptized child would incur the wrath of God whose punishment would befall not just the infant, as in the Catholic tradition which asserted that an unbaptized child would go to "limbo," but the entire community. Hail which devastated crops was attributed to the presence in a community of an unbaptized child. The Maryknoll priests described many occasions in the 1940s and later years when indigenous people entered the church, having traveled for hours, begging that the priest come immediately to baptize their child. In Puno, for example:

Father Lyons. . . was approached by an Indian after Mass and asked to baptize a baby who was very sick. Father Lyons went to the Baptistry but failed to see any signs of a baby. While he waited the Indian approached and removing the pack from his shoulders unwrapped the several layers of cloth. There lay the baby, his face and body covered with blood. To all appearances he had been dead for a good number of hours . . .⁷¹

Baptism was, however, only one of the religious services demanded by the indigenous people of rural Puno. Of equal import were requests for blessings for homes, fields, and flocks (especially during inclement weather), prayers for the dead,

⁷¹ Donald Cleary Diary December 1943, Dec. 7, MMA.

and Confession and Last Rites. Indeed, notwithstanding Father Carey's assertion that people seemed not to know what Confession and Extreme Unction were, priests' diaries, indicate that indigenous people inundated the priests with requests for these services. It may be that CuyuCuyo was somewhat unique because it had been without a priest for so long that indigenous "catechists" had in many cases taken over the role of the clergy offering Masses, Baptism, and Last Rites. Father Carey reported that he had to replace two "Economos" one of whom:

has been a local disgrace for years but the former Pastor could not get rid of him. We appointed another but in vain. This man who called himself an irremovable economo has been living in concubinage for years and saying "Mass" for the Indians when he gets a good stipend. As he came up the road I saw that he was about fifty years old, rather stout, built like a potato, wearing a ten gallon hat, high leather boots reaching his knees, kaki trousers and a makinaw. His face was red and round. He came up to me, drew himself up to his full 5ft 6 in. threw his head back and his stomach out and said "I am in charge of the parishes of Peto, Pamapa Blanca, and Puyunco." I stared at him or probably glared for a while looking down on him. Then I told him that he was wrong I am in charge of these churches and you take orders from me. Now go down to the church and bring back a black cope and the incense. The mayordomo went with him and shortly they returned with them.⁷²

When Father Carey walked the streets trying to drag people into the Church for confession, he was told by "a young man. 'Father we haven't the custom of going to confession. All the priests ever did here was get all the money they could and then

⁷² Thomas J. Carey, M.M. February, 1944 Cuyucuyo, MMA. This would actually be a problem in subsequent years as the priests developed the "catechetical system" with some unintended consequences, namely the tendency of catechists to take over the role of priests. In fact, in the post-Vatican II era, some Maryknollers, disappointed by the Pope's refusal to accept the Maryknoll Bishop of Juli's proposal that indigenous priests be allowed to marry, began offering "Holy Orders" to catechists, arguing that they were the true priests in the department. Conversation Maryknoll priest, February, 1995, Yunguyo, Puno, Peru.

leave."⁷³ Despite this neglect, however, Father Carey did report sick calls in this remote district.

It seems that while indigenous people may not have had the formal practice of going to Confession or asking for Last Rites when the Maryknoll missionaries arrived in rural Puno, they quickly adopted or re-adopted these practices.⁷⁴ Initially, participation in Confession was limited to Holy Week, which had been the time for Confession in both the Incan and Spanish religious traditions. Father Foody observed: "So far as I can see the only way to get these people to Confession and Communion is to be at the town during Holy Week, and give them 'hell-fire and brim-stone'. Even then, you only get about half, but then, that's better than a paltry few pious souls."⁷⁵ Holy Week usually fell just before the Harvest and Confession provided an opportunity to ensure that the balance between people and God was in order. The entire community would be punished for the sins of an individual and punishment came in the form of inclement weather, crop destruction, illness, etc. It was thus especially crucial that in the time preceding the harvest sins be confessed and forgiven. Indeed, indigenous people's concern for this balance seems to have been such that it prompted the practice dubbed by the Maryknoll priests as "reconciliation". As Father Cleary rather testily described it:

I don't know who started the custom known here as "reconciliation" but I have some very definite ideas in regards to what should be done to him or

⁷³ Thomas J. Carey, M.M. February, 1944 Cuyucuyo, MMA.

⁷⁴ Father Rickert in Macusani in 1946 observed for example that "When the Indians are rounded up for Matrimony it is to the Senora we turn with a plea that she prepare them for the reception of the Sacraments. And it really is Sacraments -- not only matrimony but first confession and communion. Baptism is quite common here. Believe I've had two marriages thus far where one of the parties had made his first confession." Joseph J. Rickert, M.M. June 1946, Macusani, MMA.

⁷⁵ Stephen Foody, M.M., April 1944 Macusani, MMA.

them. It works something like this. A person comes to confession, is absolved, says his penance and then happens to think of some sin he forgot. So back he comes to be reconciled. This, perhaps, shows a very commendable desire to prepare well to receive the Holy Eucharist, but it also shows a lack of knowledge of the Doctrine of the Sacrament of Penance. And when twenty or more people come back three or four times it becomes a bit wearing. I could explain things to those who spoke Spanish, but my Quechua certainly was inadequate to say the least, and my confession book was no help at all. When a certain penitent came back for the fifth time, in despair I called the Sacristan over and had him explain for me.⁷⁶

Father Cleary's description reveals not only his frustration at what he perceived to be "lack of knowledge," but also the virtual impossibility for the priests to convey this knowledge to people whose language they did not speak.

Barriers of language and distance made it nearly impossible for the Maryknoll missionaries to work effectively to change local practices of worship. But what seems especially remarkable, is that the indigenous people, despite their inability to speak Spanish, were tremendously adept at persuading the American priests to perform rituals of worship crucial to community survival. Clearly, their ability to obtain these services depended on the effectiveness of intermediaries. Initially the missionaries relied on both mestizo governing officials and indigenous intermediaries, but the latter quickly came to usurp the positions of the former as both the priests and the indigenous people sought to eliminate what they perceived as unhelpful interference.

Father Meaney's experience with the Alcalde of Ayapata illustrates both the initial importance of elite intermediaries and the reasons why they might be superseded by indigenous people. Father Meaney, who was at the time taking all of his

⁷⁶ Donald Cleary, M.M., 1944, *Holy Week in Macusani, MMA*.

meals at the home of the alcalde, had arranged with his host the night before All Soul's Day to meet with the personeros (indigenous representatives of each aylo, or community) after the ten o'clock Mass. The priest knew that each community was responsible for caring for a designated part of the Church and he wanted community members' help in repairing the dilapidated Church and rectory. Masses were scheduled at 8, 9, and 10, but on All Soul's Day Father Meaney received word from the Alcalde that the final Mass should commence at 9:30. The pastor "smelled a rat" and sent word back that Mass would begin at 10:00 and he would expect the personeros at the alcalde's house after the final Mass. When he arrived at the house, Father Meaney was advised that all had gone to the cemetery for the customary graveside prayers. The Priest went and demanded of the Alcalde that the personeros congregate to discuss the Church repairs before the prayers. With some apparent reluctance this demand was met by the Alcalde and so began a contestation for power between this rather truculent priest and the local governing officials that would last until the former's departure from Ayapata.⁷⁷

Father Meaney's ability to bypass elite intermediaries depended upon the availability of indigenous intermediaries to serve in their place. In all the communities where Maryknoll labored these intermediaries existed, though in at least one case (that of Father Carey in Cuyucuyo) they worked on their own behalf rather than that of the indigenous community and viewed the new priests as a threat to their status and position. In most cases mayordomos and sacristans were a tremendous aid to the priest, advising him on local practices, translating from Spanish to Quechua, and

⁷⁷ Joseph Meaney, M.M., October-November, 1944, Ayapata, MMA.

maintaining the Church property. In his description of this process, Father Rickert noted:

The township gives the pastor an official known as the Mayordomo who has to spend a month in the service of the Church. He lives in the casa cural and when he is not busy watching or working around the Church he is at the beck and call of the Cura. My fine brand of Spanish is suffering from daily contacts with Marian, the Mayordomo for this month. He doesn't speak Spanish and we struggle along with a few grunts which might be quechua, a light sprinkling of Berlitz method of gesture. A good man and extremely intelligent. He usually understands me. Can only get him to take off one of his hats when he goes to church. The Indians seem to consider their colorful skull cap with the ear flaps attached as an integral part of the head.⁷⁸

Mayordomos, sacristans, and even cooks became the priests' only means of communicating with the indigenous people of their parishes. Father Cleary relied on the sacristan to advise indigenous people that "reconciliation" was unnecessary just as Father Foody relied on his "catechist" to persuade them to come to confession.⁷⁹ The priests often referred to these men as "economos" or "catechists," the term Maryknoll used to describe people who played a similar role in their missions in Asia. In addition to acting as translators, the indigenous intermediaries traveled with the priests to the remote indigenous communities that were part of their parishes.⁸⁰ Finally, the sacristans acted as crucial sources of information for the priests. When Father Cleary "tried vainly to get the Indians to come to confession. The Sacristan finally told [him]

⁷⁸ Joseph Rickert, M.M., June 1946, Macusani, MMA.

⁷⁹ Stephen Foody, M.M. April 1944 Macusani, See also, Joseph Meaney, M.M., December, 1945 "after an early Mass this morning, a start was made for Ayapata. Ollachea left a good impression. The people were friendly, devout, and evinced a spirit of cooperation among themselves which is not so evident at Ayapata. Crowds came to the Masses each morning, and the evening rosary was equally well attended. Having along the lay assistant who speaks Quechua as well as Castellano made it possible

that it would be better tomorrow as many wish to receive Communion on Wednesday."⁸¹ Similarly, Father Meaney might have waited forever for the horses to arrive from Ituata to take him there for Mass "but the Economo, who is the parroco's special adviser in such matters says that there has been some mixup and that the people Ituata do not expect a Mass there today. If they did, they most surely would have sent the animals before this. So the parroco says his two masses at Ayapata and hopes that the Economo is right as usual. —"⁸²

Indigenous catechists thus played important roles in mediating relations between the priests and the indigenous people of their parishes. Indigenous people also acted as "teachers" for the priests, advising them of local practices and hoping thereby to ensure that the newcomers did not violate established traditions. The fiesta "cargos," as the Maryknollers called them, also played a crucial role in this educational system. On his first visit to Macusani for Holy Week, the "cargo" "that is a person who pays the Mass stipend and arranges statues for processions etc—for each day of the week." "came . . . to inform [Father Cleary] of the local traditions and make the usual donation."⁸³ While the efforts of these individuals surely helped to minimize the disruption of having foreigners, unfamiliar with local practices, serving them, the indigenous people were still forced to contend with priests' refusal to perform religious services they deemed superfluous or "superstitious." For example, Father Meaney, observed that:

with his leadership to have the Indians answer the prayers of the Rosary in Quechua although the parroco could use only Castellano for the prayers."

⁸⁰ Thomas J. Carey, M.M., trip to Ituata, Joseph Meaney, M.M. Oct-Nov. 1944, MMA.

⁸¹ Donald Cleary, M.M. April 3 1944, Holy Week Macusani. MMA.

⁸² Joseph Meaney, M.M. Oct-Nov 1944, MMA

Mass this morning at 7:00 was for the intention of the alferado for the Feast of St. James, July 25. For certain major feasts of a parish, one of the parishioners assumes the obligation of decorating the church, arranging for the procession, providing the band, decorating the statue to be carried in the procession, providing the stipend for the Mass, and the padre's meal after the Mass. This parishioner is called the alferado for the feast. Alferados take their responsibilities very seriously, and they are uneasy until they have done all possible to fulfill their obligation. It is a debt, freely assumed of course, which they must pay. This morning the alferado fulfilled his duty by complying in every respect, except for the procession which the parroco proscribed as out of time, and of course, time would not permit the decoration of the church.⁸⁴

Father Meaney's description reveals the potential for conflict with indigenous intermediaries. There was no reason for Father Meaney to deny the alferado his request. Neither the procession nor the decoration of the Church violated Catholic precepts. The priest simply deemed these services unnecessary – things that were ancillary to true Catholicism. The priests also used the provision of religious services they deemed "superfluous" as a means of ensuring that the practices of "true Catholicism" (Baptism, Communion, Confession, Marriage) were performed. In fact, the priests' demand that indigenous people conform to an American ideal sometimes extended beyond the religious and into the secular realm as, for example, when Father Garvey berated the indigenous people of San Antonio for drinking, dancing, and failing to work on the days preceding and following their fiesta. He "got hold of the head men of the village and told them that unless the people promised to remain sober and go back to work there would be no procession of the Virgin ----without which there would be no fiesta in their eyes. All agreed to the conditions." In fact, "after

⁸³ Donald Cleary, M.M. 1944, Macusani, MMA.

⁸⁴ Joseph Meaney, M.M., December 1944, Ayapata, MMA.

Mass, for which the people practically had to be dragged into the Church, Father Garvey spoke again to the people. We honor the Virgin not by drunkenness but by sobriety and fulfilling our obligations to our employers etc., etc. He then had them promise to go back to work after the procession."⁸⁵ They did not fulfill their promise, leading the priest to conclude: "A priest on such occasional visits can do little but say Mass and administer the Sacraments. He can do no lasting good. For that a resident priest is necessary, which, at present, we cannot provide."⁸⁶

In fact, even having a resident priest in communities like Cuyucuyo and Ayapata proved an inadequate means of doing any "lasting good" because of the barriers of language and distance. Maryknoll priests had to rely on indigenous intermediaries they had not chosen and whose interpretations they could not understand. While Father Carey's experience with the "irremovable economo" might have been extreme, it was not the only example of priests' dissatisfaction with an established intermediary. It appears that the indigenous communities selected their own representatives and the best the priest could do was to try to replace unsatisfactory individuals. This was evident in Ayapata, where Father Meaney rejected the individual a community had selected to serve him.

It was hoped that the new Camani and mayordomos would be installed today. They should have been presented by the personeros and installed last Sunday, but only the personero of Kanchi complied. The Camani is to come from Ccopa this year, and there should be one mayordomo from each Aylo. The personero of Ccopa presented a man for the office of Camani, but he was rejected by the parroco, because he is said to be a cantankerous individual; he is living with another man's wife; and he could not be trusted with the care of the sacred vessels, the vestments, and

⁸⁵ Donald Cleary, M.M. December 1943, Puno Diary, MMA.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

the other sacred paraphernalia. The personero of Ccopa who presented him is accused of being an Adventist, who doesn't care a hoot about the Church.⁸⁷

It was to the advantage of both priests and indigenous communities to have acceptable intermediaries, since neither could obtain their desired ends without the help of the other. Priests needed indigenous intermediaries to translate their words, to organize community members, and to guide them to remote communities. Indigenous communities needed priests to provide them with religious services that were essential to the wellbeing of the community.

The priests' ability to influence indigenous people's religious practices was also limited by the vast distances they had to cover. In fact, the sheer number of requests they had for religious services, which frequently required that they travel to remote communities, made it difficult if not impossible for the priests to develop proselytization programs in these rural areas. Although Father Carey had complained that the people of Carabaya did not know what was Extreme Unction he was frequently asked to make Sick calls. The priest's description of one sick call reveals both his extreme frustration and the difficulty of his labors.

Heard of another sick person who lives very near. She lives near alright but it is near to an imaginary point one hundred yards out from the top of the mountain and a thousand yards below. It took a short mediation on the necessity of Confession to give me the courage to consent to go down there. Only two houses are down there. Dumb as they are the rest of the Indians had sense enough not to build there. Resting in the house before hearing her confession I asked whose daughter is that? She was sitting on the bed with the sick woman. "Mine" said the sick woman. "have you been married" "No." where is the girl's father?" "I don't know." The usual answers. We hear them frequently. The woman wants to make her first confession and communion. She is about thirty five. Indians around

⁸⁷ Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

here, in all of Sandia never know their age. This woman is paralyzed from the hips down with Rheumatism. She asked for communion the next day and it took something to say "yes" especially with "Danny demon whispering in the left ear "Confession and Extreme Unction. That is plenty. And you are going to come down that goat trail again? Suppose you slip?" she would have had viaticum but I could not reserve the Blessed Sacrament in the Church. There is no tabernacle. Plenty of statues and clothes for them but no tabernacle.⁸⁸

Sick calls also brought the priests into the homes of indigenous people, providing a glimpse of the difficult conditions in which they lived. Despite his derogatory remarks about "dumb" Indians, Father Carey and the other Maryknoll priests were appalled by local conditions. Father Meaney was asked to visit a man in Kanchi, an outlying community. When he arrived he found:

the man had struck his arm against a stone some ten days ago, and an infection developed. He applied sugar poultices and bandaged the arm with large wide leaves of weeds that grew in his garden, and a few old rags. The condition went from bad to worse. Shortly before we arrived, about a quart of pus had been drawn off. From the elbow down nearly to the wrist was one hideous gaping wound, all but showing the bones of the forearm. . . when this poor victim of hygienic ignorance was taken care of as best good will and lack of facilities would permit, the parroco said the prayers for the sick over him. On the way back to the pueblo as he struggled up the steep mountainside the parroco wondered, between pauses for rest, how many more poor Indians there might be in those scattered huts in the valleys below in need of similar attention. The nearest doctor is four days away.⁸⁹

Through their provision of religious services to the indigenous people, the Maryknoll missionaries gradually began to re-establish networks of communication through indigenous intermediaries and to be recognized by those intermediaries as potential allies in conflicts with local mestizo elites and governing officials. In fact, for Father

⁸⁸ Thomas J. Carey, M.M., February 1944, MMA.

Meaney, trouble with the local elite began early when the somewhat disgruntled priest started to bypass local elites to contact indigenous people directly and then to work on their behalf to rectify injustices perpetrated against them by the town's governing officials. Within a month of settling in Ayapata Father Meaney started to visit the personeros of the surrounding ayllos, reasoning that by doing so he would have a means of direct access to those communities, enabling him to bypass the authority of the Alcalde who had proved so unreliable on the Day of the Dead. Soon indigenous people from distant communities were coming to visit him, asking that he come to their communities to say Mass, Baptize their children, and offer last rites to their ill and dying. Through these journeys the priest had an opportunity to see the conditions in which the local people lived. Indeed, it was these trips which prompted him to start his small medical practice. They also seem to have encouraged him to work on behalf of the local people. Father Meaney recounted assistance he provided to a poor man trying to obtain documents from governing officials:

. . . a visit was made to the Juez to obtain the copy of an acta or deal promised some time ago to a poor parishioner taken away from him by a certain official's brother who is trying to circumvent the Law and with whom the Juez is suspected of conniving. It was some time before the Juez finally came to realize that the parroco meant business and didn't intend to leave the despacho until the copy of the acta was delivered. It was a contented poor man who took the copy from the parroco later. This fellow had been waiting for six months for the thing. Now the judge or Juez knows that when he has to deal with the parroco, it is at least a little different from dealing with the Indians. He doesn't take no for an answer.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Joseph Meaney, M.M. January 1 - February 15, 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

The results of this perceived role as "protector of the Indians" were increased alienation of the priest from the elite and increased "dependence" on him by the indigenous people who reported more frequently their experiences of abuse, especially when they were directly related to Father Meaney. The Maryknoller had, for example, written the gobernador of Ituata, an outlying community, advising him that he would visit the town and requesting that horses be sent to take him. On the day of the scheduled visit, no horse appeared.⁹¹ It was only months later that he learned that the community members had not been told of the priest's request. It is, of course, possible that they had been told, chose not to send horses for whatever reason, and then blamed the gobernador because they recognized the potential to manipulate the priest who seemed unfamiliar with local structures of power. In fact, though, judging by the result in another community, Taype, which did send horses, it seems likely that they were telling the truth. When three indigenous representatives from Taype set out with horses for Father Meaney they were stopped by a drunk and belligerent gobernador who threatened to take their horses, asserting that the priest should have contact him directly and could make it on just one horse. Again, it is difficult to judge the veracity of the story, since Father Meaney was unsuccessful in his efforts to find witnesses to the said abuse. Nonetheless, it is evident that the perception had evolved among the indigenous people that this foreign priest would believe them rather than their social superiors.⁹²

⁹¹ Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. December 1944, Ayapata, MMA.

⁹² Joseph P. Meaney, M.M. May 1945, Ayapata, MMA.

The indigenous people's recognition of the real power of the power structure in their community and thus the futility of this naïve priest's efforts became apparent a few months later when they believed that he had been transferred from their community. Father Meaney reported that when he returned to Ayapata the day after the patronal fiesta, Santa Cruz, he was immediately advised that the indigenous people of the community believed he had been transferred to Macusani. They, he reported, "thought his enemies in the town unhappy about his Sunday sermons against the abuse of the Indians had arranged for his transfer."⁹³ It was only when he rode his horse Palomina triumphantly up the steps of the casa coral and tilted his hat to the believed perpetrators that the Indians seemed satisfied that he was really back to stay.

In fact, the people were wrong and Father Meaney was gone within a month. The source of his defeat was not, however, the local elite, but the local environment. Indeed, it was the virtual inaccessibility of both the communities where the Maryknoll priests were stationed in Sandia and Carabaya and the surrounding indigenous communities that were their responsibility. Indeed, while the indigenous people offered the priests their "greatest consolation" because of their faith, the demands for religious services that resulted from this faith were also the source of the priests' greatest consternation because they demanded constant journeys across horrendously difficult terrain to reach the homes and communities of the indigenous people.

Father Carey's description of his "journey to Untuca" offers one rather extreme example of the difficulty of travel. In the days preceding his trip, Father Carey reported "More congratulations on "going to Untuca" they are getting to be hard to

⁹³ Ibid.

take." And indeed when he learned "that Untuca lies the other side of a mountain 18,000 feet high" and that the mayordomo, who "walks up any mountain with effortless ease, refuses to make the trip unless he rides a horse!" Father Carey got "scared of the trip right then and there." His fears proved to be valid as the reality of the trip seemed from his description even worse than he could have imagined. The bedraggled priest described the journey over the 18,000 foot mountain pass:

After passing several narrow rocky places that brinked the precipice and had me trembling in the saddle, Andualasia who seemed to be the leader of the group said "Father, would mind dismounting? The road just ahead of us is bad". I could imagine nothing worse than what we were on. The road ahead turned out to be worse. The mules and horses had to be coaxed over it. Then we descended into a valley the floor of which was littered with huge boulders that had crashed down from the mountain of sheer rock that towered thousands of feet above us on our right. It was a dreary place that cloudy day and the horses zig zagged their way each taking a different route seeking a smoother way. The valley was about a mile wide with a rapid stream in the center. As we proceeded up it we came to a grassy plain and rested the horses. It was ten o'clock. They said we would just have time to pass Apacheta before the rains. No one knew how high this place was. With all the going up and coming down it was impossible to say. . . . We passed through a narrow defile and came upon the blackest looking lake I have ever seen. It is called San Francisco but Martin de Pores would be a better name.⁹⁴ A halt was called and I was asked to bless the Lake. They said it had an evil spirit. I gave it the blessing "for all things" and everybody was happy. The place looks like a crater of a volcano. The path enters and passes along the right bank of the lake along the side of the mountain and out through a narrow defile to the other end. A mile further on we crossed another stream on the other side. A stream shallow but wide gurgled down the steep mountainside. I thought we had lost the road but they said "no, here it is and pointed to the stream." And we went up where the melted snow poured down. The bed of the stream was full of smooth round stones the terrain was too rough for riding I walked and saw the horses stumble. Soon I was stumbling too and cold water poured into my shoes. The ascent was very steep and soon I was puffing plenty. It began to rain but we stumbled up some more and more. My throat became dry and raw from breathing; the expansion and

⁹⁴ St. Martin de Porres was a Peruvian Dominican friar of African descent.

contraction of my chest was such that I got pains in my stomach I stepped frequently but couldn't stop breathing heavily. A couple of thousand feet higher the snow came in place of the rain. Going through the snow I slipped for my feet were numb with cold. . . . Going down the other side the snow changed to rain. My feet and hands were numb with the cold and my whole body ached. I felt like getting off the horse and lying in the snow and resting a while but knew better. The path descended abruptly and soon changed from a path in the snow to a path in the mud. The rain came down in a steady downpour and washed cakes of snow off my hat and even penetrated the hat itself adding insult to injury as the driplets rolled around on my bald spot to the swaying of the mule. Quite a ways down the mountain I thought it would be less painful to walk than to ride. I got off the mule but after three steps I fell. They told me to get back on the horse but I was determined to walk and did for a half a mile. We arrived in Untuca at 1:30pm. Only a five hour trip but I felt as though I had taken a beating.

To add to his exhaustion and suffering, the next day Father Carey reported that: "An Indian arrives from cuyucuyo in six hours and looking fresh as a daisy. What a sissy I am." ⁹⁵

Although Father Carey's journey to Untuca was not completely typical of those undertaken by the priests, they routinely had to undertake journeys of three, four, and even five hours to visit their parishioners. A single visit to the sick might take an entire day. Not only was the loss of time disconcerting, as Father Carey's description suggests, the priests were simply not physically able to withstand travel in the high altitude. In fact, Father Meaney was not lost to Ayapata because of the complaints of disgruntled elites, but because he suffered a physical collapse. On a journey to meet one of the fellow Maryknollers Father Meaney passed out on the road and was only found when the priest he was meant to meet, concerned about his failure to appear on time, inquired in town if anyone had seen him and was told that "a white man had

been seen lying in the road outside of Macusani."⁹⁶ Father Carey's fate proved even worse than that of Father Meaney. In 1945 on one of the long journeys back to Puno the truck he and another Maryknoller were riding in slipped in the mud and went careening over the edge of a cliff. While Father Joseph Donnelly, his companion, was able to leap from the back of the truck, saving himself, Father Carey's cassock caught in the truck which rolled over him, crushing him to death. Father Carey was thus the first Maryknoller to die in the altiplano.⁹⁷

The altitude, the distance to communities, the rugged terrain, and the language barriers made it nearly impossible for the missionaries to provide what Father Garvey described as "any lasting good" among the indigenous people in the remote rural communities. While proselytizing these impoverished people had been the missionaries' primary goal, it became increasingly evident that it was nearly impossible to achieve. More and more priests were forced to leave the highlands because of illness, others were recalled by Maryknoll and sent to new, more potentially successful missions, and no replacements were sent. Indeed, it became more and more evident that the missionaries' primary labor would be among Puno's urban residents. After recovering from his collapse, Father Meaney was in fact reassigned to urban Puno as the pastor of San Juan, the parish that had been promised to the Maryknollers when they arrived in 1943, but was not handed over to them until 1947.

⁹⁵ Thomas J. Carey, M.M. January 1944, MMA.

⁹⁶ Robert Kearns, M.M. *Maryknoll Fathers*, vol. 1, 85.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39

Back to the City

On Saturday, March 1, 1947 Maryknoll Father Joseph Meaney took over as pastor of San Juan parish in Puno, Peru. Father Meaney's account of the parish transfer suggests that even in 1947 the Bishop was somewhat reluctant to take responsibility for his decision to give the foreign priests control. Father Meaney reported that "here, it is customary for the Bishop to authorize the new pastor by giving him what is called the Titulo, his Faculties, with a statement of all his rights and responsibilities." But the Bishop was away "ill" in Lima and it seems there was "some slip-up on the arrangements since no Titulo had been granted." This oversight was not, according to Father Meaney, the only irregularity in the transfer of the parish. "There had been no inventory of the parish properties." That said inventory should be a requirement seemed an affront to the North American priest, who asserted that "Unlike the conditions in the Church at home, here, a priest seems to enjoy no more esteem in the matter of honesty than any ordinary pickpocket!"⁹⁸ Subsequent developments would suggest that the Maryknoll priests enjoyed considerably less esteem in Puno than did ordinary pickpockets.

On Wednesday, March 12th, one week after Father Meaney sent the notice announcing his appointment to "all Department and Municipal authorities, heads of Institutions, including the Chief of Police, and the Station Master down at the railroad office," a young man came to the Church to warn the pastor that "something [was] cooking in the marketplace." Puneños were saying that the Maryknoll missionaries were stealing artifacts from the Church. They planned a demonstration to protest

against these foreign thieves in clerical garb. Father Meaney wrote in the official Maryknoll diary that initially he found the rumor “too ridiculous to be funny,” but not apparently too ridiculous to take seriously. The parish pastor quickly advised the local police of potential trouble and a “special assignment of policemen was promised for the afternoon” – a fortunate circumstance as it turned out.⁹⁹

Sometime after three the church bells were tolled, but not by the official church bellringer and not with the approval of pastor Meaney. Shortly thereafter the church was filled with “a mob yelling, shrieking, and milling about the sanctuary.” The rioters accused the Maryknollers of stealing the Church statues and their jeweled garments. Father Meaney claimed that the women, who he suggested were the most vociferous protestors, were praying in front of the very statue in “dust laden robes” they claimed the priests had stolen. Other Maryknollers later noted that it was not quite so clear as Father Meaney claimed. The missionaries had, in fact, decided to clean the Church thoroughly upon taking over and they had laid the statues in packing boxes to protect them, while the altars and niches were scoured.¹⁰⁰ This protective measure was complicated further by its coincidence with the priests’ sending a shipment via train to outlying mission stations near Sandia. Puno’s residents seem to have concluded that the packing crates with their statues would soon be on their way to the United States. In these circumstances, the protestors’ fears seem not to have been so unfounded as to justify declaring them as did Father Meaney, “fit for an asylum.”

