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Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Peru, 1922-2000

A DISSERTATION

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By

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Schools of Mission: Sisters, Servants of Immaculate Heart of Mary in Peru, 1922-2000

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The first permanent mission of the United States Catholic Church in South America was a Catholic private school established by the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (IHM) in Lima, Peru, in 1922. The IHM Sisters of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, sent four sisters to Lima in response to the invitation of Emilio Lisson Chávez, CM, Archbishop of Lima. Cardinal Dennis Dougherty agreed to Lisson's request to find a religious community of women to teach in a school that the archbishop promised to provide. The IHMs, a diocesan congregation of educators at the time, was elected. The success of Protestant mission schools among the Catholic population of Peru prompted the archbishop of Lima to provide an alternative to the American-style education where instruction in English and a modern curriculum prepared Peruvians of all social classes, especially in Lima, with a modern progressive education.

The IHM sisters told the story of their experience of mission in their correspondence, diaries, annals, and reports. Their words and actions reflect attentiveness to the challenges of the new ecclesial context. The North American IHMs successfully established two American-style Catholic schools within five years without the aid promised by the zealous, but impractical, archbishop of Lima. Villa Maria Academy in Miraflores and St. Anthony School in Callao embedded the sisters into two social classes striving to find their place in the national effort to modernize Peru—the working poor, and the rising middle class. Eager for access to American-style Catholic schools where their children would be educated in English and their Catholic

identity safeguarded, parents vied to register their sons and daughters in the IHM schools. The sisters' story details how their educational mission endured through many unexpected events: earthquakes, revolutions, terrorism, epidemics, scandal, and division.

This dissertation by Annette M. Pelletier, IHM, fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Catechetics and Religious Education approved by Catherine Dooley, PhD, as Director, Margaret Schreiber, STD, acting director and by John Ford, STD, and James Riley, PhD, as Readers.

Catherine Dooley, PhD, Director

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To IHMs past and present,
To Mercedes Rojas and José Antonio Patrón.

*“Juntos con valor cantemos
Con viva Fe y Alegría
Por que unidos saciaremos la sed de verdad y vida.”*

“Himno de Fe y Alegría”

Table of Contents

General Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Memoirs and Memories (1922-1925).....	8
Missions at Home and in Peru: Memoir of the First Years	8
Minding the Missions at Home.....	13
<i>Patria Nueva</i> : Mission to Modernize the Peruvian Church and State	15
Archbishop Lisson: Protector of the Flock.....	17
Archbishop Lisson: First Step to a New Model of Education in Lima.....	24
Summoned and Sent.....	29
Voyage to the “new Jerusalem”	34
Arrival and Welcome.....	37
IHM View of Schools and Schooling in Lima (1922)	41
Writing Home.....	51
Schooled <i>in</i> Mission <i>on</i> the Mission.....	56
Chapter 1 Illustrations	59
Chapter 2: The Mission Unfolds (1926-1946)	70
Expansion and Growth	71
Peruvian Education	74
Progress and Pedagogy	77
Transplant or Implant? Villa Maria Academy, Miraflores	78
Expansion at Callao	81
IHM Pedagogy in Peru	85
Pedagogy Meets Poverty	87

Minding the Mission.....	95
Dilemmas and Decisions.....	105
From St. Anthony Catholic School to Colegio San Antonio	107
Telling Stories	110
Broken Bodies and Brave Hearts	112
Religious Women: Link to the Church of America.....	124
The End of the Pioneering Era	129
Chapter 2 Illustrations	139
Chapter 3: The Mission Grows (1947-1966)	149
Continuing the Mission	149
Growing Schools	150
Mother Maria Pacis’s Desk Journal	169
Growing Colegio San Antonio for Girls	185
Growing Demand	191
Growing Hospitality	199
“We haven’t had visitors all week!”	203
The Elusive “Siesta Hour”	212
New Voices, New Vocations	216
Blinding Success	224
Chapter 3 Illustrations	239
Chapter 4: The Mission at Risk (1967-1981)	255
New Challenges	255
Confusing Ideas	259
Conflicting Opinions	268

Disturbing Developments	274
Wrestling with the “Restless Ones”	276
Growing Resolve	290
Mending the Mission	291
Chapter 4 Illustrations	305
Chapter 5: The Mission Transformed (1982-2000)	310
Growing Crises	310
Growing Balance	315
Growing Initiative	319
“Where the Asphalt Ends,” Terrorism Begins	326
Growing Fear	327
Growing Solidarity.....	331
Growing Communion	338
Chapter 5 Illustrations	342
Chapter 6: General Conclusions	349
Appendices	358
Bibliography	425

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General Introduction

Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary

The Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (IHM) are a religious congregation of women who have consecrated their lives to God and the dedicated themselves to the educational mission of the Church. The congregation was founded by Father Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR, in 1845 in Monroe, Michigan. Membership in the congregation grew rapidly since Catholic education arose as one of the urgent needs of the immigrant Church of the United States. The congregation was divided into three separate branches (Monroe, Scranton, and Immaculata) as new dioceses were created in Michigan and Pennsylvania. The IHMs of Immaculata worked principally in parochial schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and, when papal approbation of the institute was granted in 1951, the congregation sent sisters to teach in parish schools in the South, Mid-Atlantic, the West, and Northeastern United States. From the first moment of their foundation on the frontier in Michigan, the IHMs considered mission the heart and soul of their consecration to God and service to God's people.

In 1922 the Archbishop of Philadelphia, Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, asked that the IHMs assume a new mission in Lima, Peru. Since the IHMs were, at this time, a diocesan congregation, they were subject to the authority of the local bishop. Although Mother Mary James Sweeney, IHM, the mother superior, did not immediately accept this unusual request, she acceded when Cardinal Dougherty asked for sisters again. Although the legacy of Spanish Catholicism made Lima one of the most prestigious archdioceses in the New World, the shift from colonial times to

modern times had weakened the Church's ability to respond to new pastoral needs, specifically, education. Emilio Lisson, CM, the Archbishop of Lima, travelled to New York on various occasions to request American religious congregations to staff parish schools and teach English. Through his brother Vincentian priests at St. John's College in New York, Archbishop Lisson contacted Cardinal Dennis Dougherty asking for religious sisters. Cardinal Dougherty, once a missionary in the Philippines, agreed to his request. The IHMs were the congregation that he chose.

Mother Mary James and her Council selected three sisters, S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, IHM, S. Seraphine Byrne, IHM, and S. St. Chrysostom McGrory, IHM, to staff the promised school and, since Mother Mary James' health did not permit the voyage, Mother Mary Berenice McDonough, IHM, her first councilor, accompanied the three sisters and returned to the Motherhouse when the sisters were settled. More sisters were to be sent to staff the school at a later date. On November 30, 1922 the four sisters set sail for Lima. They arrived in Lima twelve days later on the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of the Americas. Mother Berenice had to return to the Motherhouse in West Chester, Pennsylvania earlier than she expected since shortly after school started Mother Mary James died and Mother Berenice was needed to arrange the election of a new mother superior. More sisters were sent to Peru in the following months. In March 1923, S. Avellino Bidenharn and S. Gerald O'Donel set sail for Lima and in July of the same year Mother Cornelia Higgins, the superior of the pioneer community, and S. Amabile Lovett completed the founding community.

The principal documents which record the history of the IHMs mission in Peru are the numerous letters, memoirs, histories, diaries, reports and the annals of the six schools which the IHMs established over the course of the twentieth century. Since these documents contain the personal experiences of the first women religious of the United States of America to found schools in South America, their testimonies are significant. Their encounter with cultural, social, political, and ecclesial difference discloses the perennial challenge to adjust and adapt to new cultural contexts. Their writings attest to their determination and dedication. The difficulties they faced refined their identity as members of a religious congregation of women. Although the IHMs were not founded as a foreign missionary institute, their unexpected mission to Lima reawakened their Redemptorist spirit. Father Louis Florent Gillet, a Belgian Redemptorist, Mother Theresa Maxis, and the pioneer community in Monroe, Michigan exemplified the spirit of St. Alphonsus Ligouri, the founder of the Redemptorists, since they, like him, were eager to evangelize and educate the pastorally abandoned and willing to travel afar to find them.

The purpose of this investigation is to retrieve and to analyze the sisters' testimony of their experience of mission in a foreign culture. Their testimony provides an understanding of their view of mission. Instead of a chronological history, which attends to what happened, this investigation focuses specifically on the personal testimony embedded in this new cultural context. Footnotes accompany the text to supplement the historical details and inform those unfamiliar with Peruvian history and culture. Although there are numerous histories of the

Church's missionary activity in every age, this investigation retrieves the actual words and works, failures and successes, aspirations and disillusionments.

Since women religious congregations have played a major role in the educational mission of the Church, a study of the first North American religious congregation to establish American style Catholic schools in South America merits recognition. To find information about the IHM sisters' engagement in educational ministry in Lima, Peru, the original documents the sisters created (letters, diaries, memories, annals, reports, photographs) are the primary source of firsthand testimony. Since some of the IHMs who were sent to Peru are still alive, interviews and records of oral history has also been incorporated into this research. The IHM congregation's archives at Immaculata, Pennsylvania, contain numerous documents, photographs, and memorabilia that preserve the history of the entire congregation; however, those pertaining to the congregation's unprecedented mission to Lima, Peru and to Santiago, Chile in 1942 take pride of place. Display cases containing original documents, artifacts, artworks, and a catalogue identifying all the documents are preserved in individual files. The archives currently occupy two floors above the library which is located in a building attached to Sacred Heart Chapel. The archives proximity to the Motherhouse Chapel makes it accessible to sisters and the general public. S. St. Michel Mullany, IHM, the archivist, offers guided tours of the premises.

This dissertation has five chapters. The documents of the sisters who served in South America begin with their arrival in Lima in 1922 and are organized loosely by the decades in which they were produced. Chapter 1, "Memoirs and Memories" is an examination of the

firsthand accounts of the IHMs mission to Lima, Peru. S. Joseph Marie McCrosson wrote, “The History of our First Foreign Mission in Lima, Peru” in which she recalls the circumstances which led to the IHM mission to Peru and her memories of the first year.¹ “A Line a Day” is a travel diary written by S. Avellino Bidenharn. She records her impressions during the voyage to Lima and the first days as a teacher in Villa Maria Academy, the IHM’s first school in Peru.² S. Donatus MacNickle IHM, a professor at Immaculata College, in Frazer, Pennsylvania compiled “Peruvian Days” from stories sisters told her when they returned to the United States in the mid-1930s.³ A general historical context is also included.

Chapter 2 investigates the circumstances which led to the congregation’s decision to buy property and construct a school large enough to accommodate increasing enrollment. Although there were not enough sisters to staff Villa Maria Academy in Miraflores (a district near Lima), Mother Loyola Gallagher, IHM, agreed to send two sisters to teach in a small parochial school in Callao, the port city fourteen miles from Villa Maria Academy. The IHMs persevered, although political unrest and an economic crisis, threatened their mission. Archbishop Lisson’s resignation as the ordinary of the archdiocese complicated the congregation’s role in the diocese.

¹S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, IHM, “History of Our First Foreign Mission,” in *Annals Villa Maria Academy, Miraflores, 1922-1954*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

²S. M. Avellino Bidenharn, IHM, “A Line a Day: My First Trip to Peru,” in *Annals Villa Maria Academy, Miraflores, 1922-1954*, Immaculata, PA Archives Villa Maria House of Studies..

³S. M. Donatus MacNickle, IHM, “Peruvian Days, 1922-1925,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1.

Correspondence between the motherhouse and Villa Maria Academy reveal the hazards involved in the congregation's commitment to foreign missionary work.

Chapter 3 investigates the establishment of another school, Colegio Escuela Inmaculado Corazón. The desk journal of Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, shows the IHMs talent for involving all social classes in realizing their mission of evangelization and education.⁴ Her esteem for manual laborers, bankers, professionals, and newly arrived American missionaries (Maryknoll Fathers and Marianists), and her zeal to complete the construction of the new school showed the congregations' willingness to engage with all social classes.

Chapter 4 examines the growing demand for American style Catholic schools. The IHMs and other religious congregations who built schools modeled after the American style private school could not keep pace with demands for enrollment. The academic successes, numerous-student catechetical groups, pastoral care of the poor, elderly, and orphaned, as well as, a vibrant arts program and journalist's club contributed to the overwhelming success of the IHM schools in Peru. The enrollment of Villa Maria Academy surpassed the size of the academy so the congregation purchased property for more classrooms, and eventually a state-of-the-arts high school and junior college for women were built.

⁴Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, Desk Journal, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J1.

Chapter 5 treats the impact of Vatican II and the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellín, Colombia. The IHMs had become a culturally diverse community. Many of the recently professed sisters from the United States, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia and their elders in the congregation, were eager to implement drastic changes to the congregation's educational mission in Peru. The dispute was not definitively resolved until those who wanted to focus on direct ministry to the poor departed from the congregation or returned to the United States. This dispute shows how the sisters in Peru grappled with balance between maintaining their original ministry, education and catechesis and responding to the needs of the most abandoned poor. The establishment of a mission in San Ildefonso parish in Barranca, Peru and the acceptance of two Fe y Alegría schools, part of a network of Jesuit sponsored schools for the poorest of the poor in Latin America, signaled the congregation's ability to balance their educational mission.

This dissertation is intended to expand on recent research which delves into the contributions of women missionaries, in particular, Protestant women in the nineteenth century and Maryknoll Sisters in the twentieth century; hence, the story of the IHM sisters' educational mission in Peru complements these studies.⁵

⁵For an examination of women missionary contributions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Penny Lernoux, *Hearts on Fire: The Story of the Maryknoll Sisters* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993); Dana L. Robert, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Angelyn Dries, Scott W. Sunquist, and Jonathan J. Bonki, vol. 32, The American Society of Missiology Series (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002); Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998); and Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, ed. R. Shenk Wilbert, The Modern Mission Era, 1792-1992 (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997). For the missionary work of cloistered Spanish nuns in the New World, see Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

Chapter 1

Memoirs and Memories (1922-1928)

With eyes turned toward the new Jerusalem, we moved out toward the sea.

—S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, IHM

The History of Our First Foreign Mission, 1923

Missions at Home and in Peru: Memoir of the First Years

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the documents which detail the decisions and the events that led to the IHMs' mission to establish a school in Lima, Peru. The pastoral crisis in the Archdiocese of Lima which prompted Archbishop Emilio Lisson, CM, to ask Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, to send an American congregation of religious women to Lima will be presented. The reasons why Mother Mary James Sweeney, IHM, the mother superior of the congregation, initially resisted Cardinal Dougherty's request will be also be analyzed. The political and ecclesial contexts which shaped the IHM educational mission will frame the analysis of the texts they generated and reveal the latent theological content embedded the narration of their story. The intent is not to offer a chronological account of events but to interpret, synthesize and present the IHMs mission in Peru, which primarily is found in their annals and correspondences. This first chapter presents the invitation, the decisions, the trip to Lima, and the beginning of missionary work in Peru.

S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, one of the sisters sent to Lima in 1922, compared the voyage to Lima to the journey to a new Jerusalem. Her detailed explanation of the origins of Cardinal Dougherty's extraordinary request to send the IHMs, a diocesan congregation, to a foreign country is particularly useful. Although the IHMs numbered over 900 professed sisters, the congregation could barely meet the demands made for teachers from pastors of parishes in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. IHMs already staffed fifty-four parish schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, and three orphanages sponsored by the Catholic Home Bureau: L'Assunta House, Madonna House, and St. Joseph Home for Homeless Industrious Boys. They also had served as nurses during the influenza epidemic in October 1918. Nine professed sisters and a postulant succumbed to the deadly disease making this decision even more difficult.¹

Not only were their human resources stretched to the limit, so too, were their financial resources. Similar to many religious congregations of educators, the IHMs received meager stipends and fees from music lessons to fulfill their educational mission.² Yet, the congregation had bought property in Chester county Pennsylvania (1906) and broken ground for Villa Maria Hall (1908) which was chartered as Villa Maria College (1920), the first Catholic women's college in the area. In 1913 the congregation acquired another property known as the Hotel

¹ S. Maria Corona Crumback, IHM, "We Walk on Their Shoulders," 26-29, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, 1995.

² S. Joseph Catherine, IHM, "The Biography of Mother Mary James Sweeney" (1960), Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

Carlton at Cape May Point, New Jersey, intended to be a retreat house. The cost of the property was only \$5,000; however, the renovations eventually amounted to \$50,000.³

Similarly, the congregation was investing a considerable amount in the education of the sisters. Mother Mary James Sweeney, IHM, the mother superior of the congregation from 1913 to 1923, strove to upgrade the professionalism of each school staffed by the IHM sisters. She initiated the custom of sending congregation-wide circular letters exhorting sisters to comply with IHM pedagogical standards and abide by the IHM rule.⁴ She also took practical steps to upgrade teaching skills. To acquire professional degrees, sisters were enrolled in The Catholic University of America, the University of Pennsylvania, Villanova University and various local colleges at the congregation's expense. Given all of these existing commitments, no sister imagined that she would be sent on a mission to relatively unknown nation such as Peru. As a diocesan congregation, the IHMs were the least likely candidates to be sent forth to establish a school in a foreign land. Yet, their deep sense of mission showed they were eager to obey the gospel mandate to "go forth to teach all nations" (Mt.28:19), which ultimately led to the Church in Philadelphia and the Church of Lima cementing a link between them even before Pope John Paul II's exhortation of the Church of America to collaborate in intercontinental mission.⁵

³ Mother Maria Alma CIM, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1934), 260.

⁴S. Joseph Catherine, IHM, "The Biography of Mother Mary James Sweeney" (1960), Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁵Pope John Paul II, *Ecclesia in America* (Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia: Paulinas, 1999), 10.

S. Donatus MacNickle, IHM, a literature professor at Immaculata College, wrote “Peruvian Days” which was a compilation of the oral history of the foundation in Lima.⁶ This document complements S. Joseph Marie McCrosson’s recollection of the pioneer community from 1922 to 1923. Both accounts reveal the IHMs’ and the hierarchy’s naïveté about establishing a Philadelphia style Catholic school in Lima to defend Peruvian youth from the threat posed by American Protestant mission schools. Both histories reveal the potency of baptismal grace to empower an unprepared, yet willing, group of English-speaking North American sisters to face the risks and sacrifices needed to fulfill a God-given mission. The *missio Dei* compelled all the actors in this story to implement new means to evangelize a historically Catholic culture.⁷

S. Joseph Marie’s, “The History of Our First Foreign Mission” likens the foundation in Lima to the parable of the sower and the foundation of the first IHM community in Monroe, Michigan in 1845: “The seed planted in the soil of Michigan had now grown into a Tree [*sic*] willing to give itself to plant new seed in new soil.”⁸ In “Peruvian Days,” S. Donatus also connects the foundation in Lima to sowing of seeds and willingness to sacrifice. “A tremendous work like this [in Peru] meant much to the Community in its condition at this time. There were

⁶S. M. Donatus MacNickle, IHM, “Peruvian Days, 1922-1925,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1.

