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Abstract

This thesis explores the transformation which has occurred in Roman Catholic missionaries’ conceptions of their hosts and themselves between 1890 and 1990. Through the delineation and contextualization of the ethos which prevailed in missionary circles at the beginning and at the end of this period -- the one definitively losing its ascendancy to the other in the 1960s -- this thesis demonstrates that the distance separating missionaries and their hosts has narrowed dramatically. In 1890 most missionaries believed that the religiocultural systems in which they worked were wastelands in comparison with their own and that the sooner they could be harmonized with western norms the better it would be. In 1990 most missionaries believed that the religiocultural systems in which they worked contained great riches and that as much could be learned from their hosts as could be imparted to them, if not more. Equality, once based on uniformity, is now acknowledged in diversity. Underlying these changes has been the evolving character of the religious and secular worlds in which missionaries have lived, the cardinal feature of which has been the erosion of a Eurocentric model of human existence. In sum, this thesis, which integrates Latin America into a global pattern of missionary thought and action, illuminates the ethos of missionaries past and present and the foundation on which each has rested.
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Introduction

The Roman Catholic Church has sent forth missionaries since its inception two millennia ago. Although the adherents it has won through this practice have never constituted more than a small percentage of the population of the globe, its reach has been wide. In this it has been faithful to the will of its founder, who told his apostles on taking leave of them to "Go into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature." The contents of the gospel have not changed, but the ethos or, in the terminology of the Annalistes, the mentalité of the men and women who have disseminated it has. An evangelical concern, common to every epoch, for the spiritual and material welfare of man has been expressed in many ways because missionaries have defined themselves and their hosts in many ways. This, in turn, can be attributed to the shifting imperatives of the environment in which they have operated. Alien reliigiocultural systems have, therefore, been viewed in an essentially positive light by some missionaries and in an essentially negative light by others. If there have been those who have deemed their hosts thralls of Satan, there have been those who have deemed their hosts heirs of Christ, albeit unconscious ones. Depending, in short, on the ethos which has animated them, itself a measure of the times in which they have lived, missionaries have established great distances and small -- conceptually and, ipso facto,
practically -- between their hosts and themselves.

The last 100 years have witnessed a gradual but profound alteration in this distance, mirroring a marked fluidity in the religious and secular worlds. "Today," a bishop prominent in missionary circles stated in 1968, "we are experiencing an acceleration of history which means that the changes which in the past happened in the Church over the course of centuries now take place in a decade. In the past changes did not impinge on the consciousness of the members of the Church. Only the historians knew about them. But now the changes are happening within our own lifetime and we have to adapt our psychology accordingly." This missionaries have done, and while these men and women have not been equally flexible, one ethos has, in the final analysis, lost its primacy to another. In 1890 they were more likely than not to regard their hosts as benighted children and themselves as enlightened adults. In 1990 they were more likely than not to regard their hosts and themselves as pupils and teachers of one another. Much of what they depreciated in favour of their own pattern of existence a century ago, they uphold at its expense today, for the peoples in their care, once widely thought to be imprisoned in the natural order, are now widely thought to embody a supernatural dynamic. Saviours were felt to be essential in the one case. Witnesses are felt to be essential in the other. Missionaries did not love their
hosts more or less in 1890 than in 1990, but a sentiment which was once primarily engendered by pity is now primarily engendered by respect.

This change in ethos has carried missionaries and their hosts from a state of maximal to a state of minimal polarity. In essence, it constitutes a movement from an unequal to an equal relationship on an individual plane and from a dualistic to a holistic community on a collective plane. The object of this thesis is to elucidate this transformation. It will do so by delineating and contextualizing the ethos which was ascendant in 1890 and the ethos which was ascendant in 1990, ethoses which, between them, dominated the intervening century. In keeping with the twofold nature of its subject, this thesis will consist of two parts. Before turning to the first of them, however, the outline presented here must be qualified in a number of respects.

Firstly, while the scope of this thesis is international, reflecting the catholic character of the Church, it devotes particular attention to Latin America. This area of the world has been nominally Catholic for centuries, but missionaries have always considered it to be a worthy field of endeavour, and between 1890 and 1990, thousands made it their home. Indeed, in 1967, there were more Canadians stationed in Latin America than on any other continent. It was in this year that the initial groundwork
was laid for the mission which forms the focal point of the second part of this thesis. Established in the Peruvian community of Victoria Nueva by the Archdiocese of Halifax and the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul of Halifax, the parish of San José Obrero is exemplary of the ethos which currently holds sway in a preponderance of missions.

Secondly, this thesis will not and, given the nature of its evidential base, cannot speak for every missionary. The Church has never been a monolithic entity, even at its most ultramontane, and the peoples of Europe and North America, from whom missionaries have typically been drawn, have never formed a seamless civilization, potent though this concept has been. Neither of the ethoses under consideration has ever been universally subscribed to, though the complaints of critics are themselves a testament to the predominance each has enjoyed. Thus, when missionaries are mentioned in this thesis, it is only to the ethos of the majority that reference is being made, bearing in mind that today’s majority was yesterday’s minority and vice versa.

Thirdly, while it clear that the period this thesis spans has been distinguished by the decline of one ethos and the rise of another, it is impossible to pinpoint the moment at which the weight of missionary opinion tipped the scales in favour of the new over the old. For analytical purposes a clear line must be drawn between them, but to affix a date
to it would be arbitrary and, therefore, inappropriate. What can be said with certainty, however, is that the postwar era in general and the tumultuous 1960s in particular constitute a decisive turning point in the manner in which missionaries have defined themselves and their hosts.

Fourthly, this thesis does not contain an imputation that of the two ethoses which have prevailed in the last 100 years, one has been superior. Each has been a product of its times, and it is within the parameters of its times that each must be scrutinized. Only by immersing oneself in the epochs which have cradled one’s subjects is it possible to do justice to them, avoiding the danger of viewing the world through the eyes of those who conform to one’s norms. If one were to venture a judgement, one could do so fairly only with reference to what has transpired between, not within, epochs. An example may make this distinction clearer. It would be unfair to state that the missionaries of 1890 were less worthy than the missionaries of 1990 because certain racial prejudices were harboured by the former and eschewed by the latter. To do so would be to suggest that colourblindness is a constant ethical standard. What it would be fair to state, however, is that the diminution of racism among missionaries is a positive development.

In closing, a word about the bibliography on which this thesis rests is in order. The mission in Victoria Nueva has
furnished a wealth of primary material, chief among which is the oral testimony of ten men and women who have, in various capacities, been associated with it. The information which has been gathered in this quarter is merely illustrative, however, for the ethoses which form the subject of this thesis are explicated through a broad range of published sources. In addition to missionary literature, of which there is an abundance, they include collections of ecclesiastical documents, theological works, books and periodicals of general interest to the laity and the clergy, and, last but not least, other histories. Interestingly, it appears that a comprehensive analysis of the Church's missionary activity in the twentieth century has yet to be undertaken. Indeed, The Encyclopedia of Religion goes so far as to say that "No satisfactory history of Roman Catholic missions exists." What follows, it is hoped, will help to fill this lacuna.
The Era of the Saviour

From earth's dark, cruel places,
From many a weary one,
The cry is 'Come and help us,
Who grope as in the night,
Our eyes are blind and sightless,
0 show us the true light.

Missionary Hymn,
The Book of Common Praise, 1938

Without a sense of utility, without the consoling conviction that their work possesses some material or spiritual value, missionaries would find it difficult to function. This state of mind, characteristic of missionaries of every epoch, should not be confused with a durable but discontinuous belief in the superiority of their religiocultural system and the inferiority of their hosts'. It was this belief which lay at the heart of the ethos which animated the men and women who stand on the far side of the ideological divide presented in this thesis. In their eyes the faith they had been commissioned to propagate was to non-Christian religions, to the idiosyncratic Catholicism of Latin America -- where, in the parlance of the time, millions of individuals were "more pagan than Christian" -- and to other Christian communions what day is to night. The civilization in which their faith was enshrined, the vitality of which was evident from its inexorable march around the globe, was also exalted to the detriment of others. The abbreviated lifespan of the generality of missionaries is a sombre testament to the hardships they
endured, but however bleak their circumstances, they could rejoice in their birthright and lament its absence in their hosts.

Virtue, which was defined in their terms, was treated in a proprietary fashion, as an orientation which had, on the whole, to be instilled rather than evoked in the peoples in their care. Even in the 1930s, when, on every continent, there were long-standing contacts between missionaries and their hosts, the very existence of such righteousness was an open question. In 1936, at the Second Session of the Semaines d'Études Missionnaires du Canada, a report asked, "Le palen est-il capable de vertu?," and though the missionary who authored it concluded that natural, as opposed to supernatural, virtues could be found in him, he acknowledged that "chez les infidèles les vertus humaines soient toujours défectueuses par quelque côté, soit dans leur motif, dans leur extension ou leur mode."e Missionaries were not blind to their shortcomings, but these limitations were felt to be minor in comparison with those of the peoples in their care, subject, as they were adjudged to be, to evils which crippled the spirit and corrupted the flesh. Missionaries were convinced that, thanks to the gospel, they and the millions of Catholics of whom they were the vanguard were uniquely equipped to be masters of the earth and instruments of heaven and, as such, arbiters of what was truly human and divine. In the certainty that they
alone held the keys to a complete existence, they could not but heed the figurative cries of the multitudes outside their gates and confer their worldly and otherworldly treasures on them. As Elias Manning, an American missionary based in Brazil, stated in retrospect, "We came with the idea that we only have something to give -- a real intellectual and cultural paternalism -- and nothing to learn."

It had not always been so. The seventeenth century, for example, was notable for the deference missionaries could and did show to their hosts. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in 1622 to oversee the missionary activity of the Church, dedicated itself to the formation of indigenous Christian communities in which missionaries would adapt themselves to the customs of the peoples in their care rather than the other way around. Figures like Matteo Ricci and Roberto de Nobili went to great lengths to make the gospel as reflective of its Chinese and Indian milieux as it was reflective, in their homeland, of its Italian. It was in the creation of the first and, for some two and a half centuries, the last bishop of Chinese and Indian origin in the history of the Church, however, that this ideal took its most powerful form. The elasticity which was exhibited in these years was not uncontroversial, and, as time passed, its opponents grew in influence. In 1742 and 1744 Benedict XIV unequivocally
condemned the rites through which Ricci and Nobili had orientalized Catholicism, seeing in them a contamination rather than an enrichment of the body he headed.

"The first great attempt at 'accommodation' had failed," writes Stephen Neill of this episode. "Rome had ruled that Roman practice, exactly as it was at Rome, was to be in every detail the law for the missions. This was to govern Roman Catholic missionary practice for the next two hundred years." When the century compassed in this thesis opened, the belief that one religiocultural system could and should serve as a universal model was as strong as ever. The proper role of missionaries at this juncture was spelt out by Leo XIII in 1894 in an encyclical to the bishops of Peru. In urging that more missionaries be sent to this country's Indians, he noted of the former, "These men do not yield to flesh and blood, but leaving their brothers behind, do everything to win souls for Christ, to bring civilized culture and gentle manners to a barbarous people, and to dispel the darkness of ignorance, so that they may receive a place among those sanctified by faith." It is to the ethos these words exemplified, an ethos which interposed a formidable distance between missionaries and their hosts, that this thesis now turns in detail.

The Nature of Religiocultural Inequality

The division of the world into haves and have-nots, in the broadest sense of these words, was not the invention of
missionaries, for the monopolization of religiocultural values on which it was predicated sprang from a Zeitgeist which pervaded Europe and North America. Missionaries, standing at the point where West met East and North met South, gave strong voice to this dichotomy, but its existence depended on pillars far greater than themselves, namely, on the Church and the State of which they were a part. The formative influence these bodies had on their ethos will be discussed in turn. That exerted by the Church will be dealt with first. Religious inequality -- to set its cultural facet aside for a moment -- was rooted in a belief that the Church of Rome and the Church of Christ were identical, that is to say, that the constitutive elements of the holy, catholic, and apostolic Church of the Nicene Creed were to be found in the body presided over by the pope and nowhere else. Non-Christian religions were, ipso facto, false, and other Christian communions, together with the idiosyncratic Catholicism of Latin America, were riddled with defects.

Paolo Manna, a highly regarded missionary of the time, was acting on this premise when he averred that "the Catholic Church alone has the mission of leading all men along the road of salvation. Neither Protestant missionaries nor those sent by other dissenting and separated churches have any authority to preach and evangelize. . . . Truth is but one, and the Catholic Church
is the sole depository of this truth."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Church should look upon itself as complete in every way, as the beginning and the end of man's search for God rather than as a traveller on this journey. What lay beyond its walls was impure, and what lay within them was inviolate, leaving scanty room for institutional adaptation and the receptivity to things unfamiliar implicit in it. Permanence, not relevance to time and place, was the pride of the Church. In the words of one Catholic theologian: "it is the Roman Catholic Church which is the final stage of the kingdom of God on earth" and "the society which stands in firm opposition to the kingdom of Satan and which counts no allies in this opposition." The Church had many sinners in its midst, but it chose to dwell on its perfection, what the First Vatican Council, held from 1869 to 1870, lauded as its "marvellous extension, its eminent holiness, and its inexhaustible fruitfulness in every good thing."

Interwoven with this complacency was an isolation fostered partly from without and partly from within the Catholic fold, an isolation symbolized by the self-imprisonment of Pius IX following the fall of Rome to the onslaught of Italian nationalism. That part of the world which did not bear the Vatican's stamp -- and it was by far the greater part -- was viewed with antipathy, turning the Church into a reactive rather than an active
player on the international stage. Its opposition to the separation of Church and State was a manifestation of this sometimes justified and sometimes unjustified antagonism. Under these circumstances, the Church can be likened to a redoubtable fortress or a celestial city, but, perhaps, the most evocative image comes from the pen of the Catholic theologian, William Frazier, for whom it approximated a sanctuary. "A sanctuary," in his words, "is a place of refuge situated in a hostile environment, which justifies its existence by bringing men into its premises in order to protect and nourish them. For a long time, the Church conceived itself more or less in this way, as a kind of sacred vessel or receptacle possessed of saving resources not available, or at least not readily available, beyond its visible circumference. The mission of this Church was to extend its unique riches to all men by laboring to contain all men."  