⁹⁸ Joseph Meaney, M.M., March 1947, San Juan, Puno Diary, MMA.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ William J. McCarthy, M.M. phone conversation with author, 6 May 1999.

Father Meaney recorded that in the semi-panic of the moment he ascended into the pulpit where “in a loud voice, he began the Rosary. Then there was silence, and the mob prayed; but only for a while. Between Hail Marys Father Meaney shouted in English to Father Early to call the Vicar General.”¹⁰¹ Father Early’s memory is a bit different from that recorded by Father Meaney in the diary. He claims to have led the rosary while Father Meaney fetched the Vicar General.¹⁰² Regardless of who was responsible neither the recitation of the rosary nor the arrival of the Vicar General calmed the angry crowd for very long. In fact not even a trip to the train station, where the packing crates were opened to reveal their contents, which did not include artifacts from San Juan Church, put an end to the conflict. But it did provide for a brief reprieve, enabling the priests to leave the Church and return to their seminary.

In the evening when Father Meaney and the other Maryknollers returned to the Church to pray they again were confronted by a mob demanding the keys to the church, the main door of which was closed and locked. Father Meaney reported that having the doors locked was an unheard of occurrence and “it was some time before anyone came from inside (the caretaker was inside, where he and his family have lodgings).” The time must have seemed considerably longer as “the crowd formed a semicircle around the entrance, hemming us in. A few police with drawn guns, kept them at bay. When the door finally opened, and we turned to enter, we were showered with rocks.” In fact, from that point the situation became increasingly threatening and frightening for the priests. Upon entering the church Father Meaney reported that he

¹⁰¹ Joseph Meaney, M.M. March 1947 San Juan, Puno MMA.

¹⁰² Interview with Joseph Early, M.M. related to me by William J. McCarthy, M.M. in phone conversation of May 6, 1999.

called the local Military garrison commander, who with the approval of Puno's prefect, called forth the troops who, in the words of Father Meaney, advised the priests to "make a bee line" for the seminary. Many of the rioters were said to have cried "Let's repeat La Paz, hang them to the lamp posts" in reference to a recent incident when the president of Bolivia was dragged from his palace and hanged from the lamp post in the Plaza.¹⁰³

The army and the Vicar General were able ultimately to restore peace in Puno and the following day four "agitators" were arrested for fomenting the riot, but really its cause was uncertain. Some speculated that "the local clergy was behind the whole affair; others that it was the communists; others that it was started by the sacristan and the secretary in the office who said that the priests were going to steal the statues from the Church and do away with the holiday celebrations."¹⁰⁴ Regardless of its cause, the riot alerted the Maryknollers to what to some degree they already knew; they were "not too well liked by some elements of the town."¹⁰⁵

It has already, I hope, been apparent why the Maryknollers might not be "too well liked," but what is instructive is not just that enough townspeople to create a riot would violently oppose the missionaries' take over of the church, but also that the forces of the state, specifically the militia provided the force to protect these foreign clergy. Indeed, it suggests what I think helps to explain why the priests were able to stay in Puno despite the overt and quite vociferous rejection of them by the local populace. The interests of the state superseded those of the local populace and the

¹⁰³ Robert Kearns, M.M., *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru*, vol. 1, 98.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Meaney, April 1947, San Juan, Puno, MMA.

state recognized in the missionaries a source of both financial support and stability in the remote and increasingly rebellious department of Puno. Additionally, subsequent actions would suggest that the national Church concurred with the desires of the state.

In the aftermath of the Puno riots Maryknoll's Superior General Raymond A. Lane traveled to Puno to discuss the possibility of closing the mission. To his great surprise he found that the Maryknoll priests wanted to stay in the cold highlands of Puno and to expand their mission labor. What made it possible for them to stay was the support of the national church and national state. In 1945 the State had announced that it would increase the subsidy granted to Maryknoll to operate San Ambrosio by providing them with a sum sufficient to pay the teachers salaries and maintenance of the building. This aid, suggested Maryknoll was the only way they could continue to manage the school. After talking with the Maryknollers about their position in Puno, Bishop Lane called upon them to draw up a plan for staying in the department. Their central demand was that Bishop Herrera be replaced. Within a few months the Bishop had announced his resignation due to "health problems" and a new bishop who had been approved by the Maryknollers had been named.

In fact, while the Maryknollers' ideal of the relationship among the church, the state, and the people did not correspond with that of Puno's elite or middle classes, it did more closely correspond with that of the Peruvian Church and State which seemed desperate to establish means of access to the remote indigenous communities.

Although the temporary measures like the introduction of a "comision pro-indigena" Núñez Butrón's health brigades, and various educational programs (many sponsored by the United States and Europe) provided some movement towards achieving that

goal, it made sense in the local context to turn to the Catholic Church (even if it was composed of foreigners) to serve as both the educators and nationalizers of the newly emerging middle class and the increasingly vociferous and rebellious indigenous majority.

Indeed, Foreign Catholic priests and nuns had already started fulfilling an analogous role in Lima, where as early as 1892 the government had started inviting foreign clergy to open schools for both the elite and the emerging middle classes.¹⁰⁶ There was, in fact, nothing very new in the Catholic Church's role in education in Peru. What had changed was the population that was to be educated and the origins of the clergy who would provide that education. The Maryknoll missionaries were only the first of many foreign Catholic missionaries who would come to fulfill this role in remote rural and newly settled urban regions of Peru in the era following World War II. In 1940 the Peruvian government modified the constitution so that the right to name bishops was reserved exclusively for the president, thus eliminating congressional participation.¹⁰⁷ This change was designed to facilitate more rapid approval of new dioceses by the Santa Sede in Rome and it was followed quickly by a proliferation of new dioceses and the elevation of existing dioceses to Archdioceses.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Jorge Basadre, *Historia de la república del Perú*, vol. XV 40

¹⁰⁷ Nunciatura Apostólica 1-38 entrada 1940 Lima 17 de marzo de 1940 no. 1778 MRE

¹⁰⁸ Nunciatura Apostólica entrada 1942 n. 3189 13 de julio de 1942 MRE announcing the elevation of the diocese of Arequipa, Cuzco, and Trujillo to the status of archdioceses pending publication of the papal bulls. The following new dioceses, prelatures, and mission territories were created in Peru in the post-World War II era: 1944: Tacna, Huancayo, Huancavelica, 1945 San Jose de Amazonas, S.F. Javier Marñi, 1946 Ica, 1948 Moyobamba, 1956 Chiclayo, Pucallpa, Requeña 1957 Juli, Caraveli, Yauyos 1958 Huari, Ayaviri, Huacho, Tarma 1959: 1960 Yurimagnas, Sicuani, 1961, Huamachuco, 1962 Chuquibamba. Of these 5 were mission territories and 12 were prelatures all of which were staffed by foreign clergy. *Anuario Eclesiastico* 1964, Centro de Bartolome de las Casas.

In the short term, following what came to be known among Maryknollers as the "Puno riot," the missionaries developed a new plan for their labor in the department. They abandoned Carabaya and Sandia on the grounds that in the three years they had labored in these vast provinces, they accomplished nothing but to rebuild the local churches' physical structures. The "missionaries" labors were thus confined to urban Puno, where they retained control of the San Juan parish and the San Ambrosio pre-seminary. Neither of these labors conformed to the missionaries' ideal of their role in Latin America, but it seemed that for the moment they had no choice but to conform to local expectations. From 1947 until 1953, when they were given control of the province of Azangaro, the missionaries' work consisted of struggling to create the American parish ideal among Puneños. Indeed, their greatest consolation in these years was based on the degree to which local Catholicism came to appear like American Catholicism. The boys of San Ambrosio played basketball, wore school uniforms, made it to class on time and knew their daily prayers. In summer they were shipped off to Camp Mejia, Maryknoll's summer camp for boys designed to help them maintain their Christian values by keeping them from the corruption of home. The number of Communicants and Confessors seemed to increase each week, though men were notably absent from the roster, much to the chagrin of the priests. They had annual church bazaars with rides and raffles to raise money for the Church and school. The priests even had used communion dresses shipped from the United States to lend to the girls so their parents would permit them to participate in first Communion ceremonies.

While these "accomplishments" might offer the priests "consolation" they were a far cry from the goals of the Maryknoll hierarchy when it sought an "Indian apostolate" in Peru. During the missionaries' first ten years in Puno it thus appeared that local socio-cultural structure and physical environment had defeated the priests. They were forced to meet local needs and to conform to local ideals. Nonetheless, the degree to which the national church and state supported the missionaries in their endeavors despite the vociferous protests of the locals, and the degree to which they were entrenched in local politics and society, despite their status as foreigners, hints at the influence the Maryknoll missionaries might have in the future.

V: The Transformative Power of Tradition, 1954 - 1964

On Christmas Eve 1954 some 4,000 rural migrants “invaded” what would become known as Ciudad de Dios, a desolate area on the outskirts of Lima. Seemingly within minutes of arriving, they had constructed hundreds of makeshift homes made of woven-straw mats. From the roof of each home waived the red and white Peruvian flag – an expression of the invaders’ nationalism and an appeal to the government to recognize their settlement. The invaders also carried with them a statue of the Virgin of Merced, the patroness of the Peruvian Army, to suggest divine sanction of their settlement and to stave off attacks by the military.¹ The timing of the invasion, the flag, and the statute revealed the invaders’ keen insight into Peru’s power structure. The Church, State, and Military historically had worked together to control the nation’s future and the fate of its citizens. Yet the invasion was also emblematic of change. The invaders were, after all, an unauthorized force squatting illegally on land that did not belong to them. Many were indigenous migrants from rural Peru who moved to Lima in the hope of improving their economic status and escaping oppression by landowners.² They represented the transformation of Peru in the mid-1950s and early-1960s from a predominantly rural agricultural society to an

¹Maryknoll Sisters, Lima, August 1961 to August 1962, Maryknoll Sisters Diaries Lima, MMA.

² Although the settlers in *barriadas* were assumed to be migrants from rural areas, many came from small towns and from slums in urban Lima. Their creation of *barriadas* was in part the result of a process of step migration in which after discovering the shortage of housing in Lima they were forced to create their own alternatives. See: William Mangin, “Latin American Squatter Settlements: A Problem and a Solution,” *Latin American Research Review* 2, no.3 (Summer 1967): 65-98.

increasingly urban semi-industrialized society.³ One result of this transformation would be the reconfiguration of the Peruvian power structure, such that the Church and the Military would work together to reconstitute the State.

Peru's transformation entailed a fundamental restructuring of relations of production and of the country's power structure. An emerging industrial bourgeoisie gradually usurped the dominant position of the landowning elite as the primary force influencing the state. The composition and location of Peru's population also changed as a result of this transformation. Peru's urban centers, which had been the exclusive purview of white elites and middle class mestizos, became home to thousands of indigenous migrants from rural areas.⁴

Julio Cotler argues that the incomplete nature of Peru's "transition to capitalism" from the mid-1950s through the 1960s created an enormous potential for rebellion in Peru. Yet, despite this potential, the number of violent upheavals during this period was relatively limited until the mid-1960s. In the *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Barrington Moore argued that: "the most important causes of peasant revolutions have been the absence of a commercial revolution in agriculture led by the landed upper classes and the concomitant survival of peasant social institutions into the modern era when they are subject to new stresses and strains."⁵ The structure of Peruvian society in the 1950s corresponded closely with those described by Moore. The system of land tenure conformed with a "semi-feudal"

³ Héctor Maletta, "Peru, ¿Pais campesino? Aspectos cuantitativos de su mundo rural," en *Análisis* (6) 3-49.

⁴ José Matos Mar, *Desborde popular y crisis del estado: El nuevo rostro del Perú en la década de 1980* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984).

order characterized by a small number of landowners controlling the majority of land with a dependent labor force required to provide services to landowners without recompense. This labor system survived as the country began to industrialize. Cotler argues that the national government introduced policies promoting industrialization, thereby favoring the emergence of urban capitalism starting in the mid-1950s, but it would not attack directly the powerful landed interests that had been the foundation of state power.

The choice of this political economy signified severe punishment for the campesino economy, but it also sacrificed the interests of latifundistas in favor of urban capitalist development. . . . [a] faction of the oligarchy and the industrial bourgeoisie, in a process of mutual assimilation, established the need to eradicate the precapitalist structure of the countryside. Its proposition, following the lines of "creole liberalism," consisted in eliminating price controls and food subsidies to enhance the profitability of agricultural production. The government also eliminated all restrictions on the transfer of land, thereby attacking the rights of indigenous communities. Although these changes favored the emergence of urban capitalism, the government, fearing the political danger that this dislocation of the social structure might produce, did not eliminate the power of landowners.⁶

Indigenous people thus confronted a situation in which their land rights were attacked, while large landowners' power was left unchecked. Cotler argues that they responded by protesting against these strictures in rural areas and migrating to urban areas. In either case their options were limited. Indigenous people in the Peruvian sierra had no direct links to the government, and were thus forced to rely on intermediaries. In the 1950s hacendados were, in effect, the only permanent established intermediaries, so indigenous campesinos had minimal means to protest against landowners' abuse.

⁵ Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). 477.

Campeños who migrated to urban Peru were in a similar, though potentially more tenable situation. There was no political infrastructure in which they could be incorporated. Nor, in fact, was there any physical infrastructure. The *barriadas*, like Ciudad de Dios, that sprung up on the outskirts of Lima and other large cities in the 1950s and 1960s lacked water, electricity, schools, and hospitals. Moreover, the government showed little inclination to provide these services voluntarily. It was only through highly publicized invasions like that of Ciudad de Dios, (which some argue was instigated by the political opposition to draw attention to the government's failure to develop infrastructure for migrants) that people could press the government to develop the requisite services and infrastructure to enable them to live and potentially be incorporated into society.⁷

Maryknoll and other foreign clergy stepped (or were pushed) into these voids in the mid-1950s. In Peru most missionaries settled in remote highland regions, similar to Maryknoll's field of labor in Puno. They followed the migration of rural highlanders, settling in the *barriadas* which began to proliferate in urban Peru in the 1950s and 1960s. Foreign priests and nuns acted as both proselytizers, seeking to disseminate their religious practices, and as modernizers, providing education, medical care, small loans, and in some cases even infrastructure, including roads, potable water, and electricity.⁸ To make their dual roles as proselytizers and modernizers

⁶ Julio Cotler, *Clases, estado y nación en el Perú*. 6ta ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978) 286-287.

⁷ David Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs: Authoritarian Rule and Policy Change in Peru*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). 68-72.

⁸ Jeffrey Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú* tercera edición. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1996) 375-391. Mangin, "Squatter Settlements" Observed that "... most of the Catholic priests working in

possible, missionaries helped establish (or as I intend to argue, to reinforce) networks of communication and social organization that would allow indigenous people in rural areas and migrants to urban areas (whose ethnic identity became increasingly ambiguous) to organize to demand services from the Peruvian government. In fact, these foreign clergy and the intermediaries they promoted became important links between “marginalized” citizens and the Peruvian state. In rural Peru clergy helped to displace hacendados by providing indigenous people with alternative intermediaries sympathetic to their needs. Thus missionaries contributed to establishing a new social order and to ushering in a new political and economic order in Peru.

Missionaries were able to serve as intermediaries, organizers, and modernizers because of the historical role Catholicism had played in Peru, which in turn resulted from the way religious beliefs and practices were linked to social organization. The relationship among these factors becomes evident through an analysis of Maryknoll’s labors in Peru from 1954 to 1963. I have shown that when the missionaries arrived in Puno, they were forced to serve an emerging middle class despite their desire to work among indigenous people. Although their efforts did not correspond directly with their goals, working among the middle class ensured that Maryknollers had links among the rural poor, the urban middle class, and the Peruvian government. These links in turn provided the missionaries legitimacy in these distinct social sectors, enhancing that which they already enjoyed simply by virtue of their status as Catholic clergy.

barriadas are North American, Irish, or French, and offer temporal programs based on social action rather than the Peruvian and Spanish emphasis on reward in Heaven.” 81.

Maryknoll missionaries gained access to indigenous rural communities and urban *barriadas* initially because of the people's demands for religious services. These religious services became linked to material benefits. Thus the missionaries became providers of spiritual and material aid, which were woven together. Barrington Moore assumed that capitalism and tradition were incompatible. My research suggests that in Peru religious tradition, far from being a barrier to modernization, provided a means of introducing it. In doing so it ensured that even during a period of radical social dislocation, there was an element of continuity which prevented the society from descending into chaos. It also suggests an implicit, and perhaps unintended, alliance between the forces of capitalist expansion and those of religious expansion. Lacking the economic resources to promote industrial development, the Peruvian government had turned to foreign investors. Between 1961 and 1967 United States investment in Peru increased by 38%.⁹ Maryknoll served indirectly to provide stability in Peru as United States interests expanded. Indeed, the missionaries helped to facilitate this expansion by acting as conduits of American aid. On the one hand this aid helped to ensure stability, on the other it helped to increase Peru's dependence on the United States, which provided the loans necessary to fund credit and housing cooperatives introduced by Maryknoll. In essence, Maryknoll missionaries served as a precursor to and promoter of the Alliance for Progress instituted by President Kennedy in 1961. The results of both programs were similar. Although they were designed to ameliorate conditions in Latin America, thereby limiting the potential for rebellion, their net effect was to increase United States' power and Peru's dependence.

⁹Ibid. pp. 274-275.

The Maryknoll missionaries helped to ease and engender this transition by acting as a force of stability among the popular classes. Maryknollers working in rural Puno established a network of communication among the indigenous people that extended throughout the vast department. By doing so they created an alternative link among indigenous people throughout the department and between them and outside forces which could provide economic aid and support. The missionaries thus helped to supplant the position of hacendados who had served as the primary permanent intermediaries between indigenous people and the state. In urban areas Maryknoll provided the foundation for organizing among the “clases populares” in *barriadas* like Ciudad de Dios.¹⁰ By providing spaces and opportunities to meet, missionaries indirectly helped to establish a basis for the political enfranchisement. Maryknoll missionaries also contributed resources necessary to fulfill settlers’ basic needs, including housing, education, and medical care, which the state seemed unwilling or unable to satisfy. Finally, Maryknoll worked with the emerging middle class in new suburbs of Lima by providing them with education. The Maryknoll missionaries were able to work among these segments of the population because of Catholicism’s historical role and the way this ensured that clergy, regardless of their national origin, would be incorporated into society.

Although the Maryknoll missionaries’ experience was in some measure unique because of their origins in the United States, they were also representative of a much larger movement of foreign clergy who settled in Peru during this period. The number

¹⁰ Cecilia Blondet, *Las mujeres y el poder: una historia de Villa El Salvador*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1991) It is interesting to note that Peruvian researchers are more likely to reference

of clergy from North America grew from 102 in 1953 to 693 just fifteen years later in 1968. Their numbers were augmented by an equally dramatic increase in European clergy who came to work in Peru. In 1901 82% of the clergy in Peru were nationals, but by 1973 only 38.8% were Peruvian, compared with 61.5% foreign clergy.¹¹ I will suggest that these missionaries played a crucial role in easing and engendering Peru's transition from a society dependant on traditional forms of agriculture to one in which industry and manufacturing gained precedence as the country's economic foundation.

While Maryknoll (and other) missionaries helped to establish networks to enfranchise indigenous campesinos and urban migrants, Peruvian clergy established networks among the middle class to engender an ideological change in the national government. A core of Peruvian priests whose origins were in elite Limeño families, returned to the country after having been trained at the Louvain in France.¹² They were influenced by the French Catholic worker movement promoted by clergy during the second world War in response to the first Social Encyclicals: *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). These Peruvian priests, often with the financial assistance of foreign clergy (among them Maryknollers), developed research centers to examine and critique Peru's social conditions. Gustavo Gutiérrez, founder of Liberation Theology, was at the center of this group of progressive clergy. Thus Liberation Theology, which would be foundational to political movements throughout

the role of the Church than are United States researchers who seem to disregard its importance, or to refer to it only in passing. Peruvian researchers seem, however, to overlook the role of foreign clergy.

¹¹ Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*. 65-66.

¹² Edward L. Cleary, O.P. *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1985).

Central and South America in the 1970s and 1980s, evolved in this context.¹³

Peruvian clergy developed *cursillos de cristianidad*, short courses on Christianity, among whose participants were technocrats within the civil and military bureaucracy.¹⁴ Cotler argues that through these courses clergy helped to foment social change by encouraging military personnel and civil servants to recognize the need for radically transforming society. As Lima's archbishop Landázuri stated in 1959 at the Church's first social week:

The church believes that the social and economic situation should change and improve, that higher salaries should be paid to workers and that the state should realize a redistribution of wealth; that property interests should not be an excuse for maintaining rural workers and the urban proletariat in miserable conditions.¹⁵

An alliance between the Church and the military was consolidated during the period from the mid-1950s to the 1960s. This alliance enabled the Church and the military to unify forces to destroy the last vestiges of "feudalism" by instituting an agrarian reform program in 1968.

The effectiveness of this alliance depended on the Church's ability to engage the support of the popular classes. Its ability to do so evolved from the manner in which it gained access to rural campesinos and urban migrants. Missionaries were key to the foundation of these networks. Examining Maryknoll's labor during this period will illustrate how these networks were created and how Catholicism, often considered

¹³ I believe that Liberation Theology could evolve from this context because it was safe. It would have been virtually impossible for the national government to attack directly the clergy. The Catholic Church was in many ways the foundation for stability in the country. Clergy in Peru thus enjoyed a remarkably secure environment to engage in debate about social conditions.

¹⁴ Cotler, *Clases, estado*. 317.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 315-317.

a traditional, anti-modern anachronism, actually engendered modernization and globalization and (for better or worse) eased the transition from one system of production to another. This analysis of change at the local level also may help to explain how in 1968 the Church and the military, historically charged with maintaining the status quo, would join forces and together oversee a radical restructuring of Peruvian society that in the short term favored the interests of the popular classes over those of the elite.

Maryknoll's work during the period from 1954 to 1963 was divided between labor among campesinos in rural Puno and migrants and emerging middle classes in urban Puno, Lima, and Arequipa. Their labor in each area will be examined in turn to illustrate how the missionaries helped to promote a network of intermediaries in rural and urban areas.

Puno

Maryknoll's early experience in Puno had been less than satisfactory. The missionaries' were defeated in their efforts to proselytize indigenous people in rural Puno by vast physical and cultural barriers separating them from indigenous communities. In urban Puno Maryknoll's work in San Ambrosio pre-seminary appeared a success, but the missionaries had not gained acceptance among the town's middle class. The riots of 1947 in which Puneños violently confronted the missionaries, accusing them of stealing Church relics and threatening the priests with bodily harmed, represented the nadir of Maryknoll's Puno mission. The Maryknoll endeavor in Puno was called into question. Maryknoll's Father General, Raymond A. Lane, traveled to Puno to discuss closing the mission. To his surprise, Bishop Lane

discovered that Maryknollers in Puno unanimously favored continuing, and even expanding, their work in the hope of transforming the department.

The missionaries believed that a combination of administrative, physical, and cultural barriers prevented them from achieving their goals during the preceding five years. None of these barriers seemed insurmountable. With the right proselytization program Maryknollers believed they would succeed. To start they wanted a sphere of influence where they would not be subject to the strictures imposed by Puno's Bishop Herrera. They also had to overcome the more challenging physical and cultural barriers to proselytization. Finally, the missionaries needed a way to appeal to Puno's middle classes. Between 1954 and 1963 Maryknoll seemed to overcome most of these obstacles. This success did not, however, have quite the results for which the missionaries had hoped.

Puno's Bishop Salvador Herrera was high on the Maryknollers' list of obstacles to be removed. He represented everything the missionaries thought was weak about Catholicism in Puno. To them he appeared undisciplined, uncleanly, and unwilling to help. Although Bishop Herrera had been enthusiastic about Maryknollers' arrival, he effectively prevented the priests from proselytizing in the manner they thought appropriate by limiting their labor to education in urban Puno and to work in rural Puno's most remote and inaccessible provinces. Thus when Bishop Lane asked the clergy what were the necessary changes to enable them to succeed in mission, replacing Bishop Herrera was first on the list. Explaining the necessity for this change, Bishop Lane noted with apparent sympathy that the Bishop:

is unable physically and mentally to meet the challenge of this complicated problem of the Puno diocese, . . . it is practically impossible for him to begin the program required for this vast diocese with all of its problems. The Bishop, I understand, has a fine knowledge of Quechua and Aymara; he is however premature[ly] aged because of his long time in the altiplano, his health is poor and he is unable to make the voyages which to my mind are essential if he is to know the needs of his people.¹⁶

Bishop Lane felt confident that Peru's Papal Nuncio would agree with the Maryknollers' assessment of Bishop Herrera's limitations. "It is almost certain that the nuncio will see to it that someone will assume the authority in Puno who will be sympathetic and understanding, and knowing the Nuncio's attitude towards Maryknoll, I feel sure that he will arrange matters that way."¹⁷ In keeping with Lane's expectations, Bishop Herrera was replaced by Bishop Alberto Dettmann in 1948.¹⁸ The alacrity with which this change was carried out revealed the great influence Maryknoll exercised in Peru despite the short duration of the missionaries' residence in the country and their status as foreigners.

While securing a Bishop whose interests seemed closer to those of Maryknoll resolved one of the missionaries' problems in Puno, it did not, by any means, resolve all of them. The priests still had to contend with their labors in the remote highland provinces of the department. Father Kiernan mentioned in the meeting with Bishop Lane that the priests had "been in Sandia now for four years and our influence is practically nil there."¹⁹ One result of the meeting was that Maryknoll resigned from Sandia and Carabaya and sought alternative mission sites that might be more in

¹⁶William D. McCarthy, M.M., "Notes for a History of the Maryknoll Society in Peru," (unpublished manuscript) 1947, 10.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 2

¹⁸Directorio Eclesiástico del Perú, 1987 (Lima: Secretariado del Episcopado Peruano, 1987) 490.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 7

keeping with their goals and abilities. A central element of the plans they developed was to seek a proselytization field that was either entirely Quechua or entirely Aymara, in the hope that learning one indigenous language would be a less daunting task for the missionaries than learning two.

In 1957 the Juli Prelature was created to satisfy the Maryknollers' needs. This prelate of approximately 450,000 people composed almost entirely of Aymara speakers had Juli as a center and followed the shore of Lake Titicaca reaching the northern and southern frontier of Bolivia. Extending north from the southern Bolivian frontier it included Desaguadero, Zepita, Yunguyo, Pomata, Juli, Ilave, Acora, Chucuito and Puno which marked the transition point to the parishes extending to the northern frontier including Pusi, Taraco, Haucané, Vilquechico, and Moho. The prelate included 23 parishes when Maryknoll's Father Edward Fedders was named Prelate Nullius.²⁰ Establishing the Juli prelate marked a new phase in Peru's mission experience. It was among the first "Prelatures Nullius" created at the behest of the Peruvian government to satisfy the needs of the country's growing population. Peru created twelve new Prelatures Nullius between 1948 and 1961. Most were in remote departments like Puno or newly established urban areas where indigenous populations formed the majority and all of them had foreign bishops. Foreigners also directed eight Apostolic Vicariates, or mission territories, in Peru. Thus by 1961 foreigners directed more than half of Peru's 38 religious jurisdictions.²¹

Puno's Indigenous People – The Catechetical System

²⁰Robert Kearns, M.M., *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru 1954-1959*, vol. 2. 88-90.

²¹*Anuario Eclesiastico del Perú 1964*. Centro de Bartolomé de las Casas.

Following the Puno riot of 1947 Maryknoll withdrew from Carabaya and Sandia.²² The year before the decision was made, Father Cleary visited all the mission parishes of these provinces and summarized the central problems that prompted the withdrawal:

. . . [I]t is the same all over. The priests cannot even take care of the principal feasts of the pueblos. Everywhere the people are pleading to have a priest come but it is physically impossible, what with sickness, enforced trips down out of the altitude, much needed rests, etc. More and more I am convinced that just to hold the line in the two provinces of Sandia and Carabaya, accepted by and the responsibility of the Society, at least a dozen priests are urgently needed, if only to preserve the health of the men now in the parishes and prevent further losses through sickness.²³

Father Cleary thus summarized both the obstacles Maryknoll had to overcome to proselytize effectively these vast territories and the potential they offered. In their first years in Puno the Maryknollers suffered dramatic health crises. In 1943, for example, Father William Murphy was forced to descend to lower altitude just five weeks after his arrival in Puno, Father Brophy was sent to Arequipa after he fell from a curb (possibly as a result of being pegged by a stone thrown from a slingshot) and suffered a fractured skull and hemorrhaging and Father Kramar was transferred to Bolivia after reporting feeling that he was being smothered when he tried to sleep at night. The following year did not offer the priests any respite. Fr. Joseph Donnelly was diagnosed with erysipelas (a potentially fatal disease), Father Michalik was sent to Bolivia to recover from high blood pressure, and kidney and liver problems, Father Carey had an appendectomy, Father Foody suffered a heart attack, Father Kearns was

²² William D. McCarthy, "Notes for a History," 1947, 2.

diagnosed with jaundice and Father Kiernan suffered liver trouble. By 1945, following the death of Thomas Carey, who was thrown from a truck when traveling home from his isolated mission in Cuyocuyo, Maryknoll enacted policies to try to counteract this dramatic and devastating record of illnesses. Priests were ordered to take a one-month altitude leave after six months of work.²⁴ Parishes were to be staffed by a minimum of three priests, ensuring that no one would be overwhelmed by his labors or left alone in case of illness. While Maryknoll's new health policies helped alleviate the problem of illness, they did not solve the other issue central to Father Cleary's account: indigenous people's overwhelming demand for religious services.