⁷Pope John Paul II, *Mission of the Redeemer/Redemptoris Missio* (Boston, MA: Pauline Books and Media, 1990), 18.

⁸McCrosson, “History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 1.

many missions [parish schools] at home calling out for more sisters and to spare others for this foreign land was a great sacrifice...seeds sown in sacrifice bear fruit in abundance (II Cor. 9:6-8).”⁹

The IHMs had a long tradition of sowing seeds in sacrifice. Two years after Father Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR founded the congregation in Monroe, Michigan (1845) but had not completed writing the constitution, the sister were under the jurisdiction of Bishop Paul Lefevre of Detroit. In the very beginning of the establishment of this congregation, conflicts between the congregational and ecclesial leadership existed. One significant event was the withdrawal of Father Gillet from the parish where he ministered and the departure of the first mother superior, Mother Teresa Maxis, IHM. Father Gillet’s provincial, Father Frederick de Held, CSsR, withdrew him from Monroe due a parishioner’s spurious accusation of misconduct in the confessional. Bishop Lefevre reprimanded Mother Teresa for sending sisters to teach in a parish school in Susquehanna, Pennsylvania without his formal approval. She did, however, have the approval of Archbishop John Neumann, CSsR, of Philadelphia, the archdiocese for Susquehanna.¹⁰ Mother Theresa’s decision to risk expansion of their mission to Pennsylvania precipitated a jurisdictional dispute between Bishop Paul Lefevre and Archbishop John Neumann. Mother Theresa’s decision to send sisters to Susquehanna, Pennsylvania, stoked

⁹McCrosson, ‘The Call,’ in “History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 3.

¹⁰Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, *Thou, Lord, Art My Hope! The Life of Mother M. Theresa, a Pioneer of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, (Lancaster, PA: Dolphin Press, 1961), 80-93.

Bishop Lefevre's antagonism toward her, which resulted in her decision to leave the community and join the Gray Nuns of Ottawa, Canada. The IHMs were not strangers to disputes between their superiors and the hierarchy.¹¹

As of 1871 the IHM congregation was split into three branches. IHM missions in the northern part of Pennsylvania became part of the Scranton Diocese. Bishop William O'Hara, the newly appointed bishop of Scranton announced to the sisters in Susquehanna, Pennsylvania that they should "take up the cross of separation from their Philadelphia Sisters" since he had urgent need of a sisterhood in his own diocese. With the consent of Archbishop James Wood of Philadelphia, the IHMs were now divided into three canonically separate religious congregations.¹² The arbitrary decisions of the sisters' canonical superiors did not alter the dedication to their mission or the living memory of their original unity.

Minding the Missions at Home

By 1922 the IHMs in the Archdiocese Philadelphia found themselves at the center of attention of the bishops in two countries. Both Archbishop Lisson of Lima and Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia viewed the sisters as the principal educators of youth in parochial schools. The sisters' narratives reveal that neither Cardinal Dougherty nor Archbishop Lisson considered the practical implications of transplanting North American sisters into a South

¹¹Margaret Reher, "Cardinal Dennis Dougherty and the IHMs: The Church as 'Juridic/Mystical Body of Christ,'" *U.S. Catholic Historian* 14, no. 4 (1996): 57. Although Mother Theresa left the congregation, she eventually returned to the IHM in 1872.

¹²Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, 142.

American city to establish an American style parochial school in Lima. And, although the congregation initially avoided this task, this new foreign mission actually retrieved the congregation's original educational model: a bilingual academy for French and English-speaking youth in a rural mission in Monroe, Michigan. In fact, Mother Theresa and S. Marie Celestine Schaaf were fluent in French and English. Their bilingual skills enhanced the IHM's first educational mission in the United States. One of the aims of the IHMs' first school was to "Americanize" non-English-speaking Catholics.¹³ And so, the mysterious design of the *missio Dei* is evident as the IHM congregation accepts a task which recaptures its origin.¹⁴ "The History of Our First Foreign Mission" and "Peruvian Days" display the sisters' belief that accepting a foreign mission was in continuity with their origins. The unexpected invitation to "go forth and to teach" was, indeed, a risk, but rekindled the zeal and daring to emulate their founders (Mt.28:19).

The IHMs were deeply invested in the parochial system in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Cardinal Dennis Dougherty was well-known for his determination to establish schools in every parish in the archdiocese. He required every pastor to establish a parochial school prior to the construction of a church building. He and other members of the United States' hierarchy were convinced that parochial schools were the most effective vehicle to preserve the Catholicity of the rapidly increasing European immigrant population. Since the Council of

¹³ Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, 44.

¹⁴ Pope John Paul II, *Mission of the Redeemer/Redemptoris Missio* (Boston, MA: Pauline Books and Media, 1990), 18.

Baltimore in 1844, the parochial school movement had gained momentum as the membership of religious congregations and parishes multiplied, especially in large urban parishes in the Northeast. Religious congregations which staffed these schools guaranteed that Catholic identity of immigrants would be preserved.¹⁵ Since the city of Philadelphia was notorious for vehement anti-Catholic bigotry, parochial schools were an effective means to catechize, socialize, and educate the various ethnic parishes in the city. Religious sisters were the key to the success of this model of evangelization.¹⁶ As the Age of Progress dawned and the differing educational theories arose, schooling became an even more vital agent of change. The economic value of scientific discoveries and technological skill increasingly formed American identity. To combat this reductionist view of education Pope Pius XI delineated the contours of Catholic education in the modern age.¹⁷

Patria Nueva: Mission to Modernize the Peruvian Church and State (1920-1930)

The educational situation in Peru was distinct from that in the United States. Archbishop Lisson was particularly concerned about the increasing appeal of Protestant schools among

¹⁵Harold A. J. Buetow, *The History of United States' Catholic Schooling*, (Washington, DC: National Catholic Education Association, 1985), 32, 33.

¹⁶S. Consuela Callahan, IHM, "The Church of Philadelphia (1884-1915)" in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, ed. James F. Connelly (Philadelphia, PA: Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 1976), 271.

¹⁷Callahan, 228

liberal, anti-clerical elites who pressed for modernization.¹⁸ In 1916, a Protestant mission society met in Panama declaring its intention to evangelize anew the republics of Latin America. A detailed report of mission work in Latin America and a handbook entitled *Christian Work in South America* offered specific guidelines for remediating the spiritual backwardness in Latin America, the result of the Catholic Church's "centuries of neglect." The American Protestant missiologist, Robert Speer, prepared an astute methodology to Christianize a Catholic culture. "Make no sectarian claims and refrain from attacking any dogma of the [Catholic] Church. . . . In particular, reach out to delinquent and abandoned children. . . . Protestantism now proclaims as never before the increasingly social duty which is implicit in the ideal of the Kingdom of God."¹⁹ The Protestant intention was to supplant the Catholic Church which they considered nothing more than a "sociologically adrift" institution.²⁰ Speer added, "We make bold to say that the history of Catholicism in South America is not associated with the transformation of human character or with the modification of human customs and institutions in the direction of true moral progress."²¹ Thus, the Protestants and Catholics of this era viewed education as a key component in shaping culture. Similar to Catholic educational philosophy, Speer viewed Christian schools as the environment to shape character and skills to contribute to the up building

¹⁸Klaiber, 111, 138-141

¹⁹Robert E. Speer, *Christian Work in South America: Official Report of the Congress on Christian Work in South America* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1925), 57, 58. In 1910 the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference had excluded Catholic South America.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 57.

²¹*Ibid.*, 327.

of God's kingdom on earth. A Sunday school class once a week was insufficient to mold authentic Christians. Schools were the most effective means to achieve this objective.²²

Protestant mission schools aimed to educate those destined to be future leaders of the nation and the working class who needed technical skills to earn a living and contribute to society.²³ He claimed: "The results [of these schools] would be contagious."²⁴ Archbishop Lisson thought education was the key to the modernization of Peru; Protestants thought education was necessary to civilize the nation. Education was seen as the solution by both but the goals were distinct.²⁵

Archbishop Lisson: Protector of the Flock

Zealous pastor of souls that he was, Archbishop Lisson had attacked Protestants' incursion into his flock.

[The North Americans] have come . . . with [Protestant] pastors and dollars. . . . They have come to the [Hispanic] nations since [the] end of the last century, not to remedy hunger, nor to rehabilitate agriculture, nor to elevate the economic level of the people, but to make them Protestants.²⁶

²²Speer, *Christian Work in South America*, 514. Cited from *International Review of Mission* (October, 1924), 514.

²³*Ibid*, 121.

²⁴*Ibid*.

²⁵Bastian, "Protestantism in Latin America," 330-331. He notes that "the democratic political projects were closely associated with this educational effort, which explains the unflagging contributions of individual Protestants . . . to the anti-oligarchic struggles" (331). The IHMs did not see themselves as overtly engaged in maintaining the status quo of the Catholic oligarchy; however, they were drawn into it.

²⁶Herrera, *El obispo de los pobres*, 173. "[Los norteamericanos]. . . han venido todos de Norteamérica 'en forma de pastores y dólares' que han venido invadiendo aquellas naciones desde fines del siglo pasado, no para remediar el hambre, ni para rehabilitar la agricultura, ni para elevar el nivel económico del las gentes, sino para protestantizarlas . . ." Translation mine.

He warned parents that sending their children to Protestant schools was a grave sin. He wrote, “These schools do not limit their labor to the teaching of human sciences, they go beyond that, impugning and attacking the Catholic religion, at the same time they procure material items to attract the gullible.”²⁷ Realizing that the Church of Lima had minimal financial resources, infrastructure or English-speaking personnel, he sought assistance from the Church that possessed both the resources and personnel: the Church of the United States.

Lisson noted with alarm the increasing enrollment in Protestant schools in Lima and Andean region. The Adventists had nineteen schools with over two thousand students.²⁸ Their school in Miraflores occupied nineteen acres. On it were two school buildings, one to educate youth in industrial skills, and the other for missionaries’ children.²⁹ They also established schools and clinics in isolated Andean regions where there were few priests and fewer schools. The Adventists provided both education and medical treatment *gratis*. The Catholics denounced the Adventists as “heretics” which stirred up the anti-Adventist sentiments of a small group of townspeople who attacked the missionaries and ransacked their school. Undeterred by the violence, the Adventists rebuilt the school for their mission in a region marked by high infant

²⁷Ibid., 174. “. . . dichas escuelas [protestantes] no limitan su labor a la enseñanza de las ciencias humanas, sino que van más allá, impugnando y atacando la religión católica, al tiempo que procuran atraer a los incautos aun con dádivas materiales . . .” Translation mine.

²⁸Fonseca Ariza, *Misioneros y civilizadores*, 82-92.

²⁹Floyd Greenleaf, *The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Latin America and the Carribean: Bear the News to Every Land* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1992), 234-238.

mortality and widespread illiteracy. By 1930 the Adventists had established twenty-three schools in the Andean highlands.³⁰

Methodist missionaries, also, came to Peru with evangelizing intentions. Their missiology focused on education and social welfare. Methodists were sensitive to the disastrous effect of Peru's defeat to Chile in the War of the Pacific (1876-1879). The war had left the populace demoralized and the state bankrupt. During the Chilean troops' occupation of Lima, the city was ransacked, leaving the citizens of Lima drastically demoralized. The Methodists came with a message of hope. Their mission was to heal the wounds of war and begin "the spiritual reconstruction" of the nation.³¹ Methodist missionaries also viewed education as the prime means to regenerate the populace. Spiritual reconstruction, in their view, required imparting the Protestant ideals of work, moral behavior, and, above all, conversion to Jesus Christ.³² The Word of God in the Bible, not the sacraments of the Catholic Church, was the way to salvation. Callao High School, Lima High School, Colegio Anglo-Americano, and a college for professional education of native teachers in the Andean city of Huancayo. These developments gave the working class of Callao, the rising middle class of Lima, and the illiterate peasants in the Andean provinces access to a modern education imparted by English-speaking North

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofre, *Methodist Education in Peru: Social Gospel, Politics, and American Ideological and Economic Penetration, 1888-1930* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988), 33.

³²Although political leaders, beginning with San Martin immediately after Peru gained independence from Spain, advocated universal education for all children of every social class, neither finances nor preparation of teachers made it a reality. See Guerra Martinière, *Historia de la educación peruana*, 11-42.

Americans.³³ Undoubtedly the missionary impetus of the Protestants during this period challenged the leaders of the Catholic Church to awaken to the spiritual and material welfare of their people. Protestant missionaries admirably modeled the combination of living faith and action in good works. This spurt of Protestant missionary zeal did not go uncontested by Peruvian intellectuals. By 1940 their evangelizing and civilizing intentions would be questioned by a new generation of Peruvian intellectuals.³⁴

Actually, parents in Lima and Callao were more interested in the modern English curriculum offered by Protestant schools than converting to Protestantism. The goal of teaching English in mission territories like China and India was to gain converts.³⁵ In Peru, Protestant missionaries intended to “Christianize” Catholics. Their schools offered intensive instruction of

³³Jorge C. Bravo, *Inicios del Metodismo en el Perú* (Lima: Iglesia Metodista del Perú, 2006). Healthcare was also a part of the Methodist missionary program. In Callao, Methodists established the Hospital Anglo Americano de Bellavista, which included a nursing school (1922), and in 1925 the Clínica Americana was founded in Huancayo, a city in the Andean highlands. North American Methodists served as nurses. Dr. Thomas B. Wood and his daughter, Elise, established Callao High School and the first Methodist church of Lima (1892). The Instituto Bíblico was also founded in Callao to prepare missionaries to preach the Word of God (1893). Dr. Wood was attacked and imprisoned for a short time for his activity. The United States ambassador interceded for his prompt release (1899). Elsie Wood also established Lima High School (1906), known today as Colegio Maria Alvarado. The Peruvian constitution finally granted religious freedom to Protestant churches in 1915 after small but vociferous demonstrations and pressure from the United States’ State Department.

³⁴Bruno-Jofre, *Methodist Education in Peru*, 33. Peruvian intellectual and political leaders eschewed American missionaries of any denomination. Luis Alberto Sánchez wrote, “Every missionary ‘made in USA’ is looked upon as insurance agents, or a banker who wished to place a loan, or an employee of the Coordinator of Inter-American Relations, or a member of the FBI. . . . Let it be clear: everything that comes to us stamped with an official ‘made in USA seal’ suggests self-interest or some ulterior purpose. Implicitly it links itself with the dollar sign.” In Sánchez, “Protestantism: Postive or Negative for Latin America?” in *Religion in Latin America: A Documentary History*, ed. Lee M. Penyak and Walter J. Petry (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), 226.

³⁵Donald B. Snow, *English Teaching as Christian Mission: An Applied Theology* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2001). Teaching English was also a feature of Catholic missionary ministry in China. *The Field Afar* mission magazine publicized and promoted the erection of schools and English language instruction. See “Schools, Schools, Schools,” *The Field Afar*, 15 February 1919, 19.

academic subjects in English, as well as, bible study and worship. Working class and rising middle class parents, excluded from schools for the elites, gained access to a better education than the government's schools.³⁶

Both the Church and the State struggled to organize and to fund free public education for all social classes. Although Peruvian and European religious orders of men and women had been educating both the socially elite and the rural poor in monastery and convent schools, the entry of Peru into the modern age required more modern schools.³⁷ The State promoted modernization; however, it was limited to regulation without adequate funding. In 1930, the Peruvian Ministry of Instruction published a decree which manifest the reformist agenda which had prevailed in the 1920s. For example, each private or public school was to provide: a legal petition (*solicitud*) for the school; a list of the faculty accompanied by their "*titulos*" (degrees) which were to correspond with the grade and subject taught. School infrastructure was also to be reported: the size of the classrooms, bathrooms, educational materials, furniture, and school supplies. To formalize pedagogy, all schools were required to provide a syllabus for each

³⁶Bastian, Protestantism in Latin America,"330. United States' educational pedagogy was adopted by nations aspiring to transit from pre-modern rural agrarian societies to modern democratic states. See Cremin, *American Education*, 2-11, particularly in the post-World War II era; also see Butts, *American Education in International Development*, 3.

³⁷Juan Fonseca Ariza, *Misioneros y civilizadores: Protestantismo y modernización en el Perú (1915-1930)*, (Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorical PUCP, 2002), 185-211.

academic subject. Compliance with the norms was mandatory and both private and public schools were under the direct control of the State.³⁸

Archbishop Lisson could not rely on the State to finance or promote Catholic schools since resources were limited. Since Protestant mission schools were successful, popular, and financed from abroad, he looked to the Catholic Church of the United States for the human and financial resources he lacked.

In light of the educational system in Lima and aware of the successful work of the American sisters in the Catholic education system of the United States, Archbishop Lisson traveled to New York to request North American sisters to come to Lima to staff private schools. According to S. Donatus, in her “Peruvian Days,” a request for sisters was first presented to the Archbishop of New York City, Patrick Hayes, who declined Archbishop Lisson’s request.³⁹ “The Archbishop received [Lisson] courteously, but regretted that the New York Archdiocese could not accede to his request because of the real scarcity of sisters for the home missions in his own archdiocese.”⁴⁰ Upon receiving Archbishop Hayes’ response, Archbishop Lisson turned to Cardinal Dougherty who granted his request. Details of this decision are addressed in the next section.

³⁸ Dirección General del Ministerio de Educación de la República del Perú , 3 septiembre 1930 Circular 74, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 43

³⁹ Archbishop Hayes supported the newly established Foreign Mission Society (Maryknoll). The Maryknoll mission magazine, *The Field Afar*, referred to him as “a Father with a worldwide heart.” See “Archbishop Hayes,” *The Field Afar* 13, no. 4 (1919): 65.

⁴⁰ MacNickle, “Peruvian Days.”

The president of Peru, Augusto Leguía, had embarked on an ambitious plan to modernize Lima. He utilized both the modernization of the Protestant schools and Archbishop Lisson's vision to provide a private school modeled on the United States Catholic schools.⁴¹ In the president's attempt to modernize government schools, he issued decrees and regulations; but his plans failed.⁴² The chronic underfunding and lack of will of the Limeñan oligarchy prevented a viable plan or policy to modernize public education. Lamentably, politicians and businessmen had scant regard for the majority of the Peruvian population, the peasants in the Andean regions, and the working poor in the cities. Regions beyond Lima were largely controlled by the wealthy landowners (*gamonales*), who considered the indigenous population uneducable. The peasants in the Andean highlands and Amazonian jungle were never included or considered in the

⁴¹Lisson's zeal outstripped prudence for the archbishop's public alliance with the Leguía regime led to his downfall. According to his biographer, Archbishop Lisson was the quintessential Vincentian bishop. He aimed to reform the diocesan seminary education, finance the renovation of monasteries of cloistered nuns, and, most importantly establish modern Catholic schools staffed by American English-speaking sisters. José Herrera, CM, *El obispo de los pobres: Emilio Lisson* (Madrid: Editorial Milagrosa, 1964), 213-221. Leguía's eleven year presidency, marked by cronyism and electoral fraud, collapsed when military strongman, General Sánchez Cerro, imprisoned the president. Jeffrey Klaiber, SJ, *La Iglesia en el Perú : Su historia social desde la independencia*, (Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1996), 147- 150. Although a canonical and civil investigation into his conduct under Leguía's regime exonerated Lisson of any misdeeds, he was disgraced. During his *ad limina* visit to Rome, Pope Pius XI asked him to step down from his See. He was never to return to Peru. He remained in Rome in the Vincentian International House of Studies as a mentor to seminarians and a guide for pilgrims. Later, the archbishop of Valencia, Spain invited him to reside in his diocese, where he devoted himself to pastoral ministry and lived an exemplary life. José Antonio Benitez Rodriguez, "Emilio Lisson, CM (1872-1961): Destacado egresado de la UNSA y arequipeño universal," *Revista de la Escuela Profesional de Historia II Epoca*, no. 7 (2004). Herrera, *El obispo de los pobres*, 225, 226. See, also, Sor María Infante, AHC, "Monseñor Emilio Lisson Chavez, CM: 'El obispo de los pobres' Peru 1872-España 1961," (Madrid: 2002).