From the standpoint of the Church, then, the world was divided into two antithetical religious camps -- one composed of people who followed its teachings and one composed of people who did not -- camps between which there could be no equality. The duty of missionaries was to serve as a human bridge between them, not in order to facilitate a common search for new levels of fraternity and sanctity but in order to effect the unconditional conversion of one party. The end to which all missionary activity was
directed was the salvation of souls from the manifold miseries which were thought to beset them in the here and now and, it was feared, in the hereafter. It was the fate awaiting their hosts in death rather than in life which was of primary concern to missionaries, for while the justification of individuals who were invincibly ignorant of the Church but implicitly wished to belong to it was not considered to be an impossibility, neither was it considered to be a certainty. As Pius XII, writing in 1943, observed, theirs was a "state in which they cannot be sure of their salvation. For even though by an unconscious desire and longing they have a certain relationship with the Mystical Body of the Redeemer, they still remain deprived of those many heavenly gifts and helps which can only be enjoyed in the Catholic Church."¹⁴ Unaided, their prospects were not, in sum, regarded as rosy.

The snares of Satan were, in fact, detected at every turn, intensifying the distinctions between missionaries and their hosts. It was his dominion, both actual and potential, which missionaries believed themselves to be eroding when they proclaimed the gospel. "Perhaps you may laugh that I dare exhort you to embrace the life of the foreign missions," wrote one. "Laugh if you wish, but remember that the devil also will laugh if Catholic priests do not go there. Laugh if you wish, but the day will come when you will see these idolaters weeping eternal tears."¹⁵
"Gaze on these miserable savages," wrote another, "scattered over the plains, the sport of the grossest superstitions, and in danger of being precipitated into the abyss of Hell, where for all eternity, the Evil One reigns supreme!" In an encyclical to the bishops of Latin America, issued in 1912, Pius X called for an increase in missionary activity in order to "deliver the Indians, where their need is greatest, from the slavery of Satan," demonstrating that the threat he posed was taken seriously at the centre as well as on the fringes of the Church. Against this backdrop, it is not to be wondered at that missionaries saw little to admire in their hosts and much to compassionate.

Since communication between the "children of light" and the "children of darkness" was confined to an exposition of the perfection of the former’s creed and the delinquency of the latter’s, and since this exercise had no other point than to increase the ranks of the faithful and decrease the ranks of the faithless, the process by which the gospel was spread assumed the complexion of a military operation. Missionaries looked upon themselves and were looked upon by their apologists as valiant soldiers whose mission consisted of conquering and, thus, saving all who did not acknowledge the Church as their mother. Martial analogies abounded. In the passionate words of Bishop Patrick Donahue of Wheeling: "an order has gone forth to us, and will go from this night, 'Forward the Light Brigade!'" And we know when we charge,
even to our death, that no one has blundered . . . , for the order was given and is a standing mandate for these nineteen centuries down, to go forth and capture the fortresses of infidelity and error and sin, and to teach all nations the faith of Jesus Christ." There was a distinctly imperialistic tone to missionary rhetoric, complete with a jingoism as bellicose as that of any temporal power. The scramble for Africa and the rivalry inherent in this exercise was recreated on a global scale and over a protracted period by an army of missionaries resolved on extending the sway of Christ and his vicar to the ends of the earth in the teeth of an equally determined host of Protestant proselytizers.

The battle cry of Richard Sykes, Prefect Apostolic of Zambesi, was not atypical. It is a testament to the breadth and, simultaneously, the narrowness of the vision of the missionaries of this epoch, fitting representatives of a body which, in its earthly form, styled itself the Church Militant. "There is only one kind of imperialism which really counts," he stated, "and that is the imperialism of the Catholic Church; which knows no boundaries but the limits of the world. . . . It is time that there was a great awakening on a most momentous matter that will not wait -- time that the conscience of the whole Catholic world should be aroused to the fact that, if the Catholic Church will not enter into its inheritance, the sects will and filch from
her that which is hers. It is time that the Fiery Cross should be carried round the world and that every town and village and countryside should be summoned to prepare its horse, foot and artillery and move against the enemy, paganism, in its many forms." Thus, centuries after the conquest of Latin America, when, according to The Catholic Encyclopedia of 1911, "the triumphant march of Castile's banner was also the glorious advance of the sign of the Saviour," missionaries marched boldly into strange societies and, condemning what they found, called on their inhabitants to accept the gospel. The terms drawn up by these unarmed conquistadores were far more comprehensive than this surrender might suggest, however, for the faith they introduced to the peoples in their care was steeped in the culture of Europe and North America and, as a result, was at odds with the entire pattern of existence on which it obtruded.

The cultural facet of the inequality missionaries deemed to exist between their hosts and themselves can be traced to this failure to distinguish the kernel of Catholicism from the husk, a failure seen in their propensity, as Cardinal Stephen Kim of Seoul phrased it, "to reject arbitrarily the culture of the mission country as pagan and less than human while at the same time imposing on converts, as integral parts of faith or the good news, elements which were really only accidental expressions of
European culture." If the Church of Rome considered its boundaries to be coterminous with those of the Church as it was divinely conceived and ordained to be, it also identified them with the expansive frontiers of western civilization, closing the minds of missionaries to the abundant good which was present elsewhere in the world. As the distinguished Catholic writer, Hilaire Belloc, put it, "the Faith is Europe and Europe is the Faith." Indeed, taking this relationship another step, the Church portrayed itself as the font from which the culture of Europe and North America sprang. Sin's handiwork apart, there was nothing which could not be said to owe its origin to the gospel and, thus, nothing which could not be justly disseminated in its name.

"What is known as 'European civilization' is not a racial or national but an ecclesiastical and Christian inheritance and development," an examination of the propriety of transplanting the cultures of missionaries' homelands concluded. "The Church is not occidental just because the Occident haply is Christian. Consequently the Church does not need to be deoccidentalized in order that the Orient be Christianized." Omitted from this treatise was any reference to the Churches in communion with Rome, the oriental character of which might be thought to have prevented such exclusiveness. However, Uniate Catholics, who not until 1917 were given a congregation -- an
were considered to be oddities rather than adherents of rites of equal status with the Latin rite. Only in 1946, for example, did a cardinal from the East, the Armenian Patriarch, make bold to wear his native garb in Rome, so entrenched were the forces of a Eurocentric conformity.

The deposit of faith, the systemized truths which constitute the eternal and universal core of Catholicism, could not be separated from its voluminous clothing, with the result that other modes of dress, even in nonessentials, were looked upon askance. The Gregorian chant was destined to replace the beat of the tom-tom, and nondescript school uniforms, costumes of singular design. In 1967 Adrian Hastings, an authority on the Church in Africa, described the legacy of these policies. Of Africa's Church, he wrote, "Her teaching has been almost universally expressed in Western scholastic formulas, her liturgy has not been adapted at all, her churches are full of cheap European art of the poorest type, her hymnology is a hotch-potch of popular melodies picked up from the missionaries' homelands, her development has been constantly fettered by the canon law and types of Church structure which were worked out for long-established Churches in western Europe." What is now regarded with dissatisfaction was once, of course, regarded with composure. This fact must not be held against the missionaries of the past, for they were as anxious to
unfetter their hosts as the missionaries of the present. What sets them apart are their concepts of freedom, not their dedication to this ideal.

The distance separating missionaries and their hosts took a tangible form in the missions of this epoch. Generally referred to as the foreign missions, these entities were treated less as integral yet unique components of the Church than as satellites in orbit around it. Their lineaments were determined in Europe and North America, for, insofar as it was feasible, they were designed to recreate the religiocultural system of their founders rather than permeate the religiocultural system of their constituents. The conditions in which missionaries lived often differed little from those of their hosts, but this was not considered to be a sound long-term arrangement. Missionaries believed that the process of raising the peoples in their care from so great a depth to so great a height was best accomplished in elaborate rural and urban compounds, redolent of the mores and crowded with the products of their homelands. In these islands of civility and Catholicity -- two sides, it was maintained, of a single coin -- the converted were insulated from the unconverted, straining or severing familial and communal ties which could have been preserved with a minimum of dislocation had missionaries been conditioned to be more critical of themselves and less critical of their hosts.
The advent of missionaries could, thus, be said to represent an end as much as a beginning. Baptism, the entree to their world, conferred a new persona on its recipients, marking a rupture between an ignoble past and a noble future rather than a significant step on a divinely graced continuum. That this sacrament was implicitly endowed with a much wider significance than its theological meaning denotes is evident from the observations of a Jesuit who toured the missions of southern Africa in the 1930s. "Natives," he wrote, "are very apt to think of baptism as an introduction into the white man's life, and seek it from anyone who will provide it and scorn those who have not got it." The task confronting missionaries was conceptualized not in terms of expanding the potentiality of an inviolable whole but in terms of constructing new men and women. Missions were the laboratories in which this problematic process took place. David Ratermann, who, in 1956, joined two colleagues in founding the first mission in Latin America to be sponsored by an American diocese, was one of the many missionaries who sought to mould their hosts in their image. "I thought of the church in the States as being a pretty darn good church, vigorous, flourishing," he recalled. "I thought of the church in Latin America as being impoverished and weak in many ways. My initial sense of direction, priority, was that I thought the church should develop and become like the church in the United States."
Very honestly I have gone 180 degrees on this. It is a basic fallacy to think of the church as having to be born and develop in one area by a plan that has been the history of development in another. . . . I think now it sounds awful to say, but I think we were trying to make North American Catholics out of these people.”

Self-reproach of this nature is a product of hindsight, and so it must be understood, but criticism of the missionary activity of the past is by no means new. The ethos which generated it was not shared by everyone. Although their voices carried little weight before the postwar era, there were men and women who argued that the universality the Church embodied in principle could not be reconciled with the particularity it exhibited in practice. What they saw as the negative consequences of presenting the gospel in a European and North American form were pointed out. One article, for example, established a trenchant connection between the nationalistic quality of missionary activity and the modest results, quantitatively speaking, it was achieving. It was noted that "quite often, probably, it is not so much a conflict between national aspirations on the part of the persons to be evangelized and Catholicism that operates to limit the effectiveness of our missionary efforts, as it is a conflict between the national aspirations of the missionaries and of the persons to be converted.” After an enumeration of various instances in
which the foreignness of the Church’s message prevented its acceptance, including a case in which French missionaries in Syria were mobilized to suppress an uprising against the mandatory -- setting back their work incalculably -- the conclusion was reached that "we have a European Church exercising certain spheres of influence in China -- Japan, India, Africa -- rather than a native Catholic Chinese Church manned by Chinese priests, governed by Chinese bishops, supported by a Chinese laity." 27

The price of admission to missions was, indeed, a high one, demanding, as it did, that so much of the known be abandoned and so much of the unknown be embraced. Some declined to pay this price, and where, as in China, xenophobia was strong, missions became an object of violent attacks. The distance between missionaries and their hosts was here at its most apparent. Others agreed to pay this price, for, apart from the attraction of the gospel in and of itself, missions offered a benign means of learning the ways of the white man at a time when the white man could not be withstood. The distance between missionaries and their hosts was here at its least apparent. Yet, it existed. As long as missions were run from top to bottom by European and North American Catholics, converts could only feel completely at home in them by becoming European and North American Catholics, and, without exceptional internal and external resources, this feat was beyond their power. Even
had they been able to overcome the distinctions which cast them in the role of children and missionaries in the role of adults, they would have had to surmount the colour bar. The racism exhibited by missionaries evoked protective rather than exploitative instincts, but its effect was segregative. White and black may have been considered to be indistinguishable in the sight of God, but, in many cases, separate pews and, indeed, separate churches were assigned to them. Equality without a place for diversity was, in a word, illusory.

The inability of their hosts to emulate them fully justified missionaries in maintaining themselves in positions of authority long after self-reliant churches should have begun to coalesce. It is remarkable that there were as many native priests as there were in this epoch, for while the importance of forming an indigenous clergy was undisputed, missionaries saw this as a lengthy process in which they would hold a dominant place for an indefinite number of years. "As far as possible," Manna stated, "the young aspirants to the priesthood in the missions are chosen from families that have two or three generations of Catholic blood in their veins. . . . It is not easy to eradicate the poison of so many centuries of paganism from the hearts of the neophytes. It is equally difficult for them to appreciate and to acquire the virtue, the zeal, the detachment from the world that are necessary in the
sacerdotal state." Taking 1921, the date this work was published, as a reference point, the guidelines Manna enunciated would have deprived a newly evangelized area of the services of a native son until the twenty-first century. Candidates who passed muster were typically given subordinate occupations, further postponing the day when they could expect to stand on an equal footing with their mentors. "I know in our times of an African major seminary," Hastings noted, "in which, not so many years ago, during the canon law course, the section on parish priests was simply omitted with the remark 'None of you will ever be parish priests!' Only the section on curates was to be treated."  

So little faith did missionaries place in their proteges that Pius XI, who took a deep-seated interest in their work, was moved to chide them publicly. In an encyclical to the bishops of the world, issued in 1926, he directed the following words to the prefects and vicars apostolic who, together, oversaw the bulk of the Church's missionary activity: "From the fact that the Roman Pontiff has entrusted to you and to your assistants the task of preaching the Christian religion to pagan nations, you ought not to conclude that the role of the native clergy is merely one of assisting the missionaries in minor matters, of merely following up and completing their work. . . . How can the Church among the heathens be developed today unless it
be built of those very elements out of which our own churches were built; that is to say, unless it be made up of people, clergy, and religious orders of men and women recruited from the native populations of the several regions? Why should the native clergy be forbidden to cultivate their own portion of the Lord’s vineyard, be forbidden to govern their own people?" Thanks to strongly worded representations of this kind, missionaries grudgingly began to cede authority to their auxiliaries. When, for example, Pius XI wished to elevate natives to the Chinese episcopate, the country’s principal missionaries informed his representative that no one was qualified to fill this office, but when pressed, they found six men who, in 1926, were consecrated in St. Peter’s Basilica, underscoring their new autonomy. Such steps, however, only addressed a symptom, albeit an important one, of the apotheosis of the religiocultural system missionaries represented. A comprehensive course of treatment was not deemed necessary until the postwar era.

In 1945, on the eve of Indian independence and the process of decolonization it set in train, Archbishop Thomas Roberts of Bombay declared that the "reproach must be removed that Christianity in India is not only of Western origin, but a Western thing in its very composition, in its essence." It was, in fact, only at the eleventh hour, when missionaries saw that power was about to pass from the
hands of their countrymen to the hands of their hosts, that they began to re-evaluate their relationship with the peoples in their care, opening their ears to voices other than their own. This change was not confined to colonial areas, for it resonated at the close of the 1960s in Latin America, where, in a context of falling American prestige, the Church missionaries had come to revivify asserted its individuality. Pluralism, long frowned upon, came to be seen at the lowest and the highest ecclesiastical level as a vital component of a Christian order, though the question of how much variety is optimal continues to be debated. These developments will be explored in the second half of this thesis, but they are touched on here to illustrate the important part the State has played in shaping the ethos of missionaries. The empires in whose shadows they stood were regarded not only as a concomitant of the dominion they were forging, but as a legitimation of it. The State as well as the Church proclaimed the inequality of the worlds to which missionaries and their hosts belonged, for both bodies assumed and exercised the right to push the frontiers of western civilization outward, regardless of the loss of identity it entailed for the individuals who fell within their ambit. The sanction of the State was more potent than this, however, for while religious leaders could only ask that they be given free rein in foreign lands, secular leaders could demand it. Until the protective carapace of
Europe and North America crumbled, missionaries had little incentive to be anything other than what they were at home.