Maryknollers constantly referred to indigenous people's faith as their primary "consolation" in the mission territory of Puno. Ironically, however, it also posed a dilemma. The priests had to find a way to satisfy people's demands for religious services and still find time to teach them "modern" Catholicism. Cultural and geographic barriers made this job seem impossible. Indigenous communities often were located hours from the mission centers where Maryknollers resided, making it difficult for them to reach the communities. Describing his experience in Azángaro, one of the mission territories Maryknoll adopted after leaving Carabaya and Sandia, Father Jim O'Brien lamented that "we have been here in Azángaro a little more than three months and have had more than a hundred sick calls. Many of these sick calls have been to the campo. And when a priest goes to the campo it usually means that he

²³ Robert Kearns, M.M. *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru: 1943-1953, vol. 1.* (Maryknoll: privately printed, n.d.) 20-21.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

does not get back before evening because there are so many calls on him. . .”²⁵ The vast majority of Puno’s indigenous residents were monolingual speakers of either Quechua or Aymara, so even when priests did make the long treks out to communities it was nearly impossible for them to communicate their ideas about proper religious practices. Nonetheless, indigenous people’s demands for religious services convinced the clergy of the great potential for proselytization.

Indigenous people believed that personal and communal wellbeing depended on maintaining a reciprocal relationship among people and between them and their gods. As was true during the colonial period and nineteenth century, natural disasters, illness, untimely death, and even theft were interpreted as evidence of an imbalance in the social order and in relations between the celestial and terrestrial spheres. When indigenous people were confronted with disasters they engaged in rituals to restore order, thereby ameliorating conditions. In some cases Andean religious authorities performed these rituals, but in other cases Catholic priests were the sole authorized providers of rites. Thus while priests were outsiders to indigenous communities, they nonetheless played a crucial role in them. Domingo Llanque, one of few Aymara men to become a priest, illustrated the centrality of Catholic rituals in his description of the Mass:

The Aymaras consider communication with God very important. They believe that any bad act, or lack of communication, could bring as a consequence disruptions in human life. All atmospheric phenomena, like droughts, lightening, frosts, etc. as well as illnesses and conflicts are said to result from ruptures in the equilibrium brought about by communication between the terrestrial and celestial spheres.

²⁵ James O’Brien, M.M., Azángaro, January 1953, Peru Priests’ diaries, MMA. Kearns notes that there was an average of 3 sick calls per day, Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 40.

Communication between these worlds is established through prayers and sacrifices realized on specific dates like fiestas and also during times of difficulty like the death of someone or a lightening strike.

The most efficacious rite to communicate with God is Mass, celebrated by a priest. Mass saves souls of the dead by sending them directly to heaven. It also brings positive effects for the wellbeing of the family in health, business, crop production, etc. For this reason they go to the Catholic Church to solicit the priests' services.²⁶

Thus Catholic Mass provided a means of ameliorating conditions in periods of crisis, of preventing natural disasters, and of improving the lives of individuals and families. Priests who performed the Mass were crucial intermediaries between people and gods. As a result of the centrality of these Catholic rituals Maryknollers, despite their status as foreigners, were recognized as potentially important figures in indigenous communities. Indigenous people overwhelmed them with requests for religious services. Mass, baptism, and sick calls headed indigenous people's standard request list, but at Easter they also sought to fulfill their annual duty by confessing and participating in Communion. Father Kearns reported that "Confessions in the Azángaro Church started on Holy Saturday 1955 at 2:00 p.m. They went through, without interruption, until 10:00 a.m. the next morning!"²⁷ While the Maryknollers were enthusiastic about these demonstrations of "faith," it did not conform with their ideal of Catholicism. Indigenous people sought Catholic sacraments, but their meaning and the context in which they were performed often differed dramatically from that with which Maryknollers associated the sacraments. In effect the Maryknoll missionaries used indigenous people's demands for religious services as a basis for

²⁶ Domingo Llanque, "'Sacerdotes'" y 'Medicos' en la sociedad Aymara," en *Medicina Aymara* (Hisbol: La Paz, 1994). My translation.

changing their religious practices. By establishing conditions that indigenous people had to fulfill before the priests would offer them religious services, Maryknollers tried to change indigenous people's practices. They were only able to accomplish this end, however, after they found a means of gaining access to the overwhelming number of communities within their territory. The means they found, the catechetical system, relied on established forms of social organization, and as a result it limited the degree to which Maryknoll could effect long-term changes in indigenous people's religious practices.

By 1953 Maryknoll had adopted three new rural and predominantly indigenous mission centers to replace Carabaya and Sandia. These sites were selected because they were more accessible and thus seemed to pose less of a health risk for the missionaries, and also because the priests believed they would provide a fount of vocations for San Ambrosio pre-seminary in Puno.²⁸ The parish of Azángaro had a population of approximately 24,000, that of Ayaviri around 29,000, and Ilave about 45,000.²⁹ While the parishes were more accessible than those of Carabaya and Sandia, therefore, the priests still faced a daunting task in trying to reach the many residents of their vast territories. Maryknoll developed a catechetical program in these parishes which became the foundation of their proselytization system in the Juli Prelature after 1957 and in the urban *barriadas* of Lima and Arequipa. While the program started for the specific purpose of disseminating knowledge of "modern" Catholicism, it quickly became a means of disseminating secular benefits including food aid, inoculations,

²⁷ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 41.

²⁸ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol.1, 120, 122, 125.

and courses in hygiene and literacy. The resources for these material benefits came in part from the Peruvian and United States governments, so Maryknollers became intermediaries between these states and the indigenous people of rural and subsequently urban Puno. As they became “experts” on developing the catechetical system, Maryknollers also gained access to other Catholic communities in Peru which sought to implement similar programs in their dioceses. Thus the catechetical system created a chain of networks among rural indigenous communities, urban *barriadas*, and Catholic clerical communities.

The catechetical system seemed to evolve from a confluence of Maryknoll’s established proselytization methods and indigenous people’s social and religious organization, while also coming to serve the interests of both the missionaries and the people they proselytized. The missionaries gained a means of disseminating knowledge of “modern” Catholicism and religious and secular services. The indigenous people gained access to these crucial services and were able effectively to control the introduction of spiritual and material innovations, thereby ensuring that they were incorporated into existing cultural frameworks rather than radically transforming or undermining them. Thus indigenous people actively sought innovations, but they incorporated them into their communities in such a way that they preserved elements of tradition.

The catechetical system was a well established proselytization method which Maryknollers had used to good effect in their missions in Asia.³⁰ The system was

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.120.

³⁰ Jean Paul-Wiest, *Maryknoll in China* (Orbis Books: Maryknoll, 1988).

adopted in Peru following the advice of Father Bernard Meyer, a veteran Maryknoller from China who visited Azángaro in 1954.³¹ The extraordinary effectiveness of the system in Peru seemed, however, to result from its adaptability to indigenous people's forms of social organization and their methods of obtaining religious services from Catholic clergy. The first hint of the system's potential, came when indigenous people from remote communities approached the Maryknollers asking them to provide catechism classes to prepare the people to fulfill their Easter duty of confessing and receiving communion. In 1953 Father O'Brien of Azángaro reported:

It has been the custom here to have catechism classes during Advent and Lent. Each morning at 4:30 a.m. the sacristan rings the church bell to call the children who live in town. In the morning there are sixty children and for the afternoon session the number reaches a hundred and twenty. All the teaching is done in Quechua. In twenty areas in the campo there are catechists also. At the beginning of Lent men came in, each asking for a written permission so that he could teach catechism daily. After giving them a quiz on their knowledge of doctrine we allowed most of them to teach. Fortunately we have a complete but inexpensive Quechua catechism which helps us in our examination of the Catechists. For Palm Sunday each catechist brought in his group to hear Mass.³²

It was thus an indigenous initiative, prompted by the desire to fulfill religious obligations ensuring a balance between the terrestrial and celestial spheres, that helped introduce the catechetical system in Peru.

The primary characteristics of the system were in some measure evident even at this early stage. The indigenous people's legitimacy among the priests was based on their status as representatives of their communities, on their knowledge of Catholicism as sanctioned by the priests, on their ability to teach in their native

³¹ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4, 363.

³² James O'Brien, Azángaro, March 1953, Peru Priests' Diaries, MMA.

language, and on their capacity to organize their communities. The priests in turn enhanced this legitimacy by granting catechists written permission, providing them with Quechua catechism texts, and offering religious services. The priests also gave the catechists distinctive badges to illustrate their association with the Church. "Father McLellan's San Lucas Studios silk-screened some rather gaudy armbands for the catechists of Azángaro, Ayaviri, Puno and Ilave: red and black letters and a design on yellow and white cloth. Some distinctive apparel is necessary to show the catechist's special standing in the village."³³ Teaching and organizing the community were under the control of the catechists who went to their communities to teach, and then brought their communities in organized groups to the Church to hear Mass and presumably to Confess. The priest was thus liberated from the extended journeys to outlying districts and from responsibility for trying to convey knowledge in a language he could not speak. Moreover, the extraordinary organizational capacity of the catechists and their communities seemed to appeal to the Maryknoll ideal of orderly practices of worship.

In December of 1954 Father Thomas Verhoeven started the first catechetical program in Azángaro and the results were amazing.

We had an ex-franciscan seminarian with us at the time, Lyma Cama. We hired him, gave him a horse and sent him out to visit the various communities. At the end of two weeks he had 23 volunteer catechists! In 1955 we recruited volunteer catechists in Santiago de Pupuja, the neighboring parish. Our paid catechists did the recruiting, looking after the volunteers and oriented them. We showed up for a meeting every two weeks.

³³ William Bergan, M.M., Puno, September 1955, Peru Priests' Diaries, MMA.

In April Father Verhoeven reported that “about one third of the parish is organized with classes in over fifty places and over seventy voluntary catechists.”³⁴ In July of 1955 a catechetical program was started in Ayaviri, where Father McConaughy reported that the “rapid progress in this work here was marvelous.”³⁵ After just one month they had “nineteen volunteer Catechists in the country, one resident Catechist in our rectory, also a head Catechist, with requests coming in from other farms for more of them!”³⁶ In 1956 the system was established in Ilave, where Father Murphy observed that “the catechists are working very well. . . At present only about a quarter of the parish is being covered by catechists. This is due only to a lack of transportation in the parish. The people are most enthusiastic and some have come in on their own asking to be allowed to send a catechist or two for instruction on Sunday.”³⁷ When Maryknoll took over the newly created prelature of Juli in 1957, it quickly established the catechetical system in all the new parishes. The priests in Huancane reported that “our plans to organize the catechists were advanced by six months when we visited the sick in the rural areas. Again and again the people requested somebody to teach them their simple prayers. . . By the end of the month twelve different sections had been called together to elect their catechists.”³⁸

Those communities that did not actively pursue the priests to participate in the catechetical program were contacted by a paid head catechist. Father O’Brien described the system as follows:

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Vincent B. McConaughy, M.M. Ayaviri, July 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Martin Murphy, M.M. Ilave, April 1956, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

³⁸ Huancane Diary, November 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

There is a head catechist (paid) who works directly under Fr. Verhoeven. He informs the bosses of the haciendas or the lieutenant governors of the parcialidades that he is going to visit them so that the people can unite. Then on an appointed day he arrives to meet all the people. He asks them to select a person who can teach catechism. This person has to be a married man with some knowledge of the catechism. He receives no pay. Classes are arranged in various ways. In some places the classes are held daily from six to eight o'clock in the morning. In other places they have classes all day Thursday and Saturday. We forbid them to teach in the evening or at night. In the places where there are greater numbers there are two or three catechists. Usually a catechist teaches a group of about twenty-five persons. The catechists themselves have been coming in here every Sunday for instructions. We give them a talk after Mass and a little class. Now they know how to baptize in emergency, prepare a person, and a house for a sick call, when to call the priest, and other things of that nature. We are slowly acquainting them with the Scriptures by means of a small Bible History.³⁹

These catechists had the potential to play a powerful role in their communities, since they became the guarantors of provision of religious services by acting as intermediaries between the community and the priest. In fact, in some cases the priests may have unintentionally given the impression that the catechists could perform on their behalf as when Father Verhoeven in his guide for developing the

³⁹ James O'Brien, Azangaro, March 1955, Thomas Verhoeven, Azangaro, April 1955 "in many places there was so much good will among the people that our catechists, before the arrival of the priest, set up "rezanil". The ideal is that the catechists visit each place where there is a settlement of Indians or a "hacienda" and speak with the "teniente" or "mayordomo" about the possibility of beginning class. They agree upon a day when the priest should visit them, at which time all the families will be present. On the day [the meeting is to take place] the priest celebrates Mass for the people. A short talk is given the people telling them the necessity of saving their soul. It is a good selling point for the Indians, next to baptism have no stronger belief, it seems, than in the soul, for many will save for years, if necessary, and walk for miles and days to have a Mass celebrated for a departed soul. It is pointed out to them that without knowing the doctrine they cannot save their soul.

Who will teach the doctrine? [asked when the priest meets the people] the priest explains what kind of man is needed, one married in the church with a good character, etc. The people will suggest one, or the "teniente" or "mayordomo" may. The one elected usually accepts. If the teacher wants a helper, one is chosen in the same manner. In many places the head voluntary catechist has a helper. The voluntary catechists are very backward intellectually. As a rule they cannot write, and they can just about read the catechism. Some speak very little Spanish while the others none at all. They are not looked down upon for the fact that they cannot read or write. The Indians have a great respect for the priests, and also for those connected with him. The position alone gives the catechist a great deal of importance.

catechetical program advised that “After the election the priest tells the people that they must respect the Catechists for they are taking the place of the priest”.⁴⁰ Not surprisingly the power granted to catechists also placed them in an extraordinarily strong position to improve their own status. Father Martin Murphy reported that:

[P]eople would go to [the catechists] whenever there was a drought or floods or hail or freezing to [ask them to] placate the gods. They would have their ceremonies and being the religious leaders at that level, they would call some of their ceremonies a Mass because they would use wine and bread and offer these things . . . So a lot of the times people who were angry at the authorities within their town would come and tell us that the catechists was saying Mass and making money off of this.

Although the priests thus learned of abuses by catechists there was little they could do. Father Murphy reported that they did not know with certainty what happened in the communities and felt it was not their place to investigate “too much.” In some cases it also was evident that complaints resulted from conflicts between catechists vying to improve their status within communities. Thus Maryknoll created figures with considerable power over whom they had but minimal control.⁴¹

The catechetical system, while not perfect, was remarkably effective in resolving the problems of accessibility and disseminating knowledge of the faith. It also contributed to eliminating priests’ illness by reducing the number of treacherous journeys they had to take to outlying communities. In 1955, Father John J. O’Brien reported, for example, that the problem of sick calls was resolved by the catechists.

Since every Indian who ever lived thinks that to be doused with holy water is a cure-all for everything from a headache to cancer, and therefore call the priest at the slightest provocation, the catechists themselves suggested a plan whereby they will give a card to those whom they judge to be

⁴⁰ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 48.

⁴¹ Interview Father Martin Murphy, Lima Center House, October 21, 1997.

seriously ill, and the relatives of the sick person, upon presenting the card at the parish will be accompanied by the priest to the bed of the sick person. This might seem to be quite a mercenary system for administering the sacraments, but we have at least 60,000 Indians . . . and considering their reputation for being hypochondriacs, in the extreme, as well as the distance the plan seems justified.⁴²

Thus priests no longer found themselves having to respond to the overwhelming demand for sick calls. Father Jean Cameron adopted another method of addressing the problem of sick calls.

. . . had the catechist bring the sick and aged to the central meeting places when there was a catechetical meeting, food distribution, or a feastday Mass. There the people were instructed for an hour by the catechists. Confessions were heard and Extreme unction administered. The people are told to come to town on the following Thursday or Sunday for Holy Communion. On one occasion he anointed 80 people in one day. It was a very effective mission method. It cut down considerably on the work in the rural area which formerly took so much time.⁴³

Through the catechetical system Maryknoll also appeared able to introduce other elements of “modern” Catholicism. The priests reported that in a very short time things had begun to improve from a “sacramental” perspective. Father O’Brien reported that after just three months of catechetical work in Azángaro “now at the end of the month about three times a week we hear a group of twenty five with its catechist for Confession and Communion.”⁴⁴ Father Verhoeven reported the next month that “due to the catechists we have had hundreds of First Communion which we never would have had. Easter broke all previous records. Different groups started to come in three weeks before Easter, and two weeks after Easter they were still coming in for

⁴² John J. O’Brien, Huancane, December 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

⁴³ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 69.

⁴⁴ James O’Brien, Azangaro, March 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

confession and communion, and there are still more groups to arrive.”⁴⁵ Even the character of fiestas, which the Maryknoll priests had frequently condemned as drunken festivals with insufficient evidence of devotion, seemed transformed. On the occasion of the Feast of Santiago, for example, Father Higgins observed proudly:

This year we dared to add something [that was obviously left out of] the custom of confession and Holy Communion. Our organization of catechists in the country districts among the Aymara and Quechua Indians gave reality to what, up to now, has been merely a dream. The sight of these long abandoned people going to confession intelligently and receiving our Lord in the Eucharist on this big feast day is no small consolation to the Puno Padres. And for the missionary whose charge it is to give them the fullness of the Faith such a favorable reaction borders on the miraculous.”⁴⁶

The development of the catechetical system did appear miraculous from this doctrinal perspective. Even the daunting problem of introducing Catholic marriage seemed near resolution. Father O’Brien reported that there were:

63 marriages in September . . . [Catechists] brought in lists of unmarried people living in concubinage. In turn with printed letters we notified all these people to come around to the rectory to talk with the priest. These docile Indians arrived in droves. They would say, ‘I received your letter and have come in to get married.’ With that we filled out the marriage formulary. We tell them to go to the catechist in their area to receive instructions and then to return to us two days a week. In this way we can determine if they are really learning the catechism.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Thomas Verhoeven, Azangaro, April 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

⁴⁶ Thomas J. Higgins, Puno, July 1956, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA. See also: “things are going to well here to have a rational explanation. Lots of people must be praying hard for this parish. Almost everything we touch turns to gold. Of course the vice of drunkenness prevails in some places during the fiestas. But all of the people in all of the places do not drink. . . . Now when we go to a fiesta we find two or three groups of catechism children with their catechist. They sing and pray heartily with their catechists both on the evening before the fiesta and during the Mass. They form a nucleus of praying people who do much to emphasize the spiritual part of the feast. All of this is possible because of the self sacrifice of the catechists. James M. O’Brien, Azangaro, June 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

⁴⁷ James O’Brien, M.M., Azangaro, September 1955, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA. See also: Father Garrity observed that “Having heard about the rash of marriages in nearby “Ancasaya” last month, the leaders of nearby “Chillacollo” approached us for the same treatment of their unmarried couples. This was an attractive little place, sitting up on the side of a mountain. Each afternoon, with two catechists, we’d call them to the chapel with a bell or a honk of the Chevy’s horn. From all sides one could watch

Although the catechetical system appeared to be under the control of the Maryknoll missionaries, it was possible only because of indigenous people's enthusiastic embrace. By 1959 there were 1,950 catechists in the department. They effectively controlled all interaction between Maryknoll priests and indigenous communities, and were responsible directly or indirectly for disseminating Catholic rituals, knowledge of "modern Catholicism," and material benefits. Representatives of indigenous communities either sought out Maryknollers, asking to participate in the system, or paid indigenous head catechists met with community lieutenants or hacienda overseers to arrange to meet with the community. Communities elected their own voluntary catechists who thus acted as legitimate representatives of the community (though this role was sometimes contested). The voluntary and paid catechists would attend Maryknoll catechetical classes to obtain the knowledge of Catholicism they were meant to disseminate to their communities. They would then return to their communities to introduce this knowledge in their own language.

Maryknoll clergy did not thus control directly what was being taught to the communities. This is illustrated in a description of a typical parish visit.

In August we went to all the Aymara sectors of the parish. It was wonderful how well we were received. All the people came to the house or country school where the doctrine is taught by the Catechist. The priest checked over the census that had been taken by the resident Catechist. This census was a big job finally finished. It was wonderful to see that over ninety percent of the Indians living outside of town are married in the church. . . .The visiting priest then gives a short talk, especially reminding the people that they are members of the parish and that we are there to

women and children hustling to gather up their sheep or cattle, the men folk dropping their work and all heading up the hill to the chapel. Almost a hundred came faithfully day after day for two weeks and managed to learn enough to make their confession and communion for their weddings." Garrity, Ilave, May 1955, *Peru Priests' Diaries*, MMA.

serve them. Then each one present receives a little reminder of the visit, a holy card or medal. Finally everyone receives the Father's blessing; also any new home or building in the area is blessed at this time. After this the priest takes care of anyone who might be sick and need the Sacraments. It is all very simple, nothing big or fancy, but it does wonders for the people to have their priest visiting them in their own village. . . . So we can say that as a whole the catechists program in the Puno parish is working out very well. With so many people and so much ignorance of the true Catholic doctrine, there is a lot of work and educating to be done. The priests could never do it alone. Our big job is keeping after the catechists, forming them, training them, and making sure they are teaching the whole doctrine and not just repeating the same old thing month after month.⁴⁸

The priests' control was only indirect through their education of catechists, who by 1957 could attend the newly established Maryknoll catechetical school in Puno.⁴⁹ Because they had extensive knowledge of what constituted Maryknoll's ideal of "proper Catholic behavior," catechists could ensure that their communities conformed to these ideals when priests were present. In this way they shielded their communities from priests, who never saw rituals that they might condemn. In reflecting on priests' knowledge of local religious rites, Father Hoffman observed that it was not until the 1970s that Maryknollers started to recognize "Andean religious practices." He attributed this lack of recognition to indigenous people's effective distraction of the priests when they visited communities. As an example, Father Hoffman recalled visiting a community to offer a fiesta Mass. As typically happened, he was brought to the home of the alferado after the procession, where in the isolation of the home he was served a meal. While he was eating he glanced out the window and saw a pile of rocks and coca leaves and a bottle of alcohol. At the time he thought it was interesting, but did not investigate the performance of what he later came to believe

⁴⁸ Puno Diary 1955, Peru Priests' Diaries, MMA.

had been an Andean rite.⁵⁰ By organizing their communities and preparing them for the priests' arrival, teaching community members proper prayers, and acting as guides for priests whose view of the community was thus limited, catechists protected their communities' traditions while at the same time procuring necessary Catholic services from priests.

Through their translations of Catholic doctrine into indigenous languages, catechists may also either intentionally or unintentionally have transformed them to conform with Andean religious ideals. Maryknoll priests recognized and lamented the problem of translation, but there was little they could do about it. Father Frank observed that the catechists:

have a lot of good will, but at times their ability is somewhat limited by the lack of knowledge of Spanish. One day I went for a sick call with one of these voluntary catechists. When I arrived I found that the person was not married and that the man with whom she was living was a practicing Adventist. I explained that they had to become Catholics and that they had to contract marriage according to the rite of the Holy Mother Church. They agreed to do so and so I began with renunciation of heresy. [I had a ritual in Spanish which was sufficient for him, but for her Spanish was a foreign language. Thus I asked the catechist to translate what I was reading into Quechua. When I got to the part where she was to acknowledge the two natures (human and divine) in Christ, the catechist, who didn't know much Spanish, said to her in Quechua "I believe that Christ was both a man and a woman." . . . Perhaps she was believing in more heresies when we finished than what she had been believing before we started."]⁵¹

⁴⁹ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 84-85.

⁵⁰ Robert Hoffman, M.M. Informal conversation with the author, Puno, 24 January 1996.

⁵¹ Richard Frank, M.M. Azangaro, November 1955, *Peru Priests' Diaries*, MMA.

Father Verhoeven argued that contemporary missionaries were in a much better position to keep these errors in check than were their predecessors in the colonial period.

One of the dangers early Spanish missionaries feared in use of Indian catechists was doctrinal error creep[ing] into teaching, however there is not much danger of that today, since we have better checking on catechists and their teaching in outlying districts due to pickup trucks, and weekly or biweekly pilot meeting. Hired catechists, better trained, constantly visiting the different settlements to check teaching of volunteer catechists.⁵²

Yet it seems unlikely that even these measures would be sufficient to prevent doctrinal error.

The priests' ultimate conclusion seems to have been that while the catechetical system was not perfect, given the dramatic barriers posed by geography and culture, it was the best means they had to obtain their desired end of disseminating the faith. At the Puno catechetical conference in 1963, Father John Schiff, one of the main organizers of the system, likened it to a "wonderful machine" and the catechists to "inferior parts":

It is like trying to build a wonderful machine whose perfection and output we can readily imagine. To build that machine we need certain complicated parts. These special parts we cannot find where we are. Yet we still want that machine or at least something like it for the time being. So, what do we do? We start looking for parts that come as close to those highly complicated parts we need for that perfect machine. We find that the machine works with those inferior parts, not like the perfect machine we thought of in the beginning, but at least it simulates it and puts forth a product something like the perfect one we had hoped for. What more could we ask for?⁵³

⁵² Thomas Verhoeven, M.M., February 1958, *Peru Priests' Diaries*, MMA.

⁵³ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 3, 205.

In addition to lacking “perfection” in and of itself, the catechetical system also raised crucial questions about what its ultimate end would be. If the priests were unsuccessful in their goal of creating a native clergy, then through the catechetical system they would have created a demand for religious services which they could not fulfill. Father Verhoeven voiced this conclusion when he observed that:

the question has been raised, that after there are thousands instructed, what can be done in regards to administering the sacraments. Until more priests come very little can be done in this regard” but, he concluded “it certainly seems much better to give the Indians part of the faith than nothing at all. At least the Indians will know how to pray and the doctrine which is a great step toward salvation. Also they will be relatively well instructed when some priest will be able to attend them, and they will never succumb to Protestant propaganda.”⁵⁴

In speaking of the catechetical system decades later Father Hoffman observed that the catechists were an essential part of the missionaries’ work. They were the only way the priests could achieve the things they wanted.⁵⁵ If, however, the priests’ demands changed, then so too would the role of the catechists whose status came to depend on their ability to procure spiritual and material benefits from priests.

From spiritual to material: Maryknoll priests, nuns, and catechists and the dissemination of aid

The catechetical system became the basis for disseminating not just spiritual, but also material benefits to indigenous communities. In fact, the distribution of economic benefits undoubtedly contributed to the catechetical system’s early and rapid success. In 1956 Puno was hit by a devastating drought in which it was

⁵⁴ Thomas Verhoeven, M.M. Azangaro, July 1956, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

⁵⁵ Informal Conversation, Robert Hoffman, M.M. Maryknoll Center House, Puno, January 24, 1996.

estimated that more than 200 million soles in agricultural production were lost.⁵⁶ As it happened, a number of national and international aid programs had been introduced in the period immediately preceding and following this drought. In 1955 Caritas was started to distribute clothes and food to the needy and in 1954 the United States had passed Law 480 subsequently known as the “Food for Peace” program. Under this law about \$125 million of surplus crops per year were sent as “special gifts” or emergency grants, while an additional quantity was “sold” to national governments for local currency.⁵⁷ The United States announced a plan to send food aid to Peru. Through the network of the catechetical system Maryknoll distributed this aid to indigenous people. Father Halligan, reporting on the difficulty of distributing food to the “neediest,” also illustrated indirectly the central role the catechetical system could play:

US Aid to Peru for drought relief . . . out and out gift from the States, but it was thinly disguised behind a “contract” with the Peruvian Government. To wit; the US would give 80% of the shipment for nothing; and Peru promised to pay the other 20% of the cost price – after only 40 years – sounds like a joke to stateside ears, but down here the papers point to the contract and the promise to pay as evidence of national pride and independence. The pay off came the other evening when I heard one fair lady telling another that some of the shipment is already in Puno: and will be sold by the Govt. agency there. The selling price is slightly below the prevailing market price for grain. These dowagers, far from the danger of starving and far from the status of the Indians who are suffering were complaining that the quality of the grain was not up to what they had hoped for. But they consoled themselves with the news that the powdered milk was soon to arrive, and did they plan to stock up on that!!!! I chewed my toothpick for a long, long time before I asked the ladies and the surround in-listeners, why and how the stuff could be sold, since it was designated as disaster relief by the donor??? “Oh, but this is the 20% of

⁵⁶ *El Comercio*, 21 diciembre de 1956

⁵⁷ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 42. H. Bradford Westerfield, *The Instruments of America's Foreign Policy* (Thomas Y. Crowell, Co.: New York, 1963) 356-357.

the shipment that Peru bought, came back the course. “The 80% part hasn’t arrived yet” . . . and when that comes?? Well we shall see; we shall see . . . And it is a New Dealer, Fair Dealer, U.N.er all the way through who is telling this tale. The fact that recipient Governments at times can and do foul up the distribution leaves me sad, but not converted to a “no-more-aid” program.⁵⁸

Father Halligan thus observed a central problem of aid programs then as now – how to get aid to the desired recipients. This problem was especially acute for the United States. Although the country had become a powerful economic force in Peru by investing in industry, mining, and banking the United States had few representatives in remote regions like Puno.⁵⁹ Thus it had to find local intermediaries deemed trustworthy to distribute aid on its behalf. Maryknoll seemed to fit the bill perfectly. In the 1940s Maryknoll had presented its missionaries as potential goodwill Ambassadors for the United States. It now appeared that they would have an opportunity to fulfill this role.