⁴²Rolland Paulston, "La participación educacional de los Estados Unidos en el Perú 1909-1968," *Estudios Andinos* 2, no. 4 (1971): 77, 79.

modernization programs.⁴³ Furthermore, the educational system amounted to a corrupt bureaucracy.⁴⁴ Neither political leaders nor the policies they enacted demonstrated a commitment to direct funds to educate the masses of illiterate peasants or their children.

Archbishop Lisson: First Step to a New Model of Education in Lima

Archbishop Lisson's recourse to the United States' Church, therefore, represents a tacit admission that neither the Peruvian Church nor the State was capable of modernizing education and thus his conviction to secure American sisters for the education mission of Lima.

S. Donatus, in "Peruvian Days," mentions Archbishop Lisson's zeal for his flock. She recognizes the Archbishop's zeal in his journeys to New York. As a guest at the Vincentian community of St. John's College in Brooklyn, New York he used his connections with the American Vincentians to find an English-speaking congregation of sisters to staff a school in Lima. Apparently, Father J. W. Moore, the superior of the community, suggested that the

⁴³See Miller, "The Coastal Elite and Peruvian Politics." He studies the rivalry between the coastal elite and the wealthy landowners. The Quechua- and Aymara-speaking populations in the Peruvian sierra were neglected in almost all political discourse. The educated elites in Lima were responsible for the rise of the *indigenista* literary movement.

⁴⁴Miller, "The Coastal Elite and Peruvian Politics," citing F. L. Crone in "Reorganizing Peru's Schools," *School and Society* 17, no. 432 (3 February 1923): 113. The report showed that public schools were poorly constructed and maintained, without sanitary facilities. Financial mismanagement and corruption were entrenched. Government officials bought and sold teaching positions in fiscal schools. Good teachers were fired and poor teachers hired. The most affected by these deplorable conditions were the children in the Andean highlands and Amazonian jungle. The one teacher for a village might get paid if a salary arrived. One or two days of classes were usually missed, since the teacher most often had to walk a day's journey to the nearest bank.

archbishop ask Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, the Archbishop of Philadelphia, for sisters to staff a school after Archbishop Hayes of New York declined his request.⁴⁵

Cardinal Dougherty was sympathetic to Archbishop Lisson's request because as a newly ordained bishop, he was sent as missionary to the Philippines. His first see was the Diocese of Jaro (1903).⁴⁶ After the Spanish American War, the Holy See was wary of "pro-Protestant" modernization programs afoot in the culturally Catholic Philippines. The State Department actively promoted Protestant missions to the islands to "Americanize" the Philipinos.⁴⁷ Bishop Dougherty was one of the first "real live missionary bishops" who spoke at the Second American Missionary Congress in Boston (1913) during his tour seeking donations in the United States for his impoverished diocese in the Philippines. As a bishop, he had witnessed the increasing influence of Protestant missionaries, acting as agents of Americanization.⁴⁸

Since Cardinal Dougherty personally had witnessed the so called "Protestant threat," he was amenable to Archbishop Lisson's plea, and he agreed to ask a congregation to send sisters to the Archdiocese of Lima to staff a school that would be provided by the Archbishop Lisson.

⁴⁵ Archbishop Lisson, CM, was a guest in their community residence at St. John's College, New York. And Congregación de la Misión, *Catalogue des maisons et du personnel de la Congregación de la Misión 1921-1925* (Paris: Desclee de Brouwer), 853.

⁴⁶ Nolan, "The Native Son," 342-343. When Dougherty returned to the United States, he was appointed to the Diocese of Buffalo, New York (1908); seven years later he was sent to the Archdiocese of Philadelphia (1915), where he remained until his death (1951).

⁴⁷ James Drought, MM, "A Challenge and Our Answer," *The Field Afar*, February 1930, 49-50.

⁴⁸ Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 62-71, 95-100. Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 62-71, 95-100.

Because the IHMs were a diocesan congregation, therefore under Cardinal Dougherty's jurisdiction, and had an extensive presence in parish schools in the archdiocese, they were the best candidates for this extraordinary experiment.⁴⁹

Known for his autocratic style of leadership, Cardinal Dougherty expected Mother Mary James' immediate positive answer to his request; however, according to S. Donatus, Mother Mary James did not immediately defer to the cardinal's judgment. "The Cardinal [Dougherty] was not discouraged but returned to the subject a week later. The second request took on the color of obedience from the Cardinal. Mother Mary James . . . acquiesced and immediately issued a letter requesting volunteers for the new venture."⁵⁰

In July 1921, Cardinal Dougherty wrote to Archbishop Lisson shortly before he sailed from New York to Lima.

It gives me pleasure to announce to your Excellency that I have finally succeeded in procuring American Sisters to teach school in your Archdiocese. . . . The Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary . . . I have told them that your Excellency would provide a property for their Academy. I think it would be prudent for Your Excellency to come to Philadelphia and make all arrangements.⁵¹

⁴⁹Cardinal Dougherty's relationship with religious women in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia is examined by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 117. Cummings adds, "In the three decades as head of the archdiocese . . . some evidence [shows] that a few superiors bristled at Dougherty's autocratic proclivities" (153). Although Cardinal Dougherty staunchly supported the IHMs' mission in Peru, he denied permission for the congregation to apply for papal approbation in 1923. Archbishop John F. O'Hara, his successor, granted permission to apply in 1951. See Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1967* (Lancaster, PA: Dolphin Press, 1967), 337.

⁵⁰McCrosen, 'The Call,' in "The History of Our First Foreign Mission," 3.

⁵¹Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Archbishop Emilio Lisson, CM, 10 July 1921, Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Archdiocesan Research Center File 80.6765.

Unfortunately, Archbishop Lisson did not receive the cardinal's message in time to meet Mother Mary James or to explain to her the exact nature of the IHM's mission, the place they were to live or the type of school they were to staff, as well as how to pay for their transportation to Lima. Since Cardinal Dougherty had not heard from Mother Mary James, he wrote to her in September 1921 asking why she had not reported to him the details of the new mission:

I had the honor to send you a letter asking whether you had got in communication with the Archbishop of Lima regarding the foundation. I have not received a reply to my letter; consequently, I fear that either my letter or your reply has miscarried. Please therefore, let me know what has been done in the above matter.⁵²

In October, Mother Mary James replied:

We had no communication on the subject except a letter from Rev. J. W. Moore, C.M. written at the request of Rev. Archbishop Lisson which is enclosed. . . . We most willingly awaited the date of commencing a foundation in a foreign land. We have heard no further on the subject.⁵³

Mother Mary James kept her word to send sisters to Peru although she had never met Archbishop Lisson who invited them. She relied on the word of Father Moore, CM, and the American superior of the Vincentians in New York. She trusted that Archbishop Lisson would, "take care of everything . . . and [Archbishop Lisson] would prepare in Lima everything necessary for the coming voyage and the foundation of the Sisters in Peru."⁵⁴ Little did she or Cardinal Dougherty

⁵²Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Mother Mary James, IHM, 8 September 1921, Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Archdiocesan Research Center File 80.8489.

⁵³Mother Mary James, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 18 October 1921, Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center File 80.8489.

⁵⁴Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Mother Mary James, IHM, 8 September 1921.

realize the gravity of the complications that would unfold due, in part, to initial miscommunication, and to their ignorance of the complexity of Peruvian ecclesial and political culture.

Cardinal Dougherty and Mother Mary James imagined that the IHMs were going to Peru to staff a parish school similar to any one of the parish schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. When Archbishop Lisson did not provide the school he promised, Cardinal Dougherty was incensed. An affront to them [the sisters] was an affront to him.⁵⁵ Although Archbishop Lisson failed to provide a suitable school, he did help them find a suitable building for a school. Nonetheless, in Cardinal Dougherty's eyes, he had not lived up to his word and the IHMs, whom he had commissioned were now stranded in Lima, Peru.

Mother Mary James did not meet Archbishop Lisson until February 1923. She noted it in her desk calendar, "Archbishop Lisson and Father Snyder, CM, visit to the Motherhouse."⁵⁶ The first sisters had arrived on December 12, 1922 and were living in a rented mansion which also functioned as a school. It was not the accommodation they had been promised. The archbishop returned to New York in 1924. During his stay with the Vincentians in New York, he asked the Provincial Council of the Vincentians if Father Corcoran, a North American Vincentian, could

⁵⁵Margaret Reher, "'Get Thee to a [Peruvian] Nunnery': Cardinal Dougherty and the Philadelphia IHM's," *American Catholic Historical Society Records* 103, no. 3-4 (1992). Reher examines these complications and she revises negative assessments of Dougherty as a stern authoritarian leader: "I am prepared to argue that Dougherty was extremely concerned about the personal well-being and success of those religious women under his jurisdiction who were engaged in foreign mission activities" (44).

⁵⁶Mother Mary James, IHM, "Desk Journal," 1 February 1923, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 6 Box 23 Folder 70.

be lent to his diocese to be the IHM's chaplain. The Vincentian Provincial Council did not grant his request.⁵⁷ Evidently the Archbishop intended to provide the sisters with an English-speaking chaplain to say Mass and to hear their confession which he never did.

Summoned and Sent

Mother Mary James' letter asking for volunteers for the new mission in Peru was sent to all the IHM missions in October 1922. The most distant of the fifty-four operating missions in 1922 was St. Nicholas School in Weatherly, Pennsylvania, and a town in the northeastern corner of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. For this first foreign mission in the distant land of Peru, she asked sisters to volunteer trusting, she said, that God would provide volunteers since this was His work.⁵⁸ Few North American religious congregations of women had sufficient members to send afar. The Franciscan Sisters of Allegheny New York had sent sisters to Caribbean islands (1879), and the Franciscan Sisters of Syracuse, New York, led by Mother Marianne Cope, had founded clinics for lepers in the Hawaiian Islands (1883). The Ursuline Sisters of San Antonio, Texas had established schools in Mexico (1892).⁵⁹

Mother Mary James and her council sifted through the many volunteers and evaluated which sisters might be most well-suited for this special task. S. Donatus names the three sisters

⁵⁷William Lickly, CM, "Provincial Council Minutes," 18 January 1924, Philadelphia, PA: Brother Ducournau Archives of the Eastern Province of the Congregation of the Mission.

⁵⁸Ibid., 30 October 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 6 Box 23 Folder 70.

⁵⁹Dries, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, 51-57, 179.

chosen and why.⁶⁰ S. Joseph Marie McCrosson had graduated from Philadelphia Normal School and the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music. She was talented in dance, drama, and music, and was noted for “her knowledge as a linguist, the Spanish language in particular.” Her education suited her for academic subjects. S. M. Seraphine Byrne had studied law before entering the congregation so she was prepared to teach business subjects and attend to legal matters. Of all the sisters sent, S. Donatus notes that S. M. St. Chrysostom McGrory’s task as cook and housekeeper was “vitally necessary for the health and strength of those who were the academic pioneers. Sister could cook, and cooked very well. Even better, she could make something out of nothing when funds were low, and dealers who sold ‘American food’ were rare or far away. . . . The Sisters once dined on squab not knowing that it was a delicacy.”⁶¹ Due to Mother Mary James’ ill health, Mother M. Berenice McDonough, IHM, her sister-assistant, accompanied the pioneers to Lima to make the necessary legal arrangements and then returned to report to Mother Mary James and the Council.

In November 1922, Mother Mary James notified the local superiors of those sisters chosen to be the first foreign mission and summoned them to the Motherhouse for she wished to appoint each sister personally. She then sent a circular letter announcing the names of the selected volunteers.

Dear Mother and Sisters:

⁶¹S. M. Donatus MacNickle, IHM, “Peruvian Days, 1922-1925.”

Our dear sisters will sail for our first foreign mission on the Feast of St. Andrew at eleven a.m. Every morning the *Ave Maris Stella* will be said for a safe journey until their arrival on December 12. Each evening we shall recite . . . in great union of heart and affection. Let us hope to give much glory to God by this new proof of our love and devotion in His Service.⁶²

The IHM's gradually discovered that expansion beyond the boundaries of homeland and diocese enhanced their identity and enriched their mission. The surprising number of volunteers confirmed that the acceptable time had come for the Immaculata IHMs to respond to a new pastoral challenge.⁶³ "Prayer," "affection," "devotion," "service," "hope," "love": these were the virtues and practices that united the sisters to each other and to God. Animated to glorify God through the mission entrusted to them, the sisters went forth.

With the decision certain and sisters chosen to be sent to Lima, Cardinal Dougherty praised the congregation for accepting this new work, a first for the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and for the Church of the United States. Few bishops were willing to send sisters from their diocese to serve in foreign lands, since the steadily growing immigrant population demanded more priests and sisters at home.⁶⁴ Cardinal Dougherty wrote to Mother Mary James saying,

⁶²Mother Mary James, IHM, Circular letter to mission houses, 30 November 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, E Box 23 Folder 49.

⁶³ Immaculata IHMs is used here because the congregation had been split into three juridical institutes: IHMs Monroe, Michigan; IHMs Scranton, Pennsylvania; and Immaculat IHMs West Chester, Pennsylvania.

⁶⁴The United States was considered a mission territory until 1908; however, as the twentieth century unfolded, American Catholics were eager to send and to support foreign missionaries. See Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History From Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985), 393. Dries describes the period between 1918 and 1935 as "America's Hour for Missions Overseas." See Dries, *Missionary Movement*, 86-106.

“What does it matter where we serve God, provided we work for his honor?”⁶⁵ On November 21, he received the IHM missionaries at his residence. He, too, wished to thank them personally and to send them forth with his blessing. A few days later he wrote to Mother Mary James: “Once more, I wish to express my admiration and gratification for the step which you have taken. I believe that the sacrifices you are making will bring a blessing on your congregation and on this diocese will be a great boon for South America.”⁶⁶

S. Joseph Marie recalled the farewell ceremony at the motherhouse. Although a festive event, “sadness pervaded the whole refectory . . . all the Sisters tried to make our last night at home a memorable one.”⁶⁷ She remembered the final farewell at the train station at the Broad Street Station in North Philadelphia: “A great number of our Sisters were waiting [there] to say good-bye. When the train bore us off, there was a great waving of hands and a brave attempt at smiles made by the loved ones on the platform.”⁶⁸

The sisters stayed overnight with the IHMs of Scranton in New York. On November 22, Thanksgiving Day, they rose early, went to mass and confession, and then departed to board the

⁶⁵Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Mother M. James, IHM, 21 November 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 1.

⁶⁶Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Mother M. James, IHM, 25 November 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Box 23 MG6 Folder 36, 37.

⁶⁷McCroscon, ‘The Call,’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 9.

⁶⁸Ibid.

Santa Ana [*Santa Maria*] bound for Callao, Peru.⁶⁹ S. Joseph Marie expressed their surprise to see the group on the dock awaiting them (see figure 1.2): “Many of our friends were waiting. Reverend Mother [Mary James], despite her weakened condition, made the trip to New York to give the parting blessing to her little band. Among the clergy present was Dr. Lamb, the Cardinal’s secretary.”⁷⁰ They boarded the ship bravely, but not without a few tears. Mr. Byrne snapped a photograph of those poignant moments.⁷¹ S. Joseph Marie expressed their sentiments:

The first whistle had sounded. It was then with a pang tho’ unexpressed that those who were to leave and those who were being left realized that the time for departure had come. Again the whistle blew. There were smiles gleaming on the lips of all, there was a light in every eye, there were words of courage whispered from all hearts, words short to the ear but long to love and memory. The angels must have been peeping down that day from a sky that was trying to smile. We could not hear the strains, for the steamer’s whistle wanted everyone to know that we were going. All our dear ones left the *Santa Ana* and stood below on the dock, while we stood on the promenade deck smiling down at them. . . . We were going, going then kept waving, waving. And soon as the vessel left its whirling trail in the waters of the Hudson we were lost to view.⁷²

Only eleven days had passed since their appointment.⁷³

Voyage to the “new Jerusalem”

⁶⁹Ibid. S. Joseph Marie names the ship, the *Santa Ana*. M. Alma Ryan refers to the vessel as the *Santa Maria* (263). The Grace Line Cruise Ship “Santa Maria” sailed regularly between New York, Carribean, and South America. See “Cruising the Past: The *SS Santa Maria* Is Land Locked – Grace Line – 1930s,” <http://cruiselinehistory.com/the-ss-santa-maria-is-land-locked-grace-line-1930s/> accessed 14 March 2013.

⁷⁰Ibid., 10.

⁷¹Photography Album of Missions in Peru, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Box 1 J4 Folder 2.

⁷²McCrosson, ‘The Call’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 11, 12.

⁷³The sisters arrived with five hundred dollars. Part of this sum was meant for Mother Berenice’s return trip.

Using the metaphor of journey, S. Joseph Marie referred to the voyage as a pilgrimage across the sea to the “new Jerusalem.”⁷⁴ The numerous anecdotes recounting sea travel reveal the missionaries’ uncertainty, humor, fright, and delight. From the Japanese purser rousing them from sleep with a gong to the saturnine captain who barely spoke to them, their world expanded. Mr. Halle (the captain) finally “broke down the ramparts and conversed with us,” S. Joseph Marie wrote, and, by the end of the voyage, he was “always ready for a joke” with us.⁷⁵ Their appearance in the dining hall caused a stir: “All eyes were turned upon the four strangely attired ladies in the corner of the ship’s dining room. How many Catholics were on board we wondered? Just a few we thought, but at the end of the voyage we found that at least half of the passengers were Catholic.”⁷⁶ One of the passengers who introduced himself was Mr. del Solar. His wife showed them beautiful pictures of Lima. This chance meeting proved providential since upon arrival in Lima, Mr. del Solar offered the sisters invaluable assistance. The IHMs befriended other members of the crew and other passengers as well: “It was not long before the Chinese servants in the kitchen and dining hall were calling us Chin-chin – Josh Ladies. It was rather amusing to see the curiosity and friendly interest we aroused.”⁷⁷ The night before the ship arrived in Callao, the sisters enjoyed the farewell dinner: “A spirit of refined gaiety pervaded the dining

⁷⁴McCrosson, ‘The Call’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 12.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., 14.