The global extension of European and North American influence in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth was, thus, an unprecedented validation of and foundation for missionaries' religiocultural chauvinism. In the age of imperialism, an era secure in the conviction that "great empires are as much a necessity of our time as are huge mercantile companies"34, the notion that one shoe could and should fit everyone, no matter what their religiocultural measurements, appeared more realistic than ever before. The unity of the Roman Empire, so conducive to the spread of Christianity, seemed to find a new incarnation as independent peoples were subjugated, inaccessible lands were penetrated and stripped of their mystery, and societies, long closed to foreigners, were shaken to their foundations. Provided they took place in a loosely Christian atmosphere, these events were welcomed by missionaries, who saw in them the prelude to the material and spiritual regeneration of the world. If the white man was king, so, perforce, was the Christian. Even the Church's oldest enemy appeared to be in disarray in the interwar years. "Take Islamism -- once so feared and so threatening," marvelled Alexandre Le Roy, superior general of the Holy Ghost Fathers. "Wounded and weakened in the person of the Great Turk, it has lost its supremacy over
Tripoli, Egypt, the Islands of the Aegean Sea, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Armenia. Constantinople itself will perhaps become the common property of Christian powers. Things that our fathers would never have dreamed of coming to pass, we see happening before our very eyes. Therefore, we can say with St. Paul, *A great door has been opened for the Gospel of Christ.*

The equation of the demise of the Ottoman Empire with the demise of Islam was symptomatic of a general identification of political and religious paramountcy. The union of Church and State -- typified by the *real patronato de las Indias* -- which had distinguished the first stage of European expansion was a thing of the past, but the ties uniting missionaries and their homelands' agents continued to be strong. In the words of Heinz Gollwitzer: "Missionary history -- especially in the Far East but also in Africa and other non-European areas -- offers numerous examples of a community of interests and action between missions of all faiths and the imperialist policies of the European states." While missionaries did not always see eye to eye with their countrymen and while they were prepared to cross swords with them on behalf of the peoples in their care, there was an awareness on the part of each party that, overall, they had more in common than not, an awareness that even when their interests did not overlap, the same flag flew above their operations and the same God watched over
their designs. Missionaries viewed themselves as the guardians of all that was worthy in the march of Europe and North America to greatness, and though many of their compatriots would have accorded them a less exalted place in this movement, few would have attached no value to their presence. Charles Lavigerie, founder of the White Fathers, who rose to the rank of Primate of Africa, told his missionaries that they were working both for the Church and for France, one of many patriotic utterances which found a fitting answer in Leon Gambetta's declaration that "anti-clericalism, Monsignor, is for France; it isn't for export."  

Instances of this meeting of minds abounded, underscoring the fact that missionaries saw their natural partners not in their hosts but in their countrymen. An official of the Church of Scotland devoted an entire volume to the blessings conferred by missions on the British Empire and to the services rendered to them by it in return. Without missions, he wrote, "how changed the Empire on which we look! It shrinks in very area. Uganda, Nyasaland and many another smaller land, drop from out the map. They are now coloured other than red, for they are not British. Missions brought them in, and if missions vanish so also do their valued dowries." Conversely, "no chaos, caused by warring tribes, has been suffered to extinguish in any Empire-area the light of the Christian religion. The Pax
Britannica has helped the on-coming of the Pax Christi."

In the same vein, Germany's acquisition of China's Kiaochow Bay in 1898 was a source of immense satisfaction to missionaries and governmental officials alike. In addition to "the general furthering of our political and economic interest in East Asia" achieved through this demarche, the Reichstag was informed, "we are bound to take very serious note of the fact that the head of these missions Bishop Anzer tells us in uncompromising fashion that our occupation of Kiaochow is a matter of life and death not only for the prosperity but for the continued existence of the China mission." Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, the last black-ruled state, excepting Liberia, in Africa, in 1936 saw a similar harmony of interests. Cardinal Alfredo Schuster of Milan was not alone in rejoicing that "the Italian standard carries forward in triumph the Cross of Christ, smashes the chains of slavery, and opens the way for the missionaries of the gospel." It was in cases such as these that religiocultural inequality found full measure.

Latin American Aspects of Religiocultural Inequality

It might be thought that Latin America would have been treated in a markedly different way than Africa, Asia, and Oceania, thanks to its long exposure to Catholicism and the civilization with which this faith was intertwined. The privileged position which, for centuries, the Church enjoyed in the colonies and, later, in the republics of this part of
the world might be assumed to have shielded their inhabitants from the unfavourable comparisons missionaries drew between themselves and their hosts in other lands. Until 1908, after all, Great Britain and the United States, the dominant powers in the Western Hemisphere, were subject to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and, thus, juridically, were missionary territories, whereas Latin America, with the exception of certain regions, was a full-fledged element within the supranational structure of the Church. Yet, while the generality of Latin Americans were not regarded as out-and-out pagans, neither were they regarded as out-and-out Christians. While they were technically Catholic and, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century, technically sovereign -- George Canning’s boast that "Spanish America is free and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly she is English"42 bears remembering -- they deviated sharply from European and North American religiocultural norms. Missionaries were confronted with individuals who differed from them not only in appearance and in taste but in the values and mores which governed their relationship with one another and in the beliefs and practices which governed their relationship with God. Since what was considered to be different in this epoch was considered to be flawed, Latin Americans were added to the list of peoples who needed to be recast on European and North American lines.
The fact that a lack of indigenous ecclesiastical personnel necessitated their presence was for missionaries an ill-omen, and what they found on arriving in Latin America confirmed their forebodings. In their distaste for and distrust of diversity, they were quick to take exception to and slow to make allowances for a wide range of phenomena, from the eclectic devotions which took the place of formal observances to the *compromisos* which took the place of officially sanctioned marriages. The reaction of a French churchman to the religiosity he encountered in Mexico is illustrative of this posture. "The mysteries of the Middle Ages are utterly outdone by the burlesque ceremonies of the Mexicans," he wrote in an account which, among other things, deplored the custom of dancing within church walls. "The accouchement of the Virgin on Christmas night appears to me as indecent. In France the police would forbid the ceremony as a shock to public morals. But public morality being a thing unknown in Mexico, the custom of representing the accouchement of the Virgin in many of the churches offends no one."43 To be accurate, the morality of France was unknown in Mexico, but because what was acceptable and unacceptable in Europe and North America was universalized, Mexicans could be legitimately found deficient. It was unusual for critiques to reach the point of denying Latin Americans as a whole, as opposed to portions of its Indian population, all marks of membership in the Catholic fold,
though views of the kind expressed by an American missionary
in Cuba, who stated that "the Cubans have no religion, and
the Church in Cuba is dead" were not unknown. Protestants, casting themselves as South Americans, might
assert that "we are as destitute of spiritual, saving
Christianity as those who have never heard the Gospel
message of salvation," but Catholics were not prepared to
consign a significant proportion of the Church’s adherents
to a void in which irreligious and heretical forces would be
free to claim them as their own. There was more than ample
work to be done as it was, so broad was the distance
separating missionaries and their hosts considered to be.
The position occupied by each party, as defined by the
former, will now be examined in turn.

In postindependent Latin America, a part of the world
which found itself heavily reliant first on Great Britain
and then on the United States, missionaries were as content
as their colleagues in colonial areas to identify themselves
with a nonindigenous power. At the turn of the century, the
Americans among them, flanked by pious imperialists,
regarded their country’s growing might with unconcealed
pleasure. God, in their eyes, had given the United States a
mission to revitalize the world, and the beneficent strength
it had been granted to fulfill this task would straighten
their path as they infused less fortunate peoples with the
afflatus of "the English-speaking race." This term --
preferable, from a Catholic point of view, to that of Anglo-Saxon -- was employed by Archbishop William O'Connell of Boston in an address which demonstrated his Church's resolution to spread its wings. "The providential hour of opportunity has struck," he told the First American Catholic Missionary Congress in 1908. "We must be up and doing... Our country has already reached out beyond her boundaries and is striving to do a work of extension of American civic ideals for other peoples. Shall it be said that the Church in this land has been outstripped in zeal and energy by the civil power under which we live?" These words were echoed by an official of the Catholic Church Extension Society, who urged his coreligionists to "put American methods of rapid and powerful development into the upbuilding of our own Church in North America, in the Philippines, and in Cuba, and then into all of the world, realizing, undoubtedly, God's plan in calling so suddenly into existence this new Nation and equipping it with its marvelous means of shedding light and influence over all the world." These were heady days, days of seemingly limitless possibilities, and missionaries, galvanized by such flights of rhetoric, set forth in the belief that, as Americans, they had no peer. Accommodation, particularly in Latin America, a place the United States fancied as its back yard, was out of the question.

As the twentieth century unfolded, the stick Theodore
Roosevelt and his generation had wielded with such gusto was used with increasing circumspection, and missionaries, no longer preceded by the Marine Corps, mastered their exuberance. Nevertheless, a strong affinity could be found among Americans with a stake in Latin America, whether they represented the Church, the government, or private enterprise. Missionaries were supportive of Washington's hemispheric policies and evaluated the role of American capital in this part of the world in positive terms. Criticism was usually reserved for the past, serving as a foil to a rosy present and a future filled with even greater promise. As Gerald Costello notes in his chronicle of American missionary activity in Latin America, "the patriotic zeal of the U. S. missioners colored their entire mission approach. They were, as more than one commentator has observed, bringing their Americanism with them as much as -- perhaps more than -- their Christianity." This unity was especially apparent in the reaction of Church and State to the Cuban Revolution. In Fidel Castro, both perceived a serious menace which would, they feared, destabilize Latin America by imperilling their allies and coreligionists. Communism was a common enemy, and it was to halt its spread and redress the systemic weaknesses which lay behind it that they embraced the countries of Latin America with an unwonted solicitude.

The voices demanding an equitable allotment of wealth
and power in Latin America, buoyed by a tide which had momentarily swept the military out of all but a handful of presidential palaces, could not be disregarded. The failure of Latin America's institutions -- the Church among them -- to meet the needs and maintain the allegiance of their constituents was equally obvious. What created the greatest anxiety in ecclesiastical and governmental circles, however, was not the source of this turbulence but its potential consequences. The parallels between the position each party adopted are strong, as the statements of two Catholics demonstrate. The first comes from John Kennedy who, in a message to Congress, warned that "if we are unwilling to commit our resources and energy to the task of social progress and economic development -- then we face a grave and imminent danger that desperate peoples will turn to communism or other forms of tyranny as their only hope for change. Well-organized, skillful, and strongly financed forces are constantly urging them to take this course."

The second comes from Aidan Carr, an editor of The Homiletic and Pastoral Review, who alerted his coreligionists to the fact that "with the sharp thrust by Communism for domination in the lands to the south, and with the vast resources of American Protestantism being poured into its 'missions,' there is a stunning challenge to the Church in the U.S. to extend its present efforts far beyond their present limit. More manpower and more money must be put to work in South
and Central America. That is, if we are really interested in preserving (and deepening) the Faith (and democracy vs. totalitarian atheism) there."\(^{51}\) Sentiments such as these took concrete form in plans of equal magnitude and equal impracticality.

In 1961 the Alliance for Progress, an ambitious inter-American programme of socioeconomic development predicated on unpalatable and, therefore, quickly emasculated reforms was forged. Addressing a group of Latin American diplomats, Kennedy called for "a vast new 10-year plan for the Americas, a plan to transform the 1960's into an historic decade of democratic progress."\(^{52}\) On August 17, the day on which the charter establishing the Alliance was signed, Agostino Casaroli, speaking at a gathering of American religious on behalf of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America, likewise proposed the adoption of "a great Ten-Year Plan of aid to Latin America, by means of personnel and of foundations."\(^{53}\) If executed in a fervent fashion, new life, it was anticipated, would be breathed into the Church in this part of the world. Its greatest handicap, a chronic shortage of priests, would be overcome, enabling it to preserve its endangered patrimony until a sufficient number of Latin Americans could be found to carry out its work. It was not long before a stream of North American missionaries -- Casaroli delivered his speech in Canada on August 22 -- rolled southward, mingling with the spate
called forth by the Alliance. The Church even had a Peace Corps, an organization formed in 1960 and known as the Papal Volunteers for Latin America. It was difficult for Latin Americans to distinguish one set of foreigners from another. In a critique of American missionary involvement in Latin America, Ivan Illich, a clerical enfant terrible, condemned this intimacy, concluding that "the U. S. missioner tends to fulfill the traditional role of a colonial power's lackey chaplain." Illich's words, which appeared in 1967, created a furore, but, on reflection, many missionaries came to recognize that they were not devoid of truth. In adhering to North America's religiocultural norms to the exclusion of Latin America's, missionaries threw themselves open to a symbiotic relationship with their countrymen rather than with their hosts, increasing the power of the former and decreasing the power of the latter to promote their peculiar interests.

As long as missionaries were convinced that what was good enough for North America was good enough for Latin America, a meaningful exchange between themselves and their hosts was considered to be unimportant. The practice of giving without receiving, however, meant that the best of intentions were not accompanied by the best of understanding. The missionary activity of this epoch was by no means without positive effects, but, more often than not, its impact was blunted by an ignorance of Latin American
realities. For one thing, missionaries failed to attune themselves to the capacities of their hosts. Louis Caissie, a priest of the Archdiocese of Halifax, who served in Peru from 1968 to 1972, witnessed the discrepancy between the resources at the disposal of North Americans and Latin Americans on visiting missions of an older vintage than his own. "We were able to observe what had happened in some of the missions in other areas that had been established by some of the American groups . . . with large schools, large medical clinics, and large rectories and convents, and so kind of created a new American infrastructure," he recalls. "They accomplished marvellous things for the people but, at the same time, alienated them from their own possibilities. I can remember going to one place in Trujillo . . . and reflecting that the Peruvians in that particular parish couldn't possibly afford even to change the light bulbs in their institutions. They became totally dependent on American money." For another thing, missionaries failed to attune themselves to the wants of their hosts. From Zelma LeBlanc, a Sister of Charity, who has made Peru her home since 1969, comes an example of the sincere but, because it was ill-informed, misplaced concern which could be evinced for Latin Americans. A decision was made in one district to construct two silos, enabling peasants to store large quantities of grain, but, years later, she relates, "they're empty. They've never been used. The people who
had this project never looked into is there a need of a silo. They [the peasants] do not store grain. They grow it and use it."