Through the catechetical system Maryknoll also came to distribute aid and services funded domestically by the Peruvian government. In 1957 the government promised Maryknoll \$200 per month to support the catechetical program provided that priests incorporate “fundamental concepts of hygiene, etc. and how to read and

⁵⁸ Peter Halligan, Ilave, July 1956, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA. See also *La Prensa*, 5 de abril 1957 “noventa millones para Puno” where it was announced that the United States would send 90 million soles of food to be paid in 25 years to aid victims of the drought in Southern Peru

⁵⁹ H. Bardford Westerfield, *The Instruments* 333. There were education programs in which North Americans played a role in the 1920s and 1930s, but Dan Chapin Hazen reports that they “were branded as lazy, dishonest, and incompetent. More measured criticisms argued that the gringos had never really understood local political, social, and economic realities, and that they were insufficiently versed in Peru’s pedagogical tradition.” Dan Chapin Hazen, “The Awakening of Puno: Government Policy and the Indian Problem in Southern Peru, 1900-1955” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974), 208-211.

write.”⁶⁰ Maryknoll Sisters who had settled in Peru in 1954 also distributed state aid through medical care. In 1958 the Maryknoll Sisters’ diarist reported that they had gone to Puno to “await the arrival of Doctor Vintner, head of SCISP in Lima. Medical work in the country areas of the parish will depend partly on vaccines and medicines that can be procured free of charge from agencies such as SCISP and the Red Cross.”⁶¹ Through the provision of this aid Maryknoll enhanced both the relationship between the Church and state, and that among religion, medical care, and education. The Maryknoll Sisters reported that “. . . often our trips are made to coincide with the priests’ visit. This means that Father will hear confessions, celebrate Mass and have a meeting with the local catechists.”⁶² Andean assumptions about the relationship between health and forgiveness would seem thus to have been indirectly reinforced by the Maryknoll Sisters’ health program. This relationship again becomes evident in the Maryknoll Sisters’ description of their vaccination program. “Each Sunday afternoon Sister sets up shop in one corner of the baptistery and after the saving waters are poured, the newborns are inoculated against tuberculosis.”⁶³ The Maryknoll Sisters’ health program was made possible by the labor of the catechists, whose role was indispensable. One Sister described their labor in the following observation:

A word about the catechists. We depend much upon the help of these honest, hard-working Indians. They must precede us, wherever we go they advise the people about our visits, telling them where and when to assemble. If they are enthusiastic and reliable, the people will be eager and cooperative. In the eyes of the Indians, the catechist holds a place of esteem and respect, and they will usually obey him even in matters such as

⁶⁰ Charles F. Girnius, Azángaro, February 1957, Peru Priests’ Diaries, MMA.

⁶¹ April 1958 Assumption Convent Diary, Azángaro, Peru Sisters’ Diaries, MMA.

⁶² August 1959-August 1960, Our Lady of the Assumption Convent, Azángaro, Peru Sisters’ Diaries, MMA.

⁶³ October 1958-August 1959 Assumption Convent Diary, Azángaro, Peru Sisters’ Diaries, MMA.

health and vaccinations. During the actual visit to a pueblo, the catechist remains on hand to help us. He lines up the children, rounds up the adults, and interprets the Quechua for us. He gave us a list of the schools that would gather in Arapa next week, so we would know ahead of time the approximate number of children to be vaccinated – in this instance, 790.⁶⁴

The catechists thus also came to be associated with the provision of both religious and medical services.⁶⁵ Father Martin Murphy observed at a later date that when the Maryknoll Sisters introduced a health promoters program, the same people who served as catechists also acted as health promoters.⁶⁶

The catechetical system was thus made possible by a confluence of religious beliefs and practices, and the manner in which they were linked to social organization. Indigenous communities initially seemed responsive to the program because it provided a means of access to religious services crucial to community wellbeing. Maryknoll used provision of these religious rites, which did not necessarily conform to their American ideal of Catholicism, as a means of introducing spiritual and subsequently material innovations. The catechetical system's effectiveness thus depended ultimately on priests and indigenous people each wanting something the other had to offer. Indigenous communities sought spiritual and subsequently material benefits, while Maryknoll missionaries sought to provide these services as a means of transforming society. Through provision of these services they hoped to change local

⁶⁴ August 1959 – August 1960, Our Lady of the Assumption Convent, Azangaro, Peru Sisters' Diaries, MMA.

⁶⁵ The same thing occurred in the 1920s when Butron's Health Brigades were aided immeasurably by Seventh Day Adventist catechists. The same conflation between religious rituals and healthcare was also evident in this movement. See: Marcos Cueto, *El Regreso de las Epidemias: Salud y sociedad en el Perú del siglo XX*. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1997).

⁶⁶ Interview Martin Murphy, M.M., Lima Center House, October 21, 1997. This view was, however, contested by James Madden, M.M., who noted that in Mocachi, where he lived with a team of clergy,

practices of Catholicism (make them modern) and introduce aid, education, and health care, thereby putting these communities on the path to modernity. By introducing these spiritual and material innovations in tandem, Maryknoll seemed indirectly to promote established ideas about the relationship between religious practices and health. At the same time, the missionaries reinforced the relationship between the Church and state by establishing priests and nuns as providers of state aid.

Creating Networks

Through this provision of aid, it seems likely that Maryknoll helped to reformulate local ideas of the role of priests. We have seen in preceding chapters that priests often had been allied with hacendados in their exploitation of indigenous people. Alberto Flores Galindo and Julio Cotler both argue that hacendados were the primary links between indigenous people and the state.⁶⁷ It seems, however, that Maryknollers in the twentieth century came indirectly to serve this end as well edging hacendados out of their prominent position. In fact, priests reported that hacendados resisted the missionaries' efforts to introduce the catechetical system. In his report on the catechetical program in 1967 Father Joseph B. Arsenault reported:

the catechists often were not religious leaders in their communities. James Madden, M.M., Bárbara Cavanaugh, and Pilar Desmond, *Donde está tu pueblo* (privately printed, n.d.)

⁶⁷ Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, cuarta edición, (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1994) Julio Cotler, *clases*. It would seem likely that the position of hacendados as intermediaries was enhanced as the number of priests declined and their status shifted. In fact, Flores Galindo argues that an analogous shift occurred as a result of the Bourbon Reforms in the eighteenth century. It seems that by the nineteenth century lower middle class men became priests as a means of enhancing their social standing. It thus seems likely that they would extract wealth from indigenous communities rather than supporting or allying with them. This perception is certainly evident in the accounts of Ferdinand Stahl, the first Seventh Day Adventist to Puno, who describes greedy, rapacious priests, who had no interest in indigenous people's well-being. Stahl surely was not unbiased (especially since the local Catholic clergy tried literally to kill him), but his descriptions are affirmed in other independent sources. F.A. Stahl, *En el país de los incas* (Buenos Aires: Casa Editora, n.d.)

There is bad will on the part of the hacendado, or the administrator who call themselves 'muy catolicos' (very good catholics) because of his non-christian personal life and outlook. They don't want the people to have time for religion or love, because that might put the hacienda in jeopardy – people might start fighting for social justice. To appease the people and the local parish, the patron or administrator asks for help to build a chapel or assures the people of a fiesta Mass once a year on the patron saint feast day of the hacienda, but he is not at all interested in the spiritual development of his people.⁶⁸

Maryknoll's catechetical program established an alternative system of intermediaries in which the priests became the links between indigenous communities and the outside world, thereby supplanting hacendados' positions. Moreover, they provided spiritual and material benefits to indigenous communities which the hacendados did not or could not.

It is evident that through aid distribution, Maryknoll established links to the Peruvian and United States government and to the universal Catholic Church. Maryknollers also came to act as consultants to other religious groups seeking to establish catechetical systems. In November of 1955 Puno's Bishop Dettman extended the catechetical program to all of Puno, naming Maryknoll's Father Thomas Verhoeven as director.⁶⁹ In 1958 the Peruvian Hierarchy offered "a vote of applause to the Maryknoll Fathers for their efficient catechetical work in the state of Puno which has reestablished the old institution of prayer-doctrine teachers. We recommend that this practice extend to all the Dioceses of Peru."⁷⁰ While the system may not have been extended to all of Peru, Father Verhoeven did start Catechetical Schools in Cuzco in 1961; Huancayo in 1963; Huaraz in 1966; and Huanuco in

⁶⁸ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4, 535.

⁶⁹ Richard Frank, M.M. Azángaro, November 1955, Peru Priests' Diaries, MMA.

1967.⁷¹ Maryknollers were thus able to establish links to clergy, in each of these departments, that cumulatively spanned the length and breadth of the Peruvian nation. It was thus not surprising that in 1961 Maryknoll Father John Considine, Mr. William Considine, and Mr. Burns met with “Mr. Milton Borall, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs. . . . to apprise the responsible policy officers at the Department of State of the mutuality of interest of the United States Bishops and the Government of the United States respecting assistance to Latin America.” At the meeting “Father Considine and Mr. Considine both explained in general the existing facility in Latin America of Catholic Relief Services, with emphasis on the ability of the Church to reach isolated people in remote areas of the continent. It was made clear that to the extent NCWC can be of assistance and service to our Government in carrying out aid to Latin America we stand ready to help in all ways possible.”⁷²

The catechetical system thus enabled indigenous people to gain access to resources through missionaries, and for missionaries to establish a network that extended throughout the country. While this popular element of the Maryknoll mission movement was crucial and foundational, of equal importance were the missionaries’ links to the middle class, which were achieved through education, credit, and housing cooperatives.

Maryknoll and Puno’s Middle Class

Maryknoll’s ultimate mission goal was to strengthen the foundation of the Catholic Church in Peru. In the United States this foundation was built by middle-

⁷⁰ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2 p. 87.

⁷¹ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4. 363.

class first- and second-generation Americans. The middle-class provided the Church with the requisite resources to support parochial education, to build neighborhood parishes, and even to support a mission movement. This middle-class support of the mission movement represented a form of reciprocity. The Catholic Church had sent European missionaries to the United States to help immigrants establish themselves as American citizens. These missionaries provided the educational and social foundations that enabled immigrants to obtain middle-class status. In Peru, while they hoped initially to work exclusively with indigenous people, Maryknoll came to provide services to the country's emerging middle class – migrants to urban centers and lower-middle class, established urban residents. Maryknoll's experience in Puno from 1943 to 1954 suggested, however, that while the middle class wanted Maryknoll education, its members were less than enthusiastic about the missionaries' religious services. Puno's middle class had vacillated between indifference and open hostility towards the missionaries. In contrast to the indigenous people, who while they seemed to Maryknollers to lack the requisite knowledge, nonetheless exhibited faith, the middle class seemed to have neither faith nor knowledge. The difference between indigenous people's response to the missionaries and that of the middle class was evident, for example, in sick calls. While indigenous people's requests for sick calls overwhelmed the priests, city dwellers, both in Puno and in the towns Maryknoll adopted after 1954, seemed largely indifferent. Recounting the services the priests provided in Ilave, Father Quinn observed:

⁷² Memorandum From: Mr.[Harmon] Burns, To: File, February 10, 1961. MFBA/USCMA Box 10, File 1, MMA.

Sick Calls: totaled 47 this month. It was gratifying to see, looking over the sick-call book, that some 10 of these calls were from the center. It may be that the towns-people are used to seeing us taking off at least once every day for a sick call in the country, and they realize that they are missing out on something by not calling the priest for their sick. Or, it may be that they are realizing that we do not accept funeral Masses or vigiliias (burial services) for people that could have had the priest in time but neglected to call him. At any rate we like to think that it is that the people in town are waking up to the fact that they have priests here to serve them and that they have an obligation to call on their services.⁷³

A combination of cajoling and threatening seemed the only means of attracting to the Church middle class, and especially middle class men. In contrast to the indigenous people, for whom religious services provided the initial basis for establishing links to Maryknoll clergy, the middle class appeared indifferent to Catholicism. Drawing them into the Church required the provision of concrete benefits which came to take the forms of education, credit and housing cooperatives. Maryknoll presented each of these services as a means of benefiting the poor, indigenous people, but in practice while some indigenous people benefited, the vast majority of Maryknoll's resources in these endeavors were dedicated to an emerging middle class.

In this section I will examine the development of the San Ambrosio seminary, and the credit and housing cooperative programs. I will first discuss the San Ambrosio pre-minor seminary as a means of illustrating how both structural conditions and the Maryknollers' ideals of Catholicism prevented them from promoting indigenous clergy. Then I will analyze the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of the San Ambrosio pre-seminary in promoting the development of a middle-class local clergy in Puno. Through this analysis it will become evident that

⁷³ Richard M. Quinn, M.M. Ilave, November 1958, Peru Priests Diaries, MMA.

while Maryknoll achieved neither the promotion of indigenous or middle-class clergy, the San Ambrosio pre-minor seminary and pre-seminary did help enhance the status of the indigenous and middle-class boys who attended. While the schools did not create priests, therefore they did promote social mobility. From the seminary, my analysis will turn to the development of the credit and housing cooperative programs. As was true of San Ambrosio pre-minor and pre-seminary, Maryknoll presented the cooperatives as a means of aiding poor, indigenous people when in reality most of the benefits accrued to the middle class. I will thus contrast the presentation of the cooperatives with the reality of their role, and will consider what impact they had on development.

In one sense, Maryknoll did achieve the goals it established, but not in the way that the missionaries anticipated. Through their educational efforts, and credit and housing cooperatives, Maryknoll helped to reassert the power of the Catholic Church among all social sectors in Peru. The missionaries also helped to ensure stability in the country during a period when social and economic changes had created a dramatic crisis in housing and credit. Julio Cotler reports that as foreign interests came to dominate Peruvian banking the number of small loans available was reduced dramatically. Most loans were provided to foreign interests engaged in industrialization.⁷⁴ At the same time that the availability of small loans decreased, urban migration created a demand for housing that the government could not satisfy.⁷⁵ The Church effectively became a key provider (perhaps the main provider) of small

⁷⁴ Cotler, *clases, estado*. . . 276-277.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 278 and Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs*.

loans to businesses and individuals throughout Peru. In doing so, it greatly enhanced its potential influence in the country. The Credit and Housing Cooperatives Maryknoll started in Puno would serve ultimately to enable the missionaries to develop close ties to the Peruvian and United States governments, and links to other Catholic orders throughout Peru. Thus, while Maryknoll's programs did not evolve in the way it had envisioned, the missionaries nonetheless strongly influenced national development and provided a means of integrating socially, culturally, and geographically remote regions into the Peruvian nation.

San Ambrosio

Maryknoll's role as director of the San Ambrosio pre-seminary did not conform to the missionaries' initial goal of establishing an Indian Apostolate, but it did appear a means of achieving their primary goal of strengthening the Church's foundation. As in most Latin American countries, following independence Peru suffered a rapid reduction in the number of clergy. The resulting shortage of priests was especially acute in remote regions like Puno.⁷⁶ In practice San Ambrosio served mainly to educate the children of white-collar workers in Puno rather than to create priests. In 1955 Father Tessier lamented that: "it was finally last December after fully twelve years of work that the first two products of our minor seminary reached the hard-to-attain goal of priesthood."⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Father Tessier suggested that Maryknollers remained optimistic, noting that: "an onlooker, after considering all of this [the problems they had to overcome] and speaking in a human fashion, would say

⁷⁶ Klaiber, *La Iglesia*.

⁷⁷ J. Harvey, Tessier, M.M. Puno, February 1955, Peru Priests Diaries, MMA.

that the seminary is a disproportionate effort on our part and so should be de-emphasized. We, however, who are so convinced of the final victory of the Church, know that we are on the right road, and have no doubt that God will provide.”⁷⁸

Examining the actual conditions of the priests’ labor might suggest that this optimism was a bit misplaced. Maryknoll faced a daunting task in developing a local clergy. In 1955, the same year that he spoke with certainty about the potential for success in creating a native clergy, Father Tessier described some of the obstacles the missionaries had to overcome to achieve this goal:

The main one is that of illegitimacy. It is a strict rule that only legitimate or legitimated boys be accepted, following the path taken by practically every diocese and religious order in Peru and found by experience to be a worthwhile restriction. But it eliminates about 75% of the boys interested since it is about that percentage of people living together who are not married in the Church. Another is the fact that many good-living parents forbid their boys to enter the seminary, because of the opinion prevalent in Puno that the priesthood is a very low profession, not to be preferred in any way to the careers of law, medicine, or engineering. [It would be unjust to condemn them for the opinion because they have been witnesses for so many years to the scandalous lives led by so great a number of their own native priests.]⁷⁹

The “illegitimacy problem” seemed nearly impossible to overcome. The missionaries believed that this problem, as well as the difficulty of finding young men with religious vocations, could only be overcome by establishing a “solid, parochial life.” As a *Maryknoll* magazine article noted “too much will not be accomplished with the

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

present generation of adults. Therefore, increasing attention must be paid to Latin American youth.”⁸⁰

In the short-term, Maryknoll emphasized an extensive vocation push.

Father Tessier described some of Maryknoll’s vocation efforts:

In the past years there have been many and varied systems of vocational work. Towards the end of every school year Father Kearns was accustomed to travel the Puno Department from parish to parish speaking at the different schools and inviting the boys with an inclination to the priesthood to come to the seminary. Two years ago the biggest scale drive ever was launched when the same Father Kearns teamed up with Father Koenigsknecht and canvassed every school of any size, grossing more than three hundred names. While the first figures of each of these tours was very encouraging, the numbers to actually enter the seminary were very much lower. And of these that entered fifty per cent would drop out or be told to leave before the next school year. This last year a new system was tried, justified by experience, that of speaking in our own parishes with only two exceptions, those being the trade and agricultural school run by the Salesian Fathers, and the nearby city of Juliaca. In the city of Puno itself each priest connected with the seminary was assigned a number of schools in which to talk and to follow up on.⁸¹

In practice, while these vocation programs may have drawn young men to San Ambrosio, most came with the hope of gaining a good education and thereby improving their social standing rather than of becoming priests. San Ambrosio pre-seminary served more as a high school for the middle class than a source of religious vocations. The school roster of 1951 illustrates that the vast majority of the students were children of white-collar workers.⁸² Many graduates subsequently played important roles in local government and business, one even becoming an official with

⁸⁰ Albert J. Nevins, “Why Latin American Men Avoid the Church” in *Maryknoll*. August 1955. 8-12.

⁸¹ J. Harvey Tessier, M.M. Puno, February 1955, *Peru Priests’ Diaries*, MMA.

⁸² William D. McCarthy, M.M. indicated that the school sought to attract middle class boys. Father Domingo Llanque, one of the few Aymara men to become a priest, also indicated that when he sought

USAID.⁸³ In this sense, Maryknoll seminary education served an analogous role in Peru to that of seminary education in the United States, where former seminarians were among the first Catholics to gain a foothold in American business and politics.⁸⁴ The central difference was that while Maryknoll education might provide for some mobility, it was limited by the economic reality of an underdeveloped nation. Education could not replace economic expansion: both were necessary to promote social mobility. Maryknoll had also argued that both were necessary to promote religious stability.

Credit Cooperatives seemed to Maryknoll to offer the potential to contribute to developing the foundations necessary to establish Catholicism. They would enable the missionaries to promote the “solid, parochial life,” they believed necessary to develop vocations. They also would contribute to improving the position of the middle-class who would then be able to support the Church. Maryknoll introduced the first credit cooperative in Puno in 1955. At the Lima Methods Conference in 1954, Father James F. McNiff described the benefits of credit cooperatives as follows:

Many of us think of cooperatives from a purely materialistic point of view, as a tool to overcome inertia and misery under the capitalistic regime, and perhaps we overlook one of the greatest aims of the Cooperative Movement—to teach the individual his place in society to co-operate with others for his own good, and so bring about a solid community spirit which is an invaluable aid for the promotion of religion. We strive through such means as co-operatives to bring some material benefits to our people so that they will be more willing to listen to our teaching concerning heavenly things. So we elevate their spiritual standards by

to enter the San Ambrosio pre-seminary, he was not welcomed with open arms by the clergy. Interview Father Domingo Llanque, Puno, January 26, 1996.

⁸³ One student, Hugo Osorio became an official with USAID. Interview Hugo Osorio, Lima, July 25, 1998.

⁸⁴ Joel Perlmann, *Ethnic Differences: Schooling and Social Structure among the Irish, Italians, Jews, and Blacks in an American City, 1880-1935*. (Cambridge University Press: 1988).

making every effort to help them to lift themselves up from their economic plight. . . . Here we have the best means of putting into practice the teaching of the Church in its social encyclicals, of restoring all things to Christ by raising the standard of living among our people and thereby raising their spiritual standards.⁸⁵

In addition to demonstrating a critical perspective of capitalism, Father McNiff's analysis reveals that credit cooperatives were presented as a means of establishing Catholic community. The missionaries hoped that in the long-term this effort would help to resolve the problem of the shortage of clergy. Maryknoll believed that once Catholic community was established it would be possible to attract boys to the Church. Credit Cooperatives also would help prevent the spread of Communism and ensure that capitalism was imbued with Christian values. As *El Comercio*, a leading Lima newspaper, described them in 1960:

the Cooperatives constitute today the most effective form to enable small industrialists, agriculturalists and merchants to compete with the huge capitalist businesses in the world market. This form of democratic association is the most powerful barricade against unrestrained/voracious capitalism on the one hand and destructive egalitarian Communism on the other. Each Cooperative is a school of civic culture and human fraternity, where democracy is exercised, savings and economy are practiced, honor and labor are exalted, and mutual aid and cooperation among all members are stimulated; that is to say an eminently social work is realized.⁸⁶

Credit Cooperatives also seemed a means of attracting men to the Church. Men were necessary for the obvious reason that only they could become priests. Middle-class men were necessary because they seemed to Maryknoll, following the American model, to be the best candidates for the priesthood. In 1955 the *Maryknoll*

⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the Lima Methods Conference of the Maryknoll Fathers*. Maryknoll House, Lima Peru August 23-28, 1954. (New York: Maryknoll Fathers, n.d.), 161.

⁸⁶ *El Comercio* Carlos A. Bareda, "Sociedad cooperativa de Ahorro y Credito en Puno" 21 octubre 1960.

magazine published an article entitled “Why Latin-American Men Avoid the Church.” The author, Father Albert Nevins, described two model parishes in which men had returned to the Church as a result of the priests’ efforts to draw them in through extracurricular activities: social and sports activities, and credit cooperatives. A “model parish” in Santiago was described as one “in which men play the dominant role. Men have the exclusive management of the flourishing credit union. They compose the editorial staff of a vigorous parish weekly newspaper. They have their own dialogue Mass on Sundays. In short, the men are the leaders of the parish. They feel they belong.” This model of male belonging was contrasted with the primary obstacle of male Church association: female dominance. “Attempts to bring the men back to the practice of their Faith have met the stumbling block that the man does not want to be associated with a crowd of pious women. He does not want to be ordered around by women, or feel that he is dependent on their initiative.”⁸⁷ Restoring the power of the Church thus meant restoring male dominance to the Church. In an example designed to illustrate the Credit Cooperative Program’s aid to the neediest, Father Kearns also illustrated indirectly the central role it might play in promoting an ideal patriarchal family that would be the foundation of a strong Church and a strong nation.

In March 1964 Fr. Joseph Sarjeant, working in Our Lady of Pilar Parish in Arequipa, vividly brought out the results of the Credit Cooperative Movement with the following true story.

When lunchtime comes around in the Peñareda household, one-year-old Carmen sits on the table. Her two brothers, Jesus and Teofilo, and her

⁸⁷ Albert J. Nevins, M.M. “Why Latin-American Men Avoid the Church,” in *Maryknoll* August, 1955. 8-12.

sister, Maria, occupy the only bench while Mom and Dad sit on the edge of the only bed.

Angel Peñareda 28, a native of Cuzco, is the breadwinner of the family. His wife, Agripina, is from Arquipa. They live here in the dry, desolate *barriada* of Cerro de Juli. It is just as well, perhaps, that they don't have much furniture in their one-room hovel because when the whole family gathers there's not much room for anything else. And there isn't much food either.

Senor Peñareda works for the Southern Peruvian Railroad as a day-laborer. His weekly salary is about 400 soles (US \$16.00). He is typical of millions of Peruvians living in sub-human dwellings, without water, plumbing or electricity, who are searching frantically for a solution to the social and economic tyranny which holds them in bondage. He is a member of that vague human entity called 'the masses', crying out for rights and dignity in a society largely committed to feudal traditions.⁸⁸

The Peñareda family was portrayed as fulfilling all of the mandates to become middle-class Catholics, but lacking the requisite resources. The father was the breadwinner who worked hard and strived to improve life for his wife, two boys, and two girls. Only Peru's inequitable conditions prevented him from becoming owner of a decent home.

Maryknoll Father Daniel McLellan founded the first credit cooperative in Puno in 1955. It had 23 associates and 603 soles in capital. By 1956 there were 1,034 members and s/613,890.30. In the following year the number of associates more than doubled to 2,377 with capital of s/3,793,517.59. From that point growth slowed a bit, but by 1960 there were 3,506 associates and capital of s/9,114,438.49. A housing cooperative movement was quickly added to the credit cooperative movement. In 1959 Father McLellan had plans drawn up for 72 low-cost cooperative houses in Puno. These were typical American houses with "four bedrooms, a dining room-

⁸⁸ Robert Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 3 83-84.

living room combination, three bathrooms, a kitchen, and a laundry room with a patio out back.” The final price was \$1,800. Purchasers were to pay off this cost over a period of 13 years 3 months at 480 soles per month (\$18 per month).⁸⁹ In 1958 Maryknoll started a Parish Credit Cooperatives in Azángaro and Huancane and in 1959 in Juli.⁹⁰

Although Maryknoll priests reported that it was difficult to start the credit cooperative movement in Peru, it quickly attracted the national government’s attention. As Father Dwyer reported in 1956:

When we were fighting to get going one had to corner a big shot of the Government to get him to listen to the idea, but now they are looking us up and high Government officials are very interested. The man, who dope has it probably will be the next president, is interested and told the Pastor of San Juan that if he makes the Presidency we should see him in August about Credit Unions for which there is a crying need since 20% interest on loans is common. The idea of Credit Unions was believed to be inoperable in Peru, but now they are convinced it can be done, but that it will be the Church who does it because the people will have confidence and trust if priests are leading.⁹¹

The priests did lead. In 1958, at the request of Father McLellan, the Episcopal Assembly introduced an initiative to form Parish Credit Cooperatives and established a Central office of Parish Credit Cooperatives. “In 1958 thirty-four priests from 14 Archdioceses, Vicariates, and Prelatures attended the introductory course in Credit Cooperatives given by Father Dan in the Catechetical School of Puno.”⁹² Although

⁸⁹ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2, 20.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 72, 93.

⁹¹ Arthur J. Dwyer, M.M. Puno, June 1956, *Peru Priests Diaries*, MMA. I suspect that the politician referred to was Pedro Beltrán an important opposition leader who was said to have instigated the Ciudad de Dios invasion to publicize President Odría’s failure to meet the housing needs of Peru’s new urban residents. Beltrán played a crucial role in introducing mutual savings and loan associations, of the type Maryknoll advocated, in the 1950s. Collier, *Squatters and Oligarchs*, 69-70.

⁹² Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2 95.

the Central Office of Parish Credit Cooperatives was founded to assist Catholic parishes, in 1959 it expanded its services and advice to aid any organization seeking to open a credit cooperative. That year 62 cooperatives, most of them on factories and farms, requested assistance.⁹³ In April the Central Office was transformed into the Peruvian Credit Union League in Lima, and Maryknoll Father Dan McLellan was named managing director.⁹⁴ This transformation made possible the incorporation of Peru's credit cooperatives into the international federation of cooperatives. Although the ecclesiastical element was removed from the name, the Episcopal Assembly of 1959 reported that "the leadership of the Federation . . . is in the hands of the Church, and already the Central Office is the only place where truly efficient technical assistance is offered to the nation."⁹⁵

By 1959 the number of credit unions in Peru had increased from one (Maryknoll's in Puno) to 112, of which 50 were operated by parishes.⁹⁶ The movement gained the attention not just of the Peruvian government, but of the world. The Episcopal Assembly of Peru in 1959 reported that the creation of the Central Office of Parish Credit Cooperatives "had placed Peru's Credit Cooperatives at the head of the South American movement."

An observation team of the United Nations praised the development of the Cooperative movement and described it as one of the best if not the best, social programs they had encountered in our continent. It has merited

⁹³ Ibid. 96.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 97. Daniel McLellan, M.M. was named "Director of the Institute of Human Relations and Production" at San Marcos University as well.

⁹⁵ Memoria Para La Asamblea Episcopal Peruana Sobre el Desarrollo de Cooperativas de Credito Parroquiales en al Año 1959. AOJ.

⁹⁶ Oficina Central: Cooperativas de Crédito Parroquiales, Memoria Para La Asamblea Episcopal Peruana, 1959. AOJ and Federación Nacional de Cooperativas de Crédito del Perú: Estadísticas 1966. AOJ.

mention in the United Nations Assembly, Mr. O'Grady (the United States representative of the O.N.U.), of Catholic Social Services . . . publicly said that the movement's success demonstrated the Episcopal Assembly's principal preoccupation with social and spiritual progress, it has merited economic support of the United Nations. Cardinal Spellman of New York, has supported the movement through the mediation of the ambassador of the United States in Peru, and has manifested his interest and approval of the labor . . .⁹⁷

The Credit Cooperative even gained international attention. "People from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, and Ecuador came to Lima to study at the main offices [of the National Federation of Credit Cooperatives]."⁹⁸

From 1960 to 1965 the Credit Cooperative Movement also became the beneficiary of United States aid. In fact, it was made possible by the provision of United States aid. As was true of the development of the Catechetical Program, Maryknoll's development of the Credit Cooperatives corresponded with a shift in provision of aid to Latin America from the United States, specifically with the development of the Alliance for Progress. In 1960 Maryknoll Father John Considine, in his capacity as director of the Latin American Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, wrote to James Norris of Catholic Relief Services providing him information from the NCWC "preparatory to Congressional action in January on the \$500,000,000 in Latin American aid."⁹⁹ Considine suggested:

It would appear that we should make remote plans for the establishment in Latin American countries of properly structured organizations that strive to secure substantial sums for operations in given individual countries. You and I should, I think, take the first steps in proposing which such

⁹⁷ Memoria Para La Asamblea Episcopal Peruana Sobre el Desarrollo de Cooperativas de Crédito Parroquiales en al Año 1959. AOJ.