⁷⁷McCrosson, ‘The Call’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 12.

cabin.”⁷⁸ The captain also invited them to a farewell Tea in his cabin: “The Tea was enjoyable, but for the presence of a [Turkish] couple who tried to impress all with their importance.”⁷⁹ As for the four bullfighters that boarded in Panama, these “undesirable personages behaved themselves more becomingly than ever.”⁸⁰

The four sisters devised a daily routine for prayer together, exercise, and professional reading. Getting around the ship was a series of “‘try to’s’. . . . Which to be more explicit were trying to stand on our feet, trying not to notice that the ship’s rail seemed to touch the sky one minute and the crest of a wave the next.”⁸¹ They gathered on the deck to pray the Office of the Blessed Virgin, took brisk walks on the promenade, and read spiritual and academic books (see figure 1.3).⁸² The beauty of the sea and sky lifted their spirits. S. Joseph Marie wrote:

It was our good fortune many times to see the sun setting and the moon rising at the same time. The color effects were marvelous. The sky was a deep, deep blue, flecked here and there with delicate traces of clouds which when the sun shone upon them, radiated beautiful hues of violet, crimson and gold. These shades melted then into the silvery light of the rising moon. . . . On these never-to-be-forgotten evenings we sat in the upper deck, where we sang hymns mixed with stories of home interest and planned the future business. Reluctantly we went to our cabins where we had night prayers and retired.⁸³

⁷⁸Ibid., 21.

⁷⁹Ibid., 22.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., 13.

⁸²Ibid., 15.

⁸³McCrosson, ‘The Call,’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 17.

S. Joseph Marie tells of a terrible storm that filled them with fright: “The ship was so far over as possible in the port side and the next movement just as far in the starboard side. It was rocking just like a huge cradle. . . . Each of us was apparently asleep—no one was willing to admit to the others that that night she expected to find her grave in the briny deep.”⁸⁴

S. Joseph Marie recalled her observations as the ship passed through the locks of the Panama Canal. Her comments reflect American stereotype of indigenous people of that time in history:

On the Panama side [of the canal] owned and controlled by the Panamanian’s government [*sic*] the streets were dirty and narrow, and so thickly populated that people seemed to be living in the streets. They were black, dirty and half-clothed and were seemingly courageously trying to eke out a miserable existence. But a surprise awaited us on the other side of the dividing line, on the side owned and controlled by Uncle Sam. There was life! The houses were spacious and well built, surrounded by fresh gardens. Here the American army [and] navy officials lived with their families.⁸⁵

She wished they could have gone ashore when they stopped at the ports of Talara and Paita along the Peruvian coast, but “it was not necessary for Talara came to us in the persons of some natives who were trying to sell hats and some workmen who were loading sugar. Poor creatures! They seemed part Indian and part Chinese, but the way they had to work down in the hold of that ship! To see them would bring pity to the heart of anyone.”⁸⁶

Arrival and Welcome

⁸⁴Ibid., 18.

⁸⁵McCrosson, ‘The Call’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 19.

⁸⁶Ibid.

The *Santa Maria* dropped anchor in the port of Callao, and the sisters boarded a ferry to the dock. S. Joseph Marie recounts their first impressions: “We were startled by the on-rush of about fifty wild-looking creatures twenty of whom rushed upon us, grabbed our baggage and fiercely explained the fact that each of them was sent by Msgr. [Archbishop] Lisson to take care of us. What a time we had trying to make them leave our bags down.”⁸⁷ Then Archbishop Lisson appeared, greeted them, and accompanied them through customs. The “new Jerusalem” did not appear too “new” at all. S. Joseph Marie wrote, “We followed him [Archbishop Lisson] to the trolley which bore us through the dirty narrow streets of a still dirtier, narrower city.”⁸⁸ At the Plaza San Martín in Lima, “we boarded some automobiles that were worse for the wear on the cobbled streets of Lima.”⁸⁹

Archbishop Lisson had arranged for the IHMs to reside in the convent of the Religious of the Sacred Heart adjacent to the Church of San Pedro, a Jesuit parish dating from the sixteenth century.⁹⁰ S. Joseph Marie noted that the Peruvian nuns welcomed them in “truly Peruvian style.

⁸⁷Ibid., 22.

⁸⁸McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 1.

⁸⁹David Parker, “Civilizing the City of Kings: Hygiene and Housing in Lima, Peru,” in *Cities of Hope: People, Protests, and Progress in Urbanizing Latin America 1870-1930*, ed. James A. Baer and Ronn Pineo (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998). Peru had suffered a catastrophic defeat to Chile in the War of the Pacific (1876-1879). Chilean troops occupied Lima for over a year. Peru’s war debts caused Lima to lag behind other Latin American cities, such as Buenos Aires and Santiago, in modernization programs. To foreign visitors, Lima appeared to be “a relic of a bygone age, its dusty streets bisected by fetid open sewers, its crumbling adobe walls silently mocking the exquisite wooden balconies that had once been the symbol of the city’s colonial splendor” (154-155).

⁹⁰The Church of San Pedro is a historic landmark. Mass was first celebrated there in 1569 for Spanish colonizers and native inhabitants of Lima. The convent of the Religious of the Sacred Heart is adjacent to the church. IHM oral tradition refers to the IHMs’ frequent visits to the ornate Chapel of the Virgin of the “O” (Capilla de la Virgen de la “O”). To view the chapel, see the website of the Archdiocese of Lima at

. . . Here we lived, breathed and had our being for three trying weeks.”⁹¹ One of the nuns, Mother Deslote, RSH, an American by birth, had offered to act as their translator. Since she lived in another convent, she had sent them a note:

I have been given the happy privilege to write to you in Reverend Mother’s cause to bid you welcome to Lima. . . . All of the Mothers here are very much interested in you and would like to know more about you. Many of the children have expressed the same desire, so I hope you will not keep us waiting too long to satisfy our affectionate curiosity. Is it not a good augury for your work that the Sacred Heart is the first to draw you to Himself in that dear old house blessed by the lives of so many saintly Jesuits? . . . You will, no doubt, have enough suffering to satisfy any desire you might have for the means of union with the Divine Heart, but I sincerely hope that He will sweeten all your sorrow and console you in hours of loneliness and weariness and give you great success with the souls for whom you have dared to come so far. . . . In our Archbishop, you will certainly have a staunch and able friend.⁹²

These first words of welcome, written in English, softened the abrupt relocation from a serene, scenic ocean voyage to the chaotic streets of Lima. The nuns’ graciousness, kindness, and concern for the sisters’ welfare and comfort did, indeed, “sweeten their sorrow” and “console” their hearts. The nuns’ “Peruvian style” hospitality endeared them to the IHMs during their tedious wait for the anticipated school and convent.

The IHMs were impressed by the religious spirit evident in the convent. As S. Joseph Marie remarked, “The nuns were lovely—truly religious women, most edifying in their daily

“ArzobispadoLima.”http://www.arzobispadodelima.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=549&Itemid=239, for a tour inside the Church of San Pedro.

⁹¹McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 1.

⁹²Mother M. Deslote, RSH, to the Sisters of IHM, 16 December 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 3.

lives.” Since the nuns were semi-cloistered, the IHM sisters remained in the guest quarters; however, the nuns made an exception for the American sisters on Christmas. They invited the sisters into the cloister to join them in procession through the lovely courtyard garden. Although not the custom in Peru, the mother superior presented them with an American Christmas tree and a statue of the Infant Jesus.⁹³ S. Joseph Marie added, “We had the happiness of hearing five masses.”⁹⁴

Evidently, the beauty, peace, and quiet of the monastery uplifted the sisters’ spirits in those first trying weeks. S. Joseph Marie remembered the solace of the convent gardens: “Roses were laden with blossoms of all hues; the lilies were seven to eight feet tall. . . . The whole place breathed an Old World atmosphere.”⁹⁵ According to S. Joseph Marie, the sisters also enjoyed the meals: “How difficult to be mortified when faced with so many delicious delights?”⁹⁶

Not all was peace and quiet in the monastery. The nuns combined a monastic way of life with teaching girls in the convent school attached to the monastery. Theirs was the most prestigious private girls’ school in Lima. The day the IHMs arrived at the convent school they were invited to the closing ceremonies of the school year. The nuns graciously presented the new American sisters to President Leguía and introduced them to the civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries attending the event.

⁹³McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 9-12.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 2.

⁹⁶Ibid., 3.

According to S. Joseph Marie, the newly arrived English-speaking American sisters attracted an array of visitors who came to the convent of San Pedro to meet and greet them. The IHMs accepted the courtesy; however, S. Joseph Marie noted:

We were obliged to devote our time to greeting Peruvian ladies who were interested in us . . . The Minister of Education [came] and, oh, everybody whose curiosity or friendly interest prompted them to call. . . . All were delighted that we had come to Peru—we were, they said, to be “the salvation of Lima.” All promised, also, to be of whatever service was necessary. Everything they had was to be ours (until *we asked for it*).⁹⁷

Another protocol was to present themselves and their credentials to the papal nuncio to Peru, Archbishop Joseph Petrelli.⁹⁸ The sisters were immediately impressed by his friendliness and concern for their well-being. Mother Berenice presented Cardinal Dougherty’s letter which said: “It is at my request that they are undertaking this great work for the purpose of counteracting American Protestant propaganda; and I am anxious that they receive every attention and courtesy, and that they be helped in their enterprise.”⁹⁹ The sisters were astonished by the cordiality of the archbishop but a little puzzled by his advice. S. Joseph Marie remarked, “What a wholesome man. . . . He seemed like a bit of the U.S. transplanted into Italy and then to

⁹⁷Ibid. The sisters’ arrival in Lima coincided with President Leguía’s modernization projects. He hired U.S. firms to improve infrastructure (paving roads, public sanitation). To improve government services, U.S. citizens were hired as consultants for the tax bureau, the Ministry of Instruction, the Central Reserve Bank, and the Naval Officers’ School. He courted American investors and diplomats by entertaining them lavishly observing the Fourth of July as a holiday. Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 52-53.

⁹⁸Reverend Joseph Petrelli was ordained bishop (1910) and later appointed apostolic nuncio to the Philippines (1915). He was then sent to Peru (1921), also as apostolic nuncio. Rev. Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of American Hierarchy 1789-1964* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1964), 448.

⁹⁹Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to the Most Reverend Joseph Petrelli, 30 November 1922, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 5 Box 23.

Peru. That day started a friendship, which for the good of our work and our Community we hope will continue. His cry? ‘Be independent—little by little. Build a school for yourselves. Get money from the States.’”¹⁰⁰ His prescient remark proved to be providential.

IHMs View of Schools and Schooling in Lima (1922)

The very next day the sisters discovered why the nuncio had counseled them to be independent. Archbishop Lisson offered to accompany the sisters to the promised school. He arrived at the convent of San Pedro in a borrowed car. As they rode through the streets of downtown Lima, the “new Jerusalem” appeared less and less like a holy city. S. Joseph Marie expressed their shock at the sights they saw:

One fine avenue turned into—yes, it must be Montrose Street—that awful place in one of the worst neighborhoods in our well-known Philadelphia. But no, this was Peru—and the street was Bravo Street, however, the house—not a window in any room. The floors [were] on a level with the cobbled street. . . . The walls were papered—and in one room were four beds and four mattresses—ready for us we supposed. So this was to be our ideal American School, with plenty of fresh air and sunshine and all the ideals of our school system in force? We were told it was a splendid place, and that they did not think that the family who lived upstairs would bother us. Upon looking over the place, we feared that after we had put in the number of sisters, and had used the smallest possible place for our convent, that the rest of the house would not possibly be converted into a school; so we came away rather disheartened. I had better not say that—for I do not think we were disheartened—for God kept us all up wonderfully. Mother [Berenice] had the thinking and worrying to do—and we had naught to do on the human side, but to lean upon her.¹⁰¹

Mother Berenice expressed her dismay to the archbishop. He accepted her objections and immediately took them to other possible sites for the intended school. S. Joseph Marie recounts

¹⁰⁰McCrosen, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 3.

¹⁰¹McCrosen, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 5.

the sisters' shock when they saw the conditions of the public schools in Lima. They wondered how children could be expected to learn in such dreadful conditions:¹⁰²

Such places! A brief description will suffice to give an insight into conditions. First of all the rooms were awful. There were no windows hence no light and bad ventilation or rather no ventilation. There were desks, but [on] one long one there were crowded six or eight children. Since water conditions were bad, the toilet facilities were awful; there being water for only two hours a day. The resulting conditions can be imagined.¹⁰³

Within a very short time the sisters witnessed the stark reality of public education in Peru.¹⁰⁴ Although physical conditions were deplorable, S. Joseph Marie voiced admiration of the teachers, "Yet with all this, there was an attempt at good instruction—considering the drawbacks and the conditions, the results were splendid. . . . Lima—Peru is fifty, yes, a hundred years behind the times!"¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²President Billinghurst (1912-1914) was the first Peruvian leader to dedicate funds for public housing for the working class. Overcrowding and lack of sanitation had led to an outbreak of the bubonic plague in 1904. Public hygiene inspectors discovered the deplorable conditions in the tenements (*cajellones*) where Chinese and Japanese railroad workers had settled. They were unjustly blamed for the epidemic. The dust, humidity, and accumulation of refuse were the breeding grounds (*focos de infección*) for tuberculosis and typhoid fever. See Parker, "Civilizing the City of Kings," 161-171.

¹⁰³McCrosson, 'On Foreign Shores' in "The History of Our First Foreign Mission," 7.

¹⁰⁴For a concise analysis of the historical and cultural factors that severely limited free, public, universal education in Peru, see Jorge Capella Riera, "Educación, cambio de época e identidad cultural," *Educación* 12 (2003): 7-24. President Leguía intended to modernize the educational system. U.S. consultants from Columbia University studied the educational infrastructure and bureaucracy of the public schools; their final report concluded that the deplorable conditions of the schools throughout Peru and the corruption of officials at every level of the Ministry of Instruction impeded significant reform. None of the recommendations were implemented. See Rolland Paulston, "La participación educacional de los Estados Unidos en el Perú 1909-1968," *Estudios Andinos* 2, no. 4 (1971): 77-104. For a Peruvian's evaluation of the public school system in Peru, see Alfonso Maravi Lindo, *Historia y filosofía de la educación en el Perú* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos de la Universidad del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega).

¹⁰⁵McCrosson, 'On Foreign Shores' in "The History of Our First Foreign Mission," 7.

The IHMs were invited to visit other convent schools, too. The sisters noted the great differences between public and private education in Peru. The Peruvian Religious of the Sacred Heart invited them to their magnificent school and convent in Chorillos, a town on the coast. After tea with the nuns, they toured the school. “Here we met with the cheerful kindness of the Madams [Religious] of the Sacred Heart. . . . It was a wonderfully cheerful place,” sitting atop a bluff over the surging waves of the Pacific (see figure 1.4).¹⁰⁶ Another Peruvian congregation, the Religious of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, invited the IHMs to another school, Colegio Belén. Since convent schools had to charge tuition fees, their schools attracted girls from the most distinguished families in Lima. Parents sent their daughters to these schools where they acquired the social graces and education needed for the future wives and mothers of the Limeñan elite. Most schools for girls emulated French values and culture which were in vogue in early-twentieth-century Lima. Since the era of colonization, religious orders of nuns were invited to the new world by wealthy patrons to establish monasteries. These often included a convent schools for the daughters of wealthy landowners and merchants. Orphans and the poor were also admitted to these schools if granted scholarships (*becas*). Since Peru was a Catholic republic, the public schools were obliged to teach religion; however, state funds were never sufficient. There were few professionally prepared teachers. Aside from religious orders, professional teachers came from France or Germany. A few religious orders of women had established schools

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 12.

exclusively made possible by wealthy patrons.¹⁰⁷ Although some parochial schools existed, few had the status of schools administered by the religious orders.

By the time the IHMs arrived, the need for schools for all social classes, especially the poor and rising middle classes, was evident. The diocesan journal, *El Amigo del clero*, reported that thirty-six private schools provided scholarships for needy children, and fifty-one schools had programs for the poor. The diocesan bulletin also reiterated the need to catechize peasant girls in the Andean provinces.¹⁰⁸ Although private schools did minister to a fraction of the population, the Protestant schools became an appealing alternative for those excluded. The sisters realized that their proposed school would respond to this need.

The schools established by Protestant missionaries met the increasing demand schools of a higher caliber than the State could afford, particularly for the emergent transitional social classes.¹⁰⁹ S. Joseph Marie expressed her dismay that Catholics would send their children to

¹⁰⁷Kathryn Burns retrieves the undocumented contributions of feminine monastic orders in the first stages of the evangelization of sixteenth-century Cuzco, Peru. See Burns, *Colonial Habits: Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). Margarita Guerra Martinière investigates the contributions of semimonastic orders in the nineteenth century dedicated to education. See Martinière, *Historia de la educación peruana en la República, 1821-1876* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional de Perú Fondo Editorial, 2001), 21-44. Jeffrey Klaiber examines the work of Peruvian and European congregations of women devoted to caring for the sick, elderly, and orphans. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 166-178.

¹⁰⁸“Crónica,” *El amigo del clero* 1333 (January 1935): 78-79.

¹⁰⁹Transitional social classes included the professional and nonprofessional working class. Methodist schools were particularly attractive to both. Juan Fonseca, “Educación para un país moderno: el ‘Lima High School’ y la re educativa protestante en el Perú (1906-1945)” (Lima: Iglesia Metodista Peru, 3 May 2006). Jean-Pierre Bastian, “Protestantism in Latin America,” in *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel (Kent, UK: Burns & Oates, 1992), 329.

Protestant schools.¹¹⁰ She wrote, “They [Peruvians] . . . want to be like Americans. . . . An entire educative revolution is in progress which has made the people willing to endanger, and even in some cases to sacrifice, their Holy Faith.”¹¹¹ She credited Archbishop Lisson for starting an American style Catholic school. She wrote, “[He] desires to save the Faith of his dearly loved people . . . by establishing an American Catholic School for the teaching of English so that the effects of the Protestant Propaganda might be counteracted and a continuance of their dangerous influence allayed.”¹¹²

¹¹⁰During the sisters’ lifetime, Philadelphia Catholics had suffered significantly from anti-Catholic bigotry. See S. Consuela Callahan, IHM, “The Church of Philadelphia (1884-1915)” in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, ed. James F. Connelly (Philadelphia, PA: Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 1976), 271.

¹¹¹McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 2. “Peruvians wanted to be like Americans” can be explained as a reflection of the middle class’s approval of President Leguía’s pro-U.S. policy. The Limeñan oligarchy, on the other hand, considered Leguía as a “middle class upstart” who did not belong to the “Club of 23 Amigos,” the exclusive social club that determined political and economic policy. See Rory Miller, “The Coastal Elite and Peruvian Politics, 1895-1919,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 14, no. 1: 102. Stein notes that Leguía’s “Yankeeism” led to his downfall. He made enemies by alienating all social classes by the violent enforcement of his policies. Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 30, 54-55.