The seminary established and operated by the Canadian Church on behalf of the Honduran Church in Tegucigalpa was suited neither to the needs nor to the capabilities of the individuals it was designed to benefit. Its multiple problems are reducible to a failure to communicate. On March 28, 1966 a report was sent to the bishops of Canada by Bishop Alexander Carter of Sault Sainte Marie, president of the Canadian Episcopal Commission for Latin America, in which the troubles of the seminary, opened in 1962, were examined. This report was not intended for general consumption and, therefore, has the virtue of candour. Based on extensive conversations with Canadians and Hondurans, it concluded that the seminary was too sumptuous, too costly, too isolated, and, in terms of its operations, too independent. "By Canadian standards," Carter wrote, "the seminary is not luxurious. But compared to similar buildings in the country there is no doubt that there is too much difference. I am told that the young students arriving for philosophy [sic] are lost when they are given their own room — something they never had in their life." On a still more basic plane, he noted that the local bishops "say that ours is the most expensive seminary in Latin America. Moreover this seminary was to be a gift to the Honduras
Bishops. They don't want it; they can't afford to accept it! The Archbishop of Tegucigalpa told me that this seminary as it stands would impoverish them. We would be giving them a white elephant." In this, as in many such ventures, tensions crippled what could have flourished in the presence of another ethos, an ethos which would have preserved the generous spirit which suffused the work of the missionaries of this epoch but which would have eschewed its unilateral thrust.

An ethos of this kind, however, presupposes a belief in the equality of missionaries and their hosts, and the conception of Latin Americans which prevailed, like the conception which was entertained of everyone who dwelt outside the religiocultural pale of Europe and North America, left no doubt as to the absence of an egalitarian ethic. In one of the many disputes which have bedevilled Mexican-American relations, the government of Mexico complained that the government of the United States treated Mexicans "as savages, as Kaffirs of Africa," but even if Washington's references to "the volatile and childish character of these people" were the more accurate reflection of opinion above the Rio Grande, it is clear that a fundamental difference was felt to exist between North Americans and Latin Americans. Such was the view of missionaries, both before and after they entered lands which, as Pius X himself remarked, "are subjected to burning
southern sun, which casts a langour into the veins and as it were, destroys the vigour of virtue. The negativity of their tone owes much to the fact that they personalized what, by the standards of their homelands, were Latin America's shortcomings. To individuals were attributed faults which, on investigation, would have been discovered to originate in the society of which they were typically a powerless part, in the global society in which theirs was incorporated, and in the historical forces which had moulded each.

Yet, a thorough inquiry into the structural determinants which conditioned the lives of the peoples in missionaries' care was not undertaken. The sociological studies which, however undeveloped, would have lessened missionaries' dependence on and preoccupation with a nonindigenous set of references were by and large ignored in favour of classical and, therefore, essentially parochial disciplines. "It is a scandal," George Korb, one of an increasingly influential array of critics of the ethos under consideration, declared in 1961, "that some missionaries are still sent out with little better training in area studies than Marco Polo had for his trip to China," a practice which, as he aptly put it, lay behind the ubiquitous "'billiard ball' missionary who jars the local population but absorbs nothing." That missionaries should link the unwholesome state of Latin America -- or so it appeared to
them -- with the climate, the predominantly torrid nature of which was held to have a baneful influence on the human character, shows the extent of their research. In justice to the missionaries of this epoch, however, it must be borne in mind that, conceptually and practically, their work was framed in individualistic terms. They focused on souls, not societies, and, in their efforts to transform these free-floating entities, sought to isolate the peoples in their care from the milieu in which they found them. When, to this, is added a racial consciousness which minutely classified the population of the globe according to its blood with an eye to explaining societal differences genetically, the failure of missionaries to look further afield than their hosts for a redeemable culprit is explicable.

From the perspective of missionaries, then, if millions of Latin Americans exhibited a want of foresight in the ordering of their existence, it was because they were irresponsible and not because they had been denied a stake in the future. If they expressed their sexuality freely, it was because they were licentious and not because they had little material solace in their lives and few means of satisfying the sometimes costly preconditions for propriety. If their faith was suffused with a devotion to the dead, be it their deceased relations or the crucified Christ, it was because they were distorting the gospel and not because
generations of institutionalized oppression had distorted them. Cry of the People, Penny Lernoux's unsettling portrait of the Church in contemporary Latin America, relates a popular story in which the Angel Gabriel deprecates the munificence with which God had treated this portion of creation. "Ah, said God, but wait till you see the kind of people I'm going to put there!" It is a slur, albeit self-inflicted, which Lernoux refutes but which many European and North American Catholics would have endorsed and, insofar as they convinced Latin Americans of its veracity, perpetuated.

At its most simplistic, the picture which was drawn of Latin Americans was blatantly racist, though the readers of the Catholic periodicals in which these portrayals appeared would not have considered them to be sensational. In an article written with the object of making South Americans better known to North Americans, Brazil's racial composition was lamented, note being made of the fact that "the touch of the brush is present in ninety-five per cent of the civilized population" and that this "negroid race has all the weaknesses of both parent stocks of which the evil influence is felt in every branch of the social system." An article on Mexico attributed its problems to an ill-conceived intermingling of Spanish and Indian blood, the product of which, the mestizo, being presented as an unhappy hybrid "who is neither white nor red, but..."
dual nature of cultured white man and barbarous Indian."\textsuperscript{44} Thanks to this twofold character, he is condemned, like a modern Tantalus, to envision greatness without possessing the means of attaining it. More common than these broad critiques were selective charges which, because of their precision, possessed a judicious aura but which, in reality, were equally racist. The postulate favoured above all others was that Latin Americans were congenitally indolent and were, therefore, incapable of running their affairs in a manner of maximum benefit to themselves without the galvanizing presence of foreign mentors. In the words of one missionary apologist: "The fact is that the religion of Central America is not what it should be, and it is our concern to see if something cannot be done by us to remedy matters. This religious lassitude is due, not to any anti-clerical political or economic factors, but rather to a characteristic lassitude of the peoples who live near the equator."\textsuperscript{45} Reflecting on the susceptibility of Mexican migrants to non-Catholic influences, a priest engaged in missionary work among them stated, "Protestantism demands no obligations and, in this sense, it appeals to the Mexicans, slothful by nature. Catholicity demands obligations and it is a difficult matter to rouse the Mexicans to fulfil his [sic] obligations to God and Church."\textsuperscript{46}

As late as 1945, an authoritatively written work on South America, based on a yearlong tour of the continent,
could conclude with a chapter on race. In the name of inter-American understanding, as embodied in the Good Neighbour Policy of the Roosevelt administration, Peter Dunne, its Jesuit author, spelled out the differences in character which distinguished his hosts from his countrymen. While he was moved to praise the "cultured Latin gentlemen" of South America on many counts, the uncultivated masses below them fared badly at his hands. The reader is forcibly struck by an imperviousness to even the most elementary of causal factors — apart from the nature of the people themselves — in his enumeration of the irritants which militated against a smooth relationship between the typical South American and the transplanted North American. "There are times," he wrote, "when the northerner is witness to an almost unbelievable impracticability. ... When a train comes into the station an unruly mob of ragged fellows bursts into the coach to demand your bags that they may have a tip for carrying them a few feet. ... There is dust on the tables, dirt on the floors of institutions. Pictures are allowed to hang awry. Nobody ever thinks of straightening them. Things broken are not repaired. So much (door-knobs, water-closets, locks) is out of order; so many things are left unfinished. These may be small items. Yet, the carelessness and want of tidiness and order they indicate are objectionable." That the poor of Latin America might be preoccupied with questions of
survival does not appear to have entered his consciousness.

In the postwar era, Latin Americans ceased to be the subject of racially inspired commentaries, not only because of the growing unacceptability of such themes but because the source of Latin America's troubles was at last traced to something deeper than blood. Missionaries and those of their coreligionists who partook of their concerns opened their eyes to the socioeconomic inequities which, in their unselfcritical analysis, prevented the bulk of Latin Americans from obtaining a tolerable standard of living and encouraged the dread hand of communism to show itself. Yet, if these doubly endangered individuals no longer figured as the prime obstacle to the spiritual and material renewal of Latin America, neither were they felt to be competent to oversee its rescue. The European and the North American still knew best, still held the secret to a carefree soul and body, and until such time as this belief was forsaken in missionary circles, a state of equality could not exist between missionaries and their hosts. Communication, in short, would continue to be a one-way affair. The parallelism between ecclesiastical and governmental efforts to guide the destiny of Latin America through an infusion of foreign resources has been described above. What has not been said in so many words is that this operation was symptomatic of a general lack of confidence in the capacity of Latin Americans to resolve their problems without
direction from abroad. "In all the Catholic countries of the world, but especially in nations which like French Canada are nearer to the Latin mind," a Canadian contributor to The American Ecclesiastical Review announced in 1961, "an international crusade is being organized to save Hispanic America from the spiritual anarchy feared," to save Hispanic America, that is to say, on behalf and in behalf of its inhabitants.

Even at the close of the 1960s, when missionaries began to sit at the feet of their hosts, the ethos which had long declared the converse to be the rule endured in some quarters. Caissie, for example, was struck by the persistence of "colonial mentalities," the "big daddy who knew much better than these little Peruvian children what was good for them," among the Spanish at a time when missionaries of other nationalities were bridging the distance which lay between themselves and Latin Americans. Vestiges of this spirit continue to linger wherever missionary work is undertaken, but there is now no collective sanction for what is often an unintentional paternalism. At no time has Latin America been considered to be without need of missionaries -- the documents of the Second General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate, held in 1968, even contain a call for "Latin America to be declared missionary territory with a program for in-depth evangelizing work" -- but whether the bases of and the
solutions to this need should be defined inside or outside the religiocultural system Latin America forms, in concert with or independently of its inhabitants, is a question which has admitted of two answers. It is also the question which lies at the heart of the change in ethos documented in this thesis, for on it has hinged the equality or inequality of missionaries and their hosts, not only in Latin America but in lands around the world. As the pages which follow will demonstrate, a decision has been widely made to create in missions Christian communities in which the best of West and East and North and South is shared, in which Catholicism is an outgrowth of dialogue, not monologue, and in which missionaries concentrate on bearing witness to what is good in their hosts rather than saving them from what is evil. It is fashionable to criticize the missionaries of the epoch presently under consideration for failing to embrace this model. Such criticism, however, presupposes that they had a viable choice. Until the postwar era, the religious and secular worlds in which they lived presented only one.
The Era of the Witness

The Church therefore has this exhortation for her sons: prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve, and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture.

Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions. Second Vatican Council, 1965

As the 1960s unfolded, two facts imprinted themselves on the minds of missionaries. The first was that the Church they represented was undergoing its most significant self-reformation since the Tridentine era, an aggiornamento which was breaching the walls which kept Catholic and non-Catholic at odds with and in ignorance of one another. The second was that the civilization they embodied was retreating, notably in political terms, from parts of the world which had only lately been regarded as unfit to rule themselves, a reversal which evoked the Kiplingesque reflection that "all our pomp of yesterday/Is one with Nineveh and Tyre."

These changes in Church and in State, calling into question, as they did, many of the premises on which missionaries based their work, marked the end of the primacy of the ethos presented in the first half of this thesis, and the beginning of the primacy of the ethos presented in the second. The Second Vatican Council, held from 1962 to 1965, sought to incorporate the Church into the
variegated world from which it had, in large part, stood aloof. It did so by turning to its Christological foundations, by looking, in the words of a conciliar father, "behind the counterrevolutionary Church, behind the Counter-Reformation, behind the medieval synthesis, back to the Church before the estrangement of East and West, to the Church before the confrontation with Greek culture and philosophy, to the primal source: to Christ in Palestine." Only by transcending its history did the Church believe that it could find an unthreatening and unthreatened place in the history of other collectivities, particularly in a postcolonial context. By placing an emphasis on Christ qua Christ rather than on Christ as transmuted through the ebb and flow of western civilization, the Second Vatican Council provided missionaries with a new standard to uphold among themselves and their hosts, a standard whose independence ensured that equality in diversity would no longer be regarded as a contradiction in terms.

The Archdiocese of Halifax, cosponsor of the mission in Victoria Nueva around which much of the present discussion will revolve, defined its missionary undertaking in the following words: "The message of Christ is that God lives in all men, calling them to communion with Himself and to unity among themselves. To strive toward that unity and brotherhood among all men, our Church of Halifax has accepted to serve in Peru." Missionaries were being asked
to bear witness to bonds which existed with or without them and which, therefore, needed to be actualized instead of created. This may appear to be a fine distinction, but, without it, a new relationship between missionaries and their hosts would not have coalesced. When these parties were deemed unequal, unity was viewed as a state which could not and should not be formed cooperatively, but when these parties ceased to be so differentiated, there was no alternative but to work together in the name of a common humanity and divinity and, thus, no alternative but to treat other religiocultural systems with the sensitivity with which one treated one's own. The old relationship between missionaries and their hosts was destined to be slowly but surely replaced by what the United Church of Canada calls "partners in mission," an appellation which captures, far better than the term, missionary, the communal spirit which informs the life of the typical mission of today. For the men and women who have served or are serving in Victoria Nueva, as for many of their colleagues, to be a missionary is to be a member of a nascent or mature community of interdependent and interactive Catholics at peace with those who do not partake in their fellowship on a credal level and at peace among themselves. The character of these Christian communities will now be considered in depth.