⁹⁸ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 3 85.

⁹⁹ Letter from John J. Considine to James Norris, Catholic Relief Services, November 8, 1960. MFBA/USCMA Box 10, Folder 1 MMA.

entities should be initiated and guided by Catholic Relief Services and which might be initiated by the Latin American Bureau.¹⁰⁰

The Memorandum from the NCWC accompanying Father Considine's letter to James Norris provided fairly detailed information about the US aid program which was delineated as follows:

First, funds as needed will be provided the Inter-American Development Bank for the purpose of long-term, low-interest loans for productive economic development. The money will be furnished by the Bank under trust agreements which will stipulate, inter alia, that such desired social objectives as land reform and tax reform by countries borrowing from the Bank shall be conditions precedent to the granting of any loan. The Department intends, in effect, to force Latin American governments to accomplish what it considers to be long overdue reforms.

...

One factor important to both phases of the aid program, warranting mention here, is that all proposals should have at least the assent, but preferably the support, of the government of a particular country involved.¹⁰¹

We have seen that Maryknoll had the backing of the Peruvian government from the start of the missionaries' endeavors in Puno. With the migration from rural to urban Puno and the new demands that a growing population placed on the state, this support increased. By the 1950s *barriadas* had become part of the urban landscape in Peru. The government was unable to meet the infrastructural demands created by migration. Among the greatest demands was that for housing. In a talk presented at the First Reunion of Interamerican Savings and Loans in 1963, Father Dan McLlellan reported that "in Peru 54% of families living in metropolitan areas need new housing; 25% of

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

these families live in houses that require rehabilitation. Only 11% live in adequate housing. More than 10% of the population of Lima live in *barriadas*, in subhuman conditions. In the face of this reality, I, as a Catholic priest, as a human, feel the urgent need to help.”¹⁰²

Almost from the outset, the Credit Cooperative Movement had been seen as a potential means of resolving, or at least ameliorating, Peru’s housing crisis. Senator Bailon, who in 1956 had observed that the cooperatives might help integrate the “Indian” was said at that time also to feel “sure that it provided a solution for the national problem of housing.”¹⁰³ The initial barrier to providing housing assistance was that cooperative loans were short-term with repayment required in two years, a length of time obviously insufficient for a home loan. This obstacle could only be overcome by finding a source of long-term credit, which came in the form of United States loans.”¹⁰⁴ Father McLellan reported that:

With the establishment of the National Housing Foundation (precursor to the present Bank of Housing of Peru) in May of 1961, the Interamerican Development Bank initiated the paperwork for two requests for credit totaling one million dollars for the Mutual “El Pueblo” and the Central Credit Cooperative of Peru, Ltd. The contract of credit with the Central Credit Cooperative of Peru was signed the 27th of October, 1961; the first deposit was received in February of 1962 --\$300,000.00. Last week we received the second deposit of \$250,000.00. Part of the initial deposit of \$300,000 has been used by the Credit Cooperatives outside of Lima to give 184 houses to Peruvian families and to grant 75 home improvement loans. The loan contract with the Mutual “El Pueblo” was signed the 1st of May, 1962, and the first deposit of \$200,000 was received almost at the end of September. These \$200,000 have been used in their totality to put

¹⁰¹ Memorandum To: Mr. Considine From: Mr. Burns, November 3, 1960. Subject: Latin-Americna Coordination – Government Funds. MFBA/USCMA Box 10, Folder 1, MMA.

¹⁰² Palabras del R.P. Daniel McLellan, Presidente de La A.M.C.V. El Pueblo – de Lima, Perú: A la Primera Reunión Interamericana de Ahorro y Préstamos. Lima, 23 de Enero de 1963.

¹⁰³ Arthur J. Dwyer, M.M. Puno, June 1956, Peru Priests Diaries, MMA.

¹⁰⁴ Palabras del R.P. Daniel McLellan, Presidente . . . Ahorra y Préstamos. Lima, 23 de Enero de 1963.

89 Peruvian families in their own homes. In this way, the Alliance for Progress, by means of laudable banking systems, like that of BID, have put 273 families in homes. Both loans were guaranteed by the Peruvian government; feeling this was a laudable example of support for a private association on the part of the government. For this, our most profound and sincere gratitude to the Peruvian government, whose attitude we hope will serve as an example to other governments of the sister countries of América.

The program of credit cooperatives Maryknoll initiated in Puno in 1954 thus came to fulfill in part the needs of both the Alliance for Progress, which sought means of distributing aid, and of the Peruvian national government, which sought a means to satisfy the basic needs of a highly mobile and potentially mobilized population.

In the mid-1950s Maryknoll gradually moved from its mission center in Puno to new urban settlements in Lima and Arequipa. All of the parishes Maryknoll adopted were the products of recent urbanization and the majority included a few elite families, a white-collar middle-class, and recent rural immigrants seeking to attain middle-class status. Father Kearns, describing the Maryknoll parish in Arequipa, observed that “here the people come first, facilities will come in due time.”¹⁰⁵ Through the cooperative, education, and health programs, Maryknoll helped in developing these facilities. In 1950 Maryknoll was given charge of what would become St. Rose of Lima parish in Lince, a recent middle class settlement in Lima. In 1954 the missionaries accepted Our Lady of Sorrows parish in Arequipa, whose socio-ethnic mix was quite similar to that of St. Rose of Lima. In 1956 Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish in La Victoria, Lima was also given to Maryknoll. Finally, in 1960 Maryknoll developed the first parish in Ciudad de Dios. Maryknoll started credit

cooperatives, parish schools, and social assistance centers in most of these parishes and the Peruvian government granted Maryknoll subsidies in most of these endeavors. Maryknoll with the assistance of the Peruvian government thus helped to provide the means of integration for an emerging middle class in urban Peru.

The Maryknoll missionaries were but one of a plethora of Catholic religious orders from the United States, Canada, and Europe who sent clergy to Latin America in the late 1950s and 1960s. Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. noted that 42 new Catholic religious groups arrived in Peru after 1940, and of these 25 came after 1960.¹⁰⁶ Maryknoll was the only Catholic movement founded in the United States and as such its ideals and impact were distinct. The missionaries' goals and the methods they used to achieve them were shaped by their experiences in their communities of origin and in the Maryknoll seminary and convent in the United States. They were, nonetheless, forced to conform to Peruvian exigencies – to expectations of Catholic clergy and to the particular form of labor the Peruvian state and Church hierarchy mandated for them. As a result they became part of a larger movement of Catholic clergy in Peru. Maryknollers became part of an extensive network that covered the length and breadth of the country. Missionaries in Peru provided a crucial source of aid, especially in *barriadas* and in rural communities. Maryknoll missionaries did, in effect, fulfill their early goal to serve as “goodwill ambassadors for the United States.” They learned, however, that the results of these efforts did not, as we shall see, quite fulfill their ideal.

¹⁰⁵ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 2 61.

¹⁰⁶ Klaiber, *La Iglesia*. . . 376.

VI: Things Fall Apart

The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.

Things Fall Apart p. 176

In *Things Fall Apart* Chinua Achebe provides a moving fictional account of an African community's unsuccessful efforts to cope with the onslaught of British colonial forces. Missionaries are in his account the primary agents of destruction. Although quiet and peaceable, they undermine unity by appealing to the clan's marginal members. Those for whom traditional religion is an oppressive force are drawn to the missionaries' alternative faith, which embraces rather than ostracizes them. The community soon is divided between adherents to tradition and Christian neophytes. Missionaries thus become shock-troops of British colonial rule. British commerce and government follow on the missionaries' heels to protect them, and by doing so find pretext for entering remote African communities. When they violently confront the missionaries, African clan members learn that the proselytizers are backed by armed British agents. Soon the African community "falls apart:" it becomes the victim of its own contradictions, made evident and insurmountable by the presence of an alternative culture. Never having had to confront these new pressures, traditional culture cannot respond to them. The community is deprived of the cultural

framework that served as the basis for social organization. The missionaries, it seems, have won.¹

The Maryknoll missionaries' proselytization of Peru, while it shared many characteristics of that described by Achebe for Africa, appears to have had quite different results. In Peru, Andean communities remained unified, while the Maryknoll community fell apart. Like the African clans described by Achebe, Maryknoll became the victim of its own contradictions, made evident by a series of global and local changes. The Maryknoll mission movement was motivated by an ideal in which faith and nation were inextricably bound, foundations undermined in the 1960s. The religious foundation of the movement was shaken by the Second Vatican Council's reformation of the Catholic Church and the national foundation undermined by President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

In his brilliant analysis of American Catholicism Garry Wills argues that for Catholic liberals Kennedy's election was the realization of a dream. Catholics became American citizens for whom there was no conflict between loyalty to faith and loyalty to nation. "The Catholic liberal was as liberal as he was Catholic; indeed, as liberal as any other liberal; just as loyal an American, and loyal because of his Catholic principles—which, it turned out, were simply American principles."² Kennedy's policies were informed by his Catholic beliefs, but they were not beholden to them. In fact, Wills argues that "in order to secularize politics, Kennedy had to purge it not only

¹ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). The authors seem to concur with the conclusion of Achebe's fictional account of the role and outcome of Christian mission endeavors in Africa. They suggest that Africans' consciousness was thoroughly colonized by Christian missionaries.

of religion, but of any overarching metaphysics or system of beliefs. . . . ‘Life for him is a set of problems, not an unfathomable mystery.’”³ Thus every problem had a solution. Men’s Christian duty was to find that solution and to work toward it. God’s role, it seemed, was reduced to that of accompaniment. Kennedy’s assassination made evident the limits of this secular rationalism. “The bullet in Dallas—how did one isolate that problem and solve it? . . . Kennedy’s death signaled the rebirth of mystery—the mystery of evil.”⁴

Kennedy’s death, of course, was neither the only nor the most important crisis of this period. It seemed, in fact, for Catholics in the United States to become emblematic of the much graver and more dramatic changes affecting their society and the world. The optimism about the potential for social transformation that came with the Civil Rights movement seemed rapidly to be coming to a halt. The assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Bobby Kennedy in rapid succession would seem to mark the death knoll for social transformation. The Vietnam War with its tremendous human and social costs would call into question American foreign policy and the rationale behind “anti-Communism.”

At the same time that John F. Kennedy’s death (and not incidentally the failure of the Alliance for Progress and the impending doom of the Vietnam War) undermined secular rationalism, Pope John XXIII’s Second Vatican Council undermined rational Catholicism. It transformed Catholicism from a religion based on

² Garry Wills, *Bare Ruined Choirs: Doubt, Prophecy, and Radical Religion* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc, 1972) 85.

practice to one based on a much more nebulous faith. Wills asserts that Catholic faith had always been subject to doubt. Rituals hid the precariousness of faith. “That was why the Mass had to be preserved exactly. Move through it with intent fidelity, with legalistic care for validity, for volition, for what must be done—for doing it right, for rite, the last rites left in this unrecurrent secular world of accident. This, at least, one saw with relief, could not change. Which is why it had to change. Why we had to stop pretending. . . . Priests had to stop worrying that people would be puzzled by their honest puzzlements; stop acting like museum curators to this Mayan ceremony of the Mass.”⁵

The ideals of faith and nation that were the foundation of the Maryknoll mission thus disintegrated after 1964. Maryknoll’s labor in Peru was meant to serve as part of a larger project of creating an ideal world in which American Christian values prevailed. The missionaries would do their part by establishing Catholicism and by acting as American ambassadors of goodwill. In doing so they hoped to illustrate that Faith and nation not only were compatible, but that the former would help the missionaries’ advance the interests of the latter. After 1964 these goals no longer made sense. Catholics were accepted as American citizens. They did not have to prove their loyalty. Moreover, fulfilling the missionaries’ initial goal required a clear definition of Catholicism and the existence of goodwill. Both seemed to disappear in this decade. The spiritual and material were woven together in Maryknoll’s mission goal. By establishing a Catholicism founded on disciplined

³ Ibid., p. 89.

⁴ Ibid., p. 95.

practices in which participation in Sacraments was both a means of becoming Catholic and evidence of Catholicism, the missionaries believed implicitly that they would establish the foundations for an ordered, disciplined society. By providing material aid the missionaries believed they would promote Catholic practices and contribute to developing a society modeled after the United States. For missionaries working in Central and South America it was increasingly evident that American foreign policy prevented this kind of transformation. There was thus an inherent contradiction between the Maryknollers' goals of establishing a Christian world modeled after their ideal of the United States, and the reality of a United States foreign policy that exploited people and resources and violated the Christian values Maryknoll espoused. The missionaries thus struggled to separate faith from nation and the spiritual from the material.

The results of these changes were dramatic and devastating. As Father Gerald McCrane, who worked in the Maryknoll development department until 1965, described it:

When I left we had 75 vocations signed up with Maryknoll. . . . within two years that was down into a handful. So the changes were so dramatic and so radical and so frightful – What happened? What went wrong? Why is this? Maryknoll and every other Seminary in the country, every diocese, every religious community was expanding its buildings. . . it was really a boom time religiously as well as the country itself was moving forward then within two years and then within a few years of that Glen Ellen was closed.⁶

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ Gerald McCrane, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Ilave, Peru, 2 June 1996.

Maryknoll and every other religious order in the United States began soul-searching. This was not a search to save souls: it was a self-examination whose purpose was to understand what had happened and to determine where to go from there. For Maryknoll the same process occurred in each mission region. It evolved in part from the missionaries' perception of the "success" of their labor to this point. In Peru this process of self-examination pre-dated Vatican II and Kennedy's assassination, suggesting that the Church's reformation recognized *de jure* what already had started to happen *de facto*. The Second Vatican Council and changes in the United States provided an opportunity to speak publicly about what had been whispered only privately. They made it acceptable to address the possibility that the mission might fail. Many missionaries came to this conclusion, left Maryknoll, and joined the secular philanthropic non-governmental organizations which traced their origins to this era.⁷ In 1968 the number of Maryknollers in Peru peaked with 84 priests and 47 nuns. By 1979 that number had been reduced nearly by half, to 49 priests and 23 nuns.⁸ Those who stayed sought to redefine their mission, but they did so within the context of their particular mission fields, so the process and its results were regionally distinct.

⁷ Daniel C. Levy, *Building the Third Sector: Latin America's Private Research Centers and Nonprofit Development*. University of Pittsburgh Press: 1999). Levy focuses specifically on research centers, but his conclusions with regard to the time period during which these centers began to proliferate corresponds with that of other Non-governmental Organizations. He attributes the initial rise of private research institutes to authoritarian regimes which prevented scholars from working freely in public institutions. I would suggest that this development was instead the result of neo-liberalism and the decline of state investment in research and development and development programs. Regardless of the impetus for the development, the timing is the same. They start to evolve in the 1970s and begin to proliferate in the 1980s.

⁸ American Catholic Mission Secretariat, Washington D.C. 1968 and 1979 respectively. MMA

Peru had changed dramatically during the 25 years since the first Maryknoll missionaries arrived in 1943. The categories foundational to the country's social order started to disintegrate by the late 1950s. Mass rural-to-urban migration blurred the racial and spatial categories that defined people by assigning and confining them to specific social roles.⁹ Once "urban" had meant mestizo and "rural" meant Indian. Already in 1954, at the Maryknoll Lima Methods Conference, it was evident that these categories were being called into question. Was an Indian in Lima still an Indian? It seemed to Maryknoll missionaries that s/he was not. By the 1960s Peruvian academics also were reconsidering the categories of race and class that heretofore had been foundational to social order. Indeed, this transformation of categories was part of a global social change.

In "Peru, ¿Pais Campesino?," an article that prompted considerable debate among Peruvian intellectuals, Héctor Maletta argued that by 1972 Peru had been transformed from a rural to an urban society.¹⁰ Although researchers contested the specific data and measures Maletta used to reach his conclusions, his basic argument made evident a change that many seemingly had ignored willfully.¹¹ Peru had what one of the first analysts of rural-urban migration in Peru, José Matos Mar, described as "a new face."¹² Subsequent research identified migrants to urban Peru as potential

⁹ Néstor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Silvia L. López (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995).

¹⁰ Héctor Maletta, "Peru, ¿Pais Campesino?: Aspectos Cuntitativos de su mundo rural." *Análisis* No. 6 2-49. For an analysis of the impact urbanization would have throughout Latin America on wages see: Alain de Janvry, Elisabeth Sadoulet and Linda Wilcox, "Rural Labour in Latin America" in *International Labour Review* 128 (1989) No. 6: 701-727.

¹¹ Carlos E. Aramburú, "El campesinado peruano: Crítica a Maletta" *Análisis* no 8-9, 109-135.

¹² José Matos Mar, *Desborde popular y crisis del estado: El Nuevo rostro del Perú en la década de 1980* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1984) and "Rural labour in Latin America."

bridges between rural indigenous society and urban mestizo society. They became the key intermediaries who could ease the transition to modernity.¹³ Migrants were the face of modernity. They could be enfranchised socially and politically in a way that campesinos, it appeared, could not.¹⁴

The agrarian reform introduced by Juan Velasco, the controversial left-wing military dictator who took control of the country in a coup in 1968, codified and reinforced this transformation. Puno's haciendas were dismantled, destroying the last vestiges of what had once been described in academic studies as "feudal society."¹⁵ Indigenous people who relied on hacendados and priests to serve as their intermediaries with the Peruvian national government became their own intermediaries. These indigenous intermediaries did not, however, enjoy the same status as had priests and hacendados. It was more difficult for them to have their voices heard in government offices where Limeño and provincial elites controlled the positions of power. Nonetheless, continuous migration between rural and urban sectors established strong links between indigenous rural and "cholo" urban communities. Thus it made sense that the role of both hacendados and priests – the primary links between rural "hinterlands" and urban centers – would be transformed

¹³ Aníbal Quijano, "lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Perú," and Linda J. Seligmann, "To be In Between: The Cholas as Market Women," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1989. 694-721.

¹⁴ Carlos Franco, "Exploraciones en "otra modernidad": de la migración a la plebe urbana," en *La otra modernidad: imagenes de la sociedad peruana* (Lima: CEPDP, 1991) 79-109.

¹⁵ Eric Van Young, "Mexican Rural History Since Chevalier: The Historiography of the Colonial Hacienda," in *Latin American Research Review*, 1983, 5-61, Magnus Mörner, "The Spanish American Hacienda: A Survey of Recent Research and Debate," in *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53 (1973): 183-216.

during this epoch.¹⁶ The fact that the changes in Peru corresponded with changes in the United States and the universal Catholic Church (and not so incidentally the world, as events in 1968 would illustrate) suggests that they were linked to the much grander scale transformation we now identify as “globalization,” among whose key characteristics was a radical restructuring of world labor.¹⁷

The conclusions of Maryknoll’s self-evaluation in the late 1960s evolved from how Peruvian culture and society had conditioned the mission enterprise to this point. Criteria for success changed with the Second Vatican Council and the decline of the Alliance for Progress. Men’s Christian duty no longer seemed to be to find and implement a solution to every problem. Indeed, solutions no longer seemed possible and “men” no longer seemed in control. What would be the new mission? How would the missionaries evaluate their work? How would priests and nuns define themselves? Individual missionaries working alone or in groups, with the support of the Maryknoll institution, evaluated their past labor and tried to redefine their roles. They did so without the Maryknoll movement as the guiding force. Whereas in the years before 1966 Maryknoll directed all mission activity, after that year it acted primarily to support individual choice. The process of reformation became a

¹⁶ See: Alberto Flores Galindo *Buscando un Inca* who argues that agrarian reform eliminated hacendados’ power without establishing adequately a political framework in which campesinos could participate in national government. thus they lost their intermediaries (such as they were) without becoming enfranchised themselves. Flores Galindo attributes this disjuncture between the old system and an inadequately developed new system as a primary cause of the rise of Sendero Luminoso in the 1970s and 1980s. I would say that they also lost priests as intermediaries during this era. While migrants might in some measure serve as intermediaries they lacked the power to do so effectively. They were not accepted as legitimate representatives among the Peruvian ruling class. Their legitimacy rested solely on their foundation in the rural communities they escaped.

¹⁷ For an intro to some of the issues associated with globalization see: Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds. *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998). For an argument

centrifugal force sending regions and individual missionaries spinning into their own orbits, circling around the Maryknoll center.

Paradoxically, in the effort of this re-evaluation the missionaries found themselves trapped by the very categories they helped to create in the preceding 25 years. Priests in nineteenth-century Puno were associated with corruption and abuse of indigenous people. Their efforts seemed motivated by the desire to retain a stable social order and to gain personal economic benefits rather than by a desire to care for their flock. Maryknoll transformed this image, replacing it with that of the priest as provider of spiritual and material benefits. Spiritual benefits came in the form of sacraments, foundational to Maryknoll's ideal of Catholicism; material benefits came as a means of persuading people to share in Sacraments and to improve their material condition. After 1966 Maryknollers wanted to sever the links between spiritual and material. They did not want to be associated with the wealthy United States Church and government. Instead, they sought to identify with the people, their poverty, and their culture. Yet Maryknoll had contributed to an image of priests as white, foreign, wealthy. They were outsiders.

Nuns enjoyed greater freedom in redefining their position because of both their ideal of mission and the roles they played in Peru.¹⁸ When the first Maryknoll Sisters settled in Peru in 1954, Maryknoll priests acted as intermediaries, limiting their role in society in the same way that Bishop Herrera had limited the priests' role when they arrived in 1943. By determining the form of the Maryknoll sisters' labor and of their

on the heterogeneity vs. the homogeneity resulting from globalization see: Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Public Culture* 2 (Spring 1990) 1-24.

incorporation into religious rituals, Maryknoll priests' conditioned their interaction with local people. At the same time, however, because the role of nuns within Puno was less defined than that of priests, the Maryknoll sisters enjoyed a greater degree of freedom in establishing their position in local society. The most significant change for nuns following the Second Vatican Council was to escape from institutions.¹⁹

Maryknoll Sisters left schools, hospitals, medical clinics, and social service centers to be closer to the people they served. In effect, the Maryknoll Sisters thus eliminated the priests' power to determine their place in society. Although the site of their labor and their relation to the Maryknoll priests thus changed, the character of their work as service to others as a means of evidencing faith remained the same. They left institutions but often continued to teach and to offer medical and social assistance. Providing services evidenced nuns' faith – it was not meant as a means of promoting conversion, as it had been for priests seeking to establish Sacramental Catholicism. Indigenous people recognized nuns as religious and as providers of services. Sister Aurelia Atencio, an agronomist who developed innovative agricultural programs in Puno, observed that indigenous people greeted her as “Señora, Madre, Ingeniero.”

It is not clear that indigenous catechists sought actively to change the form of their association with the Church, but they found their role being forcibly redefined as a byproduct of Maryknollers' efforts to redefine their own roles as priests and nuns. Catechists' position depended on retaining legitimacy among both the indigenous people of their communities and the clergy of the Maryknoll community. Without the

¹⁸ Citation from Vasquez book on difference between experience of nuns and priests

support and legitimacy conferred on them by their communities, they could not serve as representatives. Without the legitimacy conferred on them by Maryknoll, they could not obtain the benefits that would make possible their retaining legitimacy in their own communities. Maryknollers' desire to separate the spiritual from the material undermined the catechists' position.

Maryknoll's post-Vatican II transformation entailed a fundamental change in relations with the "proselytized." The form of this change was distinct between priests and nuns. For both emphasis shifted from teaching the people to learning from them. This meant asking something very different from the proselytized. In essence, the terms of reciprocity changed. In the past Maryknoll clergy provided the proselytized with spiritual and material benefits. In exchange, the missionaries hoped the proselytized would change their behavior: they would adopt "American Catholic" practices. The missionaries saw themselves as providers. As Father Cookson, who was in some sense one of the transitional priests being ordained in 1964 and who thus was formed in the "old mission," but became a missionary in the post-Vatican II "new mission" described it:

When I first came here, I met so many . . . Maryknoll missionaries, who with every ounce of their strength and heart and soul came to be here. I mean, we didn't have, you could[n't] go home every year. When I arrived it was still that period of 6 years in which you were here on the Mission and you were here and that's it. Before that, it had been ten years. . . . the missionary came to give, I did not find them very profoundly receiving. . . . I didn't find that dynamic because it wasn't in. It was simply not in the formation at that time. . . . it was a formation that was directed to saving souls of the benighted . . . who didn't know anything about the Lord Jesus

¹⁹Léon Joseph Suenens' *The Nun in the World: Religious and the Apostolate*. Trans. Geogrey Stevens, (Westminster: Newman Press, 1963) contributed to this desire before the Second Vatican Council, suggesting again that the Church was recognizing *de jure* what had started a decade before *de facto*.

and so we had come to illumine their lives and to bring them salvation and free them from the clutches of the devil and ignorance.²⁰

Now Maryknoll asked that the role be reversed. Missionaries wanted the proselytized to teach them “local Catholicism” so priests could adapt their religious practices to conform to it.²¹ In exchange the proselytized were to reap the nebulous benefit of being better Catholics with a closer relationship to God. It is not clear, however, that they thought of themselves as bad Catholics or felt far from God in the first place.

This chapter will explore Maryknoll’s efforts to redefine the categories that evolved from the dialectical relationship between Peruvian ideals of the role of Catholic clergy and the Maryknollers’ efforts to change those ideals. I argue that Maryknoll priests’ efforts to understand Andean culture and make Catholicism more compatible with it, paradoxically conflicted more directly with local cultural norms than did their conversion efforts during the preceding two decades. These efforts reflected and contributed to a fundamental shift in Peruvian national social order, which in turn reflected and resulted from a global transformation of the social order.

Redefining Mission

In 1966 when Maryknollers started to reevaluate their mission, many concluded that they should abandon the Indian Apostolate, the foundation of their early work in Peru. The Maryknoll missionaries’ purpose in settling in Peru in 1943 was to establish an Indian Apostolate. Maryknoll, the Peruvian government, and United States anthropologists researching Central and South America in the 1940s and

²⁰Edward Cookson, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Yunguyo, 10 February 1996.

²¹ Steven J. Kaplan, ed. *Indigenous Responses to Western Christianity* (New York: New York University Press, 1995) includes a number of articles with excellent analyses of the problems associated with asking people who had been seen as “objects” of conversion to become agents of conversion.

1950s seemed all to agree that Indians were the world's poorest, most backward Catholics.²² Maryknoll missionaries believed that by converting Indians to American Catholicism, with its emphasis on rational, disciplined practices they would draw them into the modern world. To many researchers it appeared, however, that by the 1960s indigenous people were accomplishing this goal by migrating to urban centers.²³ Maryknoll's new mission ideals seemed to take this change into account. In a survey of "Maryknoll Opinions and Attitudes" conducted in 1968, the vast majority of the missionaries listed work among campesinos (indigenous peasants) as their second to last choice of mission. Only merchants appeared lower on the Maryknollers' list of preferences.²⁴ When asked in the same survey about their location preference, rural work came in third of five choices. While 90 of those surveyed selected cities, 54 selected *barriadas*, 30 selected rural areas, 23 small towns, and 3 the jungle.²⁵ The survey compilers concluded that the missionaries' choice reflected the change in

²² Anthropologists conducting research in Central and South America at this time emphasized the potential for examining contemporary indigenous cultural practices as a means of understanding pre-Colombian indigenous culture. In doing so, they implied and sometimes asserted explicitly that indigenous Catholicism was merely a thin veneer covering "traditional" practices. By suggesting that capitalist incursion would necessarily undermine these "traditional" practices, the anthropologists equated indigenous culture with backwardness. Thus the degree to which communities rejected Catholicism also conformed with the degree to which they rejected "modernity." These perspectives were most evident in Julian Steward, ed., *Handbook of South American Indians* and *Handbook of Mesoamerican Indians*. MacLeod, Murdo J. and Robert Wasserstrom, eds., *Spaniards and Indians in Southeastern Mesoamerica: Essays on the History of Ethnic Relations*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983 in which an essay details the central role that archeologists played in the development of research on Indians and Spaniards.

²³ Despite the development of dependency theory with its critique of assumptions regarding "backward rural hinterlands" preventing the development of "modern urban centers," the assumptions regarding rural backwardness and urban modernity remained implicit in much of the research on urbanization. Indeed, this perspective would remain implicit in research of a much later period. See for example: Carlos Franco, "Exploraciones en "otra modernidad." Nestór Garcia Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, explicitly critiques this assumption.

²⁴ Jaime Ponce G. and Daniel Roach, *Los Maryknoll en el Perú: Estudio de Opiniones y Actitudes* (IBEAS: Lima, 1968) 56.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 63.

Peru's demography resulting from mass migration.²⁶ It seemed that Maryknollers looked increasingly to indigenous people who migrated to urban centers as the future of the Peruvian Church and state.