¹¹²McCrosson, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 2. The Rev. José Herrera, CM, biographer of Archbishop Lisson, portrays the archbishop as zealous, humble, and pastoral. He envisioned a more “modern” Catholic Church. To do this, he needed human and financial resources and looked to the U.S. Catholic Church for both. His pastoral initiatives included writing a catechism (*Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana*, 1922), which was to be used for religious instruction in all parishes. He also upgraded seminary education and visited seminarians regularly, and he repaired the nuns’ monasteries that were falling into ruin. His zeal to reform the financial structure of the archdiocese, however, created animosity among clerics. Factions formed within the clergy and the laity who resisted his attempts to “modernize” the Church and criticized his support of President Leguía. His detractors were so many and the accusations so scandalous that his removal was understandable. See José Herrera, CM, *El obispo de los pobres: Emilio Lisson* (Madrid: Editorial Milagrosa, 1964), 102-133. D. Fausto Linares defended the archbishop’s record after his removal from the Archdiocese of Lima. See Linares, *Monseñor Lisson y sus derechos al arzobispado de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta Minerva, 1933). This report refutes accusations that his *Catechism* contained heresy and proves that his financial transactions were legal. Lisson argued publicly for smaller parishes and financial restructuring in the archdiocesan bulletin, *El Amigo del Clero*. See Archbishop Emilio Lisson, “La disciplina canónica vigente y la organización parroquial,” *El Amigo del Clero* 1040 (1 de agosto, 1923): 347-350.

After visiting numerous unacceptable sites, Mother Berenice consulted the Papal Nuncio to Peru, Archbishop Joseph Petrelli. She realized that as zealous as he was, Archbishop Lisson could not provide the promised school. The nuncio advised her to write to Cardinal Dougherty and to Mother Mary James to report their situation and conditions they faced. This she did. Her letter to Cardinal Dougherty was a frank admission of their plight. She wrote that “in obedience to the command of the Nuncio . . . [so] that you know exactly the basis upon which we are beginning our labors in Peru.”¹¹³ She informed him that the promised school was unacceptable because “the owner occupied the first floor and another tenant [occupied] a portion of the second floor leaving only about seven rooms at our disposal.” And, “even if we could have induced the owner to vacate, which she refused to do, the rooms in the main building were without windows and admitted very little light and air. . . . There was not sufficient space for a school and convent for even the most meager beginnings.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, after days of searching for a possible location near “the masses” (the working class poor), no house was available except in Miraflores, an area near the coast where the rich were building houses.¹¹⁵ She wrote that the absence of any Catholic schools for parents who wanted their children to learn English and be educated the

¹¹³Mother M. Berenice, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 25 January 1923, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 5. Archbishop Petrelli had visited the IHMs at San Pedro several times inquiring about the location of the school. “Each time we were compelled to tell him that we met with no success,” wrote Mother Berenice.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 175. During Leguía’s term, Miraflores was transformed from a simple, quiet fishing village to a residential area for the upper classes who profited from his economic programs. Avenida Leguía was considered the most fashionable street in Lima. It was a dual-carriage street divided by a tree-lined boulevard (174).

American way. She noted, “[The] American Protestant movement must be very well financed . . . for they are able to secure the best locations in Lima. . . . They are offering a good curriculum at a low rate of tuition . . . even ‘*gratis*.’”¹¹⁶ She noted that these schools attracted the working poor because the Protestants could offer food and clothing. She concluded, “This is the exact condition against which we find ourselves placed for the work of counteraction. . . . Archbishop Lisson is very poor and cannot help, but he and everyone else are very interested in our mission.”¹¹⁷

Archbishop Petrelli wrote a letter to Cardinal Dougherty which Mother Berenice translated into English. He avidly supported the sisters and the proposed school:

There is much to be done in counteracting the Protestant Propaganda here. . . . I shall be happy to receive from you any advice or instruction you may care to send me upon which to act. . . . I was not acquainted with any of the Archbishop’s plans for this work, nor do I know that he is actually prepared to meet the situation in the way I believe you would prefer that it be met.”¹¹⁸

Meanwhile, the sisters continued their search for an acceptable site for a school and residence for the sisters. President Leguía was informed of their plight so he offered property to the sisters for a school. The sisters were delighted until they discovered that the adjacent lot was zoned for a municipal zoo. “Can you imagine a school building next to a zoo?” S. Joseph Marie wrote.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Mother M. Berenice, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 25 January 1923.

¹¹⁷Mother M. Berenice, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 25 January 1923.

¹¹⁸The Most Reverend Joseph Petrelli to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 25 January 1923, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 6.

¹¹⁹McCrosen, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 8.

Finally, Mr. del Solar, the gentlemen they had met on the *Santa Maria*, visited the sisters at San Pedro Convent. He told them about a house they could possibly rent on Avenida Pardo in Miraflores.¹²⁰ Since they agreed to look at the house, he sent his car to take them there.¹²¹ S. Joseph Marie recalled their reaction, “When we saw it [the house] we could picture, at last, the first Villa Maria” (see figure 1.5).¹²² When Archbishop Lisson saw the property, he agreed to pay for the repairs and modifications needed to accommodate students, boarders, and sisters. At last the congregation had found a home in the “new Jerusalem.”

Although Archbishop Lisson’s promised school proved inadequate, he did everything in his power to accommodate once a suitable building was found. To retrieve the furniture the sisters had brought with them from New York, he hired a truck, a driver and porters to transport the crates from the dock in Callao to their residence in Miraflores. S. Joseph Marie noted that both Archbishop Lisson and Mother Berenice proved to be such good carpenters. And, while they worked at opening the crates and assembling the

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²McCroscon, ‘On Foreign Shores’ in “The History of Our First Foreign Mission,” 8. Villa Maria Academy in Reading, Pennsylvania was the IHMs’ first private academy for girls. It was established in 1872 as part of the motherhouse and novitiate. In 1924 the congregation purchased an estate in Green Tree, Pennsylvania, for a boarding school and academy for girls. Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 241-242.

beds, the watchman and his wife promptly collected the remains of the containers to assemble their dwelling on the same property.¹²³ The congregation's first permanent dwelling in the "new Jerusalem" was the handiwork of many regardless of ecclesial rank or social class.

The sisters moved into the mansion-turned-school-and-convent during the first week of January 1923. Although the Peruvian school year did not commence until March, the sisters matriculated students immediately for summer classes. On January 31 the motherhouse cabled the sisters in Peru informing them that Mother Mary James had died. S. Joseph Marie tells how saddened the pioneers felt at the loss of the mother superior who sent them to Peru. The cable also instructed Mother Berenice, the sister-assistant to the deceased mother superior, to return to the motherhouse in Pennsylvania to convoke a chapter of elections. Archbishop Lisson and Archbishop Petrelli, Mother Freret RSH, Mother Ernestine, RSH, and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart were especially sympathetic to the American sisters at the loss of their "mother" while so far away from home. Their letters of condolence expressed their heartfelt sorrow.¹²⁴

Registration for the first class of Villa Maria Academy opened in March 1923. School opened on March 15, 1923 with an enrollment of eighty students, mostly primary school-age girls and boys. Archbishop Lisson presided over the customary assembly for beginning a new school year. He greeted the children, blessed them, and sent them off to class. The death of Mother Mary James and the imminent departure of Mother Berenice added a bittersweet tone to

¹²³McCrosen, 'On Foreign Shores,' in "The History of Our First Foreign Mission," 16.

¹²⁴ Mother Freret and Mother M. Ernestine to Mother M. Berenice, IHM, 2 February 1923, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 7.

the first day of school. Mother Deslote's letter of welcome anticipated moments of sorrow and loneliness.¹²⁵ S. Joseph Marie recalled the impact of Mother Berenice's departure. She wrote, "We need her and the work needs her, but God knows best."¹²⁶

Additional sisters had already been appointed to Lima. S. M. Avellino Bideharn, S. M. Gerald O'Donel, and S. Marie Amabile Lovett set sail for Lima in early March, and the fourth member, Mother M. Cornelia Higgins, the superior and principal, would arrive in July. With the addition of four sisters, the Villa Maria Academy community numbered seven sisters.¹²⁷ The first years' enrollment surpassed capacity of the school (see figures 1.6, 1.7). The first list of students indicates that most were transfers from private schools in Lima. Only one student came from a Protestant school.¹²⁸ "The History of Our First Foreign Mission" concludes as the new school year in the "new Jerusalem" begins. S. Joseph Marie's memoir refers to the decisions and events which shaped the mission of the first religious congregation of North American religious women sent to Lima.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Mother M. Deslote, RSH, 16 December 1922.

¹²⁶ McCrosson, 'On Foreign Shores,' in "History of Our First Foreign Mission," 29.

¹²⁷ Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 264. Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, credits Mother Cornelia for the success of the congregation's first foreign mission. S. M. Consuela Callahan, IHM, noted that Mother Cornelia "possessed a native acumen, brilliant Spanish and a keen understanding of the people." S. Mary Consuela Calahan, IHM, "S. M. Cornelia Higgins IHM," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, IHM Menology, Book 4.

¹²⁸ Enrollment statistics for March 1923 showed thirty students from Religious of the Sacred Heart School, fourteen from Colegio Belén, and fifteen from the school of the Sisters of the Reparation. Forty-five were schooled at home by tutors. *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4.

¹²⁹ Dries, *Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, 86. Dana Robert notes that most Catholic women missionaries were associates of priests, most notably Maryknoll, a missionary society of women and men.

Writing Home

S. Avellino, a member of the second group of sisters sent to Lima in March 1923, offered her perspective of an IHM's first experiences as a foreign missionary. Her diary, "My First Trip to Peru," records her impressions of the voyage and first weeks of teaching in Villa Maria Academy in Lima (see figure 1.8).¹³⁰ It is likely that she kept track of her new experiences to share them, one day, with her family and friends at home:

All day we have been in sight of the Peruvian coast, a bleak looking sight, nothing but rocks and brown earth, not a blade of grass nor any trees . . . but there is a very fine family on board whose home is in Miraflores, and they say it is a beautiful place and not too hot. There is another lady here who lives in Lima, and she showed us the pictures of her home. They were beautiful, all kinds of tropical plants in the garden.

Both parties are non-Catholics, but they say we are badly needed. I feel we are in the hands of God. His Providence will take care of us, only please pray that we will succeed in doing some good.¹³¹

The first few weeks aroused many mixed emotions: "I have not had time to write my first impressions of Peru, and now I almost forget what they were. I know they were varied—a mixture of surprise, disappointment—awe, even horror—but also contentment, resignation and

The IHMs were sent by the hierarchy; however, they did not define their work as auxiliaries or associates of missionary priests. See Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 349-353.

¹³⁰S. M. Avellino Bidenharn, IHM, "A Line a Day: My First Trip to Peru," in *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima*. The Grace Company provided passengers with "A Line a Day" diaries. S. Avellino's remarks are written in this booklet, which was inserted into the *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima*.

¹³¹S. M. Avellino Bidenharn, IHM, "A Line a Day: My First Trip to Peru," 4 March 1923.

even joy. To explain each of these would be impossible.”¹³² A recurring theme in the sisters’ documents is trust in God’s providence.

The sisters’ diaries, memoirs, and letters were the sources for the first annals of the IHMs’ foundation in Peru.¹³³ The first volume, *Annals of Villa Maria 1923-1929*, and the second, *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima, 1922-1954*, contain the stories and the correspondence shared between the sisters in Villa Maria Academy in Miraflores, Peru and the sisters in Villa Maria College, Frazer, Pennsylvania. The sisters quickly and creatively devised means of communicating the significant events of their lives on both sides of the equator.¹³⁴ The content of these documents reflect the sisters’ efforts to articulate their experience of mission in a foreign land.

The sisters at home responded in kind. For example, the sisters of Villa Maria College in Frazer, Pennsylvania created “Stepping Stones,” a biweekly newsletter containing poems,

¹³²S. M. Avellino Bidenharn, IHM, “A Line a Day: My First Trip to Peru,” in *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima*, 15 March 1923.

⁹⁷In 1945 Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, initiated the practice of writing annals. This document recorded significant events related to apostolic activity in each mission. The annals of each IHM mission are preserved in the archives of the Villa Maria House of Studies. The IHMs in Peru anticipated the need to keep records of this new moment in congregational history. They wrote diaries and memoirs and letters to remember their experiences. The annals of the first three missions are a compilation of these personal documents.

¹³⁴The first Villa Maria Academy was established in 1914 in Frazer, a hamlet near the motherhouse at West Chester, Pennsylvania. When Mother M. Loyola Gallagher was elected to replace Mother Mary James, the motherhouse was transferred to Villa Maria, Frazer. There it remained for seventeen years. See Crumback, “We Walk on Their Shoulders,” 32-33.

anecdotes, and community news (see figure 1.9).¹³⁵ To them, poetry best expressed their affection, interest, and support. The Villa Maria Miraflores community was delighted by the affection, wit, and news these missives contained. They responded by creating their own version of a newsletter entitled “Villagrams” (see figure 1.10).¹³⁶ The first page featured a thumbnail photograph of each of the seven IHMs in Miraflores with a comment about “Stepping Stones”:

Peculiarly interesting to Sisters living in the “Land of the Incas” . . . the only paper exclusively devoted to publishing I.H.M. news. (S. Avellino)

‘Stepping Stones’ is a rare periodical . . . it brings tears to one’s eyes—tears of gladness at being remembered. (S. Joseph Marie)¹³⁷

“Villagrams” supplied information about the sisters’ experiences in Miraflores from the disquieting to the ridiculous: “At 5 a.m. earthquake shock gave us the *Tu Autem*. The children said, ‘It was nothing.’ We thought the world was coming to an end.”¹³⁸ The sisters learned to laugh at the inconveniences, as evident in this rendition of the “Ten Plagues of Peru”:

1. No water—at times—many times
2. No light—frequently
3. Terremotos (earthquake shocks)
4. Fleas
5. Peekies (Two little words but Oh! Oh! Oh!)

¹³⁵*Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*. The copies of “Steppingstones” inserted into the *Annals of Villa Maria* terminate on 31 March 1924. Villa Maria College was the original name of Immaculata College which later became Immaculata University.

¹³⁶*Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*.

¹³⁷*Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*.

¹³⁸“Villagrams,” 17 December 1923, in *Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*. An IHM custom was to knock on each sisters door to waken her for morning prayer with greeting, “Tu Autem,” “to you also.”

6. Dust and dirt from unpaved streets and roads.
7. Pigeons who live under our eaves.
8. Waiting months for packages sent ages ago
9. Exorbitant prices
10. P-a-d-r-e-s in Peru¹³⁹

The lighthearted tone attested to hardships borne together and viewed in a humorous light. These were the first communications between the IHMs. Neither geographical distance nor cultural difference lessened their sense of belonging to the same community. Instead, their sense of mission was enhanced and extended beyond local and parochial concerns. The sisters were not afraid to venture forth from the confines of the convent to discover more about their new world.

Anecdotes of the sisters' exploration of their new environment differentiated the American sisters from Peruvian monastic orders. The IHMs were neither monastic nor semi-cloistered like their Peruvian counterparts. They share their outings with IHMs in the United States (see figure 1.11):

Sister Gerald and Sister Seraphine conquered the fierce, rocky descent to the Pacific. They started out at about 9 this morning. S. G. wearing a snug bathing suit contrived "*de nada*" by S. Avellino. S. Seraphine brought a rope—S. G[erald]. was at one end, she at the other. Well, they succeeded in "bounding the boulders" until they came to a delightfully secluded spot. Neither man nor beast was there (except the corpse of a huge sea lion deserted by the tide) so they swam to their hearts content. Of course, S. S[eraphine]. had to wait an hour and a half for S. G. to finish with *the* suit, but what cared she for a wait and a "wet suit" when a delicious sea bath was in question. We are all going to try it. The water, they say, is delightfully cool and clean.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹"Villagrams" in *Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*. The "Padres" were the local clergy. None spoke English, and few could be counted on for daily Mass. The sisters had difficulty determining just stipends for daily Mass in the convent chapel. Diocesan clergy depended on Mass stipends for their livelihood. See Reher, "Cardinal Dennis Dougherty and the IHM's," 57.

¹⁴⁰"Villagrams," 17 January 1924, in *Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*.

The sisters' community life in this new land also developed its own character. One of their adventures outside the walls of the school and convent reveals their camaraderie. The traditional distance between the Mother superior and her subjects was reduced. The sisters faced new challenges together and relied on each other for survival:¹⁴¹

Mother and sisters went on a hike today. . . . [they] climbed over a high wall to find horses, cows, and sheep. They descended on to the road and were met by a black and white bull. They were not deterred. They kept walking crossing ditches etc. until they came to "el Olivar", the olive grove. At one point they came to a high wall. They boosted each other up by making a stirrup out of their hands. Since there was no stirrup for her [Mother?], she had an awful time. You should have seen us when we had finished: dirt from head to foot.¹⁴²

No matter the hardships, contradictions, and paradoxes, the sisters' prayerfulness and devotion to the sacraments sustained their spirit. Nature's beauty and their prayerful union with "those at home" animated their spirit. All these experiences deepened their bonds with each other and with the congregation in Philadelphia. The sisters allowed the experience of newness and difference to shape them. Although they came to Peru to perform a specific work, new circumstances required adaptation. The sisters perceived the opportunities inherent in the sometimes startling and often disconcerting cultural context. S. Joseph Marie expressed her sentiments poetically:

¹⁴¹Religious congregations of women of European origin had to adapt to a new social and ecclesial context in the United States. Often monastic enclosure had to be relaxed for religious congregations of women to engage in apostolic activity to serve the needs of the Church and for an income. As an American foundation, the IHMs did not observe strict cloister as did their Peruvian hosts. See Angelyn Dries, "The Americanization of Religious Life: Women Religious, 1872-1922," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 10, no. 1/2 (1991): 13-24.

¹⁴²*Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1922-1954*, 17 February 1924.

How calm the Pacific seems to the Atlantic. It takes four minutes for *Old Sol* to sink below the horizon. The effect is marvelous—In front of us lies the beautiful ocean whose crested waves are tinted a beautiful amethyst and behind us the deep purple Andes. . . . We say twelve “Hail Mary’s” in honor of the Immaculate Conception for the Sisters at “home”, for our deceased Sisters, and for our relations living and deceased.¹⁴³

The IHMs embraced this mission as the Church’s mission. Although canonically they were a diocesan congregation, they interpreted their mission as an expression of the Church’s universal mission to “go forth and teach.” The approach to education implanted in the Archdiocese of Lima indicated that the Church of Philadelphia and Lima transcended an insular view of the Church. Unwittingly, perhaps, these seven women and the hierarchy on both sides of the equator, presaged a new age. The model of consecrated life created by a cleric and group of women in the frontier church of Michigan to the immigrant church of Philadelphia to the once most prestigious see in the New World, the church of Lima.¹⁴⁴

Schooled *in* Mission *on* the Mission

What do these documents reveal about the first United States religious congregation of women to establish a permanent mission in South America? The sisters were schooled in mission inasmuch as they learned how to adapt their manner of living and educational style to a new

¹⁴³*Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1922-1954*, 15 February 1924.