The Bases of Community

"When a Christian goes to a foreign land as a
missionary," the Archdiocese of Halifax declared, "he or she goes to help bring about the discovery of God's presence." It is telling that no allusion was made to saving wretched souls from perdition. On the contrary, the grace of God was said to be at work in everyone. This conception of missionary activity places those who have traditionally directed it and those to whom it has been traditionally directed on the same fundamental plane, allowing these groupings to blur their roles. The premise underlying the rigid division of functions which once obtained — the premise that God channels his gifts through one religion and one religion only, a conduit further constricted by its cultural specificity — is no longer considered to be tenable. While missionaries continue to believe that justification is fulfilled in the sacraments, they no longer see it simply as a function of the sacraments. For them, the reality of salvation must be proclaimed among rather than conferred upon the peoples in their care. The missionaries of Victoria Nueva do not account for the presence of God in this community on the grounds that many of its unchurched inhabitants have been baptized. Their explanation is much more basal than this. Martin Currie, a priest of the Archdiocese of Halifax, who served in Peru from 1975 to 1980, believes that the nature of God himself -- the fact, to paraphrase him, that God is the architect of life and the source of the love which may or may not fill it
— determines his whereabouts. Contrary to what missionaries once thought, he states, "If people were alive and people were loving, God was there long before we got there. We weren't taking anything to them." 77

Missionaries have, in short, moved far beyond their predecessors' dark prognostications concerning the fate of infidels and heretics, terms, it should be noted, which have vanished from the Church's lexicon. The Absolute, though honoured with many names, is looked upon today as the centre of an organic unity in which peoples of every religious persuasion and of none consciously or unconsciously share, thanks to their divinely conceived, incarnated, and ransomed humanity. God is a point from which they are believed to have come and to which they are believed to be proceeding, a movement they can only arrest by defying their innermost selves, for, as John Paul II stated in an encyclical issued in 1979, "Christ is in a way united to the human person — every person without exception — even if the individual may not realize this fact." 78 The new status of the world which owes no allegiance or, in Latin America, only a shaky allegiance to the Church was captured by Rome’s Secretariat for Non-Christians when, speaking of God, it declared that "every reality and every event are surrounded by His love. In spite of the sometimes violent manifestation of evil, in the vicissitudes in the life of each individual and every people there is present the power of grace which elevates
and redeems."

This is not tantamount to saying that the Church regards every body of belief as conforming equally well to the will of God, for were the Church to do so, it would compromise the uniqueness of Christ and the entity he founded, eviscerating the primary task of missionaries, a task which remains the dissemination of the gospel, if only by example. In the eyes of its exponents, Catholicism provides the most complete means of uniting oneself with God and neighbour of any faith, but these means are no longer felt to be wholly restricted to it insofar as all faiths are felt to be encompassed by God. For the Church, there is still only one way to heaven, the way of an explicit or, failing that, an implicit faith in Christ, but this way has never been defined more comprehensively than today. Under these circumstances, the light in which the Church views itself is necessarily different from what it was when travellers on the path to eternity were deemed to constitute a select group of wayfarers in constant danger of contamination at the hands of their unworthy fellow men and women. Whereas the Church of 1890 did everything in its power to separate itself from the non-Catholic world -- missionaries venturing into it like life-savers in a gale -- the Church of 1990 devotes much of its energies to meeting it and, through this encounter, affirming its godliness. What, for Frazier, was a sanctuary is now, in his words, a
"sign of salvation in the world. . . . As a sanctuary, the Church could concentrate legitimately on providing its members with the sacraments and the Word of God, and its non-members with appropriate inducements to partake of these riches. But if the Church is a sign, its energies will be centered not only on its own sacramental life, but on the paschal mystery at work in the events of secular life and time."

In raising millions of individuals to the dignity of a fellowship which is deemed at once human and divine, irrespective of the presence or the absence of missionaries, the Church has not simply engaged in an act of magnanimity. It, together with its representatives, has humbled itself. One cannot, in justice, indulge in self-glorification when rays of this glory are believed to emanate from a multiplicity of points extrinsic to one's religious-cultural system. The language of war has disappeared from missionary rhetoric, for one cannot join battle with mirrors, however clouded, of oneself. The humility which characterizes contemporary Catholicism is not simply a product of a relative change in its position vis-à-vis other bodies of belief, however. An absolute alteration in its posture has occurred, for the Second Vatican Council chose not to equate the Church of Rome with the Church of Christ, declaring that the Church of Christ, "erected for all ages as 'the pillar and mainstay of the truth,'" is not the Church of Rome but,
instead, "subsists" in it. This small but pivotal change was dictated not only by the conviction that the truth has many loci but by the conviction that the truth, though vested in the Church of Rome, is not wholly manifest. Human fallibility, it is argued, has ensured that the truth is neither perfectly adhered to nor perfectly discerned. The guise in which the Church now presents itself, therefore, is that of a pilgrim whose faithlessness impedes his progress to his holy destination but whose faith impels him towards it. Movement, not stasis, is the order of the day. In the words of the Second Vatican Council, "Christ summons the Church, as she goes her pilgrim way, to that continual reformation of which she always has need, insofar as she is an institution of men here on earth. Therefore, if the influence of events or of the times has led to deficiencies in conduct, in Church discipline, or even in the formulation of doctrine (which must be carefully distinguished from the deposit itself of faith), these should be appropriately rectified at the proper moment." This is a noteworthy statement, for it places the duty of attaining perfection on the Church as well as on the collectivities outside it and, in doing so, forges another link between them, a link based not on what they hold in common but on what they lack.

There is an awareness, moreover, that it is entirely possible for there to be facets of the truth which have been assimilated more completely outside the Church or, in the
case of Latin America, on its fringes than inside it. Catholics can, thus, acquire insights into the proper ordering of their spiritual and material lives from the very individuals whom they are called upon to initiate into the fullness of their faith. This is a crucial point, for from it has sprung the dialogic nature of contemporary missionary activity, without which there would be little growth on the part of missionaries, inevitably resulting in an unbalanced Christian community. In other words, it is not considered to be enough to discover one's own values in the existence of other peoples or to seek out values which elude both parties. As missionaries have realized a little wonderingly, it is necessary to accept that conversion, in the form of an invitation to improve oneself, can be effected through exposure to the values of their hosts. This has been the finding of those who have worked or are working in Victoria Nueva. Cecilia Hudec, a Sister of Charity, who was based in Peru from 1979 to 1990, arrived with her mind on the benefits she could offer her hosts and left with her mind on the benefits she had derived from them. While she and her colleagues were positively predisposed to the Peruvians who received them and, thus, were willing to enter into their lives, it is her belief that "probably none of us really realized that we would be evangelized in the process and that we would really come to know Jesus in a very different kind of way among them. I
think that that has happened, that we've been changed."

The missionaries of today have recognized the validity of the admonition of a Peruvian who, like many of his countrymen, was inundated with the largesse inspired by an ethos which did not believe in reciprocity. "'You came down here,' he said — he meant mostly the Americans, but all the rest of us, the Australians like myself, were also included — 'You came down here with a full chalice, overflowing. Instead you should have come with an empty cup. We would have filled it for you.'"

Once the Church concluded that the religiocultural systems in which its missionaries operated could, in the words of John Paul II, "stimulate her both to discover and acknowledge the signs of Christ's presence and of the working of the Spirit as well as to examine more deeply her own identity and to bear witness to the fullness of revelation which she has received for the good of all," it was in a position to become a universal body in a new sense, drawing sustenance from diverse peoples, whether they were formally linked to it or not. The Second Vatican Council, whose international complexion was without precedent in conciliar annals, marked the end of the Church's preoccupation with Europe and, as the absence of the political pressures long associated with such assemblies demonstrates, of Europe's preoccupation with the Church. No longer do missionaries feel that they can legitimately
uphold the civilization from which most, though, today, not all, of their number are drawn as peculiarly Christian and, therefore, normative. Indeed, churchmen inside and outside missionary circles have questioned whether theirs is a Christian civilization at all. They have pointed with concern to the increasingly godless character of European and North American society — little comfort is found in the fact that, in many quarters, hostility to religion has yielded to indifference — and have called for a new evangelization of what have been termed post-Christian lands. "For the first time in the history of the Church," the Second Vatican Council was told by one of its fathers, "a Council is meeting in an age of atheism." Well might Gabriella Villela, a Sister of Charity, who served in Peru from 1968 to 1974, demand in reference to her hosts, "Who are we to go there and tell them what to do?"

The fall of Europe and North America from their position of centrality in the minds of missionaries was facilitated by the changing geopolitical fortunes of these areas. Europe was the first to lose its seat and, with it, its status as a universal model, a fact forcibly brought home to the Church by the sometimes ignominious, sometimes dignified retreat of the continent's proconsuls, missionaries' long-time allies. Even the Suez Canal, the life line of empire, could not be held. The scores of new nations which emerged from the maelstrom of the Second World
War asserted their own identity and, not unexpectedly, had little tolerance for missionaries who failed to value it. Proprietors had, overnight, turned into guests, and, in not a few instances, unwelcome ones. Survival, if nothing else, demanded that an indigenous Church, with a strong affinity with its non-Christian and non-European environment, be given every help in entrenching itself. The temperament of the West was also changing, symbolized by the United Nations' charter which, as early as 1945, bound its signatories to promote self-government in their dependencies, mindful that "the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount." A generation later, so distasteful had colonialism become that the White Fathers withdrew from the Portuguese possession of Mozambique rather than lend its rulers tacit countenance by operating within its borders. There is no more eloquent testimony to missionaries' success in divesting themselves of their paternalistic inheritance than that of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, who expressed the desire that the Church would "carry on preaching the Message of Christ and thus help us reconquer our DIGNITY, our LIBERTY and our EQUALITY," states which were once defined in terms which were more indicative of white aspirations than black.

American and Canadian churchmen, insofar as their analysis of North America's place in the world coincided, could afford to watch the disintegration of the great
empires with a certain insouciance. The New World had lifted the mantle of global leadership from the shoulders of the Old and would, it was anticipated, wield its newly acquired powers in a worthier fashion than any people who had hitherto possessed them. This complacency was shattered by the Vietnam War, a conflict which not only dispelled the illusion of American invincibility but, in conjunction with the broad assault on the status quo which distinguished the 1960s, prompted many individuals -- Catholics and non-Catholics alike -- to question the propriety of American involvement in the affairs of other countries. From this soul-searching emerged a consensus that, in many respects, the American way was not the most suitable way for underdeveloped lands to realize their potential. It was felt, moreover, that the most noxious elements in North American life, such as irresponsible forms of capitalism, were being allowed to take root where their presence could least be tolerated, rendering the developmental course in question not only inappropriate but harmful. North America's missionaries have deemed it essential, therefore, to establish a distance between themselves and their countries' governmental and business leaders and, when the occasion warrants, to speak out against the evils generated by their policies and in favour of counteractive measures. They have made the interests of their hosts their own, even when this has contravened the interests of their countrymen.
Under the heading of "Solidarity With Local Church," the bishops of the United States, in a pastoral letter issued in 1986, sanctioned this stand, noting that when "missionaries come from a country like the United States, which has great political and economic interests throughout the world, their participation in the life of the local church can place them in conflict with the policies of their own government or, indeed, of their host government. Nevertheless, they must be in union with the diocesan bishop and the local church which they have been sent to serve."

The deference shown to Churches, however nascent, into which missionaries are received is symptomatic of a new collegiality within the Catholic fold itself. While Rome remains the centre of authority and, as such, wields an extensive influence, its imperium has been tempered by a respect for the individuality of the world's peoples and the Christian communities to which they give birth. In this light, Rome can be seen as merely one of the thousands of local Churches which, together, constitute the universal Church. Each of these Churches is free, as the use of the vernacular in the liturgy attests, to express its Catholicity in a different way, provided the unity they form is not thereby endangered. The faith of all is, thus, enriched. The inchoate localities in which missionaries often operate are considered to be no less integral to the Church than its most venerable sees, and, as many European
and North American prelates have discovered, the voices of their nonwhite colleagues can be as persuasive as their own, if not more so, when general ecclesiastical policies are formulated. There is nothing foreign about the missions of today, for missionary activity has ceased to fall to a select group of Catholics but to the Church as a whole, opening the door to a multidirectional flow of personnel, an eventuality falling vocations in the First World and rising vocations in the Third render all but inevitable.

The Church, in short, has resolved to make its home in every culture, conscious that only in this way can it tap the goodness which lies in each of its actual or potential members and, thus, draw near the deity in which this goodness is held to have its origin. In the judgement of the Second Vatican Council, "the Church, sent to all peoples of every time and place, is not bound exclusively and indissolubly to any race or nation, nor to any particular way of life or any customary pattern of living, ancient or recent. Faithful to her own tradition and at the same time conscious of her universal mission, she can enter into communion with various cultural modes, to her own enrichment and theirs too." The Catholicism of today is an incarnational religion, closely attuned to the unique circumstances in which each of the Christian communities which adhere to its tenets finds itself. To cite the documents of the Second Vatican Council a final time, "The
joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ."

The posture the Church has adopted in relation to the religiocultural systems of the world, the conviction, in the words of Paul VI, that "evangelization cannot be complete . . . unless account is taken of the reciprocal links between the Gospel and the concrete personal and social life of man," can best be explicated by examining its vision of God, its raison d'être. This God, in contradistinction to the conception of him which once enjoyed wide currency, is not a being enthroned in an empyrean designed by a heavenly Michelangelo but a being who, though by no means confined to it, dwells in the comparatively uninspiring history of mankind, a God as varied as the peoples who comprise the human family. In a religion rich in images, the salience of which continually changes, the most powerful at present is arguably that of an obscure Nazarene who began and ended his life in poverty. A twofold imperative is discerned in these events. The first is that Christians must seek their namesake in the world, in situations as diverse as they are concrete, rather than import him -- constricted into one shape through a long exposure to western civilization -- from outside it. The second is that Christians who believe that they possess everything must seek their namesake in the
midst of those whom they believe possess nothing, in the maltreated poor with whom he associated himself.

Missionaries have taken these injunctions seriously. "We don't like to have our God down here in the dirt with us," Currie admits, "but that's where he's at, that's where God's at, down in the muck and the dirt with us. He's not pure and spotless, removed up there somewhere." As to the sectors of humanity in which he is deemed to be at his most visible, these can be found in abundance in such places as Latin America where, according to Currie, "you see how hard these people struggle just to survive, you see that they've had to live with injustice, you see that there's been violence against them for years by keeping them illiterate, by keeping them poor, and you're going to say, . . . . 'He's going to save these people before he saves a lot of those who are well-dressed and sail around on their yacht with their private chaplain or those of us who don't need to make any effort really to practice our faith.' The Jesus who always worked with the marginated, he's going to be there. I think we're going to find him there a lot more than we find him in other areas." From another visitor to Latin America comes a vivid example of the Church's determination to see Christ in the most lowly and peripheral of human beings, and to identify itself with them and their thirst for the dignity, liberty, and equality of which Nyerere speaks. In an address delivered in 1968 to the peasants of
Colombia and, by extension, the whole of Latin America, Paul VI offered these victims of injustice far more than charity. He offered them homage and, with it, the homage of the Church he represented, linking them in an intimate way with the Eucharist itself, so truly are the poor believed to embody Christ. "You, beloved sons, are Christ for us," he told his listeners. "And we who have the awesome destiny of being the Vicar of Christ . . . -- we bow before you, and we wish to recognize Christ in you as if once more alive and suffering."*

Missionaries of the old school might be forgiven if, like the Jews of Thessalonica in Pauline times, they charged their successors with turning the world upside down. Within the context of their work, the missionaries of today have brought the world -- Catholic and non-Catholic, developed and underdeveloped, white and black -- together, albeit less in practice than in theory. They have drawn these poles together, thereby dramatically reducing the distance between themselves and their hosts, not by abolishing distinctions but by celebrating them, not through dictation but through discussion, all in the belief that without equality, a genuine community cannot flourish, whether it is composed of several hundred people or several billion. In the words of one of the many Maryknoll Fathers who have served in Peru, there is a "realization that as the missionary does not have all the answers, it is a two-way street between him and the
people. There is a mutual revealing of God between them that ultimately enriches and helps each to become fully himself. The working out of this new relational basis of missionary activity, as revealed in the life of Victoria Nueva, will be described below.