Although many Maryknollers (the IBEAS survey would suggest most) seemed to prefer urban mission, the "Indian Apostolate" remained crucial to Maryknoll's identity. Before the Second Vatican Council's conclusion in 1965, conversion of the Indians was the measure of Maryknoll's success. After the Second Vatican Council Maryknoll's sensitivity to and identification with indigenous people became the measure of success. Thus even as work among indigenous people seemed less desirable to many of the missionaries, it became a defining feature of Maryknoll's new identity. Through their work among indigenous people in the Peruvian Altiplano Maryknollers sought to make mission meaningful for both the proselytized and the proselytizers. They tried to draw closer to indigenous communities by developing a better understanding of their cultural and religious beliefs and practices. Through this understanding missionaries hoped to establish Catholicism more effectively as a local religion rather than a foreign import. Thus missionaries' knowledge of indigenous culture, their closeness to indigenous people, and their adaptation of Catholicism to indigenous society became the new measures of success.

Collateral Damage

The Maryknoll missionaries' desire to redefine Catholicism and their role in Puno necessarily entailed transforming the role of their indigenous intermediaries, the catechists. Regardless of their motives or the effectiveness of their service, Maryknoll

²⁶ Ibid., 6.

called into question the role of all catechists after 1966. Where Maryknoll once saw catechists as desirable intermediaries who helped clergy access communities, they now appeared at best a necessary evil and at worst insurmountable obstacles to missionaries' relations with communities. The catechetical system did not disappear after 1966, but it underwent a transformation and became one of a multitude of modes of proselytization.²⁷ It is not surprising that during this decade, when the role of the hacendado would be undermined by agrarian reform and the role of the priest undermined by religious reform, the role of the catechist also would be undermined. Thus three of the key intermediaries between indigenous communities and the Peruvian state effectively were weakened. This transformation and its effects will become evident through an analysis of Maryknoll's new mission programs after 1966 and their effects on catechists.²⁸

²⁷ Murdo MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) argues that the shifts in proselytization during the colonial period corresponded with and were driven by shifts in population and thus ability to satisfy labor demands. He argues that the New Laws of 1542 recognized *de jure* a shift in labor practices that had already occurred *de facto* because of population decline. MacLeod suggests that this was the first time that the interests of clergymen, governing officials, and entrepreneurs corresponded. Eric Van Young, *Hacienda and Market*, Woodrow Borh, *New Spain's Century of Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), and Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964) suggest that the same relationship between population decline and labor systems existed in Mexico as MacLeod found for Guatemala. I think that Maryknoll and other missionaries from the United States and Europe who enter Latin America en masse during the 1950s and 1960s conform with and indirectly contribute to a similar shift in labor practices. Specifically, I would suggest that they become part of the transition to globalization with the corresponding change in mobility of labor. This shift also corresponds with the population of Latin America's recovery to reach pre-conquest numbers.

²⁸ Catechists' role was strikingly similar to that of Kurakas during the colonial period. Steve Stern provides a compelling account of the tenuous position they held in society because their status depended on both recognition by their communities and power conferred on them by the Spanish state. They were forced to continually try to balance the competing interests of these parties. At the same time they often used their position to benefit personally thus violating the interests of their community. See: Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian People's and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*. (University of Wisconsin Press: 1993) second edition. See especially 27-79.

In the late 1960s when Maryknoll began reviewing its work in Puno, catechists came under suspicion. Father Jim Madden, who arrived in Puno in 1964, remembered: “I started . . . early on . . . to having doubts . . . because the Catechists that would come in every week . . . were very friendly, very submissive, very obedient, very passive, very humble, very and so on and so on. Then when I was out, going out into the campo . . . I’d meet people out in these different communities, I had the impression that these men were pretty tough hombres.”²⁹ Yet the priests’ also complained that catechists were not “leaders” in their communities. While he noted on the one hand that these were “tough hombres,” Father Madden also suggested that:

in some cases the Catechists were people who . . . you immediately would name the losers. In other words, ‘This guy can’t make a living as a farmer, he’s too poor.’ And this and that. ‘If we name him, why maybe he’ll have a way to make a little money.’ Instead of being a leader, he’d be kind of like a sacristan . . . So some, they were elected or named according to that kind of a criteria . . . for some it was like, ‘Well he [the priest] probably wants somebody to carry his bags for him.’³⁰

In his report on the catechetical system in 1963, Father John Schiff observed that one of the greatest obstacles to the system was the men’s “apparent lack of quality.”³¹ It seems possible that the apparent contradiction is the result simply of differences among catechists. Some catechists obviously were motivated by religious faith, others by material benefits, others by power, and others by some combination of these interests. It would be a mistake to classify all catechists as either greedy, self-

²⁹ James Madden, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Lima, 23 April 1998. Interview Father Jim Madden.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Father John Schiff, M.M. “Catechetical follow-up in the parish” at The Maryknoll Rural Catechetical Conference October 22-23, 1963 in Robert Kearns, M.M., *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru, 1960 – 1964*, vol. 3, (Maryknoll : privately printed, n.d.) 204-220, 205.

interested power-mongers or self-sacrificing protectors of community, since these characteristics were evident in differing degrees. It is remarkable that the system seemed to function despite the range in catechists' abilities and interests.

Though far from completely satisfactory, the catechetical system represented the missionaries' greatest achievement of incorporating Puno's indigenous people into the religious and social practices of Maryknoll's "modernity." Through this system it seemed that the Maryknoll missionaries attained some of their goals. Indigenous communities learned elements of American Catholicism. They organized for receipt of Baptism, Communion, and Confession. They knew their prayers and recited them upon demand. They learned basic literacy and hygiene. They received inoculations and medical care. Thus by Maryknoll's early measures, the system was a success; indeed, it gained international renown. The Conference on Latin American Bishops established a catechetical school and named Father Richard Quinn, a Peruvian Maryknoller, as director to establish similar programs throughout the region.

The catechetical system was not, however, an unqualified success. Indigenous communities still appeared outside "modernity." While the catechetical system provided a means for introducing modern practices, it did so in an Andean framework. By relying on an established system of intermediaries the missionaries were incorporated into Andean social organization rather than transforming it. Far from undermining "traditional communities," the catechetical system strengthened them by rewarding spiritual services and material aid to those that were best-organized and highly unified. Thus, much in contrast to Achebe's African communities, in which foreign missionaries undermined clan unity, in Peru the missionaries strengthened

communities and eased the transition to “modernity” by introducing elements of it within the familiar framework of Catholicism.

Catechists controlled all interaction between clergy and communities. Father John Schiff’s description of “rural missions” illustrates both the program’s “success” and its shortcomings:

“Campo” missions. Each director works a certain number of days a week preparing an “estancia” for a mission. Each director has a number of “estancias” in his care, and these he hits with a mission once a year. Hence, the director always has one going. He works intensively with the local volunteer in a given “estancia” for about a month depending on the religious state of the “estancia”. Some might need less, others might need more than a month. He visits all the houses, lines up matrimonies (takes testimony), arranges for adult and infant baptisms, prepares First Communion, visits and instructs the sick, etc. When all is ready, he advises the priest a week beforehand and the date is set. The priest then takes care of Mass, confessions, instructions, matrimonies, baptisms and sick calls on that day.³²

The catechetical director was an indigenous man trained at Maryknoll’s Puno catechetical school, who received a salary to work with a number of different indigenous communities. As is evident in Father Schiff’s description, the director facilitated all interaction with these communities. “Volunteer catechists,” indigenous men whose role was to teach catechism locally, further mediated relations between the Church and communities. Although they were designated “volunteers,” these men received “*propinas*” (tips), *viveres* (food), and alphabetization funds.³³ Together, the catechetical director and the volunteer prepared the community by teaching members the requisite prayers and rituals necessary to obtain spiritual and material benefits

³² “Catechetical Follow-up in the parish” John Schiff, M.M. at “Puno Rural Catechetical Conference: October 22-23, 1963. Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol 3. 204-220. 217.

from the priest. Communities that refused to name a catechist or have an annual mission were denied the fiesta mass required to maintain balance between the terrestrial and celestial spheres.³⁴ Thus indigenous communities were linked to the Church through a set of hierarchically related intermediaries, culminating in the priest who communicated with God and the state.

As the last individual human figure in this chain, the Maryknoll priest was brought into the mix at the end of the interaction. His association with the community, and his role in it, were thus limited to provision of services. Father Arsenault, who dismantled Puno's Catechetical School in 1967, observed that the campesino's image of the Church is: "a 'religious service station': I once asked the volunteer catechists what they thought the Church was, and one brave young man raised his hand and said in all innocence, 'it's where we come to ask for things.'" Father Arsenault suggested that the priests' role in this service station was that of "a professional like the patron or king. . . In this sense we are in the same category as the mayor or lawyer who is a man apart from their life socially and culturally, but useful on certain occasions."³⁵ The catechetical system was thus far from satisfactory from the perspective of the priest who felt alienated from the community he was meant to serve.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ "Sometimes a community is cold and indifferent. . . . It should be explained that unless they do have a catechist there will be no annual feast-day. This is a hard decision to make and should be arrived at only after much prayer and a long period of patient waiting for the people to decide for themselves. "Recruiting and qualifications of the catechists," Father Robert Kearns, in Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 3. 191-197 and 193.

³⁵ Joseph B. Arsenault, M.M. "Re-evaluation Report of the Catechetical Program on the Altiplano of Peru" December 1967 in Robert Kearns, M.M. *Maryknoll Fathers in Peru, 1965 – 1977*, vol 4 (Maryknoll: privately printed, n.d.). 531-543. 541-542.

The catechetical system might still have been acceptable if it had achieved the desired end of transforming indigenous people into “faithful, practical, Catholics.” By the late 1960s, however, Maryknollers were questioning the efficacy of the program to achieve this end, and indeed were questioning the end itself. Teaching emphasized rote memorization as typified by the “21 questions”:

For the volunteer we have placed emphasis on the 21 questions, memorized and chanted. It took a month’s course, one sector a week, to teach thoroughly those questions. The catechists came in three days a week and for six hours each of those days were drilled intensively until they had the simple catechism memorized and [were] able to chant it. (They received very good meals. That was the gimmick). Then they were given oral exams which if they passed they were given a certificate stating that they had authority to teach the 21 questions. It worked. I would say that today using this catechism as the basis of campo catechism work we have at least 10,000 Indians who know basic catechism, a thing they did not know before.³⁶

While this form of doctrinaire Catholicism might have seemed acceptable, indeed desirable, to missionaries in 1943, by 1967 it was not. Catholicism was no longer just about practice, but about sharing in a Christian faith community. As Father Arsenault observed, “It is not just a question of man learning Christian doctrine to teach it afterwards to the masses of baptized people in formal doctrine classes so that they may receive the sacraments. We must do all we can to make sure that those who receive the sacraments belong to the Christian community first.”³⁷ Catechists’ motives also

³⁶ “Catechetical Follow-up in the parish” John Schiff, M.M. at “Puno Rural Catechetical Conference: October 22-23, 1963,” in Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol 3. 204-220 and 213.

³⁷ Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol 4. Edward Cookson, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Yunguyo, 10 February 1996 “It was a fascinating way to become present in the communities. But I didn’t feel that it was going anywheres because it could only say that many Our Father’s & then, or you could only have that many Sacraments, but then to build a Church as a people of God, was a, it left, it could only take you so far. It couldn’t go very much further.”

were called into question. In 1963 Father Schiff described catechists as participants in a program creating “rice Christians,” the derogatory term applied to Chinese people who were said to have “converted” solely to gain economic benefits. In 1963 this pragmatic approach to “conversion,” while not ideal, seemed tolerable. Father Schiff concluded that “. . . I feel that if they can only be had as “rice Christians” but still work and have an effect on many it should be worth giving them “viveres” as an enticement to come to these meetings.” By 1967 Maryknollers stopped accepting this pragmatic approach to mission. Catechists’ training was to be “much like the seminary training of a priest, the candidate to be a catechist either has or has not a vocation to this demanding work.”³⁸ If he had no vocation an indigenous man could not, in theory, be trained as a catechist. There would be no provision of “propinas” or “viveres” to encourage participation. Thus, like hacendados and priests, catechists in some sense became casualties of the global transformation of which they were a part. The decline of priests and hacendados as intermediaries themselves necessarily entailed the decline of those they in turn utilized as intermediaries, the catechists.³⁹

Joseph B. Arsenault, M.M. “Re-evaluation Report of the Catechetical Program on the Altiplano of Peru” December 1967 in Robert Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru* vol. 4. 531-543, 538.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

³⁹ An exactly analogous situation is described in Steve Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, second edition (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993). He argues that kurakas, whose role was strikingly similar to that of catechists, came to rely almost entirely on status conferred on them by Spaniards. In contrast to the catechists, however, Stern argues that Kurakas lost their positions of power because they ultimately were unable to balance the interests of the competing forces of their communities and Spanish governing officials. As a result they were seen as allied with the latter in opposition to the former thereby losing their status within their communities. This loss of status ensured that they could not perform the necessary roles on behalf of the Spanish so they lost their status in the Spanish sphere as well. Stern suggests that this conflict and corresponding decline of the kurakas was evidence of incipient class difference. It seems possible, however, that the kurakas’ retention of a portion of the benefits they carried to their community was culturally acceptable and seen as an element of reciprocity. Although there were many clear cases of catechists advancing their own interests at some cost of their communities, it seems that the latter often accepted this disparity (if it did not appear too extreme) because of the benefits they gained through the catechists’

Maryknoll priests' reformed ideal of the "authentic catechist" emphasized his sense of vocation. The emphasis on vocation necessarily entailed reducing or eliminating the financial benefits that had been the foundation of the catechetical program. Maryknoll used provision of "viveres" to encourage communities to construct infrastructure and to participate in sacraments. Father Phillip Erbland reported, for example, that the pastor of Juli, Father Tony Macri, "had used viveres extensively . . . to build roads, and to put up casa criminales."⁴⁰ "Viveres" also had been used to encourage participation in sacraments. In 1963 Father John Schiff worried that Andean people's perceptions of Sacraments were being corrupted by this provision of aid.

"viveres" should never be handed out to these confession groups. Because of the convenience we did this over a period of time. We were having groups of 200 people coming in every afternoon. Most of them had not the slightest idea of what confession is. They were worse than the famous "rice christians" of China. At least the Chinese were instructed in the faith. As a result we discontinued the handing out of "viveres". Groups of 200 dropped down to ten or even none. "we come for no good reason" they said when the catechist tried to get them to come in.⁴¹

The catechists' role and status in communities was bound to this provision of "viveres." They were responsible for obtaining this aid from priests for their

mediation. In Cutini Capilla, an Aymara community in Puno where I lived four months, I was told that in exchange for acting as representatives for the community in a land dispute with a neighboring community, residents received a larger share of the land when there was a settlement. This practice would seem to fit in quite easily with established norms of reciprocity.

⁴⁰ Phillip Erbland, M.M. interview by William D. McCarthy, M.M. tape recording, Lima 11 February 1996. Courtesy of the Maryknoll Society History Project. Murphy also reported that Father Charles Girnius would advise communities that Caritas had provided food, "But [he would say] I can't get out to your community to give it to you because there's no road." Then, according to Father Murphy, "he'd take it out to the end of the road that they were building & give it out there. . . . So he got good roads built all over the place." Martin Murphy, M.M. interview by author, tape recording, Lima, 21 December 1997

communities and often were charged with its distribution. Their legitimacy in the community depended on their ability to secure this aid: if there were no aid, there would be little point in electing a catechist.

Maryknoll's Father Alberto Koenigsknecht (known among Maryknollers as K-13), who became bishop of Juli in 1973, discontinued the provision of "viveres" to communities. Community members responded with considerable displeasure. Father Erbland described an encounter he had with one of these disgruntled communities:

I remember going to one of the communities. . . for a meeting, and they were absolutely furious with me. I didn't even know this little town, the only time I ever went to the community and they all were wondering why we weren't giving them viveres, and new clothes and stuff. And they were angry, they were actually very angry that this wasn't being done, and somebody deliberately gave me a flat tire there, and hoping that I'd have another one by shoving a broken bottle under the back tire. I had to repair the tire myself. None of those people would help us, stood around and watched .⁴²

The provision of aid to catechists and communities never was eliminated completely. But once the clergy reduced the available resources, the number of catechists rapidly declined. While eliminating material aid surely was a major contributor to undermining the catechetical system, the reduction in the number of priests and their resulting inability to provide religious services to communities, and the change in their form of proselytization, also played a role. In the decade from 1965 to 1975, 36 Maryknoll priests from Peru left the priesthood, so there were fewer priests to provide services. Moreover, many of those who remained no longer considered this form of

⁴¹ "Catechetical Follow-up in the parish" John Schiff, M.M. at the Puno Rural Catechetical Conference: October 22-23, 1963. Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol 3. 204-220. 215

⁴² Phillip Erbland, M.M. interview by William D. McCarthy, tape recording, Lima, 11 February 1996. Courtesy of the Maryknoll Society History Project.

Apostolate satisfying. Maryknoll missionaries quickly dismantled the catechetical system they had created. They were somewhat less successful in establishing an alternative to it.

Maryknollers came to believe that the form of Catholicism introduced to indigenous communities via the catechists' mediation did not conform with Andean religious and social practices. By discerning what was local culture it would be possible to introduce a more appropriate Catholicism. As one pastoral agent described the effort:

When we attempt to penetrate with all the depth that the very culture presupposes in order to ground 'objectivity' and to relativize our points of view, we embark on the path of respect for the "other" adopting a dialogical stance that seeks not so much to speak and ground my objectivity, but to listen and attempt to penetrate the universe of the "other" in search of the clues to allow one to decipher its symbolic logic in my own terms; but not in order to enclose it within my universe, but to return to the "others" and to understand them in their own universe.⁴³

The underlying assumption remained that there were two parallel forms of religion. The proselytized were in "their own universe," the proselytizers in theirs. The pastoral agent had to penetrate that universe and find a way to make Catholic symbols (rites) conform to it. In essence they had to displace Catechists who had heretofore performed this role. While they may have done so unconsciously, Catechists introduced Maryknoll Catholicism into an Andean framework. The simple act of translation in some measure ensured an element of adaptation. Now the priest was to be the agent of translation.

To adopt the role of the catechists, priests had to leave the physical structure of the Church located in the town center and enter indigenous communities on the periphery. Sister Patricia Ryan observed that for centuries the clergy at a local level were associated with the town, the center of power and exploitation of indigenous people. Maryknoll and other clergy wanted to break this power dynamic. "We lived in the campo and that was the priority of the work, the reason for the work, the objective of it."⁴⁴ In some ways it appeared that the missionaries were returning to the Maryknoll mission ideal of an Indian Apostolate that had been the impetus for settling in Latin America in 1943, but it remained nearly impossible for the missionaries to break Peru's power dynamic. When the first Maryknollers arrived in 1943, local expectations about the role clergy should play had strongly conditioned the missionaries' labor, forcing them to work with the middle class for the ensuing 25 years. By the late 1960s conditions had changed. In 1968, four years after completion of a new, larger school building in Puno, Maryknoll closed San Ambrosio pre-seminary, the symbol of work among the middle class. In 1976 Father McIntire reported that "we had trained eight hundred boys, but only twelve were ordained. As of recently, only six or seven were still in the priesthood, and of those only three were working in the altiplano."⁴⁵ The priests had complained for years that most seminarians were driven only by the desire to improve their economic condition and had no real vocation. They now directed the same complaint toward the indigenous

⁴³ Ludolfo Ojeda, "Evangelizar en el mundo andino, in *Pastoral Andina* (11) 18, Quoted in Stephen Judd, M.M. "The Emergent Andean Church: Inculturation and Liberation in Southern Peru, 1968 – 1986" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 1987), 15-16.

⁴⁴ Patricia Ryan, M.M. interview by author, tape recording, Puno, 17 February 1996.

catechists. At the same time that Maryknoll was undermining local power dynamics, the Church at the national level was doing the same. The military, in the guise of Juan Velasco, and the Church effectively joined together to undermine the power of the existing state. Although Maryknollers were not politically active, the Church in Peru became closely affiliated with the Velasco regime, lending him the popular support necessary to introduce his reforms.⁴⁶

Maryknoll's efforts at the local level thus corresponded with a national transformation. Just as Maryknoll was trying to valorize Andean culture and undermine the established power structure through religious means, Velasco was doing the same through legislation. Unfortunately, neither group consulted the indigenous people who seemed, at least in the case of Maryknoll, not always to be enthusiastic about the change. Father Arsenault observed: "many laymen feel rebellious toward the Hierarchy because of the changes. They do not feel part of the change. They have not been prepared for a change. . . .For many, the contemporary renovation is "protestant", or "communist", etc., for 'it wants to eradicate all our costumbres.'"⁴⁷ The Peruvian government instituted the agrarian reform program with virtually no input from the indigenous communities they were "liberating." The results of this oversight were less than salutary. Just as the Maryknoll missionaries were attempting to dismantle the catechetical system with its form of local representation and intermediaries, the military government was dismantling the

⁴⁵ Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade*. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979) 30.

⁴⁶ Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. *La Iglesia en el Perú*. 3ra ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1996).

traditional system of intermediaries that had been foundational to maintaining relations between indigenous communities and the government. Analyzing the impact of Maryknoll's efforts and the response by indigenous people to this change may also thus shed light on the larger scale transformation of this epoch.

From Center to Peripheral

It appeared that to supplant the catechists' position and to undermine the existing power structure, Maryknollers had to leave the town center and enter indigenous communities on the periphery, as I have said. There were three basic models for achieving this end. The first model entailed living in the parish center and establishing personal links with indigenous people on the periphery, thereby learning about their lives, culture, and rituals. The second model, evident in Maryknoll's foundation of the Institute for Aymara Studies in 1971, was a metaphorical resettlement in which priests did not literally live among indigenous people, but sought to understand them through professional anthropological and linguistic study. The third model entailed a physical relocation of priests and nuns from the center to the periphery whereby "teams" of priests and nuns moved into Aymara communities. The final Maryknoll innovation designed to reverse the relationship between center and periphery would have established the ordination of Aymara catechists as priests. In 1970 Maryknoll Bishop Fedders of Juli submitted a proposal to the Pope requesting that he consider this change, requiring the ordination of married men.⁴⁸ Through each of these methods Maryknollers sought to contest the existing power dynamic by

⁴⁷ Joseph B. Arsenault, M.M. "Re-evaluation Report of the Catechetical Program on the Altiplano of Peru" December 1967. Robert Kearns, M.M. *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4. 531-543. 541-542.

allying with indigenous people on the periphery. Despite the missionaries' good intentions, the methods did not seem adequately to consider indigenous people's interests or desires.

Father Inocente Salazar, a legend among Maryknollers, was the first priest to establish close links with Aymara religious leaders. He did so by working from the Parish center in Ilave and visiting outlying indigenous communities. Father Salazar described his role as being to develop "a study whereby I can understand better and I have the overlapping experiences in which I can relate to the Aymara and to my fellow Maryknollers sharing with both what each has to offer."⁴⁹ Although he resided in the parish center, Father Salazar established close relations with Aymara people in their communities. Just as the catechist obtained knowledge from the center which he translated and taught to his community, Father Salazar obtained knowledge from the periphery which he translated and taught to the Maryknoll community. He wanted to help missionaries restore a sense of meaning to their labor and to enhance the meaning of Catholic worship for Andean people. The priests' role, Father Salazar suggested, was to develop symbols through which to communicate a meaning shared by both clergy and Andean people. "One of the reasons why I am so concerned with symbol-making," Father Salazar recounted, "is that I have seen so many leave the mission because they did not know what they were doing here. There are probably others who would like to be told to leave since they cannot make that decision in the face of

⁴⁸ "The Question of Married Clergy: Julie, Peru (1969-1972)," Documents reproduced from *Latinamerica Press* (Lima, November 8, 1973).

⁴⁹ "Father Martin Murphy, M.M., Regional Superior Interviews Father Salazar on 'Aymara Rites'" September 3, 1971 in Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4. 265-267. 265.

meaninglessness.”⁵⁰ The mission had thus become as much about saving Maryknoll as about saving indigenous people.⁵¹

Father Salazar’s accounts of Andean rituals revealed the extent to which people’s participation differed in character from that they evidenced at Maryknoll Catholic rituals. It also hinted at the resulting sense of alienation that might be experienced by both proselytized and proselytizer. Describing his first experience at a sacrifice, Father Salazar recounted:

. . . many things there impressed me. I couldn’t get over how the people present felt so much at home at this sacrifice. It was the most natural thing to be present at this sacrifice. The people were happy, conversed prayed. At the same time, while they were at home, they were very attentive of what was going on, what they were asking for, what they were about to receive, what they were doing. They respected this action very much and their reverence manifested itself by not walking around at the moment of offering or of calling to one’s attention that he didn’t take his hat off or talking or getting up.

There seemed an almost shocking and certainly dismaying difference between the form of Andean people’s participation in this rite and that which the priests knew to be common at Masses they offered. People felt comfortable and relaxed, yet they showed reverence and respect. The rite clearly was imbued with meaning for them. How different it was from Father Arsenault’s account of Andean people’s response to the Church and the Eucharist as the centers of Maryknoll Catholicism. “The Church building is an art museum adorned with favorite saints where a person can come to get lost in his own little world and cry along in a corner – even during the celebration of

⁵⁰Father Inocente Salazar, M.M. “The Missioner as Symbol-Maker” October 20, 1971 in Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4. 274-278. 274.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

the Eucharist!”⁵² For Maryknoll priests the Eucharist, the body and blood of Christ, was the essence of Catholicism, its administration the center of their role. As Rev. John A. O’Brien wrote in a popular exposition of St. Thomas Aquinas’s theology, “in this essential phase of your ministry the power of the priest is not surpassed by that of the bishop, the archbishop, the cardinal, or the Holy Father himself. Indeed it is equal to the power of Jesus Christ; for in this role the priest speaks with the voice and authority of Christ Himself.”⁵³ The priest’s purpose, power, and authority were thus in the Eucharistic celebration, which seemed to have little meaning for Andean people.

Father Salazar’s efforts to understand Andean culture were not an end in themselves, but a means to establish Catholicism. He wanted Andean people to feel a similar degree of comfort, reverence, and respect for rituals of the “official Church” as they did for the “unofficial” rites they themselves performed:

People were very much at home because the Pacco [local priest] was at home with them. Something I have always desired at a Mass is that being at home, that happiness, that attention, that reverence that is wholly spontaneous.⁵⁴

The benefits of understanding Andean culture were thus to accrue not only, and perhaps not even most significantly, to indigenous people, but also to the priests. If they understood Andean beliefs and practices they could introduce the Eucharist in a way that was meaningful to indigenous people, thereby enhancing their experience of Catholicism and restoring meaning to the priest’s role.

⁵² Father Joseph B. Arsenault, M.M. “Re-evaluation report of the catechetical program on the Altiplano of Peru” December 1967,” Kearns, vol. 4 542.

⁵³ Jay P. Dolan, R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, and Debra Campbell, *Transforming Parish Ministry: The Changing Roles of Catholic Clergy, Laity, and Women Religious*. (Crossroad: New York, 1989) 8.

⁵⁴ Father Inocente Salazar, M.M. April 2, 1971, “Church in the Altiplano, Perhaps . . .” in Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4, 253-255. 253.

Father Salazar was optimistic about developing this sense of shared meaning, but he also made evident the obstacles to doing so. He hinted at the degree to which Catholic clergy necessarily remained outsiders in the Andean world, since they did not experience life with indigenous people at the most basic level of labor and family. In fact, to Maryknollers Andean people's lives often appeared as a series of hardships and tragedies. Implicit in his description was a question about how one could reconcile respect for culture with the desire to change that culture by improving economic conditions:

. . .my thoughts are consciously on the church. The church I belong to, love dearly and represent to others. . . .I wonder how much it does hover over the reality that is an Aymara man, an Aymara woman, an Aymara child. . . . I am not in touch with so many things in his life. I have found Aymara women delightfully cheerful and have a captivating sense of humor; I find they are a happy women but even then, I am not in touch with their lives in a huge way, because we criticize their lot of having to carry such big bundles, take her place behind a man and have to work in a field until they are ready to give birth. . . . In the rites that I have observed these things don't come out as bad as we criticize them, chewing coca, drinking alcohol, working the fields, carrying large bundles, shepherding sheep. These hardships don't even come up in the prayers at sacrifice. For this reason we have a lot to give them. I will never deny our intentions and efforts to give and share what we have and are. But they have a lot to share with us.⁵⁵

Many Maryknoll priests in Puno responded to the dilemma of culture vs. economic improvement by emphasizing the former. They seemed to believe that only by separating the spiritual from the material would it be possible to establish a genuine Catholicism imbued with local Andean meaning. Yet this effort, as we shall see, in many ways contradicted the desires and expectations of Aymara people for whom there was no separation between spiritual and material, and indeed no separation

between “official Catholic” rites and “Andean rites” except in terms of who performed them. The rites of both the Catholic and Andean priests were foundational to Andean society. Both were necessary to ensure a balance among people, and in relation to their deity. By choosing to emphasize culture over economy, and trying to dictate the melding of “Catholicism” and Andean religion, Maryknollers, as we shall see, violated indigenous people’s expectations, cultural norms, and practices. The result in many cases was that indigenous people simply rejected the priests’ efforts, pushing them out of Andean communities and back into the Church center. Father Salazar’s success may have resulted in part from the fact that while he wanted to share in the Andean world he did so from the Church center, the place established for him by both Church and Andean tradition.