¹⁴⁴Sandra M. Schneiders, IHM, *Finding the Treasure: Locating Catholic Religious Life in a New Ecclesial and Cultural Context* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000), 1:315. The IHMs demonstrated the resilience of their charism. Schneiders examines charism as a multilevel reality. From the founding experience of the initial community, a way of life proper to the institute emerges that, over time, matures into a “global charism” (315).

cultural context.¹⁴⁵ The stories they told about the pioneer days reflected their adaptability and resilience. Telling mission stories has always been part of the Christian story. As theologian Paolo Rochetta claims, “The telling of the events of the past is like a rebirth . . . a renewal of the task once undertaken, to be realized, of a personal responsibility to be shouldered.”¹⁴⁶ The sisters’ first experiences of a foreign mission deepened their understanding of their identity as an apostolic religious congregation. They learned that a “mission” was more than just a local parish school in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. The journey to Peru “schooled” them into an ecclesial reality that broadened their experience of Church.

The IHMs benefitted from their acceptance of a foreign mission in Lima, Peru. By establishing a new mission in a new culture, the sisters discovered a new dimension of their charism. Their mission, to evangelize through education, was now to be tested in a foreign environment. The short term loss of sisters to staff parochial schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia would, in the long term, be a significant gain. Not only would the sisters catechize youth in a different cultural context, but they would also assist the church of Lima respond to a pastoral crisis. By including the IHM sisters in their ministry as shepherd of souls in the universal Church, Archbishop Lisson and Cardinal Dougherty displayed the value of the

¹⁴⁵Thus, the IHMs responded to the perennial Gospel mandate, “Go into the whole world and proclaim the gospel to every creature” (Mk. 16: 15). The experience of Catholicism in the United States prepared the sisters to mediate between the official Church’s intransigence toward modern liberal ideals embodied in Protestant missionary agenda. As members of the immigrant Church of the early twentieth century, the IHMs sent to Peru were sensitized to the the potential threat of the Protestantization of Peru. See David J. O’Brien, “Catholic Evangelization and American Culture,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 11, no. 2 (1993): 52-53.

¹⁴⁶Carolo Rocchetta, “Narrative Theology,” in *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, ed. Rene Latourelle (New York: Crossroad, 1995), 1085.

hierarchical structure of the Church. The exercise of authority in the Church in this instance bore lasting fruit. Although the hierarchy's proper use of authority over religious congregations of women has been the subject of debate and criticism in the post-Vatican II era, Mother Mary James Sweeney's acceptance of Cardinal Dougherty's request for sisters to be sent to Lima, shows the fruits of the obedience of faith which all the baptized are called to exercise (Romans 1:5).

As exemplary as the IHM's obedience of faith to their legitimate superiors, neither Archbishop Lisson nor Cardinal Dougherty assumed the financial cost of establishing Villa Maria Academy or any of the schools the sisters would eventually found. The IHMs economic independence from the Archdiocese of Lima would eventually set them apart. The success of their schools arose principally from the high demand for a qualified bilingual workforce. The IHM schools educated a new niche in Peruvian society. When the Church examined the injustices inherent in the Peruvian economic structure in the light of the Latin American Bishops Conference at Medellín, Colombia (1969), the IHMs will have to confront the paradox of their origins in Lima. The hierarchy asked the IHMs to assume a new mission; however, the hierarchy did not fund their new enterprise. And, when their educational enterprise had achieved its purpose, the Church will question the injustice of the social structure the IHMs played a prominent role in establishing.

Chapter 1 Illustrations

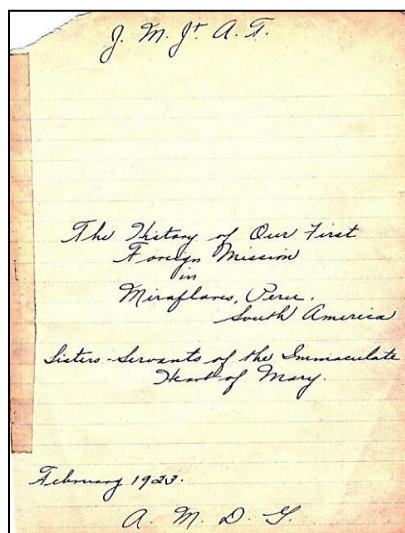


Figure 1.1. "History of Our First Foreign Mission," 1923.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 1.2. Farewell on the dock at Brooklyn, New York, 1922.
Front row, left to right: Mother M. Loyola Gallagher, Mother M. James Sweeney,
Mother M. Berenice McDonough, S. M. Seraphine Bryne, S. St. Chrysostom
McGrory, S. Joseph Marie McCrosson.
Back row: Family members and the Rev. Dr. Lamb.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 1.3. S. St. Chrysostom, S. M. Berenice, and S. Joseph Marie on the deck of the *Santa Maria*, 1922.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

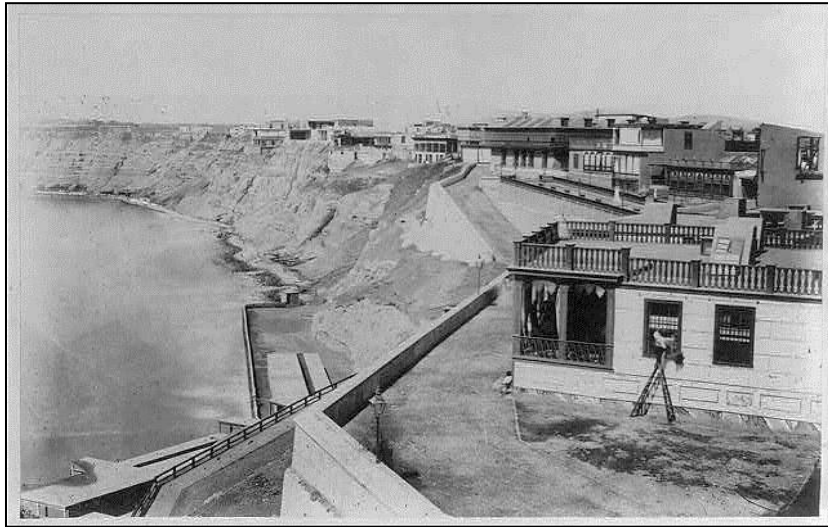


Figure 1.4. Chorillos, location of the Religious of the Sacred Heart school for girls, 1860.

Source: Library of Congress digital file from b&w filmcopy neg.
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b26051>



Figure 1.5. Villa Maria Academy on Avenida Pardo, Miraflores, 1923.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 1.6. S. Joseph Marie, IHM, and students, Villa Maria Academy, 1923

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata PA



Figure 1.7. Students in Villa Maria Academy, 1923.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

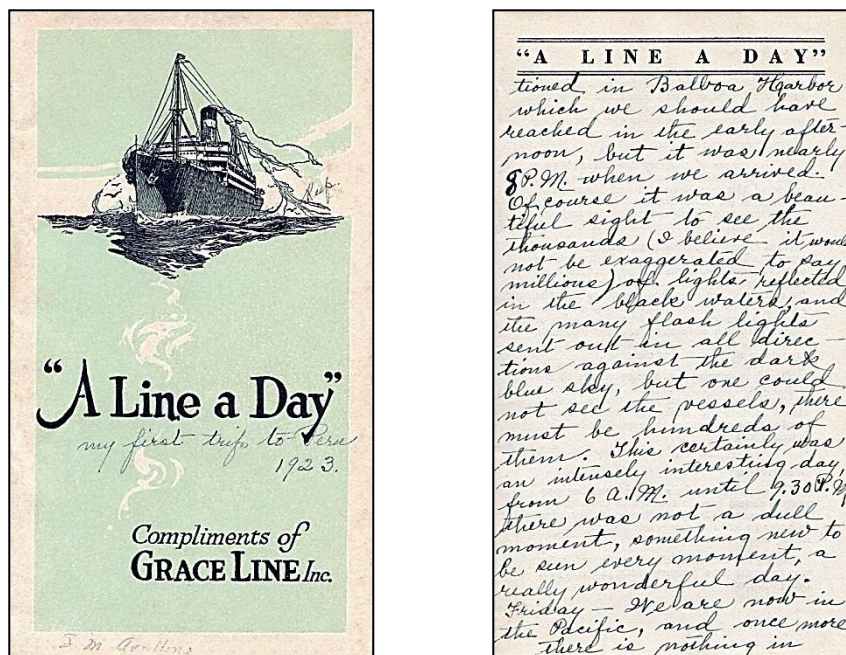


Figure 1.8. "A Line a Day" and sample of S. Avellino's entry.
 Source: *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima, 1923-1954*. Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

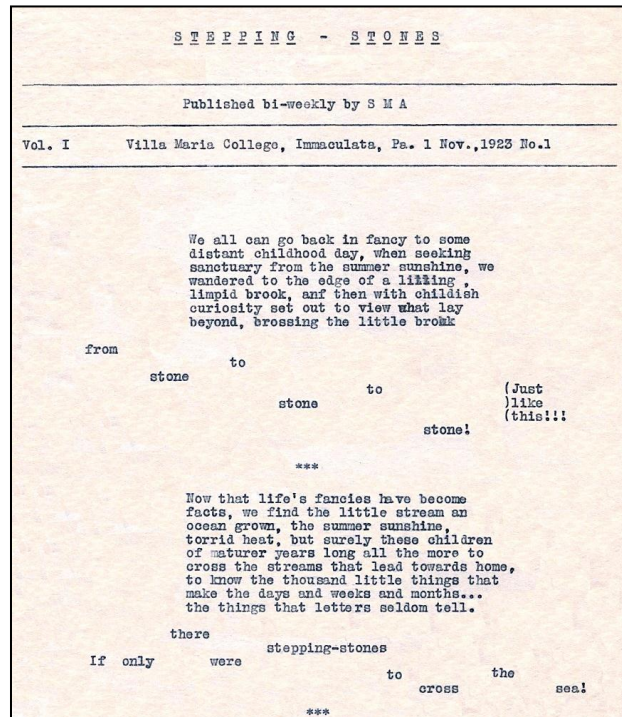



Figure. 1.9. “Stepping Stones,” 1923.
Source: *Annals Villa Maria Academy Lima, 1922-1954*.
Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

/S V I L L A G R A M S

Published Now and Then No. 1


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VIVE ESTRIBERONES!




"Nothing could be neater than the form in which the publisher has brought out 'Stepping-Stones' and the matter is highly interesting to all the blue-robed Peruvian Sisters of I. H. M. Doubtless God will bless this work and by it bridge the distance which separates Immaculata Villa Maria from Miraflores Villa Maria."

- Sister M. Cornelia.




"The people in 'Stepping-Stones' are peculiarly interesting to Sisters living in the 'Land of the Incas.' This magazine is the only paper exclusively devoted to publishing I. H. M. news."

- Sister M. Avellino.




"Never before has such a complete and original paper been published at such a low price."

- Sister M. Gerald.




"Your little bi-weekly is written in splendid style. We are completely absorbed in it each time it arrives. Each detail is of more than ordinary interest and is particularly appealing to those who in live in Foreign Countries. The points discussed are strictly human and surely 'touch the spot.'"

- Sr. M. St. Chrysostom.




"'Stepping-Stones,' bless your little hard hearts! With the sweet comes the bitter every time - Just a little more work for the undertaker"

- Sister M. Seraphine.



"'Stepping-Stones' is undoubtedly headed for great ends if it continues to bring to the Peruvian missionaries this succession of incidents in the lives of lovable characters, as it has so nobly begun. Congratulations, and many thanks for your thought."

- Sister Marie Amabile.



"'Stepping-Stones' is a rare periodical invested with an originality and 'home touch' that is pleasing and impressive. The reader is provided with field glasses of high focusing power that enable her to pierce the distance between and 'see' what is going on at home. Although the little paper is cheerful and wholesome in its content and contains but little pathos, still it brings to one's eyes tears - tears of gladness at being remembered. We hope the Editor and Staff will continue their good work."

- Sister Joseph Marie.

Figure 1.10. "Villagrams," 1923.

Source: *Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1922-1954*

Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 1.11. Sisters at the seaside in Ancon, Peru, 1927.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

Chapter 2

The Mission Unfolds (1926-1946)

Mother I am ready to give up the ghost. . . . We are in the depths of despair. . . . There have been many lonely anxious hours spent in this far-away land, but never has the community been in any worse plight than at the present time.

—Mother Cornelia to Mother Loyola, 1930

The previous chapter presented the decisions and events which led to the IHM's mission to establish a school in Lima, Peru and staff a parish school in Callao. This chapter will examine the reasons why the congregation decided to construct a new school independent from Archbishop Lisson's original intention. This chapter will address the social and educational circumstances that the sisters encountered, as well as, the unfamiliar and unstable economic and political conditions. In addition, the different pedagogical styles of the IHMs, which were distinctively American, will be contrasted with the Peruvian model of traditional private schools.

From 1928 to 1940 the congregation made a firm commitment to its mission at Villa Maria Academy in Lima. Mother Loyola Gallagher, IHM, was elected the mother superior of the congregation for two terms (1923-1935). An able and farsighted administrator she expanded the congregations' missions in Peru and the United States. During her tenure, membership grew to 1,410 professed sisters, who were sent to the thirty new missions opened during this period, among them West Catholic High School for Girls in Philadelphia and St. James in Falls Church,

Virginia.¹ She, also, oversaw the revision of the *IHM Constitutions* according to the *Code of Canon Law* (1918).

Expansion and Growth

Expansion and growth required the acquisition of property and new construction. Her projects included the relocation of the Motherhouse in West Chester, Pennsylvania to Villa Maria College in Frazer, Pennsylvania (Immaculata University); the opening of Villa Maria Academy, Green Tree Academy; and Immaculate Heart Academy in Fountain Springs, Pennsylvania; enlarging the novitiate in West Chester; and the construction of a new building for Villa Maria Academy in Lima, Peru. In 1923, she asked the Holy See for permission to assume a \$900,000 debt to finance construction and relocation of congregational properties. Although the congregation had liquidated previous debts, this was a bold venture.² In 1922 total revenues (stipends from parishes, music lessons, and donations) amounted to \$60,000.³

Since Mother Loyola had been a member of Mother Mary James' council, it can be assumed that she was involved in the deliberations about establishing the new mission in Peru.⁴ According to the Annals of Villa Maria, Mother Cornelia, one of the pioneers to Peru and the

¹S. Maria Corona Crumback, IHM, "We Walk on Their Shoulders" (1995), 32-24, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

²Mother Loyola, IHM, to Our Holy Father Pope Pius XI, 16 July 1923, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 7 Box 24 Folder 1.

³Ibid. See Kathleen Sprows-Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 152. Women religious received about \$200 per year for their services.

⁴ Crumback, 32.

superior of the sisters, confided in Mother Loyola explaining the complications the congregation faced in realizing their mission in Peru particularly their commitment to establish a school that would reflect the American Catholic School pedagogy. She made it clear that in their endeavor, they had the strong moral support of the sisters, Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop Lisson and a succession of papal nuncios who were sent to Lima during this period. All of them strongly believed that the American style Catholic education was the most viable alternative to the North American's Protestant mission schools in Lima. The number of papal nuncios who advocated for the sisters when political and ecclesial complications arose suggests the importance of the North American sisters' educational mission in Peru. Archbishop Lorenzo Lauri, papal nuncio from 1920-1921 supported Archbishop Lisson's idea to ask for a congregation from the United States. The nuncio was succeeded by Archbishop Joseph Petrelli (1921-1926), then by Archbishop Serafino Cimino (1926-1928), and Archbishop Gaetano Cigognani (1928-1936). Archbishop Cigognani's assistant, Monsignor Aldo Laghi, championed the sisters' struggles to construct their own school when Archbishop Lisson's economic woes prevented him from keeping his promise to provide a school. Later, when Monsignor Laghi was made Apostolic Nuncio to Chile (1938-1942), he asked Cardinal Dougherty for IHMs to establish a school similar to Villa Maria in Lima. After necessary consultations IHM sisters were sent to Chile.

The ecclesial leaders' support of the sisters' efforts was mostly moral, not financial. The sisters themselves realized from their visits of schools around Lima that the Protestants' schools were financed by mission societies in the United States and could draw from a pool of veteran

missionaries. As the English-speaking countries, most notably Great Britain and the United States, achieved prominence, missionaries engaged in teaching English as a component of evangelization of non-Christian cultures. The Maryknoll missionaries coupled teaching English and establishing schools as component of also.⁵ Therefore English-speaking Protestant missionaries in Peru established schools in Peru which were soon coveted by those seeking to equip their sons and daughters with the language of the modern, international world. Coupled with the convictions that the social gospel and a modern education, Protestants came to Peru eager to “civilize” and “modernize” Peru.⁶

In contrast to the situation in the United States, the IHMs arrived in Lima with no funds, no experience in foreign missions, and minimal knowledge of Spanish. Although S. Joseph Marie apparently had some knowledge of Spanish, however, as the pioneers would later admit, most of the sisters used the “point” system which meant pointing to what they wished to purchase in stores, or relying on interpreters. Many interpreters eventually became students of the sisters. The IHM’s success in duplicating an American parochial school is attributable more to the parents who risked entrusting their sons and daughters to foreign English-speaking sisters

⁵Protestant mission theory embraced education as a primary means for evangelization. Teaching English was a component of this practice. In the nineteenth century, Protestant women missionaries’ role evolved from “wife of the male missionary” to teacher and educator of native women and girls in Asia, China, and the Pacific Islands. Their task was described as “woman’s work for women.” See Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 73-84, 160-161.

⁶Juan Fonseca Ariza carefully examines the civilizing intentions of Protestant mission societies. To “civilize” meant to “modernize” according to the tenets of the social gospel, which embraced the modern paradigm of economic progress and development. Fonseca Ariza, *Misioneros y civilizadores: Protestantismo y modernización en el Perú, 1915-1930* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002).

whose pedagogical skill was unknown than to the sophistication of the pioneers themselves. An increase in enrollment indicated the support of the parents; therefore, the congregational leadership decided to continue to send sisters to Lima and provide financial support to purchase land and construct schools. The curious alchemy of the IHM's ignorance of inculturation and the parents' desire for American education develop a creative collaborative learning environment for students, sisters, and lay faculty.