Victoria Nueva: The Crystallization of Community

Victoria Nueva, like many of the barriadas which ring the cities of Latin America, can only be described as inhospitable, however modest one's standards. Situated on the outskirts of Chiclayo, capital of the department of Lambayeque and, with 347,702 inhabitants, fifth largest city in Peru, Victoria Nueva is a poor community in a nation of poor communities. To live within its boundaries is to live in a desert, a sparsely vegetated area of whirling sand -- the product of daily winds -- and fluctuating temperatures. On the rare occasions when rain falls, it can wreak havoc, turning dirt floors into mud and turning walls and roofs, in which adobe is widely used, into a shambles. On October 31, 1968, when a mission, in the form of the parish of San José Obrero, was officially opened by the Archdiocese of Halifax and the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul of Halifax, there were no amenities whatsoever. Running water, sewerage, and electricity were luxuries the people of Victoria Nueva had not yet merited, placing the horses at a nearby racetrack in the more enviable position of the two. It was from the taps
which served these animals that part of the water used in the barriada came. Misfortune breeds misfortune. "The dark evenings and nights bring out the thieves," the missionaries reported in 1969, "and many families have suffered the loss of chickens, ducks, turkeys, rabbits, etc., from their backyards; losses which they can ill afford." Compounding the hardship of an inadequate civic infrastructure has been a spiralling population. The people of Victoria Nueva, many of whom are Indians, are part of a seemingly endless stream of migrants who have moved from rural to urban areas, thereby exchanging one precarious existence for another, in the hope of securing a better life for themselves and their families. Their numbers, while difficult to measure precisely, have swelled to some 100,000, a threefold increase since the arrival of the missionaries.

An individual can easily be lost in this sea of stressed humanity. True security can only be attained on a collective basis. However, the prerequisites for this — including as basic an element as confidence in oneself and one's neighbours — are not abundant in the barriadas of Latin America. Victoria Nueva was therefore a fitting area in which to concretize the new orientation in missionary activity, the centrepiece of which is, as discussed at length above, the formation of a community, the antithesis of all that divides or limits human beings. This was the paramount task which faced the founders of San José Obrero
and the rootless men and women who constituted their congregation, a task which impinged and impinges -- for it is not regarded as finite -- on every facet of spiritual and material existence. "We can never build enough community, trusting one another, sharing, and reaching out," notes Villela. "Everything comes out of community." The three functions of communal life she enumerates provide a suitable framework in which to examine the work of her colleagues. It would be wrong to conclude from what follows that no missteps have been made, that principles have always been upheld in practice, but there is ample evidence to show that in great things and in small the missionaries of Victoria Nueva have been animated by the ethos which has transformed the character of missionary activity as much in Latin America as anywhere else.

The gulf between the world of these priests and sisters and that of their hosts is a wide one. It manifests itself not only in what is said and done and thought, but in the legacy of the past and the promise of the future. Every time a missionary and a peasant smile, their teeth proclaim the difference in their upbringing. Every time a missionary and a peasant visit their places of origin, the security which awaits the former, under the care of an affluent Church, and the insecurity which awaits the latter, under the care of penniless kinsfolk, is highlighted. The disparities of which these are examples are not allowed to
stand in the way of a close relationship between North and South American, however, for in Victoria Nueva, as elsewhere, differences per se are viewed in a positive light. The diverse positions which result from these differences are regarded as something to be jointly explored, and only when this exchange and the understanding which flows from it is complete, is it felt that a decision can be made by the individuals involved as to whether or not to modify their posture. It is believed that through such processes, which respect the integrity of everyone concerned, durable partnerships are forged. "I try to be equal with people," explains Mary Beth Moore, a Sister of Charity, who has worked in Peru since 1982. "To me, friendship is built on equality. You can’t be the nun or the expert or the madrecita and still be friends." The council which was established in 1970 to direct the life of San José Obrero attests to the institutionalization of this equality, to the commitment of the missionaries to disperse authority among the representatives of their congregation. The council, which contradicted the vertically oriented Church of the days before the Second Vatican Council, has assumed more and more responsibility with the passing years, to the point, in Moore’s words, that "we let the people run it." These indigenous leaders have not ceased to be Peruvian in the interim nor have the missionaries ceased to be Canadian. Instead, both have emerged with something of
the other in them, leading them, in turn, to a deeper awareness of their own potential and their own shortcomings. Both have been touched in a way which would have been impossible had missionaries played the parent and their hosts the child. This, in the eyes of the missionaries, is the essence of sharing.

Before a meaningful encounter could take place, however, an appropriate context had to be established for it, a context in which differences, so valued in other circumstances, had perforce to be avoided. A dialogue could not occur, it was believed, if there was not a modicum of common ground on which to hold it. The first half of this thesis has shown that, traditionally, the environment missionaries sought to create for themselves and those of their hosts who chose to join them was markedly distinct from its surroundings. The priests and sisters of Victoria Nueva turned their backs on this practice and in what, in 1968, was something of a novelty, made every effort to mirror the lifestyle of the people of the barriada. The dwellings they occupied were comparable to those of their hosts and, at first, were rented from them. There was nothing inside or out which could render a visitor ill at ease, not even a roof so constructed as to withstand a heavy rain. Canadian rectories are typically equipped with every comfort, but San José Obrero's, like the homes around it, was only gradually supplied with the most basic of them.
Its occupants worked by the light of kerosene lamps, made do with an outhouse, and, in their words, "had to join the people in the queue at the public water supply every morning. In a way this has been good as it has demonstrated to the people our willingness to live as much as possible with and like them. But the lack of shower facilities has been a little difficult." While the sisters initially wore a modified habit, the priests customarily dressed in ordinary clothes, another means of lessening the distance between themselves and their congregation. Glancing through a collection of photographs from 1968 and 1969, one must look twice to determine who is who. The Peruvians who are pictured in the rectory appear to be as much at home as the missionaries who reside there.

Wherever it was necessary to erect new buildings, pains were taken to ensure not only that they were compatible with existent ones, but that the men and women for whose benefit they were intended would regard them as their own. The complex which was constructed to serve as the principal place of worship and assembly in Victoria Nueva is a case in point. Formally inaugurated on July 8, 1973, it represented a cooperative undertaking on the part of the congregation of San José Obrero and the congregations of the Archdiocese of Halifax, the costs associated with it being evenly split between the two. The onus in fund-raising fell on the former, however, for the level of Canadian support was
linked to the calibre of Peruvian generosity. Indeed, it was agreed with the contractor, a member of San José Obrero, that work could be halted "at any stage of construction in order to bring home forcefully to our people the need to raise more money."104 As to labour, both contractual and voluntary, this was supplied by residents of the barriada, guaranteeing that they would take personal satisfaction in and responsibility for the final product. Determined to stand on an equal footing with their hosts, the priests participated in this sometimes backbreaking toil, much to the delight of their fellow labourers. An insistence that the people of Victoria Nueva learn to help themselves rather than learn to rely on the help of others was extended to every sphere of missionary activity. Amid the oppressive poverty of the barriada, there was a strong temptation to address the needs of its people through an infusion of material resources, but this paternalistic urge was successfully resisted. "You see the need, and you have solutions, and you could possibly remedy certain problems in certain situations," notes LeBlanc, "but it's much better to hold back. If you do not have the people with you right from the basic efforts to remedy a situation, then it's not theirs, and you're not apt to get the effort on their part to sustain it afterwards."105

Through this policy, the missionaries made it abundantly clear that whatever individual and collective
growth was destined to occur would occur and, equally important, could occur within the experiential conditions of the poor. It was felt that under no circumstances should a linkage be established in the minds of the latter between foreign wealth and such goods and services as they possessed. The creation of a state of dependency and the sense of alienation and inadequacy which sooner or later must accompany it was, thus, avoided. Not everyone foresaw these consequences, for, according to Caissie, the initial expectation of many people was that "we would set up a school and a medical clinic because that's what all the other gringos had done. We disappointed many of them by not doing it, but in the long run I think that the local Peruvian people who were really involved in their Christian community . . . really bought in completely into the concept." It was a concept pregnant with possibilities, for with the mission integrated into the life of Victoria Nueva, the stage was set for the ideological interaction and practical collaboration which are deemed essential to success by the missionary ethos which predominates today. Missionaries and their hosts were soon to find that it is easier to approach one another with empty hands than with full ones and, through this transparent poverty, identify the fundamental imperatives imposed on them -- singly and together -- by their situation. The most beneficial form of sharing could, in short, take place, together with the trust
and outreach Villela identifies as characteristic of a true community. The ramifications of each of these qualities will now be considered.

The nature of the sharing which has occurred in San José Obrero can best be gauged from its results, from the changes which have been effected in the outlook of the missionaries and their hosts since 1968. The influence the priests and sisters have had on the people with whom they have worked has not been restricted to the transmittal of knowledge, ranging from a new understanding of the sacraments to a new comprehension of the printed word. It is something more profound than this, for tools which are not accompanied by the interior will to wield them are without utility. What the missionaries have succeeded in inculcating in the men and women who have taken an active part in the life of San José Obrero has been a sense of self-worth. This self-worth has nothing to do with their worldly status, which, in the absence of a just socioeconomic order, is negligible, and has nothing to do with their abilities, which, in the absence of an adequate educational system, are underdeveloped. Their new dignity stems, rather, from the fact that they are human beings and from the realization, gradually instilled in them by word and example, that they are therefore brothers and sisters of Christ, a messiah who, it is pointed out, elected to walk the earth in the company of the poor and to make the poor
the bearers of his redemptive message. In the words of the weekly parochial bulletin, "no hay en Cristo y en la iglesia ninguna desigualdad fundamentada en raza o nacionalidad, en condición social o sexo, porque 'no hay ni judío ni griego, no hay ni esclavo ni hombre libre; no hay ni hombre ni mujer, pues todos somos "UNO" en Cristo Jesús.""107

Out of this oneness has sprung a feeling of power which, when coupled with a critical analysis of their environment in the light of the gospel, has led the members of San José Obrero to assert themselves in both religious and secular affairs. The status quo, which ordains that some are born to control and some are born to be controlled, has ceased to be acceptable. Caissie offers a vivid example of the metamorphosis which can occur when missionaries treat their hosts as they would wish themselves to be treated. He relates the story of a virtually illiterate peasant who, when he first made contact with the missionaries, did so with a bared head and downturned eyes, the manner the class to which he belonged had been taught to assume when addressing a person in a position of authority. When Caissie invited him to raise his eyes from the ground, he refused. Efforts were subsequently made to involve him in the activities of San José Obrero, thereby making him feel that he was an integral and indispensable part of this young community. A talented mason, he was prevailed upon to take a leading part in the construction which was underway at
that time. Similarly, he was welcomed into one of the intimate groups in which missionaries and members of their congregation gather to deepen their commitment to and understanding of God and one another. The result, according to Caissie, was that "he started hearing the word of his own dignity. When I returned — it must have been three or four years after I had left the mission — he was the number one Christian leader in his large community, in his parish, not only in the small group. He was getting up on Sundays and giving the teaching, the homily. He had gone on a summer course to Lima, the capital, to acquire the skills of catechist and things like that, and he was the leader and as proud as could be."  

The missionaries of Victoria Nueva have been moved no less deeply than their hosts in the course of their relationship. What is different is the direction of this movement. While many members of San José Obrero have been uplifted, the priests and sisters who assisted in this transformation have been humbled. They have been able to partake in the life of the barriada in a way which has brought them face to face with the poverty and the fortitude which characterize it. The people of Victoria Nueva have served as a model for them, showing them what strength and weakness really are. The missionaries have come to see that they have not been obliged to exercise the one or endure the other in Canada in anything more than a superficial way.
They have come to see that the milieu in which they were raised has demanded less of them and been given less by them in return than the milieu into which the typical Peruvian is born. Notwithstanding adversities of every description, the theological virtues of faith, charity, and hope -- so termed by the Church because of their divine provenance -- are felt by the missionaries to be more radically present in Victoria Nueva than in their own communities. Humility is evoked by the knowledge that they, who are teachers, are also pupils and that through the instrumentality of their hosts, they are closer to beholding Christ than ever before. "Many missionaries coming back will say, 'You know, I received more than I ever gave,'" notes Villela, "and they say that in all truthfulness."