While Father Salazar remained in the parish center and only visited indigenous communities, many of the younger clergy believed that only by going directly to those communities and settling in them would it be possible to understand local culture. In 1967 Father Jim Madden proposed a plan for a group of priests and nuns to live in an indigenous community. His goal was to develop a better understanding of the local church and to find ways to develop a liturgy that would conform with local culture. He felt that the clergy in Puno were “living a middle-class North American life-style, living in the towns, . . . the centers of the Parishes which are the power centers, where the oppressors live, the lawyers, the merchants, the land owners, the cops, the whole bit.” He concluded “We’re part of that scene. But the vast majority of the poor people are out there in the campo. We don’t know what’s really going on around here.” In

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254.

1970, after three years consideration, the prelature accepted Father Madden's proposal and established it as a "pilot project." That year he and three Sisters from different religious communities settled in Mocachi, a community about 45 minutes south of Puno. Each team member would offer a service to the community. Father Madden provided religious services: Masses, burials, baptisms, blessings, and sick calls. Sister Barbara Cavanaugh, a nurse, provided medical care, and Sisters Pilar Desmond and Audrey Loher taught. Thus spiritual and material services effectively were divided, with the priest providing the former and the nuns the latter. Father Madden's goal was to learn about the "local Church" and to develop a liturgy that conformed to it. For him, a measure of success would thus be the degree of understanding he gained and the extent to which he could persuade indigenous people and Catholic pastoral agents to adopt his liturgical innovations. The sisters sought acceptance by the community through provision of services, so their measures of success were thus quite different from Father Madden's.

Although many Maryknoll priests and nuns studied Aymara as part of the effort to develop closer relations with Andean people, Father Madden was one of the few to gain fluency, a truly remarkable achievement. His mastery of Aymara enabled Father Madden to bypass catechists and communicate directly with community members. He hoped that in doing so he would be able to work with the people he deemed the "true religious leaders" of Andean communities. As has been noted, Father Madden was highly suspicious of catechists. In *Donde está tu pueblo*, a book written by the team at the conclusion of their five-year experiment, Father Madden observed that:

In this zone we have had contact with twenty-two catechists, and possibly a few more. Of these twenty-two only five manifest leadership qualities among their brothers. Of these five leaders, three are good and two use their capacity in negative ways, abusing their power. The majority of the catechists are common people, good people, but not distinguished from others neither for better nor for worse. The great majority are not leaders.⁵⁶

His criticism was not just of the catechists, but of the purpose implicit in the catechetical program: “we consider that the formation given is to prepare them to change their style of life, to change their social class, and to adapt them to the existing structure of the Church.”⁵⁷ This effort, he suggested, did not conform to the needs of the community. The real leaders, he argued, were more capable and better informed than the campesinos who attended the courses at the catechetical centers. These “organic” leaders were not adequately prepared and would benefit from courses on various themes. It seemed, however, that these leaders were not interested in the courses offered by the team. Father Madden observed that “they have no interest in the themes that we can teach, or we are not capable of offering the content they wanted.”

Despite Father Madden’s knowledge of Aymara and the team’s residing in the community, it proved to be difficult to access local culture. People seemed resistant to sharing their religious practices with the clergy. In the end, it seemed to Father Madden that more aggressive measures had to be taken to gain the requisite knowledge to reform Catholicism:

We had come here to put ourselves in contact with the local reality and the people maintained us only to ask of us traditional services, without

⁵⁶ *Donde está tu pueblo*. 64

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

allowing us to enter their lives to the point that we could question, to see, to form an opinion, or to challenge what existed. We arrived at the conclusion that we should start to demand a response and a minimal collaboration in exchange for our services and teaching. The result was a policy initiated in January of 1973, and that continued as a permanent policy during the following years. We called it our 'firm line.' . . . we became conscious of the presence of many religious leaders in the communities and these men exercised their function with authority and prestige. The people saw Jim also as a man capable of certain things. If we could not unite the religious practices of the two types then we would be repeating the same activity that occurred in the parishes where the people live with a divided religion. . . . the policy determined was that Jim would give a religious service only when the interested person would name a local religious leader of his choice to participate in a position of authority in the same service."⁵⁸

The same policy was adopted in regard to Sister Barbara Cavanaugh's services as a nurse. "Barbara would aid a sick person or a woman at the point of birth only if the interested person called a person of their preference who knew how to cure to participate in their art and knowledge together with Barbara." Father Madden suggested that the purpose of the "firm line" was not simply to gain information, but also to ensure that clergy did not displace local religious leaders and healers.⁵⁹

Even with this rather stringent "firm line" in place, the team succeeded only nominally in achieving their other goal: to persuade Andean people and Catholic pastoral agents to accept a liturgy adopted to Andean cultural norms. Father Madden prepared a series of *folletos* written in Aymara for use by local religious leaders and Catholic priests in their celebrations. He tried to include biblical reflections, additional prayers, and some writing that corresponded with his perception of local sentiment on these occasions. He found that very few people read the folletos, but he

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁹ James Madden, M.M. interview by author, tape recording, Lima, 23 May 1998.

attributed this lack of interest to the fact that they were written in Aymara, which few people read. While that conclusion seems possible, it may also have been that Andean religious leaders did not feel the need to have their rites sanctioned by priests. Nor did these leaders seem to want Father Madden to participate in the rites they performed. Except for the rites they attended because of the “firm line” policy, there were few times when the team was invited to participate in Andean rituals. Father Madden concluded that five years were not sufficient to develop the requisite confidence to warrant this type of invitation from the Andean religious leaders.⁶⁰

Although his stated purpose was to adapt Catholicism to Andean practices, it was evident that Father Madden wished also to adapt Andean people to Catholicism. Two communities asked Father Madden’s help in constructing local churches. This task did not, however, correspond with the priest’s goals. As he explained, the policy was “that first we help to prepare the hearts of the people to pray and to participate in Mass and when a Church became necessary for a Christian Assembly we would help.” It was at the priest’s discretion to determine when a Church was necessary, and necessity was gauged by the degree to which Mass attendance corresponded to the priest’s ideal. To make this determination, Father Madden offered Mass in these communities once a week for six months, which he reported was a “complete disaster with hardly any attendance.”⁶¹ The communities’ requests were accordingly denied and when they were repeated, Father Madden reminded the leaders of the past failure. Residents of Mocachi seemed no more enthusiastic about participating in this Catholic

⁶⁰ *Donde está tu pueblo.* 75, 97.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 98.

ritual in the form mandated by the clergy than were the people of the communities seeking a Church building. Father Madden concluded “that they needed a reason to attend Mass. The Mass is considered one special manner [to communicate with God] for special motives, but not the best form to pray for all necessities. We hope that with time at least a small group of people will come to see the Mass like we see it and to participate regularly in it with the maximum liturgical expression of their faith.”⁶² Thus the ultimate goal was still to establish a particular form of Catholicism. Father Madden hoped, however, that this goal would be achieved because the Catholic rituals had gained greater meaning for people locally. In this way Mass would not be an imposition of a meaningless practice, but instead part of a shared faith.

While Father Madden clearly wanted to create shared meaning, he learned that Andean people did not necessarily share this goal. He also discovered the limits of the priests’ power when they sought to exclude their intermediaries, the catechists. Father Madden could not force Andean communities to adopt his innovations. When necessary they bypassed him to secure Masses without the strictures he imposed. Father Madden established a series of options open to the community to secure fiesta masses, for example. One option was that Father Madden would perform the mass free on the condition that the community attend a series of preparatory classes in advance. This option was chosen by the community on only two of twenty-four occasions. The most popular choices were either to pay a priest from the parish center to come say the Mass or to take the religious icon to the parish Center and pay to have

⁶² Ibid. 104.

a Mass said there.⁶³ Similarly, when the team stopped providing economic assistance for development projects, the community prohibited them from attending community meetings.⁶⁴ Thus it appears that the priest's power was reduced when he moved from the urban center of Church power to the periphery of the indigenous community. Within their centers, community members had power, and clergy were in a position of weakness. The degree of power clergy had wielded seemed to correspond directly to their provision of spiritual and material assistance.

The contrast between the power exercised by clergy in the center and on the periphery is nowhere more evident than in the experience of the members of a second campo team. Father Ray Finch, one of the members of this team, had his first experience with local power dynamics when he settled in Puno as part of his Overseas Training Program in 1973. At that time he and Father Michael Briggs, who also moved to the campo as part of the team effort, worked with Catechists trying to transform them into authentic religious leaders who valorized both official Catholicism and their Andean practices. Father Finch observed that despite disagreeing with the new teaching goals and methods, the power dynamic ensured that catechists would accept them, at least in theory. "They were very upset about, say, us taking a different view towards Aymara rights. . . . I mean they'd been condemned for 40 years. They had every right to be upset . . . [but] again we were in a position of power, even as lowly seminarians because we were coming from the Center. So, their response usually was 'yes, yes.'" Father Finch taught a class on the Bible, Church,

⁶³ Ibid. 114-115.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 119.

and Andean culture. In describing the course, he exclaimed with obvious amusement “Can you believe that? I would give them a course on their own culture.” The class was not of course designed to “teach” catechists about their culture, but to encourage them to acknowledge local rituals and to share knowledge of these with the priests. The priests hoped that once catechists realized these practices no longer were condemned, they would engage in an open dialogue. “After they’d get past the point of saying it didn’t exist,” Father Finch remembered, “then they’d say it did exist. Finally at least, they could talk with some confidence.” In practice even this effort directed by priests with power from the center had only limited success according to Father Finch, “It never got to the point of a lot of confidence I’d have to say, except with maybe 1 or 2 of the guys.”⁶⁵ Yet this level of success and power was nonetheless greater than that the clergy experienced when they moved to the campo.

When Fathers Finch and Briggs, both of whom were strongly influenced by Father Inocente Salazar, returned to Peru after ordination in 1976 they were determined to participate in a new model of Church. Father Briggs reported that there was “a sense of asking questions of what the missionary does in this world. . . the sense that this whole thing seems to function without a Church’s presence and what were we about here.”⁶⁶ The priests also had been influenced by Father Madden’s experience in Mocachi, though unlike him they did not seek to link Christian ministry with Andean ministry through the *yatiri*. Father Finch said that while he could not have articulated at the time why he was not comfortable with that approach, looking at

⁶⁵ Raymond Finch, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Lima 29 February 1996.

⁶⁶ Michael Briggs, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Puno 2 December 1996.

it with the clearer perspective of hindsight he observed that “One of the difficulties for me would be is it just co-opting . . . their religious beliefs in roles that aren’t all that Catholic in terms of Church, in terms of belonging to a Catholic Church. And is it just kind of forcing them into something that I need them to be part of, and that they don’t need to be part of?”⁶⁷ Instead the goal was the more modest desire to be closer to the people and to evangelize them through their communities rather than from the towns or cities. Like Father Madden, though with considerably less success, both priests studied Aymara in the hope that they could bypass intermediaries.

As was true of the Mocachi pilot project, the team of clergy was composed of both priests and nuns between whom there was a division of labor in which the former offered more spiritual services and the latter more material services. This division was not as strict as that evident in Mocachi: priests also offered classes and nuns shared in rituals, though they were limited by the strictures imposed by the Catholic Church. Fathers Finch and Briggs, and Maryknoll Sisters Lois Lippencot and Maria Zevallos, moved to Chacapampa, a community outside of Huancane, in 1978. They had spent about four months looking for an area with a high population density and a willingness to accept the team. All of the communities they visited seemed relatively receptive, but some were friendlier and more open than others. The leadership of Chacapampa seemed most receptive to the clergy, inviting them to settle, and offering them a community building where they could live in exchange for paying to have it repaired.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Raymond Finch, M.M., interview by William D. McCarthy, M.M., tape recording, 28 February 1996.

⁶⁸ Raymond Finch, M.M., interview by author, tape recording, Lima, 29 February 1996.

Another factor contributing to the Maryknollers' selection of Chacapampa was the absence of catechists. The team wanted to bypass this system of intermediaries to develop relations directly with communities. The system was not quite so easily escaped as it appeared, however, because it pervaded all aspects of community life. The missionaries learned that the community leaders who invited them to reside in Chacapampa did so in part in the expectation that they would serve as the clergy's intermediaries. These indigenous leaders hoped to enhance their power in the community through this effort and the spiritual and material benefits they expected to accrue to the community via the clergy. Father Briggs concluded that the leaders' agreement to allow the missionaries to live in Chacapampa "was based on the assumption that our coming in was going to bring in a lot of economic resources for their community and we were kind of working on the opposite hypothesis of trying to scale down, trying to live simply."⁶⁹

While it did not live up to the community's expectations, the Maryknoll team did nonetheless provide limited benefits in the form of spiritual and material services. The clergy had agreed to teach English and Religion in the high school that had been constructed recently in the community, and which was lacking teachers. Sister Zevallos, a nurse, provided medical care and developed a health promoters program to train local people in preventative medicine, diagnosis, and basic medical care. The priests offered religious services. Indeed, Father Finch recalled that when they settled in the community he felt that people responded to him and Father Briggs as "the function rather than to the person." Treating people as their function of course limited

⁶⁹ Father Michael Briggs, Puno Center House 12/2/96

severely the opportunities to escape from that function, which was in part the clergy's purpose in settling there. The closest they could come was to impose certain conditions on the provision of services. Thus when the community requested a **fiesta Mass** the priests provided it only on the condition that they meet with community members two or three times before the fiesta. "Our experience is that the **Fiesta Mass** could be a very good experience if you 'know' the people. It could be a very good experience but it's not a moment of serious reflection, it's a moment of celebration. So that if there's nothing there previously that it's celebrating, it can be pretty empty." In exchange for its time, the community was told that it would not have to pay for the Mass. Father Finch reported, however, that people "felt they had to pay something. If they didn't pay something, it wasn't theirs."

In addition to providing these services, the team offered courses on Biblical reflection, Sacramental life, and social analysis to Chacapampa and the eleven communities nearby. These courses conformed with the missionaries' goal of establishing a closer relationship with the people and introducing them to a faith that more closely corresponded with local reality. In practice the people were not terribly enthusiastic about the courses, and there were few occasions when they accepted the team's offer to provide them. Father Briggs noted that the most successful efforts to establish relations with people were through Sister Zevallos's medical care. Her work enabled her to visit individual homes and to talk with people about their problems.

Regardless of the type of service missionaries provided, after two years the community leaders who invited them evicted them. The community reclaimed the building that served as the missionaries' home. The team tried at first to fight the

expulsion by appealing directly to the community, asking if its members really wanted the clergy to leave or if it were just the leadership pushing them out. They received no response. The community was unified in its action even if not all of its members agreed with it. This unification was and is consistently evident in communities. That was indeed why the catechetical system was effective. If the leadership mandated that everyone attend a Mission offered by a catechist, then everyone attended. Those who violated this mandate were fined.⁷⁰ Although community members did not respond directly to the missionaries' query, rumors began floating back to the Maryknollers, making it quite evident that they were not wanted. The missionaries had been transferred to the realm of the supernatural, thus entering a threatening sphere. A woman claimed to have walked by the team's house late one night when a blinding light came out. One of the health promoters working with a Maryknoll Sister from the team was accused of being a *kirisiri*, an accusation that would again plague the team at a later date. The *Kirisiri*, (pistaco in Quechua) traditionally was depicted as a Franciscan priest wearing a long habit with a hood who comes out at dusk, ringing a bell to lull his victims to sleep. While they slumber he steals their fat. Rumors about *kirisiris* abound in Andean culture. President Alan Garcia, notorious for his corruption, was said to have released a brigade of *kirisiris* to steal campesinos' fat, which he would sell abroad to pay off the national debt.⁷¹ In the case of the

⁷⁰ Ibid. Also evident in my experience in Cutini Capilla where a mission was held at Easter. Failing to attend resulted in a very hefty five sol fine.

⁷¹ In Africa the same kind of legend, again associated specifically with clergy. See: Luise White, "Vampire Priests of Central Africa: African Debates about Labor and Religion in Colonial Northern Zambia," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 4, (1991). 746-772. See also: Nathan Wachtel, *Gods and Vampires: Return to Chipaya* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). When I moved to Cutini Capilla, an Aymara community in Puno, I was advised by the man who

Maryknollers in Chacapampa the accusations were made indirectly, making it difficult to contest them. Individual community members who had contact with the team (intermediaries of a different sort) were sent by the community with discreet messages about the team members' supernatural status.

Father Briggs concluded that the community's rejection resulted in part simply from their uncertainty about the missionaries' purpose. What did they want? What were they doing? He had even heard rumors that people believed the team was counterfeiting money or selling drugs. After a number of meetings the community leadership rescinded its eviction on the condition that the team build a factory to employ one hundred people. Obviously this was a condition the missionaries could not accept and they left. As Father Finch described the results, they said

“Goodbye.” you're out of here and, it was interesting . . . because [they] could never have said that if we were in a parish. Really, given the way it's set up there it would never have worked. They could never have gotten away with that. But we had put ourselves in a position of being vulnerable. Which is good, which is what we wanted to do except we didn't want the results. That's a fact. We did not want those results. But, it comes with the territory. . . . [we] also realized that that's what we were trying to do - put ourselves in that position. That takes a little figuring out. It's not that easy to accept.”

This form of communication was certainly distinct from the “yes, yes” the catechists offered the clergy in the center.

In the end the team had no choice but to accept the community's decision and move to another community, which as it happened was just down the road. The results of the move ultimately were not much more salutary. A short time after they

rented his house to me that I could not leave the house before 7:00 in the morning and I had to return to

settled it became evident that the community had become a center for the coca trade. A short distance from the team's house was a storage deposit where coca was transferred from truck to storage to truck. The clergy were sharing a bit too much. Word soon got back to them via one of the health promoters that it was time to move on. To give an extra push, the man whose home the clergy were renting reneged on their contract. The team found itself homeless again.

In 1984 a reconstituted Maryknoll team moved to Pilcuyo, a much larger town near Ilave. The team had been invited to settle there when they began their quest for an indigenous community in 1976, but they rejected the choice. The town, Father Briggs reported, seemed saturated with non-governmental organizations, and was too urban and too modern. A weekly market attracted crowds of people from outlying communities. There was also a large contingent of Seventh Day Adventists in residence. Thus people were accustomed to relative religious and social diversity. A team of Maryknoll missionaries has lived in Pilcuyo from 1984 until the present. They have a medical clinic which draws many people and they offer courses which draw fewer people. Father Briggs reported that the Baptism class they offer has been accepted only twice. On one occasion acceptance was due to the intervention of the local teacher who wanted to have his child baptized and persuaded the rest of the community to participate in the requisite course. Marriage requests are very unusual – perhaps two or three times a year. Father Briggs indicated that people seeking to marry often are connected to the city through migration, but they maintain ties to the community. Even in this relatively cosmopolitan Andean setting the Maryknoll team

it before dusk or I would be mistaken for a kirsiri. In his words, all whites are considered half kirisiri.

encountered some problems. At one point a campesino political leader from the community believed that the Maryknoll team was supporting the opposition political party, and he apparently started the rumor that the clergy were *kirisiris*. Father Briggs reported that soon, people were driving past them shouting “*kirisiri*” as they went. On the occasion of a political rally for this campesino leader, the Maryknoll team showed up only to find themselves subjected to a crowd shouting “*kirisiri*” at them. In this case, the priests were able to seek the intervention of another priest who had been providing financial support to the campesino politician. Shortly after his intervention the accusations stopped and the clergy were able to stay.

Although they were different in form and in location, these experimental programs shared similar goals and similar limitations to achieving those goals. Father Madden’s emphasis was on leaving the center to settle in the periphery, where he hoped to gain a better understanding of local culture as a means of developing a liturgy that would be more appropriate to it. In essence, like the Maryknollers who followed him in rural experiments, he wanted to change the Church’s relationship with Andean communities. Central to this goal was reforming the relationship among priests, catechists, and communities. Priests sought to bypass intermediaries to establish direct relations with community members: they wanted to be part of Andean communities. Yet they were prevented from becoming fully enfranchised community members by virtue of the fact that they did not belong. Even indigenous people who shared the same language and cultural norms were inhibited from moving easily from one community to another. People retained their status as *forasteros* or foreigners for

generations after they settled in a new community.⁷² The clergy, of course, faced even greater obstacles to incorporation. With the exception of Father Madden, the clergy had not gained sufficient fluency in Aymara to carry on casual conversations. They knew nothing about agriculture, the foundation of community. Their primary potential role was one which they wanted to escape: that of serving as providers of spiritual and material benefits, and as intermediaries with Peruvian officials. When they moved to the periphery, clergy in many ways became peripheral. Father Finch reported that “I would say that we came to the point where we had good relationships with the people. . . where there was an appreciation, a mutual appreciation, much more honesty than in the beginning. . . this honesty came out in their saying ‘No.’ when they meant no, which before they wouldn’t do. They’d say ‘yes’ and then not show up.”

Virtually the same lack of fit would have resulted, I believe, if Bishop Fedder’s proposal to ordain married catechists had been accepted. Since the colonial period priests had been outsiders – originally from Europe, but subsequently from urban centers in Peru. Their role was to provide religious services that Andean religious leaders could not, and to act as intermediaries between indigenous communities and Spanish-speaking governing officials. Maryknoll had reinforced this identity and linked it to provision of material aid. Priests’ legitimacy depended on the status conferred on them by both indigenous communities on the periphery, and the Church at the center. They needed both sorts of approval to retain that legitimacy. Indigenous catechists, unless they left their communities and became fully integrated at the

⁷² Anne M. Wightman, *Indigenous Migration and Social Change: The Forasteros of Cuzco, 1570-1720* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990) analyzes forasteros role in colonial Peru.

Center, would not be able to obtain this legitimacy even if they were ordained. The few indigenous men who became priests struggled in their role because of this expectation. Many were criticized for leaving their communities and settling in towns, but it is unlikely that they would have been accepted had they not done so. In Cutini Capilla, an Aymara community where I resided, the brother of the man whose home I rented was a priest. I attended the community's patronal fiesta in 1996 when Father Mejilla returned for the first time in seven years. To the deep dismay of his family, no one in the community would speak to the priest.

What worked

In fact, the most effective programs for gaining access to people seemed to be those which transformed established roles and expectations more gradually. Father Eddie Cookson took it upon himself to live in an indigenous community, but also to retain his position in the parish in town. Thus he served the Church from the community, thereby conforming to expectations of the priest's role. He, too, was rejected by the first community where he sought to settle. After establishing an agreement and preparing a home, Father Cookson arrived and was told that he could not have water. Clearly it would not be possible to live without water, so he moved to the neighboring community, Cutini Capilla. Similarly, I believe that Father Salazar succeeded in part because he worked from the Church center. Father Salazar was, to my knowledge, the only priest to leave to marry an Aymara woman. By doing so he could neither become a member of Aymara society nor retain his status in the Maryknoll community. Instead, he and his wife had to leave Puno and return to the United States to live. The intermediary's ability to move between communities was

thus extremely limited for members of both the Maryknoll and indigenous community. Neither could gain complete acceptance into the world of the other.

The Maryknoll sisters seemed also to have greater success in accessing indigenous culture by retaining roles that conformed with local expectations. Among the most successful programs they launched were the health promoter programs and a potato project. In both cases the nuns, whose work priests often shared in and supported, provided tangible benefits to communities while respecting local culture. In 1982, for example, Puno suffered a devastating drought. Although the prelature eliminated food aid in the late 1970s, it was decided that it was necessary to reinstate it to cope with the crisis. There simply was no food production. Sister Aurelia Atencio led a group of about six or eight people, among them the participants in the second campo project, in developing a program to provide longer-term benefits to the community than would food aid. The potato seed project was the result. Sister Atencio and the committee solicited aid from various international agencies to obtain 170 tons of potatoes. Communities were given a ton of potatoes in exchange for the guarantee that they would return them the following year and would ensure that everyone in the community benefited from the program, even those members who due to age or infirmity were unable to work. Pastoral agents were encouraged to visit communities during key points of the productive cycle, sometimes to work and other times just to provide support. For many it was the first opportunity they had to share in the agricultural cycle that was the foundation of campesinos' lives. Clergy

witnessed some of the local rituals that were crucial to this cycle.⁷³ Thus through this provision of much needed aid, the clergy did gain access to local culture. Father Briggs accepted responsibility for this project when Sister Aurelia left.

The Health Promoters Program started by Sister Peg Hennessy and replicated in the Chacapampa campo project provided another occasion in which material aid in some ways offered entrée into the community. Father Briggs noted that the health promoter program in the campo communities offered a means of entering the homes and lives of the ill and of establishing relationships with the indigenous men who became health promoters. A health promoter was in fact charged with advising them of the threats against them in the community involved in the coca trade. The Maryknoll team held a meeting with the promoters to ask their advice on how to proceed. Father Briggs noted that they consistently solicited input from the health promoters before making decisions.

Sister Peg Hennessy had started the program in association with the Institute of Rural Education established by Maryknoll in June, 1965.⁷⁴ Working with two nuns, one from Maryknoll and another a Franciscan, and a lay Aymara woman, Sister Hennessy traveled to various communities, settled in each for a month, and offered courses to campesinos on preventative and palliative medicine. The team of health promoters often would be asked to attend to the sick in the community. As they learned more about local methods of healing, Sister Peg reported they could refer to them when they went to assist the ill. The women would ask whether they had tried

⁷³ Aurelia Atencio, M.M. interview by the author, Pilcuyo, 19 August 1996. Sister Atencio resisted accepting credit for starting the program, but most other clergy attributed the initial development of the

this or that local method, and the indigenous people “would feel more at ease that I knew about these things and wasn’t such a stranger anymore.” When possible the Sisters tried to work with the local yatiris, whom they met most often when they also were present in the homes of the ill. Sister Hennessy remembered that if there were a rite or celebration they sometimes were invited and at other times were simply told, “maybe next time.” In describing what stood out in her mind of her experiences in the altiplano, Sister Hennessy recalled:

. . . the beauty of the altiplano. One time I went up to the top of the mountain with some of the people . . . they’d take you in and show you a tunnel. Or going through the . . . Chupas where they buried the dead. It seemed a great respect for the dead and just being with them and seeing how much, learning little by little how far advanced they were. We think our medicine and our way of doing things are so advanced. But they have great things going for them and it took time to realize that. So you become smaller and they become bigger and you try to meet one another and it’s a great experience of friendship and understanding and becoming more open.⁷⁵

Although Father Erbland also was associated with the health promoters program, he provided no similar accounts of close relationships with Aymara people. Neither, in fact, did any of the other priests I interviewed. In contrast, a number of Maryknoll Sisters shared similar experiences. Sisters Aurelia Hortencia and Patricia Ryan, both of whom were affiliated with the Institute of Rural Life and the campo pilot projects, described experiences which drew them into people’s lives. Again it seemed that the nature of their labor and established gender norms made it possible for them to

program to her.

⁷⁴ William D. McCarthy, M.M., *Notes for a History*

⁷⁵ Sister Patricia Hennessy, M.M. interview by the author, tape recording, Lima, 2 December 1997.

establish closer relations with people. Sister Patricia Ryan offered a clear description of these differences and their implications:

I think there's always a special deference given to the sisters but at the same time, we were not there because we're not priests or Bishops. It made a very big difference. Just as each one of us conceives of ourselves, or sees ourselves in a certain role, and maybe live that role, . . . the people would also have us in a certain role and expectations regarding that. I think the expectations that the people had of us were different. Much more of a human thing. The sharing of more of the human aspects of things with us. The invitations to join them in different/other types of activities. Like if they were going to have a party like their fiesta, to join them, in joining their dance groupings. Join them in their meals together, the whole grouping. In the beginning, more in the eating together and eventually, in the preparations of it. There were different volunteer groupings and you'd help out and you began to assume roles there and were invited to do that. So you'd go ahead and peel the potatoes too, wash the dishes or get the stuff ready. And there's a whole other bantering that goes back and forth in the joy of doing that kind of thing together or the sharing of whatever is going on. They're certainly not going to ask the priests to do that because [of] the roles between women and men in general. Or for the priests to be doing the serving of the plates in the fiesta. They wouldn't think of that at all - it would be very rare. And that I've only seen happen more when the priests have actually lived in the campo.⁷⁶

The difference between indigenous people's treatment of priests and nuns resulted from established gender norms and roles, as Sister Ryan observed. Father Finch had noted that when they settled in the campo they were treated "as their function." It was extremely difficult to break out of this role. If they gave up this function entirely they were no longer priests – clearly an unacceptable outcome. They could perform roles in addition to their religious role, but the latter always would be evident and would shape the character of their interaction.

⁷⁶ Sister Patricia Ryan, M.M., interview by the author, tape recording, Puno, 17 February 1996.

Maryknoll priests and nuns consistently cited the desire to serve God and people as the primary motivation for their becoming missionaries, though the form of this service necessarily differed from person to person. Nuns' service to people was evidence of their faith. Priests' service to people, while it might include provision of aid, was meant to be fundamentally religious. Father Cappel, a Maryknoller ordained in 1944, described being torn between a desire to become a priest and a desire to study science and/or medicine. He actively sought out religious orders that would allow him to become a doctor, only to discover that this role was reserved for nuns.⁷⁷ While priests after the Second Vatican Council no longer were constrained to an exclusively religious role, it obviously remained central. Indeed, without it there was little reason to remain a priest. Many priests left Maryknoll and accepted service-oriented positions in the secular world. Nuns were faced with a similar conundrum. In a 1968 meeting on the future of mission and the role of missionaries, the first assertion was that "missioners should not assume positions that lay people can assume." This assertion prompted one sister to ask "in what field can't lay people replace religious sisters?"⁷⁸ Many nuns also concluded that as lay people they could perform their roles just as well and left Maryknoll.