Peruvian Education

The task confronting the pioneer mission band of IHMs was daunting. Their challenges included both the competition with the Protestant schools and the inadequacies of the existing traditional educational in Lima. Since Protestant schools required minimal tuition fees or were *gratis* for those who could not pay, these schools were popular among the working poor and rising managerial class. Indeed, Protestant schools proved to be a haven for parents whose social class excluded their children from an education in the prestigious private Catholic schools administered by the Jesuits, Dominicans, Madams of the Sacred Heart and other convent schools.⁷

The Limeñan elite sent their daughters to convent schools to form them with the social graces needed to be a well-respected wife and a mother. Following the French model of basic liberal arts, the curricula offered young women vocational skills including domestic skills and

⁷Juan Fonseca Ariza, "Educación para un país moderno: el 'Lima High School' y la red educativa protestante en el Perú (1906-1945)" (Lima: Iglesia Metodista Perú, 3 mayo 2006), 4.

needlework. The nineteenth-century Peruvian religious orders of women were esteemed for their dedication to education; however, religious sisters, like the IHMs, came to Peru with a more pragmatic view of education. Education prepared youth to contribute to society by adherence to Catholic faith and citizenship.⁸

As the Americas modernized, women on both continents struggled for inclusión. Teresa de González Fanning, Elvira García, and María Alvarado already were planting seeds before the sisters arrived. These women challenged the prevailing image of elite Limeñan women as frivolous, ignorant, and lazy; lovers of fashionable clothes, and thirsting for luxury (*sed de lujo*). Fanning and her companions organized a campaign to raise funds to establish a school for women with a curriculum aimed at developing the intelligence and dignity of women in the elite class. She argued against convent schools in a series of articles entitled “*La Educación femenina*” which were published in *El Comercio*, the newspaper of the elite (1893).⁹ She upheld the traditional foundation of Latin American ethos, namely, home, family, honor; however, she championed the cause of female education as an intellectual enterprise not merely preparation for domestic chores.¹⁰

⁸Jo Ann Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 620, 621.

⁹Fanni Cabrejo Muñoz, “La educación femenina en la Lima de fines del siglo xix e inicios del siglo xx,” in *El hechizo de las imágenes*, ed. Narda Enríquez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 2000), 223-227, 228, 230.

¹⁰Gertrude M. Yeager, ed. *Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American Tradition* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994), 30.

Convent and Church-affiliated private schools, however, were not able to meet the calls for change. In Peru, unlike the United States, the church and state were not independent of each other. What the sisters found difficult was determining their place and their responsibility in establishing schools since their experience would have been shaped by the parish school system in the United States where parish schools were independent of the state.¹¹ In Peru the fusion between the Church and the State significantly weakened the official Church. By the early twentieth century, the hierarchy and clerics were disconnected from the majority of the populace, particularly those living in rural regions which could not support a *cura* (parish priest).¹² The private Catholic schools relied on patrons and on tuition fees to survive. Neither the State sponsored government schools nor private Catholic schools had funds or the initiative to modernize as were the industrialized English-speaking nations like Great Britain and, later, the United States. The government's educational policy for the rural population of indigenous peoples or the poor in urban areas remained an ideal.

When the IHMs arrived in Peru, they encountered a fractured Church-State arrangement, which was very different from the immigrant Church of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. The IHMs found it difficult to find confessors, reliable chaplain. Finding suitable lay teachers proved also challenging. Protestant schools and the model of their own parish schools provided a needed

¹¹Jean-Pierre Bastian, "Protestantism in Latin America," in *The Church in Latin America, 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel (Kent, UK: Burns & Oates, 1992), 318-319.

¹² Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 35-37.

and valued alternative to an ailing Church and a chronically muddled State. Finding these conditions, the sisters were not astonished at the popularity of the Protestant mission schools with English-speaking teachers, a modern curriculum, and a focus on morality and work ethic.

Many religious orders of women of Peruvian origin or of European countries sent to Peru, most notably France, Italy, and Spain, addressed as best as they could the increasing demand for education; however, they were limited by the lack of resources and had to rely on wealthy patrons or minimal tuition fees. Teaching congregations of women in Peru provided an education for young girls preparing them for a traditional role. This endeavor could not be expanded to equip them educationally for other roles due to financial restraints. However inadequate this model was, religious congregations of women in Peru were dedicated to the educational mission of the Church. Without a professional education or access to textbooks, the nuns of this era did what they could to pass on the Catholic faith and provide a basic education to as many social classes of children as they were able.

Progress and Pedagogy

In Peru, due to a lack of formal education, most teachers were not exposed to modern educational philosophy as educators in the United States and Europe who were familiar with educational leaders like John Dewey and Horace Mann (United States) and Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Wilhelm Frobel (Europe). Therefore, the pedagogy in Peru consisted of rote learning. This is the context in which the sisters, who were sent to Lima, encountered. Although modern educational philosophy was not completely embraced by the Catholic Church, the

sisters' pedagogy, learned in the United States, reflected certain values, particularly a child-centered focus.¹³

Catholic educational leaders like Father Thomas E. Shields and Father Edward A. Pace of The Catholic University of America aimed to improve curriculum and pedagogy of parochial schools in the United States. The Catholic school was considered the primary vehicle for religious instruction (catechesis) and socialization into the life of the church.¹⁴ Congregations of Catholic sisters in the United States were considered the prime mediators of imparting Catholicism in teaching the catechism and telling Bible stories as well as teaching secular subjects. The IHMs, formed in this educational culture, imported this pedagogy to Lima. The acquisition of English and the positive results of modern pedagogy made the American-style Catholic school increasingly appealing to the various social classes of Lima.

Transplant or Implant? Villa Maria Academy, Miraflores (1926)

The popularity of Villa Maria Academy motivated an increasing number of parents to enroll their children in the IHM school. Space, however, was limited. Mother Cornelia conferred with Mother Loyola about the IHMs constructing their own school in Lima. Although Archbishop Lisson had provided a house and paid the rent, it was clear that he could not provide a school commensurate with the enrollment demand. Mother Loyola accepted Mother Cornelia's suggestion. Cardinal Dougherty was also in favor; however he was aggrieved with Archbishop

¹³ Harold A. Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit: the Story of U.S. Catholic Education*, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970), 110, 111.

¹⁴ Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit*, 217

Lisson for not keeping his promise to provide a school and convent for the sisters. He informed the papal nuncio, Archbishop Petrelli, of his displeasure:

The best thing for the Immaculate Heart Sisters to do is to construct an academy building at their own expense . . . although I feel I should register a protest against the Archbishop of Lima for violating his pledge to provide said Sisters with a suitable structure for their work. It is a matter of surprise and chagrin to me that a personage of his rank and position should fail to fulfill a compact so solemnly made with myself; especially in view of the fact that he pleaded for me to grant Philadelphia Sisters for the good of his diocese.”¹⁵

With a decision made to construct a school, Mother Loyola set sail for Lima in 1924 to meet with Mother Cornelia and the sisters and assist in the legal arrangements for the construction of a new school. When her business in Lima was completed, Mother Loyola returned to the United States and entrusted Mother Cornelia with the complex task of negotiating contracts to build the school and fulfilling the requirements of the Ministry of Education to establish a private school that would be owned by the congregation. Mother Cornelia possessed an uncanny ability to choose reliable, honest financial advisors. Providentially, a new generation of Peruvian business leaders was eager to assist the sisters in the project.¹⁶

Property was purchased on Avenida Leguía in Miraflores, which had been a sluggish fishing village on the cliffs of the Pacific. The modernization of Lima had transformed the area

¹⁵Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to the Most Reverend J. Petrelli, 29 March 1924, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 15.

¹⁶Klaiber refers to the laity’s leadership during this period (1930-1955) as the “*laicado militante*” (militant laity). Pope Leo XIII promulgated *Rerum novarum* (1891) which provided lay leaders with principles for the formation of political parties espousing Catholic social principals. The Peruvian scholar, Victor Andrés Belaúnde, articulated these principles to the rising class of new leaders. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 298-299. The IHMs contributed to Peru’s political regeneration after the chaos of Leguía’s regime. Leaders of the new social democratic political parties either helped found IHM schools or sent their children to their schools.

into a center of commerce and fashionable mansions.¹⁷ Villa Maria Academy was built on a lot in a vacant field facing Avenida Leguía. The area developed quickly and the school and convent were flanked by prestigious homes of those benefitting from President Leguía's brand of capitalism. In 1926 the construction was completed and the new Villa Maria Academy was dedicated. Among the distinguished guests attending the dedication were Mother Loyola, Archbishop Lission of Lima, the papal nuncio, President Leguía's official representative, Colonel Carlos J. Baso and the ambassador of the United States to Peru, Mr. Alexander P. Moore.¹⁸ *La Prensa*, a Peruvian newspaper, published a photo and description of the event:

The new academy has all the equipment which makes it a modern school of high standard. . . . The building is 5,000 square meters. Dormitories have been constructed to accommodate boarders and a large faculty of Sisters. Besides an auditorium with a capacity of over 1000, there are [a] large classroom, study halls, a spacious patio, for recreational purposes; a splendidly equipped gymnasium; refectories for faculty and students, reception rooms and libraries.¹⁹

The stately architecture was a witness to the depth of the IHMs' investment in their educational mission in Peru (see figure 2.1).

¹⁷James Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 198-199. In 1900, Miraflores' population was only 1,283. Avenida Arequipa was a paved road that was needed now that automobiles were more common.

¹⁸President Leguía could not attend due to illness. In honor of the event, he had a coin struck to mark the occasion. The engraving on the coin named him the *padrino* and Mother M. Loyola, IHM, the *madrina* of the new academy. The coin is reserved in a display case in the Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, Pennsylvania.

¹⁹Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1967* (Lancaster, PA: Dolphin Press, 1967), 265. This translation appeared in the *Philadelphia Catholic Standard and Times*, 16 April 1926. See *La Prensa*, 22 March 1926.

The IHM congregation financed and developed a new model of education in South America. The aim of the school mirrored that of the IHM's first academy for young ladies in Monroe, Michigan. The *Annals of Villa Maria* notes the inscription on the foundation stone, "...this house is destined for the Christian education of Peruvian girls..." The curriculum "follows as closely as possible that used in the States; all subjects are taught in English except 'Historia y Geografía', which, according to Peruvian law, must be taught in Spanish by native teachers."²⁰ The sisters transplanted their educational ideals and implanted a new model of Catholic bilingual education. This IHM model would be adopted by other United States' religious congregations that came to Peru over the next decades.

Expansion at Callao: St. Anthony: A School for the Working Class Poor

Father Ernesto Cotte, CRIC was a parish priest in Callao, fourteen miles from Miraflores. His parish had a parish school, which was an alternate to the popular Protestant School in Callao named Colegio Anglo Peruano.²¹ Although the French Marists and Father Francis Lecoq, SJ had established an English Commercial School of Callao in 1907; however, it did not succeed; the Protestant school was the only option and as noted above was popular. Prior to the opening of the school, the Marists studied English in New York in order to provide English language instruction.²² Father Cotte was distressed over the Protestants' proselytizing and winning over

²⁰ Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, citing *Annals*, 264, 265.

²¹ *Annals San Antonio Callao: Foundation and Growth, 1928-1957*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, 28- 31 December 1928.

²² Klaiber, *Iglesia en El Perú*, 230.

his flock. He pleaded with Mother Cornelia to send sisters.²³ When Mother Loyola visited Lima to consult about the construction of a new Villa Maria, Father Cotte convinced her of his need.²⁴ She sent S. M. Philomena Bergen, IHM and S. Annabile Lovett, IHM to teach in his school.

Mother Loyola was sympathetic to his plight; therefore, she agreed to send two more sisters to teach in Father Cotte's school; however, they were to live in Miraflores and Father Cotte would have to provide transportation to and from the school. Father Cotte eventually offered residence nearby the school but, Mother Loyola rejected the offer since the area was considered of such ill-repute that sisters dared not live there.²⁵ To avoid any misunderstanding and having learned from experience, Mother Loyola asked Father Cotte for a written contract to define the parish's obligations to the sisters. The contract stipulated that the stipend per sister was to amount to no less than \$400.00 and the parish was to provide transportation to and from school and maintain the infrastructure of the school building.²⁶ Although only seventy-five students enrolled the first year, Father Cotte wrote to Mother Loyola asking for more sisters. The *Annals of San Antonio* notes that by April 1929 one hundred-ninety two students had

²³ The Reverend Ernesto Cotte to Mother M. Loyola and Mother M. Cornelia, 20 September 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J5 Box 1 Folder 4.

²⁴ The Reverend Ernesto Cotte to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, and Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, 2 April 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 28.

²⁵ See Crumback, "We Walk on Their Shoulders," 34.

²⁶ The Reverend Ernesto Cotte to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, and Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, 2 April 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 28.

registered.²⁷ Father Cotte wrote, “My only desire is to make sure the school combats the evil work of Protestant sects.”²⁸ Gradually, enrollment increased because Father Cotte and his successors were intent on giving every child a Catholic alternative to the Protestant school in his parish

Father Cotte’s effusive rhetoric at the welcome ceremony for the IHMs revealed his esteem for the sisters and his firm conviction about the mission of the school, to impart the Faith and offer an American-style education. The opening of St. Anthony School was heralded as an auspicious public event. Archbishop Lisson, Mr. Moore, the American ambassador, the Minister of Instruction, and other dignitaries attended the event. In his address to the assembly, Father Cotte spoke passionately about the link between Peruvians and the Americans:

The American people and the Peruvian people . . . appreciate and love each other . . . in the desire of acquiring that language, the vehicle of a culture whose methods we desire to assimilate. St. Anthony’s school under the care of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary will be a valuable instrument for realizing the desire of our working classes, offering at the same time, with solid and thorough knowledge of the English language, a strong moral and religious training.²⁹

With American sisters in both the modern district of Miraflores and the rough port city of Callao, there was hope that the Catholic education might stem the Protestant tide that began to

²⁷*Annals San Antonio Callao: Foundation and Growth, 1928-1957*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, 28- 31 December 1928 and April 1929.

²⁸“ . . . mi único deseo es que se afiance la fundación de este Colegio tan necesario, en esta Ciudad, para combatir la obra nefasta de las sectas protestantes . . . ” The Reverend Ernesto Cotte to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 23 August 1929, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J5 Box 1 Folder 5. Translation mine.

²⁹The Reverend Ernesto Cotte, “Benediction of the Catholic English School,” 17 June 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J5 Box 1 Folder 3. A translation of Father Cotte’s remarks is included with the original text in Spanish.

gain strength around 1917. Aware of this on-going Protestant influence, Father John J. Burke, the founder of National Catholic Social Welfare Conference in the United States, visited Peru in 1923 and offered Mass at Villa Maria Academy. He expressed hopeful sentiments in his homily that, in fact, Catholic education would stem the tide.³⁰ Father Burke said:

As a country, as a nation, as a result of the late war, the United States undoubtedly commands the moral supremacy of the world. . . . It is no wonder that the Holy Father has said that the salvation of the world, as far as it depends upon anything human, depends upon the zeal and devotion of the Catholics of the United States.³¹

He concluded the sermon by encouraging the sisters not to lose heart in a country that was nominally Catholic and lacking in priestly ministry. He challenged them not to criticize the weaknesses of the local church but to sympathize with them.

You are to show them the United States is not a Protestant country and to interpret the Faith to them. . . . I feel that with your coming the first faint light of morning has come for Peru. . . . The eyes not only of English-speaking people . . . of this locality, but also of the Peruvians . . . are centered upon this community.³²

The sisters who boarded the *Santa Maria* nine months earlier never expected the advisor to the United States Secretary of State to tell them that “eyes of the English people to be on them.” The

³⁰ Reverend John H. Burke, “First Conference in the Chapel of Villa Maria Convent Miraflores, 1 August 1923,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 10. Father Burke, the founder of the National Catholic Social Welfare Conference, was Morrow’s advisor for dealing with the tumultuous Mexican revolution.

³¹ John J. Burke, “First Conference in Villa Maria Chapel,” August 1923.

³² Ibid.

sisters began to realize that the journey to the “new Jerusalem” symbolized more than they expected or imagined (see figure 2.2).

IHM Pedagogy in Peru

Villa Maria Academy in Miraflores and St. Anthony School in Callao embodied the ideals and practice of the parish schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Catholic educational philosophy at this time aimed to incorporate religious instruction and academic study. In the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, local parishes built the schools and religious sisters staffed them. The parish provided a convent and a stipend for the sisters. Without the sisters, the parish schools would never have flourished.³³ Since the Archdiocese of Philadelphia had a high concentration of religious congregations of sisters, parochial schools were numerous and nearly every Catholic child attended them. Parents, clergy, and religious congregations united to preserve, protect, and defend the Catholic identity of the numerous Catholic immigrants.³⁴ The parish schools in which the IHMs taught in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia embodied this mission and carried it to Lima.

³³ Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History From Colonial Times to the Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985), 287-293. Jay P. Dolan calls the Catholic school movement in the United States “one of the wonders of the immigrant Catholic world.” Its success depended largely on the women’s religious congregations.

³⁴ Harold A. J. Buetow, *History of United States Catholic Schooling* (Washington, DC: National Catholic Educational Association, 1985), 2. For the development of parishes in the United States, see Joseph J. Casino, “From Sanctuary to Involvement: A History of the Catholic Parish in the Northeast,” in *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, ed. Jay P. Dolan (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 7-103, and Timothy Walch, *A History of American Catholic Parish Schools from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Crossroad, 1995).

Using the standard pedagogy of the time, the sisters taught academic subjects in English and instructed children in the catechism. They imported books from the United States. The first shipment included: spellers, history and geography books, grammar texts, bible histories, and catechisms.³⁵ (see figure 2.3).

IHM pedagogy also included didactic materials and classroom environment conducive to learning. IHM classrooms in the United States were decorated with religious objects, patriotic symbols, charts, maps, and seasonal decorations. The sisters in Peru replicated this practice but it was more difficult to find the needed materials in Peruvian stores than in Philadelphia. What they could not find in Peru, they requested from sisters at home, which were sent in trunks packed at the Motherhouse. Pedagogically, the sisters in Peru viewed their teaching methods as near replicas of those used in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Flashcards, didactic posters, and religious images reinforced the link between religious instruction, piety, and academic instruction. Crucifixes, statues of the Blessed Mother, and images of saints reflected a Peruvian and American popular piety. These were central to religious instruction during this era. The students' desks were arranged in rows, with the sisters' desk in the front of the room, and blackboards displayed religious sayings. Piety, virtue, order, discipline, religious instruction, Bible stories, reading, arithmetic, geography, and the history of Peru distinguished Villa Maria Academy and St. Anthony School from the Protestant schools.

³⁵*Annals Villa Maria Academy, 1923-1929*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies. The spellers from Merrill Publishing; history books from Allyn and Bacon; Ginn and Company for geography; Hinds, Harden & Eldridge grammar texts; and, of course, Benziger Brothers sent Bible histories and Catechisms 1, 2, and 3.