It is the great capacity of their hosts to love which has most struck the missionaries. While this love is not necessarily well-informed or well-channelled, it represents for these priests and sisters the essence of Christianity. Their acknowledgement that the religiocultural system from which they have come is bereft of the same passion and would do well to imbibe it underscores how different is their ethos from that which proclaimed the superiority of all things European and North American. Moore, for example, was impressed by the depth of the compassion of the people of Victoria Nueva, a compassion she would have been hard-pressed to muster. She uses as an illustration the
story of a woman who received word that the illegitimate son of her husband of twenty years, born while she was pregnant, wished to stay with her while visiting the area. When she raised this matter in the woman's group of which she was a member, Moore's instinct was to commiserate with her and suggest the youth stay with a neighbour, but the other women were insistent that she forgive the wrong done to her and take him in. "I was astonished," Moore recalls. "I don't know if I'd do it. Even though I hopefully wouldn't hate the boy, to have him under my own roof with my own son and my own husband, ah!" Mary Ellen Loar, who, as a senior officer of the Sisters of Charity between 1980 and 1988, was responsible for her order's activities in Peru, compares the goodness of which this is but one of many instances with what passes as goodness in Canada, and finds the latter wanting. She describes a group of men who had sacrificed their meagre wages and walked a whole day in order to petition the authorities for a schoolteacher for their children. In the evening, despite their weariness, they gathered to discuss the meaning of the reign of God. When asked how it could be brought about, they talked of caring for their children by going the extra mile for them as they had literally done that day. By Canadian standards, Loar reflects, "they're not really that religious a people because they only have Mass there about once a year. Yet, in terms of their understanding all of their life activities
in terms of the reign of God, they're miles ahead . . . of where somebody would be here because we might have so ritualized being a good person [that it] means going to Mass on Sunday and not committing adultery."\textsuperscript{111} Thus it is that Caissie can conclude without hesitation that "the missionary is the one who goes to be converted as well as to convert others. It's walking the journey together."\textsuperscript{112}

If such sharing represents a significant break with the past, so, too, does the trust and outreach which accompany it. Insofar as questions of trust are concerned, the priests and sisters of Victoria Nueva go to great lengths, if not always to sanction, at least to make allowances for the very characteristics their predecessors found so troubling in the people who surrounded them. What were once construed as being vices can now be divided into two categories. One of these categories consists of patterns of belief and conduct which, while distinct from those of Europe and North America, are viewed by missionaries as a wholesome expression of the religiocultural system in which they find themselves and, thus, as treasures to be diligently protected. Peruvians, for example, are a tactile people, a trait they display not only in their relationship with one another but in their relationship with God. Their strong sense of the bond between the spiritual and the physical leads them to caress and kiss representations of the saints in a way which would be inconceivable in a
Canadian parish. Alien though this form of religiosity is, particularly to a part of the world whose devotion to the saints is waning, practices such as the passing from hand to hand of a statue of Mary are treated with respect by missionaries. Time, to turn to the temporal realm, also has a different signification for Peruvians than for Canadians. To the former, punctuality or even the keeping of appointments is unimportant, a source of frustration for anyone, however sensitive, who has been taught to operate by the clock. The missionaries of Victoria Nueva are no exception, but, in contrast to their predecessors, they do not regard their hosts as being irresponsible, for they sense that a different and, arguably, worthier set of values is at play. Currie remembers waiting in vain for individuals to appear at the hour at which they were expected. "Why didn't they come?" he asks. "They could come and see me any time, but their uncle just happened to arrive from the mountain, and he's leaving the next day. I'm always going to be here for them, but he's only passing through. Or they didn't come because their neighbour got sick, and they had to go, as they say, acompañar, just to sit with them, which is beautiful in many ways." 113

The other category of one-time evils alluded to above also consists of patterns of belief and conduct which are at variance with European and North American norms, but, in this case, these patterns are considered by missionaries to
be in varying degrees unhealthy and, thus, in need of modification. Still, no reproaches are levelled at the men and women who adhere to the imperfect modes of thought and action in question. These people are not regarded as sinners but as victims of sin, an accusing finger being pointed not to them but to the socioeconomic structures which shape their existence. What is striking about the missionaries of Victoria Nueva is the level of comprehension they bring to issues which once elicited cries of immorality or superstition. One of the cardinal features of Peruvian religiosity, for example, is the dominant place it gives to human mortality and, insofar as Christ met a painful end on earth, divine mortality. The cult of the dead, as this phenomenon can suitably be called, is expressed in elaborate obsequies and recurring memorials, a fervent spirit of penitence, tinged, at times, with desperation, and an obsession with Christ at his most abject, the consummation of which is the passionate celebrations which mark Good Friday. In contrast, Easter and the triumph implicit in it mean little or nothing to Peruvians. This imbalance is one the missionaries are committed to redressing, not because the people who give voice to it are doing wrong -- on the contrary, under the circumstances, they are doing right -- but because a wrong is being done to them. The eruption of grief which occurs as, say, the Stations of the Cross are being made is interpreted as a cathartic phenomenon, a
collective ritualization of the otherwise unendurable sorrows of the poor. Likewise, the anxiety which is everywhere manifest to secure God's favour on behalf of the living and the dead through acts of mortification is understood as a natural reaction to the terrible uncertainties which confront the poor. "It is the suffering Christ that they experience," Loar explains. "Most of those people have not had an opportunity to move beyond that to the nice, neat Jesus that we see sometimes portrayed on crosses in priestly robes. We're not in the day-to-day struggle for survival." An equal degree of perceptivity is shown by missionaries in the face of another form of popular escape, namely, alcohol. Widespread public intoxication is viewed as an unfortunate but understandable indulgence on the part of men and women who cannot afford other diversions or even the solitude in which to drink discreetly.

Having identified the roots of the troubles which beset their hosts, the missionaries of Victoria Nueva have devoted their energies to bringing about the lightening and, ultimately, the elimination of these modern crosses. It is here that questions of outreach come to the fore. In contrast to former times, there is a belief that little can be accomplished if the locus of missionary activity is highly particularized, that is to say, if Christianity is defined in terms of the capacities and responsibilities of
solitary Christians rather than those of a community of Christians. There is also a belief that little can be achieved if this community is allowed to function in isolation from the communities which encircle and intersect it. Accordingly, the missionaries have gently turned the eyes of San José Obrero outward, cultivating the analytical faculties which must be engaged if its members are to operate successfully on a broad and varied stage. To attain this object, a tripartite programme was implemented, consisting of three activities, namely, seeing, judging, and acting. The first step demands that men and women reflect on their often painful experiences, the second that they evaluate these experiences using the Old and New Testaments as interpretive tools, and the third that they take measures to reconcile their reality with that of the gospel.

Working in small groups, the missionaries might, for example, invite their hosts to talk about the problem of malnutrition, eliciting anxieties which would otherwise never be aired in public. At an appropriate moment, the discussion would be deepened through the introduction of a biblical passage, such as the story in which Christ miraculously feeds 5000 men and an unspecified number of dependents with only five loaves and two fish. Out of this fusion of the word of God and the word of the people, a simple yet potent lesson would then be collectively drawn. In this instance, it would be that there is ample
nourishment for everyone who craves it, provided the fruits of the earth and the sea are shared. Christ himself is shown to demonstrate that hunger is a burden which need not be borne. The maldistribution of the goods of this world is, thus, called into question and, while a global problem cannot be resolved by a handful of Peruvians, the necessity and -- through communal action -- the possibility of effecting local changes is made clear. The results of this awakening can be found in the comedores which have sprung up throughout Peru. These culinary centres, established by the poor for the poor, allow women to prepare common meals, reducing expenses and raising nutritional standards. Their reach extends further than this, however, for the comedores have taken steps to secure their own sources of food and income and to provide additional services to their clients, among them first aid. Above all, they have enabled an oppressed class of an oppressed class to enhance their lives and those of their families.

As Hudec reported in 1986, "Women who had been timid and afraid in a man's world were learning to express their needs to authorities and groups who could help them. They were learning to relate together, to work out problems together, to plan and organize activities." They, like the members of San José Obrero, have learned to transcend their environment by transforming it in accordance with the gospel in a communal context. Just how important this
context has been to the missionaries of Victoria Nueva can be seen in their belief that the mark of a conscious Christianity, the sacrament of baptism, is contingent not only on the good standing of an individual or, in the case of a child, a couple but on the viability of the community of which they are a part. Precisely what constitutes a viable community varies from place to place, but the Archdiocese of Halifax has identified its constants. The mission in Victoria Nueva, like every mission in which missionaries and their hosts have sought to make the gospel a reality in partnership with one another, is designed to be a "community of faith and love in which brotherhood is experienced and lived and in which human growth is made possible by caring for one another and respecting the dignity of man." A better articulation of the missionary ethos which predominates today would be hard to find.
Conclusion

The prayers which are recited in Catholic churches on Good Friday have long contained a reference to nonbelievers. Before the Second Vatican Council, the Church expressed the hope that "almighty God may remove iniquity from their hearts, so that they may leave their idols and be converted to the living and true God." After the Second Vatican Council, in contrast, the Church expressed the hope that "they may all recognize in the lives of Christians the tokens of your [God's] love and mercy, and gladly acknowledge you as the one true God and Father of us all." The ethoses which form the subject of this thesis are encapsulated in these intercessions. Both reveal a desire to bring those furthest from the centre of the Church to a full awareness of God, but the paths they propose be followed in the pursuit of this goal are very different. The old intercession is implicitly calling for saviours, for missionaries who will open the eyes of their hosts to what they lack. The new intercession is implicitly calling for witnesses, for missionaries who will open the eyes of their hosts to what they possess. Nonbelievers are summoned to abandon their beliefs in the one case. Believers are summoned to live their beliefs in the other.

The nature of missionaries' relationship with their hosts has depended on the light in which things non-Catholic have been viewed. Those who have regarded them as
essentially bad have naturally believed that the less they have to do with them the better, a conviction which lies behind the solitary nature of the saviour's work. Those who have regarded them as essentially good have naturally believed that the more they have to do with them the better, a conviction which lies behind the communal nature of the witness' work. A foreign gospel, unilaterally implanted, has emerged in the first instance, and an indigenous gospel, cooperatively unearthed, has emerged in the second. Pluralism has been shunned or embraced as fervently in Latin America as anywhere else, for despite its nominal Catholicity, it has been grouped with alien religiocultural systems in missionaries' minds. In a sense, the Rio Grande is the border every missionary has confronted on encountering his hosts, a border some have deemed an obstacle and some have deemed an invitation to communication.

Why missionaries saw between themselves and their hosts so great a distance in 1890 and so small a distance in 1990 is a question which has its answer in the religious and secular worlds of their day. Equality has been defined differently at different times, and, with exceptions, missionaries have accepted the prevailing definition. A missionary who, a century ago, denied his Church's monopoly in truth would be viewed as oddly as a missionary who, today, denied his Church's obligation to acknowledge truth
outside itself. A missionary who, a century ago, denounced the pretensions of Europe and North America to chart the destinies of nonwhite peoples would be viewed as oddly as a missionary who, today, championed the right of Europe and North America to exercise this trusteeship. It is as important, therefore, to contextualize the ethoses which have dominated the last 100 years as it is to delineate them. This thesis has sought to do both, and if the missionaries of the past and the present are better understood in consequence, it will have achieved its purpose.
Notes

1. Mk. 16:15, C. C. D.


3. In terms of manpower, only Africa, with 1856 Canadian missionaries at work among its people, could compete with Latin America, where the total for this year stood at 1998 (Latin American Office, Canadian Catholic Conference, "Canadians in Latin America," Bulletin [January 1971], p. 19, Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax [henceforth identified as A. A. H.]).


10. Paolo Manna, The Conversion of the Pagan World (Boston: Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1921), p. 10. The monopolization of truth on the part of the Church found one of its most uncompromising expressions in Pius XI's encyclical, "Mortalium Animos." Issued in 1928, it harshly deprecated the youthful ecumenical movement, which sought to unify a splintered Christendom, and forbade Catholics from having anything to do with its projects. Dialogue was an alien concept, for disunity was a problem which admitted of but one solution: an unconditional return to the existent unity of the Church rather than a fallacious unity formed in concert with it. In the tone of an unbending parent, the
pope stated, "Let, therefore, the separated children draw nigh to the Apostolic See, set up in the City which Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostles, consecrated by their blood; to that See, We repeat, which is 'the root and womb whence the Church of God springs,' not with the intention and the hope that 'the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth' will cast aside the integrity of the faith and tolerate their errors, but, on the contrary, that they themselves submit to its teaching and government" (Pius XI, "Mortalium Animos," in Claudia Carlen, ed., The Papal Encyclicals, 5 vols. [n.p.: McGrath Publishing Co., 1981], vol. 3, p. 318).


16. Ibid., p. 67.

17. Pius X, "Lacrimabili Statu," in Claudia Carlen, ed., The Papal Encyclicals, 5 vols. [n.p.: McGrath Publishing Co., 1981], vol. 3, p. 132. Certain scholars, it is true, concluded that even the least developed peoples of the world had been touched by remnants of the primitive revelation first vouchsafed to Adam -- a trickle down theory which is now considered to be untenable -- and that, as a consequence, they had "a notion of an Unseen God . . .; of the survival of the soul; of reward and punishment; of the need of prayer and sacrifice" (John J. Considine, The Vatican Mission Exposition [New York: Macmillan Co., 1925], p. 106), but constructs such as this had a limited impact in the field. There, beyond the circles of light thrown out by missions, darkness was widely felt to reign supreme.


Catholic Missionary Congress (Chicago: J. S. Hyland & Co., 1909), pp. 315-316. Many years would pass before missionaries assumed their duties without the intention of taking command — as opposed to placing themselves at the service of — the communities in which they worked. A report presented by Bishop Eduardo Pironio of La Plata, secretary general of the Latin American Episcopal Council, in 1969 on the subject of foreign clerical assistance to Latin America demonstrated that the shadow cast by this form of missionary activity had not yet been entirely dispelled. In some cases, he wrote, "the foreigner arrives with a certain air of superiority that makes him little less than a conquistador or 'colonizer.' Thus he makes no serious effort at personal or pastoral adaptation, and he merely tries to transplant or import ideologies and methods that do not fit into the Latin American situation" (Eduardo F. Pironio, "Foreign Priests in Latin America," in Peruvian Bishops' Commission for Social Action, ed., Between Honesty and Hope [Maryknoll: Maryknoll Publications, 1970], p. 238).


21. J. Moren-Lacalle, "Peru," The Catholic Encyclopedia, 11 (1911), p. 732. Although the propagation of Catholicism in colonial Latin America does not fall within the purview of this thesis, the light in which the missionary activity of this period is viewed constitutes a benchmark by which the ethos of later epochs can be measured. Glowing depictions of the conquest, such as that which appeared in America, a prominent Catholic periodical, in 1924, reveal how uncritical missionary writers could be of their religiocultural system and, conversely, how critical they could be of those which lay beyond its frontiers. Thus, one learns that Cortes did not intend to conquer New Spain but, rather, was provoked into doing so by belligerent Indians, that these people "were not in a high state of civilization, but were hostile savages speaking many different languages, practising abominable religious rites in which human slaughter played a principal part," and that the Spaniards, having saved them from the horrors of paganism, ushered in an unparalleled reign of harmony and abundance (J. N. Patterson, "A Puzzling Mission Problem," America, 31 [May 31, 1924], p. 154).


24. John-Mary Simon, "Is the Church Occidentalized?" The
A minute exposition of the Christian foundations of western civilization can be found in a Protestant work whose aim was to show that every facet of contemporary progress, that most revered of European and North American shibboleths, was reducible to the teachings of Christ and his past and present followers. In the words of its author, "our science is a result of our gospel; and hence all our civilization is only a synonym for the gospel of Jesus Christ -- a by-product of the gospel. Trace this thought out to a last analysis, and we have a railroad train, a trolley car, a telegraph, a telephone, a phonograph, a watch in your pocket, a filling in your tooth, glasses on your eyes, and all the great machinery-filled mills which it has required thought to produce, and thought and intelligence to operate" (Isaac Taylor Headland, Some By-Products of Missions [New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1912], pp. 36-37).