While nuns' roles were thus more ambiguous in some ways than those of priests, they also suffered from fewer constraints because of that ambiguity. Sister Aurelia Atencio described her decision to study agronomy as being the result of both a personal attraction to the land, and because she recognized it as something she could

⁷⁷ Interview Charles Cappel, M.M. interview by author, tape recording, Huancane, 26 January 1996.

⁷⁸ "Experimental Missionary Works," August 8, 1968, in Robert Kearns, *Maryknoll in Peru*, vol. 4. 980.

bring to mission – a way to help the people to improve their lives. This desire and her education led Sister Atencio to Maryknoll’s experimental farm at Palermo in Juli. By working the land with local people she developed a distinct understanding of their culture and religiosity. She observed that:

I learned what the land meant to people here. I came with a view from the states where land is a commodity. You do x, y, and z and you get a product, but that’s not how people view land here. It’s a living being to be respected and that gives life. It’s not necessarily meant to be worked to the maximum level of production. Production isn’t the only purpose, and the people look at whatever the land produces as a gift that the earth is to be thanked for.⁷⁹

Sister Atencio remained at IER for six years but left because she wanted to have more contact with the communities. She still felt that she did not have an adequate grasp of agricultural reality in the altiplano. She heard local people saying that “yes you can do these things here at Palermo but they wouldn’t work outside in our lands. Palermo is a special place. There’s irrigation and high quality seed and fertilizers. We don’t have those things in our communities.”

While Palermo may not have given Sister Atencio or the others who worked there a complete knowledge of local agriculture, it did give them distinct opportunities for sharing indigenous culture. Sister Pat Ryan, who was also affiliated with the center and lived there, described their gradual incorporation into Andean rites. One year a cow was stolen from the farm. By that time, Sister Ryan recalled, the Maryknollers knew enough to recognize that people perceived this type of disorder as the result of an imbalance in relations among people, and between them and God.

⁷⁹ Sister Aurelia Atencio, M.M., interview by author, Pilcuyo, Puno, 19 August 1996.

Restoring this order required a religious rite. The Sisters approached the man Sister Ryan described as the highest yatiri in the area, Father Inocente Salazar's compadre, asking him to assist the IER team in restoring the requisite balance in relations among the terrestrial and celestial spheres. Sister Ryan said that when they approached him, "he was very willing to do this. He was very grateful for the invitation to get together with us and very happy that we were going to be paying homage to the land as we should be doing and we hadn't been doing. It should be done every year, but we didn't know that." The Palermo team thus came to participate actively in local religious rites. Their role was as participants, not religious leaders.

Father Inocente Salazar and Father Jim Madden both succeeded, in different ways, in establishing personal relationships with yatiris. In contrast to nuns, however, whose association with yatiris was as participants in rites they performed, priests were recognized by, and in turn recognized yatiris, as religious leaders. Describing one of his first experiences at an Aymara rite, Father Madden said that "the oldest Yatiri . . . put his arm around me toward the end of and he says, 'You know what? I think before God you and I are equal.' And I thought, "I wonder who's getting lifted up here?"

It was not so much that the priests were less sensitive to local culture, since clearly they were sensitive to it and actively sought to understand and promote it. Their "function" in the society, however, mitigated against their achieving this end, since their role was to provide spiritual and material benefits. After the 1970s the clergy sought to separate these roles. They wanted to be associated solely with Catholicism as faith. This desire did not, however, conform to the norm that they had

helped create. When the first Maryknollers arrived in Puno, the priest was associated strongly with the oppressors. He was allied with the hacendados; he took from indigenous communities to support himself; he opposed efforts to advance indigenous people through education. Maryknoll radically transformed this image. The priest became associated with the provision of spiritual and material aid, and with serving as a link between remote indigenous communities and urban centers, like Puno where the catechetical school was located. Ultimately, this association came to feel like a trap to Maryknoll. They did not want to be associated with the center. They sought to ally themselves with the indigenous communities by choosing to settle among them and to respect their culture. Yet this choice did not conform to cultural expectations, the very cultural expectations they had helped to create.

Like the Africans in Chinua Achebe's account, the Maryknoll mission community became victim to its own cultural contradictions. The missionaries' initial goals had woven within them both material and spiritual elements. This mix of sacred and secular conformed with established cultural expectations, in which clergy served as innovators. Because they spoke in the familiar language of Catholic ritual, they did so without radically disrupting established culture and community. Yet this goal could not ultimately satisfy the clergy who wanted the spiritual to take precedence over the material. When they sought to change the pattern of their proselytizing they were prevented from doing so by the expectations they had created. They did, however, succeed in breaking the historical association of the Church with the elite. They made a clear selection for the rural indigenous and urban poor over the urban elite. Yet, paradoxically this shift eliminated their role as intermediaries. They could no longer

serve effectively as indigenous communities' mediators with the government or members of the elite because they had effectively lost their legitimacy, among both, but especially among the elite. They were thus both part of, and contributors to, a general disintegration of established categories. Just as the rigid division between rural and urban declined, so too did the division between Church center and Andean periphery. Just as the boundaries among Indian, mestizo, misti, and white became blurred, so too did the status of "priest" and "nun." The decline of these categories had the potential to be liberating. People would no longer be defined by their function, and their race, ethnicity, or gender would no longer determine that function. In practice, however, the historical roles did not disappear. The decline of those categories made difficult the basis for organizing. This was nowhere more evident than in the extraordinary difficulty clergy had in reconciling the desire to promote economic justice and the need to promote cultural sensitivity. How did one promote the latter without essentializing and thus disregarding the former? How did one promote the former without disregarding the latter?

VI: Conclusion

That which is good for communities in America is good for the Armenians and Greeks and Mohammedans of Turkey.

The American Board of Foreign Missions, 1881¹

In the realm of ideas and ideals, American policy is guided by three conceptions. One is the warm, generous, humanitarian impulse to help other people solve their problems. A second is the principle of self-determination applied at the international level, which asserts the right of every society to establish its own goals or objectives, and to realize them internally through the means it decides are appropriate. These two ideas can be reconciled; indeed, they complement each other to an extensive degree. But the third idea entertained by many Americans is one which insists that other people cannot really solve their problems and improve their lives unless they go about it in the same way as the United States.

William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*²

First appearances would suggest that the Maryknoll Catholic Mission Movement offered the paradigmatic case of what William Appleman Williams defined as *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*. The missionaries and their supporters believed that by introducing their religious faith abroad, they would help create the foundations necessary to enable people to achieve the American dream. They believed implicitly that American Catholicism was the only Catholicism and would offer a means of achieving the American dream, which the missionaries assumed foreigners could and would want to attain. Yet, the Maryknoll mission was more complicated than this conclusion suggests. The missionaries also had a specific ideal of America. Their goal was as much to convert the United States to their ideal of Christian practices of business and politics as it was to

¹ Quoted in William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959). 45.

² *Ibid.*, 13-14.

convert the world to American ideals. Indeed, the two goals were inextricably bound. One could not be achieved without the other. American goodwill was a necessary component of the Maryknoll mission endeavor.

We have seen that with Kennedy's assassination and the Second Vatican Council, contributed to the Maryknoll missionaries' fundamentally redefining their role. Yet in these years they retained a sense of America's promise and of their potential to contribute to its fulfillment. The missionaries also believed in the potential transformation of Latin America. Indeed, these ideals remained linked as they had been from the start. How the missionaries interpreted their role in these transformations depended on their experience in mission fields. In Peru, it seemed, that Maryknollers could contribute to change by quietly supporting the Velasco government in the 1960s and early 1970s and by promoting inter-cultural faith. This approach was made possible by the historical role the Church had played in Peru and the manner in which, as a result of that role, it could help to promote what was described as a "peaceful revolution." In contrast, in Central America this method of liberation was untenable. In some cases, Maryknoll missionaries came to support guerrilla movements. If peaceful revolution were impossible, then armed revolution might be necessary.

By the 1980s both these movements and even the mission potential seemed to dissipate. The debt crisis in Latin America, the United States active intervention in movements of liberation, and the return to neo-liberal trade policies, made evident that the Maryknoll missionaries' ideal of a world order founded on Christian values was not to be realized. Moreover, the United States held primary responsibility for making this goal unattainable. Maryknoll became increasingly associated with opposition to the United

States government -- protesting against the School of the Americas (notorious for its training of Latin American dictators), supporting the Washington Office on Latin America to enable it to publicize American sponsored abuse in the region, and in some cases becoming participants in opposition movements.

To conclude I would like to place the Maryknoll experience in Peru within the larger context of the missionaries' work in Central and South America in the twentieth century. In the 1970s and 1980s Maryknoll missionaries in Central and South America became closely associated with progressive Catholicism. Maryknollers, in fact, became known in some circles as "radical" or "Communist" priests and nuns. Among their earliest and best-known associations with "leftist movements" was the arrest and expulsion from Guatemala of Maryknoll Sister Marian Peter and Maryknoll Father Tom and Melville in 1968. These Maryknollers along with five other clergy were said to be involved in a "leftist guerrilla movement in Guatemala" to which they were said to have planned to supply arms. Almost immediately following their expulsion from Guatemala, after marrying each other without renouncing their vows as religious, Tom Melville and Mirian Peters again made headlines. On May 17, 1968 the Melvilles, Daniel Berrigan and six others who would be known as the "Catonsville Nine," confiscated draft files from local board number 33 in Catonsville, Maryland. In protest against the United States involvement in the Vietnam War they burned the files using homemade "napalm." The Catonsville Nine were arrested, tried, and found guilty.

Although it was not "typical" of Maryknoll's association with "progressive Catholicism," the Melville incident(s) reveal two important tenets of Progressive Catholicism and Liberation Theology, which evolve (I believe) from the role of

missionaries. The Melville's activism had its origins in their mission experience in Guatemala, but they transferred that experience back into the context of the United States.³ The former missionaries were explicit in establishing this link, arguing that United States foreign policy was responsible for poverty in Latin America and the United States.⁴

These Maryknollers thus viewed their experience in Guatemala through the lens of both their faith and their citizenship. Their perspective on United States policy was in turn shaped by their experience in Central America. This "transnationalism" in many ways typified Maryknoll's association with Liberation Theology. Although the movement is associated almost exclusively with Central and South America, it had an impact in the United States through agents like the missionaries. Maryknoll, and perhaps other mission groups in the United States and Europe, helped to disseminate knowledge of Liberation Theology to their countries of origin and throughout Central and South America. By the 1970s Maryknoll's Orbis books had become the leading publisher of books conveying information about Catholicism in Latin America to a United States public. Angelyn Dries reports that Orbis published the proceedings of the 1968 Conference of Latin American Bishops which were foundational to the development of Liberation Theology at a time when they could not be published in Latin America.⁵ Foreign missionaries thus played an important (and perhaps neglected) role in fomenting the development of Liberation Theology. Indeed, Orbis Books was also responsible for

³ Four of the Catonsville Nine had worked in "third world countries" – three in Latin America and one in Africa. Four (among them the Melvilles) were clergy and all but one claimed to be motivated by their Christian faith. Daniel Berrigan, *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Angelyn Dries, O.S.F. *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998) 214.

the key English Translation of Gustavo Gutierrez's Liberation Theology. In Peru, although they were not involved in developing this theology, Maryknollers (and other foreign clergy) provided financial support for the institutes where it was formulated.

Liberation Theology did not develop uniformly throughout Central and South America, but was associated instead with specific countries. Although it is only suggestive and certainly not conclusive, it is interesting to note that there appears to be a close correlation between those regions and countries where foreign missionaries were present in notable numbers and the development and dissemination of Liberation Theology.⁶ Peru, where Liberation Theology had its origins, also received the second largest number of US Catholic clergy in the twentieth century. When United States missionaries' participation in Central and South America peaked in 1968, Peru supported 693 priests, nuns and brothers. The only South American country to receive a larger number of missionaries from the United States was Brazil, another bastion of Progressive Catholicism, which had 699 priests, nuns and brothers the same year.⁷ Central America, where Liberation Theology gained the greatest prominence also received many United States missionaries. In Guatemala in 1968 their number reached 268, far surpassing the paucity of native clergy in the country. Nicaragua, where Maryknoll Father Miguel D'Escoto was named foreign minister by the Sandinistas, provided a home for 79 United States missionaries. El Salvador seems to represent the largest exception to the correlation between missionaries' presence and Liberation theology. In 1968 there were

⁶ The statistics available to me at the moment reflect only United States Catholic missionaries' participation in Central and South America. European and Canadian clergy also played an important role.

⁷ The next largest contingent of United States missionaries in South America was in Bolivia, but the 346 clergy in this country represented just half the number in either Peru or Brazil.

just 30 United States clergy in the country (though European clergy may have played a role.)⁸

Correlation is not, of course, causation. It would thus be a grave error to argue, or even suggest, that the presence of United States (or Canadian or European) clergy was a sufficient condition to promote the advent of Liberation Theology. It may, however, have been necessary. Foreign priests and nuns provided both economic resources and (for a time) a kind of safety that resulted from their status as outsiders who were in some measure protected from the vagaries of local politics. Although inconclusive the case of Maryknoll in Peru and Guatemala suggests that in many cases foreign clergy were assigned to remote rural departments or newly settled urban *barriadas* where they acted as state substitutes by providing education, medical care, credit cooperatives and in some cases even infrastructure including roads, potable water, and electricity. In this capacity, the missionaries thus promoted stability thereby benefiting national governments. At the same time this experience brought clergy into close contact with the struggling classes of society, leading them ultimately to be critical of government policies. In the 1950s and 1960s many of Maryknoll's programs were funded by the United States government, thereby further enhancing the "protection" clergy enjoyed from local governments. I believe, in fact, that the "failure" of these programs to promote the kind of long-term transformation that many of the missionaries sought when they settled in Central and South America may have contributed to their "radicalization" in the 1970s and 1980s.

While foreign missionaries may thus have played an important role in the emergence of Liberation Theology and its dissemination, the movement and ideology

⁸ US Catholics Overseas: A Statistical Directory, January 1, 1968. Mission Secretariat, Washington, DC August 1968 (MMA).

itself was developed and legitimized by the Latin American Church. I would suggest that Liberation Theology was thus a “Catholic” movement not just in its religious motivation, but also in its emergence through the contributions (financial and intellectual) of clergy from Europe, Canada, the United States and Latin America that has become associated exclusively with Latin America. At the same time, however, it could not be seen (as developments in the 1980s would make evident) as representative of the “universal Catholic Church.” It was instead the result of an encounter among Catholic clergy who were themselves representative of segments of their national “Catholic Churches.” In 1953 of the 53 institutions in the United States that supplied male religious personnel overseas 5 supplied 57%. Eight provinces of the Society of Jesus in the United States supplied 24.4% of all United States missionaries, while the Maryknoll Fathers supplied 14.5% and 3 others, Redemptorists, Franciscans, and Divine Word Fathers supplied 19% together. Thus nearly 58% of US missionaries had their origins in just five institutions. They thus shared the same education, in many cases the same communities of origin, and as a result the same ideals that strongly conditioned their expectations of mission.⁹ It was the encounter between these particular clergy (Jesuits and Maryknollers became best known for their “radicalism”) and particular Latin American clergy that made the evolution of Liberation Theology possible.

Considering Liberation Theology as in part the result of an “encounter” among Catholic clergy and laity of distinct social and national origins is, I believe, important for a number of reasons only two of which I will enumerate here. One is that understanding Liberation Theology, its development, and decline might require examining the origins and ideals of both the Latin American and foreign clergy that were affiliated with it. This

⁹ U.S. Catholic Overseas Missionary Personnel, December 31, 1953.

examination might yield surprising results. In the case of Maryknoll, when the missionaries first settled in Central and South America in 1943 it is highly unlikely that anyone would have predicted that they would become “radicalized” and far less that they would someday be accused of being “Communists.” Maryknoll missionaries were fierce American nationalists, virulent anti-Communists, and doctrinaire Catholics who viewed obedience to hierarchy and participation in Sacraments as the primary evidence of faith. Indeed, it was for these reasons that Maryknollers gained funding from the United States government which could view them as bulwarks against the spread of Communism. None of these characteristics, however, would seem to lend themselves to the potential for “radicalization.” A closer examination of the missionaries’ origins, however, reveals that they were also working-class, first- and second-generation Americans. In many cases they had watched their parents struggle through the Great Depression and fight to achieve unionization. This experience was typical of American Catholics, leading Archbishop Richard Cushing to report in 1947 that

In all the American hierarchy, resident in the United States, there is not known to me one bishop, archbishop or cardinal whose father or mother was a college graduate. Every one of our bishops and archbishops is the son of a working man and a working man’s wife.¹⁰

Experiences of labor and hardship were linked directly to parish life. The missionaries’ ideals and thus their perception of mission fields were shaped by their lives in ethnic communities in the northeastern United States and by their training in the Maryknoll seminary and convent. They also, I believe, contributed ultimately to their

¹⁰ James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981) 284.

“radicalization” which really was not quite so “radical” as it seemed when analyzed in the context of this “tradition.”

The second reason for examining Liberation Theology in the context of an encounter is that it may offer some explanatory power to understand the “decline” of the movement and the ascent of Protestantism in the 1980s. The movement of Protestant missionaries into Latin America corresponded closely, in fact, directly with that of Catholic missionaries. The advent of World War II closed Asia, the primary mission fields of most European and North American protestant and Catholic missionaries, as a site for their labors. Missionaries from both branches of Christianity were forced to seek new lands and new souls for God. Latin America appeared the logical alternative to Asia (especially since Africa was closed at the time). Mexico had already become a site of Protestant proselytization to the great dismay of Catholics throughout the world who felt their territory threatened. In essence, during this period, Central and South America became potential battlegrounds for Protestants and Catholics at the same time (not incidentally) that it fulfilled the same role for Communists and Capitalists.

Yet it was not until the 1990s that Protestant missionaries started to gain a prominent position in research on Latin America.¹¹ At this time, researchers began to ask why, just as Catholic clergy “opted for the poor,” the poor seemed to be “opting for Protestantism.” Extensive analyses of this transition have been developed, but they seem to understate the role that Catholic missionaries had played during the preceding

¹¹ The two seminal works on Protestantism in Latin America both appeared in 1990. David Stoll, *Is Latin America Turning Protestant* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) and David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

decades.¹² I would like to turn now to the 1980s to develop some questions that might be addressed in future analyses of this issue.

The rise of Protestantism and the Decline of Progressive Catholicism

If as I suggested earlier, the development of Liberation Theology depended in part on the financial resources and protection offered by foreign clergy, those benefits disappeared in the 1980s. I would, in fact, suggest that this was a turning point in religion and politics on a global scale. There were three changes that I would like to note: first was the explicit incorporation of the fundamentalist right in Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign and election in 1980, second was the increasingly blatant targeting of Catholic clergy and laity by the military in Central and South America, and third was the increasing prominence of Protestant Fundamentalists in Latin American politics.¹³ It would, of course, be a gross oversimplification to suggest that the rise of neo-liberalism was linked to the rise of Protestant Fundamentalism because its emphasis on individual

¹² See: Virginia Garrard-Burnett and David Stoll, eds. *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1993), John Burdick, *Looking for God in Brazil*, Manuel Vasquez, *The Brazilian Popular Church, etc.*

¹³ Anna L. Peterson observes that while Catholic clergy in El Salvador had been targeted as early as 1970, persecution dramatically increased after 1977. Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion: progressive Catholicism in El Salvador's Civil War* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997) 63. See also: Jean Franco, "Killing priests, nuns, women, and children," in *Critical Passions* ed. Mary Louise Pratt and Kathleen Newman (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999) for an insightful analysis of the invasion of sacred spaces (among them churches and homes and as a result clergy, women and children) that was necessary to consolidate the "new world order." The most prominent case of evangelical influence in Latin American politics is, of course, that of Rios Montt in Guatemala, of equal but less examined import, however, was the role Protestants played both in undermining the Shining Path guerrillas in key regions of Peru and in promoting the presidency of Alberto Fujimori. See: Degregori, Carlos Iván, et al., *Las rondas campesinas y la derrota de sendero luminoso*, 2da ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1996) and Degregori, Carlos Ivan. "Identidad étnica, movimientos sociales y participación política en el Perú, en: Democracia, etnicidad y violencia en América Latina. Lima: IEP, 1993 pp. 113-133

responsibility (and of course its historical association with capitalism as elucidated by Max Weber) corresponded more closely to the mandates of this resurgent ideology.¹⁴

In fact, the experience of Maryknoll itself would seem to undermine this simplification. When Maryknoll missionaries settled in Central and South America in 1943 they were as closely associated (at least apparently) with the mandates of capitalism at the time as are Protestant fundamentalists today. As the Maryknoll experience illustrates and Burdick points out with regard to Pentecostals, there may be hidden potential for “radicalism,” or at least transformation even in movements that appear outwardly conservative. The results of the labors of Protestant missionaries may prove to be as much in opposition to the United States government with which they currently seem in close association as Maryknoll’s became. The outcome of “faith-based charity” is not pre-determined. Nonetheless, it appears that a combination of circumstances have led to the effective replacement of Catholic missionaries in Central and South America by Protestant missionaries (who Bush’s policies would suggest will benefit from direct US aid) and other non-governmental organizations.

In the 1970s the number of Catholic missionaries (indeed Catholic clergy) plummeted, their financial support from both government and private sources correspondingly declined, and the “safety” they enjoyed was shattered by military regimes in Central and South America. By 1986 the number of US clergy in Central and South America had declined from its peak of 3391 in 1968 to 2204. With the development of Progressive Catholicism, Maryknollers (who in the 1940s had promoted an association with the US government) sought to distance themselves from it. This

¹⁴ It is, however, interesting to compare the theology of change espoused by Protestant theologian, Reinhold Niebur with that of Gustavo Gutiérrez. This comparison would suggest that the potential for developing a Protestant Theology of Liberation is at best limited.

distancing entailed rejecting funding they heretofore had enjoyed from United States government sources. They could not maintain support of many of the progressive movements that had been central to Catholicism in the 1970s. Moreover, military regimes in Central America made evident that the sanctity of the Church would no longer protect Catholic clergy or laity from attack. Military attacks on Catholic clergy and laity became increasingly blatant in the late 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵ Jean Franco suggests that imposing the “new world order” resulting from neo-liberalism required that military regimes invade what had been “sacred spaces”: the church and the home. As a result priests, nuns, women and children became necessary targets.¹⁶

It seems that the conditions that contributed to the development of “progressive Catholicism,” including the presence of foreign Catholic missionaries had thus disappeared by the 1980s. A question that might be asked is how do the new “transnational” religious (and secular) Non-Governmental Organizations, compare with the Catholic mission movements of a preceding era? Even granting the potential for underlying tendencies towards “radicalism,” the structure of these movements would seem to make them less amenable to promoting transnational movements. Although the Catholic clergy and laity associated with progressive Catholicism in Central and South America did not represent the mainstream, universal Catholic Church, they had access to its infrastructure. Moreover they did not compete with each other for members in “their” Church, but claimed instead (even if it was not entirely true) that all were part of universal Catholicism. Both Protestants (divided into distinct Churches and

¹⁵ Anna Peterson notes that 1977 marked a turning point in the level of violence directed against Catholic clergy in El Salvador. Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion: Progressive Catholicism in El Salvador's Civil War* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997) 63.

¹⁶ Jean Franco, “Killing Priests, Nuns, Women, and Children,” in *Critical Passions* (Durham: Duke University Press).

denominations) and contemporary Non-governmental organizations seem to be placed in a much more competitive situation. They must compete with each other for “members” (whether parishioners or participants in projects) and for funding (whether from national churches or international aid agencies). This element of competition might make it more difficult for them to develop the kind of “movement” that appeared to evolve from progressive Catholicism.

Some have suggested, “progressive Catholicism,” should never have been described as a social movement because it represented just a small segment of Catholicism.¹⁷ By virtue of their ability to claim the mantle of Catholicism, however, and in doing so link with other progressive Catholics internationally as well as within Central and South America, advocates of Liberation Theology did gain the appearance of a movement. Moreover, it would seem impossible to disregard the impact they did have within Central and South America and internationally in the 1970s and 1980s.

If the Maryknoll movement is representative, however, it seems that this impact would dissipate by the 1980s. In the era following the Second Vatican Council, Maryknoll embarked on an irreversible decline, characterized by a dramatic reduction in the number of men and women entering Maryknoll and a decline in funding for the organization. The results of this change are evident in a 1993 survey meant to determine the readership of *Maryknoll*. 52 percent of those who responded to the survey were 65 years of age or older. Some of the readers’ comments offer insight into how American Catholicism had changed from Maryknoll’s peak years in the 1940s and 1950s to the present. The apparent homogeneity of the religion had been replaced by a heterogeneity that would seem necessarily to undermine the mission movement. Some readers simply

¹⁷ Burdick, *Looking for God*.

carried forward a tradition of supporting Maryknoll as they had done in their youth. As one man representative of an older generation observed:

I first became exposed to the Maryknoll mission as a young soldier in the Far East during the Korean War. I respect what they do and feel that whatever small contribution I have made monthly for the many years I have given, will be used to help those less fortunate than myself. I began giving in fulfillment of a vow I had made some twenty years ago. Since I am only an occasional reader of the magazine I cannot in all fairness comment on it.¹⁸

Another older reader, apparently dissatisfied with changes in Maryknoll decried the magazine's perspective noting that:

Maryknoll is unable to comprehend that people can love Christ simply through simple faith. Maryknoll equates love of Christ with social action, left-wing, liberal, socialistic, neo-Communist social action. I wonder how much Maryknoll believes in Catholic doctrine unless it is socially-oriented. Prayer, contemplation, meditation have no place in Maryknoll's work. Just social action, that's all!¹⁹

A more succinctly stated version of a similar complaint noted simply: "Clean up the Order!!! Go back to Roman Catholicism."²⁰ Ironically, while contemplation had been part of the Maryknoll movement, the emphasis had always been on social action. The form of that action had changed as the missionaries' concluded that they could not promote an American ideal which did not exist.

Other readers seemed to appreciate Maryknoll's efforts to make the country's Catholics aware of their government's actions as one older reader observed:

I have enjoyed its commitment to peace and justice. It has been a disturbing magazine to some (according to the Letters to the Editor) but truth must be told and that is what you have done. Jesus said, 'Love one another'. That isn't practiced by torture, killing, or war.

¹⁸ Maryknoll Magazine 1993 Readership Study. 22. Provided by Steve DeMott, M.M.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 54.

We, as a nation, will live to regret our military involvement in Central American countries and in other parts of the world where we've supported military dictatorships.

If letters from an older generation of readers revealed fragmentation, those of a younger generation were hardly evident. Only 13 percent of the respondents to the survey were under the age of 44. The few comments that appear from readers under the age of 44 also are revealing. One writer notes that she is married and expresses interest Maryknoll's lay mission work.²¹ Two others appear to be politically active, or at least interested, as one describes himself as a community organizer and another suggests that: ". . . The best improvement you could make would be to walk El Papa Juan Pablo into retirement and replace him with a Maryknoll sister."²² Finally another respondent's comments suggest that the appeal to adventure and heroism that had been Maryknoll's hallmark in the 1940s, might not serve as well in contemporary society. This reader observed that "I think about how wonderful it would be to participate in a mission, but getting past the ruggedness of it would be repulsive to me. I don't even like to go camping."²³ Although these same sentiments were surely felt if not expressed by an earlier generation there were a sufficient number of Catholics for whom the sacrifice and potential for martyrdom were not only not repulsive, but were compelling that the Maryknoll mission movement could and did flourish.

Today the Maryknoll Center appears abandoned. The vast grounds and large buildings are well-maintained, but one encounters few missionaries and virtually no seminarians or novices. The sense of vacuity is enhanced upon entering the main

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

seminary building. A lone receptionist sits in front of an antiquated switchboard answering the occasional call. Strolling through the vast, darkened hallways one might encounter a solitary retired missionary ambling along to the library or dining hall. Although they no longer wear cassocks or collars, these men seem still to bear an indelible mark identifying them as priests. A trip downstairs to the first floor reveals row upon row of individual altars, where during Maryknoll's heyday in the 1950s, young seminarians waited their turn to practice the Sacred Ritual of Mass. Recently, proposals have been made to transform these altars into a storage facility for Maryknoll archives, since documents and publications far outnumber seminarians. Many missionaries have protested what seems to them a final degradation. They maintain the hope that the resurgence in mission interest they have been awaiting will come and these altars and hallways will again be filled with enthusiastic, young seminarians.

A stroll across the road takes one to the Maryknoll convent. In contrast to the priests who enjoyed the opportunity to offer mass and use sermons as an opportunity to supplicate parishioners for support, the nuns had to find other means (often less successful) of fundraising. The differences in means translated into a disparity of funds, such that the Sisters' center is haphazardly constructed, giving the appearance of new wings and sections being added as necessity dictated and finance allowed. The result is an exterior with a series of seemingly separate buildings joined together by glass hallways and a maize-like interior. In the 1950s, when the last additions were constructed, the number of novices was so great they could hardly be contained in the confines of the building. Hallways were transformed into rooms with beds so close as to make it nearly impossible to walk round them without brushing against the curtains

separating one bed from another. Today the Convent is home to elderly returned missionaries, many of whom continue to work in “home mission” by assisting their own aged Sisters or impoverished citizens of the United States.

As was always true, the number of Maryknoll missionaries is disproportionate to their influence. For “liberal” Catholics Maryknoll represents the ideal of clergy acting according to the mandates of their faith by taking the option for the poor and decrying abuse by elites. For “conservative” Catholics, Maryknoll represents a betrayal of faith in which clergy have become “Communists.” In either case Maryknollers, despite their declining numbers, continue to play an important role in the American Catholic ideal and to illustrate how this ideal became wedded to its Southern neighbor.

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