27. Costello, Mission to Latin America, p. 75.


29. Ibid., p. 439.

30. Manna, The Conversion of the Pagan World, pp. 146-147. The annals of the Church in Latin America demonstrate that an unwillingness to grant power to or acknowledge the worth of indigenous Catholics was not restricted to the Old World. Although, in 1537, Paul III had decreed that Indians were genuine human beings and were both able and anxious to embrace the dogma of Catholicism, they were long proscribed from taking holy orders. In colonial times, even criollos found it difficult to enter the upper reaches of the Church. Of the 706 bishops who held office in Spanish America in this period, 85 per cent were peninsulares (A. Tibesar et al., "Latin America, Church in," New Catholic Encyclopedia, 8 [1967], p. 451). It is the legacy of this exclusivity which is of relevance to this thesis. Held at arm's length for centuries, ever the object of ministrations and never ministers to others, Indians and the marginal masses of which they formed a part ceased to think of the priesthood as a valid vocation for people of their stamp. In 1970, notwithstanding an enormous influx of missionaries in the course of the preceding decade, Latin America had the most unfavourable ratio of priests to Catholics in the world.
While the missionaries of the epoch presently under consideration were not responsible for this imbalance, their ethos did not facilitate its redress.


39. Ibid., p. 258.

40. Stephen Neill, Colonialism and Christian Missions (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966), p. 155. The protection extended to missionaries by their homelands was not confined to the territories over which these powers ruled. Protectorates, such as the one established in China by France, placed missionaries and their flocks in a privileged position vis-à-vis local non-Catholics. Until other countries claimed the right to look after their own missionaries, every Catholic stationed in China was formally granted the status of a French subject and, as such, enjoyed the support of French consular officials in the conflicts which not infrequently arose with Chinese authorities. In this case, as in many others, missionaries were the means of expanding the reach of more than just the gospel.


42. John Gallagher & Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., Imperialism (New York:
New Viewpoints [Franklin Watts], 1976, p. 62.


45. James S. Dennis, Foreign Missions After a Century (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1894), p. 139. It is a measure of the repugnance Latin American Catholicism aroused in Protestant hearts that the broad-minded looked with equanimity on the presence of Catholic missionaries in this part of the world. Concluded one, "If religion has nothing to do with morality, then it is all well. We can leave South America alone. But if as we believe religion is nothing but a living morality, the morality of a true and loving fellowship with a Heavenly Father, . . . then we are no Christians if we do not, whether American Protestant or American Catholic, carry such a religion to South America" (Robert E. Speer, South American Problems, 2nd ed. [New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1913], pp. 194-195). His invitation was spurned, for though his views of Latin American Catholicism were not wholly at odds with those of his Catholic countrymen, the poisonous state of inter-Church relations in this epoch demanded that the charges of a Protestant be unequivocally repudiated. "He wants us to pity benighted South America," an article in America riposted. "We pity South America's benighted defamers" (J. B. Culemans, "Benighted South America," America, 16 [December 16, 1916], p. 225).


47. Ibid., pp. 364-365.


49. Costello, Mission to Latin America, p. 49.


51. Aidan M. Carr, "Once Again," The Homiletic and Pastoral Review, 61 (December 1960), pp. 268-269. The Church in
Canada was of the same mind. As its bishops stated when they proclaimed their determination to come to the aid of Latin America, "with God's help, we shall contribute to preventing the triumph of Marxist ideology which is always looking for social injustices and inequalities, not in order to remedy them but so as to sow the seeds of anarchy and to establish an inhuman and Godless dictatorship" (Administrative Board, Canadian Catholic Conference, "Joint Pastoral Letter of the Canadian Episcopate on Apostolic Co-operation Between Canada and Latin America" (January 13, 1960), p. 8, A. A. H.). This letter was issued in the train of a meeting held in Washington in the fall of 1959 at which representatives of the Canadian, American, and Latin American episcopates laid the foundations for an unprecedented programme of assistance to Latin America's beleaguered Church.


58. Ibid., p. 11.


64. O. North Tower, "The Men from Heaven," The Catholic


68. Ibid., pp. 286-287.

69. Paul Bouchard, "Religion in Latin America," The American Ecclesiastical Review, 144 (April 1961), p. 238. For Bouchard and his like-minded coreligionists, two dangers were confronting Catholicism in Latin America: that of Soviet communism and that of American Protestantism. The threat they posed was related, for a switch in religious loyalties was viewed as a prelude to a complete abandonment of religion in favour of the materialistic creed propounded by the followers of Marx. Unenlightened Latin Americans, a class which would appear to include a plurality of the population, are cast in the role of sheep which, if lured from their long-time shepherds, must sooner or later wander into the sinister embrace of the enemies of western civilization.

70. Personal interview with Louis Caissie.

71. Samuel Ruiz García, "Evangelization in Latin America," in Louis Michael Colonnese, ed., The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council, 2 vols. (Bogota: General Secretariat, Latin American Episcopal Council & Washington: Latin America Bureau, United States Catholic Conference, 1970), vol. 1, p. 167. For an independent analysis of the state of Catholicism below the Rio Grande, Ivan Vallier’s Catholicism, Social Control, and Modernization in Latin America should be consulted. The position of the Church is shown to be far from strong, long distinguished, as it has been, by a poor level of organization, a tenuous place in the largely extraecclesiastical religiosity of those who call themselves Catholics, and, intertwined with these handicaps, an unhealthy dependence on external centres of influence. The Church’s failure to become its own master has prevented it, in turn, from creating a generally acceptable system of values through which a consensual basis for society as a whole can be developed. The result, according to Vallier, has been chronic instability within the Latin American body politic. What is significant in the
context of the question at hand — whether or not the presence of missionaries was and is a needful one — is the linkage Vallier establishes between the frailty of the Church and its aforementioned concomitants and the disappearance of the missionary fervour which characterized the first years of Iberian rule in the New World. In his words, "By giving up the missionary thrust (and with it the possibilities of building up a strong religiously based relationship with the people and the capacity to achieve autonomous religious strength outside the comforting embrace of the political order), the Church lost one of its key opportunities to form and create a culturally based system of religio-ethical leadership" (Ivan Vallier, *Catholicism, Social Control, and Modernization in Latin America* [Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970], p. 48). What is at issue, then, is not the propriety of missionary activity in Latin America but the way in which it has been carried out.


77. Personal interview with Martin Currie (Dartmouth, Nova Scotia), April 21, 1987.

78. John Paul II, "The Redeemer of the Human Race," *The Pope Speaks*, 24 (Summer 1979), p. 118. The most complete enunciation of this invisible union can be found in the works of the eminent Catholic theologian, Karl Rahner. Confronted with two seemingly incompatible truths, namely, the indispensability to salvation of a faith in Christ and the universality of the Father's salvific plan, Rahner posits an anonymous but genuine Christianity in which the grace of God is operative and through which eternal life is attainable, a seed, to use his imagery, from which the plant of a tangible Christianity springs. If, in his words, "a Christian must recognize a single meaning and a single
dynamism running through the whole history of mankind, then he must simply have a single answer as to how and in what way he can recognize in every one of his fellows a brother in the sense in which Christianity recognizes every individual as a brother, a sense, that is, which is not merely humanist but truly Christian. There must be a Christian theory to account for the fact that every individual who does not in any absolute or ultimate sense act against his own conscience can say and does say in faith, hope, and love, Abba within his own spirit, and is on these grounds in all truth a brother to Christians in God's sight" (Karl Rahner, Theological Investigations, 20 vols. [New York: Seabury Press, 1976], vol. 14, p. 294). For Rahner, the concept of the anonymous Christian offers a solution to this problem, but, however the justification of the non-Catholic is explained, an unconditional belief in the oneness of mankind, a oneness which honours differences, lies at its heart.


82. Second Vatican Council, "Decree on Ecumenism," in Walter M. Abbott, ed., The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Guild Press, 1966), p. 350. Hans Kung, whose wide theological interests include the field of ecumenism, attaches great importance to the concept of pilgrimage and the potential for interreligious understanding inherent in it. According to Kung, "when as a Christian I am convinced that mine is the true faith bearing witness to the one true God, that, in short, mine is the true religion, I am not justified in claiming to possess the truth exhaustively. The whole truth is God alone, and he transcends all our categories of thinking and acting. . . . Even Christianity is in via: ours is a Church on pilgrimage, on the way, which has not yet arrived at the goal of seeing God face to face. . . . Thus we can accept that we are not alone, that hundreds of millions of other men and women of all possible confessions and denominations and religions are also on the way (Hans Kung, "Ecumenism and Truth: The Wider Dialogue," The Tablet, 243 [January 28, 1989], p. 93).

84. Costello, Mission to Latin America, p. 60.


86. James Sweeney, "Europe: A New Evangelisation," The Month, 247 (May 1986), p. 157. It is a measure of how radically the self-understanding of Catholics in the West has changed that a spokesman for the bishops of Spain could state that "Spain is now a country of mission where the role of the Church is one of evangelizing rather than pastoral care" (Reuters, "Spaniards are More Secular," The Chronicle-Herald, 41 [August 19, 1989], p. 5-WJ), this in a country which once gloried in its Catholicity.


90. National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "To the Ends of the Earth," Origins, 16 (December 4, 1986), p. 460. The disparate reactions of American missionaries and American governmental officials to the forceful nationalism exhibited by the military government of Peru in the late 1960s and early 1970s revealed that the paths of each were diverging. The expropriation of American interests, such as those of the International Petroleum Company, aroused Washington's ire, leading it to take a variety of retaliatory measures, but was endorsed by many missionaries, including Americans, scores of whom went so far as to issue a statement in support of Peru's position. For the initial group of missionaries in Victoria Nueva, on whom these developments had a radicalizing influence, the greatest external threat to the welfare of Peruvians did not originate in the Soviet Union, as their predecessors would have averred, but in the United States. "We very quickly perceived that the enemy wasn't communism," Caissie recalls, "but the enemy was American imperialism, with the big transnational corporations kind of controlling the lives of people everywhere. In Latin America, the reality has always been north-south, never east-west" (Personal interview with Louis Caissie).

264. The practical ramifications of this statement will be dealt with in the next subsection of this thesis in the context of the mission in Victoria Nueva. In terms of the Church in its entirety, ecclesiastical diversity, as understood by John Paul II, yields the following imperatives. "The good news of Jesus," he told an American audience in 1987, "must be proclaimed in the language that particular people understand, in artistic symbols that give meaning to their experience, in ways that correspond as far as possible to their own aspirations and needs, their manner of looking at life and the way in which they speak to God. At the same time there must be no betrayal of the essential truth while the Gospel is being translated and the church's teaching is being passed down" (John Paul II, "The Ethnic Universality of the Church," Origins, 17 [October 15, 1987], p. 308).

92. Ibid., pp. 199-200.


94. Personal interview with Martin Currie.

95. Ibid.

96. Paul VI, "Address to the Peasants," in Louis Michael Colonnese, ed., The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council, 2 vols. (Bogota: General Secretariat, Latin American Episcopal Council & Washington: Latin America Bureau, United States Catholic Conference, 1970), vol. 2, p. 256. The Church's devotion to the poor, a devotion which takes the form of a preferential, though not an exclusive, love for all who have been denied the fullness of their humanity, has been expressed repeatedly in the years which have followed the Second Vatican Council. As John Paul II, speaking of his pontificate, noted in 1985, "I willingly take this opportunity to repeat and stress that the commitment to the poor constitutes a dominant motive of my pastoral action and the constant solicitude accompanying my daily service to the people of God. . . . As I said at Santo Domingo recently: 'The pope, the church, and her hierarchy will to go on being present in the cause of the poor man, his dignity, his promotion, his rights as a person, his aspiration to unpostponable social justice'" (John Paul II, "One Church, Many Cultures," Origins, 14 [January 10, 1985], p. 501).

Peru's income per capita is the fifth lowest in Latin America — Cuba and the Dominican Republic are included here — and the second lowest if only the Latin countries of South America are considered. The level of infant mortality in Peru, expressed as a proportion of every 1000 live births, is 82, the second highest in Latin America. Illiteracy, an affliction of the healthy and the unhealthy alike, is higher in Peru than in any other Latin country in South America ("Nations of the World," The Canadian World Almanac & Book of Facts, 1988, pp. 141-224).


100. Personal interview with Gabriella Villela. The community envisioned by the missionaries of Victoria Nueva consists, in their words, of "a group of committed believers who voluntarily share faith, worship, time and talents for the development not only of themselves but of the larger community" (San José Obrero, "Pastoral Plan for San José Obrero Parish" [March 1975], p. 2, Archives of the Sisters of Charity of Halifax [henceforth identified as A. S. C. H]).


102. Ibid.


105. Personal interview with Zelma LeBlanc. Thus, the worst trap into which missionaries believe that they can fall is to allow themselves to become the sole means by which their hosts are able or willing to improve their lot. Symptomatic of this predicament is the charity missionaries once dispensed with abandon. Now they reserve it for dire situations, for alms, in their eyes, not only threaten to create rice Christians -- Christians whose allegiance to the Church is contingent on the disbursement of a material good of which they are in need -- but to leave the problems which lie behind the pleas of the needy unresolved. When the well runs dry, as it one day must, missionaries fear that those who are receiving aid would be likely to find themselves as
badly off as they were before they obtained it, if not more so. Under these circumstances, the chances that a self-sufficient community could take shape would be, at best, remote.

106. Personal interview with Louis Caissie.

107. San José Obrero, "Algunos pensamientos sobre nuestro consejo parroquial," Boletín (April 26, 1970), p. 1, A. A. H. This passage can be rendered in English as "in Christ and in the Church there is no fundamental inequality of race or nationality, of social condition or sex, because 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither man nor woman, since all of us are "ONE" in Christ Jesus.'"

108. Personal interview with Louis Caissie.

109. Personal interview with Gabriella Villela.

110. Personal interview with Mary Beth Moore.


112. Personal interview with Louis Caissie.

113. Personal interview with Martin Currie.

114. Personal interview with Mary Ellen Loar. That Peruvians do, indeed, struggle for their livelihood is affirmed by Currie, who flatly rejects the once popular charge that Latin Americans are slothful. "Why are people poor?" he asks. "Not because they're lazy. We've seen too many movies of Mexicans sitting under trees strumming guitars. If you had to carry cement on your shoulder in a bucket up three or four flights of stairs in the hot sun . . . for two dollars a day, you wouldn't do it. There's not a lazy bone in their body" (Personal interview with Martin Currie).


116. The pastoral records of San José Obrero systematize this change, identifying the sacraments "as a sign that the good news has taken seed or root" and answering the following questions in the light of this definition: "Is there a formed Christian community here? No. Could sacraments logically exist here then? No. It follows then that evangelization must come first" (San José Obrero, "Work Session" [October 9, 1969], p. 1, A. S. C. H.).
Christianity, in other words, is not considered to be a private affair.


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Abbreviations

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