No other school in Peru had English-speaking American religious sisters. The IHMs, however, were not quite as enthusiastic about imparting American values of progress and prosperity through education as were their Protestant counterparts from the United States. Their intention was to nurture the Catholic identity of Peruvian children *and* to educate them to contribute to Peruvian society.³⁶

Pedagogy Meets Poverty

Although both Villa Maria and St. Anthony were staffed by sisters from the same religious community, the sisters at St. Anthony School faced a more difficult challenge. Their students were children of the working poor of the port city of Callao. Most parents were street vendors or day laborers. Father Cotte's congregation built St. Anthony School to offer parents an alternative to the successful Colegio Anglo-Peruano, the Protestant school. The building had few amenities—so few that, for the first few years, the sisters shared a bathroom with the sexton. They rejoiced when there was enough water to wash their hands. Stories of the inconveniences written in the annals recount the hardship and humor. The sisters strove to provide the children of St. Anthony School with the same caliber of instruction as the children at Villa Maria. (see

³⁶ Villa Maria Academy Prospectus, 1923,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1. When St. Anthony School was opened in Callao, the “Prospectus” publicized similar information. See *Annals San Antonio Callao: Foundation and Growth, 1928-1957*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

figure 2.4). The sisters therefore endeavored to “modernize” the pedagogy and curriculum, not to “civilize” intellectually backward Catholics.

Aware of the needs in Callao, generous helpers and benefactors donated desks, blackboards, and instructional materials. Father Cotte collected a minimal tuition only from those who could pay. The sisters of both schools pooled resources to insure that the students in St. Anthony received an education equivalent to Villa Maria. To insure that the children were adequately catechized, the parish priest regularly visited each classroom to teach catechism. All other subjects were taught by the sisters in English. Laywomen were also on the staff to teach geography and the history of Peru in their native tongue.

The sisters’ commitment to the children of the poor in Callao mirrored a longstanding tradition among religious orders in Peru. The children of the poor were educated in convent schools. Usually the wealthier schools included poor children who were given scholarships (*becas*). Some congregations established schools specifically for the children of the poor either through the patronage of wealthy families or with subsidies from the government.³⁷ Parish schools like those in the United States never developed in Peru since all schools, public and private, included instruction in the Catholic faith in the curriculum. Since the Peruvian republic had declared itself a Catholic country it required that religion be taught in every school.

³⁷ Margarita Guerra Martinière, *Historia de la educación peruana en la República, 1821-1876* (Lima: Biblioteca Nacional de Perú Fondo Editorial, 2001), 26-27.

Teaching children whose first language was not English was not new to the IHMs. In Monroe, Michigan, the sisters taught French-speaking children. Teaching in Lima, however, was different because there the sisters were immersed in a Spanish-speaking country. The sisters learned the basics of communication in their daily interactions with boarders and day students. In other words, a speech community was formed since all were engaged in the process of learning a new language: students, sisters, and teachers.³⁸ Language acquisition was not always formal study. For example the boarders and the sisters spent recreation together in the evenings. Often one of the sisters played the piano while all sang and danced together. A spirit of camaraderie developed beyond school hours.³⁹

The students in both schools captured the sisters' hearts. Mother Cornelia wrote: "[the children here] live and thrive on *cariño* [affection]."⁴⁰ Thus, the sisters, their students, and their families' experience of an American-style Catholic school transplanted into foreign soil generated a new kind of school community. The students regarded the IHMs as "their" sisters. The sisters, too, discovered that the students' loyalty to their school and "their" sisters endowed their schools with an identity specific to their charism. The Peruvian context and culture was distinct from the sisters' teaching experience in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia where the

³⁸J. Gumperz, "The Speech Community" in *Language and Social Context*, ed. Pier Paolo Giglioli (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 219-231.

³⁹Enriqueta Quesada de la Puente, ed., *Villamarian: Colegio Villa Maria, 1923-1973* (Lima: 1973). Copy is located in Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4.

⁴⁰Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 9 March 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 50.

schools were parish schools rather than IHM schools. In Peru the sisters' schools bore the IHM stamp. Without the support of the parish or the archdiocese, the sisters discovered that owning their schools required learning new skills. They discovered that they could create the conditions where a learning community could thrive. Whatever the sisters lacked in language skills and cultural knowledge, they learned from their Peruvian counterparts. This enriched the sisters' understanding of the school as a community where everyone learns, including the teachers. The sisters in both schools developed their own methodology for teaching English as a second language. In Villa Maria Academy and St. Anthony School both the teachers and learners tried to learn each other's mother tongue.⁴¹ Ironically, this atmosphere enhanced and hastened the learning of a new language. Mother Cornelia's remark that the "children thrive on *cariño*," suggests that there was a bond between teacher-as-learner and learner-as-teacher that facilitated learning.⁴² Curiously, none of the sisters' letters or annotations in the annals lamented their inability to speak Spanish.

Undoubtedly, the Villa Maria Academy and St. Anthony School reflected the same missionary aspirations of the pioneer community in Michigan. In the early twentieth century, catechesis was understood as religious instruction and Bible stories. The sisters sent to Peru came with the same mission-mindedness characteristic of their Redemptorist heritage. Their schools on both sides of the equator were vehicles for handing on the Faith, as well as,

⁴¹J. Gumperz, 219-231.

⁴² W. Labov, "The Study of Language in the Social Context," in *Language and Social Context*, 283-307.

instruction in secular subjects. When Father Gillet compiled the constitutions for the pioneer community in Michigan in 1845, he specified that its spirit “be identical with that which St. Alphonsus bequeathed to the Redemptorists, namely charity, which reaches out to all mankind, humility upon which is based self-abnegation and renunciation of one’s own will, and simplicity by which, with singleness of aim, the members seek but God alone in all things.”⁴³ The aim of the congregation was to be: “True education, not in erudition, but power, knowledge, spiritual, as well as, the intellectual activities of the individual in the attainment of Truth.”⁴⁴ The IHM congregation embraced this charism and transmitted the Redemptorist understanding of mission as primarily a way of life, dedicated totally to Jesus, the Redeemer. Intense love for Jesus, the Redeemer was to be manifested in a profound love for humanity, in particular, those bereft of pastoral care. For St. Alphonsus, bishop and doctor of the Church, the founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (CSsR), this meant going forth from the Kingdom of Naples, Italy to evangelize illiterate and isolated peasants in rural villages throughout the Kingdom. Unlike the oratory and rhetoric of the preachers of the Neoclassical period, Alphonsus and his fellow Redemptorists dedicated their lives to preaching missions to the pastorally neglected.⁴⁵ Father Gillet’s intention in founding the IHMs in 1845 was to found a religious

⁴³Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, *A Retrospect: Three Score Years and Ten* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1916), 55

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 95.

⁴⁵ Frederick M. Jones, CSsR, *Alphonsus de Ligouri: Saint of Bourbon Naples 1696-1787*, (Ligouri, MI: Ligouri Publications, 1992), 250-253. Missions included preaching, confession, religious instruction. He regarded

congregation of women to complement his task of catechizing the rural population surrounding Monroe. The sisters' first school admitted boarders so that farm children could be catechized and learn basic academic subjects. From their beginning the IHMs committed their lives "to mission on the frontier of faith."⁴⁶

The *Annals of Villa Maria* reveals the IHMs transmitting their expression of the Redemptorist charism in an unfamiliar ecclesial and educational context. As already mentioned, Mother Mary James' stipulated that rote memorization of the catechism was not the goal of religious instruction, and, that the IHMs should follow the pedagogy stipulated in congregational guidelines for secular subjects.⁴⁷ Thus, their pedagogy reflected the content and methodology typical of Catholic parish schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. Father Cotte supplemented the religious instruction by visiting the classroom to impart religious instruction in Spanish. The sisters borrowed the popular devotions of Peru and the United States to nurture the profound piety so treasured in Peru. The sisters often expressed their awe and admiration of Peruvian piety manifested so magnificently each year in the solemn procession of the image of the Lord of the Miracles (*Señor de los Milagros*) through the streets of Lima. Similarly, the grand festivals accompanying the feasts of Saint Rose of Lima, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Saint Peter and

"catechetical instruction of paramount importance, more important than the main sermon of the night. It was more important to instruct the people than to preach to them. A good mission catechist showed a rarer talent than a thunderous preacher" (252).

⁴⁶ Margaret Brennan, IHM, "'Not Two Exactly Alike': IHM Spirituality," in *Building Sisterhood: A Feminist History of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, eds. Amanda Porterfield, Mary Farrell Bednarowski Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 107.

⁴⁷ S. M. Catherine Joseph, IHM, "Biography of Mother Mary James Sweeny IHM."

Saint Paul, and the Immaculate Conception revealed the faith of the people expressed in song and ritual. The fervor, splendor, and spirit of fiesta deepened and broadened the scope of the IHMs' piety. Although distinctively Peruvian piety was experienced for the first time, devotional practices were not new to the sisters. They were able to incorporate devotional practices of the American Catholic spirituality of the time into religious instruction and formation of the children under their care. The IHMs thus joined United States and Peruvian cultural expressions of devotionism, known in Peru as popular piety (*piedad popular*).

However sincere the traditions informing popular piety, the sisters realized that the absence of informed and consistent religious instruction had led to the neglect of sacramental practice. Their missionary enterprise, therefore, developed into a "domestic missiology" the hallmark of Catholic women missionaries.⁴⁸ Because only ordained clergy could ordinarily perform sacramental ministry, Catholic religious women in the United States and Peru focused primarily on catechesis of children and youth for the sacraments and Catholic piety.

The *Annals of Villa Maria Academy* recount the reception of first communion, confession, and mass attendance on Sundays. Since no English-speaking clergy were available the sisters hired Father Teofilo Le Blanc, OCD, as the chaplain for the children attending Villa Maria. He celebrated school masses, heard confessions, and led the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. In addition to frequent celebration of the sacraments, the students' piety was fostered

⁴⁸Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 364-366. Forty Hours devotion to the Holy Eucharist was also practiced in Peru. See *Amigo del clero*, "40 horas: Constitución del sínodo xiv," 1334 (febrero 1935): 25-27.

by periodic retreats, May processions, blessings of statues, medals, and shrines.⁴⁹ The entire school community engaged in worship, study, and social service. Parents, students, and sisters were engaged in realizing the core mission of the school: catechesis and preparation of children and adults for the sacraments (see figures 2.5 and 2.6).⁵⁰

Since the sixteenth century, nuns were sent to minister to the indigenous people of Peru and the colonized society. Most convent schools established in Peru were linked to monasteries and clerical orders where sacraments were administered.⁵¹ Until the arrival of the IHMs, monasteries of religious women had the services of priests. Because the IHMs were not accompanied to Lima with English-speaking priests, they had to hire chaplains from the local clergy for sacrament services. In spite of these challenges, specifically a lack of priests for sacramental rites, the IHMs managed to develop a functional model of a private and a parish school with an English based curriculum.

Regarding the catechetical approach of the IHMs, it was a combination of both American and Peruvian traditional Catholicism. The “Prospectus of Villa Maria” states that the schools’

⁴⁹Joseph P. Chinnici, OFM, ed. *Prayer and Practice in the American Catholic Community* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 76-79.

⁵⁰Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Spiritual Economy of Cuzco Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 1-10.

⁵¹ Enrique García Ahumada, *Comienzos de la catequesis en América y particularmente Chile* (Santiago, Chile: Pía Sociedad de San Pablo, 1991), 295-436. For a more critical survey, see Mario A. Rodríguez León, “Invasion and Evangelization in the Sixteenth Century” in *The Church in Latin America*, ed. Enrique Dussel (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992).

mission was to respond to the Peruvian desire for an American pedagogy that included religious education:

School requested by Monsignor [Archbishop] Lauri, Nuncio, and Archbishop Lisson and Cardinal Dougherty to establish an academy with distinctly American Catholic ideals, requirements, practices, thoroughly practical and modern in its method of teaching, thus to supply a long felt want of Peruvians to secure an English education under Catholic auspices.⁵²

A prospectus of St. Anthony School publicized the official status of it as a new Catholic school under the patronage of the Holy See and of the hierarchy of the United States and Peru. No longer, it stated, did Peruvians have “to forsake their holy Faith” in order to gain a modern education (see figure 2.7).⁵³

Minding the Mission

The stock market crash in the United States in 1929 precipitated a political, economic, and church crisis in Peru. The economic and political crisis resulted primarily because President Leguía’s modernization programs depended on loans from the United States, which were no longer available. The church crisis is attributed to the fact that in Peru there were no clear division between church and state, as in the United States. Thus, Archbishop Lisson, who was

⁵²“Villa Maria Academy Prospectus, 1923,” and *Annals San Antonio Callao: Foundation and Growth, 1928-1957*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies. Note: Archbishop Lauri was the papal nuncio to Peru when the IHMs arrived. He was replaced by Archbishop Petrelli.

⁵³*Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, “History of Our First Foreign Mission.” The terminology of “effective bait” and “forsake their Holy Faith” reveals the IHMs’ intent to defend.

portrayed as an ally of President Leguía, was implicated in this crisis. Both men were disgraced and deposed from their leadership roles. Mother Cornelia's letters vividly recount these events:

Well, what I must tell you is not in the paper, but I think we shall not escape, as all Peru seems to be very much against foreigners and especially Americans. As you know both Leguía and His Grace were our friends and everything we did was O.K. as far as the government was concerned, but now things are very different. You may remember what I always said, "When Leguía goes, the Archbishop will follow." Such is the state of affairs now.⁵⁴

Sympathetic to the archbishop's plight, she added: "He is branded as a robber although we know he has not even decent clothes. The poor man has been unwise but certainly, he has kept nothing for himself. Of course, his friendship with President Leguía is enough to condemn him in the eyes of the people."⁵⁵

In light of the economic developments after the crash of the stock market, riots broke out all over Lima. Villa Maria Academy's location, on the avenue named after the disgraced president, put the sisters in the midst of the rioting mobs. The mob looted and burned the homes near Villa Maria Academy. Mother Cornelia wrote: "We could hear the crowds chanting 'down with the *Madres*' [mothers]." ⁵⁶ Moreover,

Our neighbor . . . telephoned that the houses along the Avenida were being pillaged and some of them burned. . . . There is much shooting in Miraflores and many soldiers patrolling the Avenida. All night there was much firing, but we were not attacked in any

⁵⁴Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 8 January 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 48.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 10 April 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 55.

way. The only reason we feared was that many people believe that our building was put up by the government and the mob would have no respect. [Fearing their property was next]... We phoned the American Embassy to know whether or not we should put our American flag on the building.⁵⁷

Mr. Mayer, the *charge d'affaires*, instructed them to have it ready in case of imminent danger.

As the riot came nearer, “we became much excited so out went our flag. . . . When calm returned after about two hours, the flag came down.”⁵⁸ The sisters escaped harm; however, other Americans did not. Mother Cornelia explained. “The Americans in Cerro de Pasco are in great trouble, all women have had to come to Lima for safety and some of their husbands are in danger of being killed. We know this because we have some of the children in school.”⁵⁹

Political extremists virtually controlled Lima when President Leguía’s government fell. Archbishop Lisson had to cancel the dedication of Peru to the Sacred Heart of Jesus since he had been warned that rioters planned to storm the procession.⁶⁰ The military leaders in Lima delayed in responding to the chaos. This prompted General Luis Sánchez Cerro, a mestizo military commander stationed in Arequipa, a city in southern Peru, to march toward Lima declaring himself the new leader. His short-lived regime solved none of the political or social problems.⁶¹

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 28 August 1930.

⁵⁹Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 21 October 1930, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 43.

⁶⁰Archbishop Emilio Lisson, CM, “Consagración del Perú al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús,” *El amigo del clero* 1036 (1 June 1923): 241.

⁶¹Sánchez Cerro’s overthrow of President Leguía was remarkable in many respects. The rise of the “Great Hero of Arequipa” signaled a new era of populist politics. See Steve Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the*

An assassin belonging to a faction of the APRA party (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*) shot and killed the General while he was reviewing army troops at the Santa Beatríz racetrack near Lima. General Sánchez Cerro's assassination dashed hope that military leaders would permit the APRA party to govern even if elected by the majority.⁶² This break precipitated decades of continuing political unrest in Peru.

As unpredictable as Peru's political culture had been up until 1930, nothing compared to the uprising in Callao and Trujillo, a city north of Lima and an APRA stronghold. During these turbulent years the sisters persevered in spite of the dreadful consequences of political rivalries and antipathy among the social classes. Despite their alarm at the chaos and violence that surrounded them, they never asked to return to the United States. The sisters described these disturbing events in the annals and in their letters.⁶³ Often the sister-annalists referred to parents

Masses and the Politics of Social Control (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 108-110. See also chapter 4, "Sánchezcerrismo I: The Hero Appears" and chapter 5, "Sánchezcerrismo II: The Hero Campaigns." Stein utilizes primary sources in private libraries in Lima. His descriptions of Sánchez Cerro's personality and behavior coincide with all that the IHMs record of this period.

⁶²In Peruvian history, Sánchez Cerro is remembered as a flamboyant patriot. He rose in the military ranks as an outsider from the distant province of Piura in northern Peru. He cultivated his image as a military strongman, thus garnering the support of the masses. His foreign policy aimed to check the United States' excessive investment in Peruvian natural resources. Without an effective juridical system, Peruvian interests were often disregarded. When asked how he would deal with the violent wing of the APRA party, he answered, "Not with one but two pistols"; Pike, *Modern History of Peru*, 268. For the remainder of the century, Peru entered a phase of military takeovers and contested presidential elections. Stein's *Populism in Peru* provides a description of Peru that matches the sisters' observations: "The political fear and despair was so intense that some leaders at the time predicted Peru's 'extinction as a nation-state' (19).

⁶³Since Callao was the port of entry or exit of ousted political leaders, the sisters' stories about their journeys to and from Callao coincide with the political upheaval as common people (laborers, vendors, shopkeepers) violently rejected leaders imposed on them by the upper classes. Stein records the violence accompanying a mass demonstration in Callao when Sánchez Cerro returned to Peru after four months of voluntary exile in Europe. When

who had to flee from the country for fear of execution or imprisonment. Tuition payments dried up, since many parents had lost either their jobs or their fortunes in bank failures. The sisters, too, experienced privation:

There were many hardships in the ‘Early days’, but the Hand of God was always there guiding and sometimes it was almost visible. When the money for the mortgage payment was scarce, we just did a little more penance. If we had enough girls to fill the boarding school, we could be sure of enough money to pay the mortgage. One penance I can recommend to fill a school of any size is stewed mangoes. Mangoes are good but not stewed as we found out.⁶⁴

No hot water in Villa Maria; it had to be heated on a kerosene heater—same for cooking. Gas was finally connected for cooking, heating water. Cold and hot water bottles! Bundle up in shawls, sweaters in bed.⁶⁵

Aware of the anti-American sentiments, Mother Cornelia had to be careful about the contents of her letters to Mother Loyola since she feared postal workers were not to be trusted.⁶⁶ The sisters’ position in Peru was now very complicated. Mother Cornelia had few persons she could trust. Most of her allies were in exile, in prison, or dead. Although the two schools survived the political chaos and social unrest, the new edicts of the Ministry of Instruction

police fired on the crowd, the people were terrified, and women jumped into the sea or dived for cover. Sánchez Cerro delayed a full day before disembarking for fear of more bloodshed. See Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 101-103.

⁶⁴Interviews with First IHMs Missioned in Peru, August 1974, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 7 Folder 84. Cited hereafter as Interviews With IHM Sisters Stationed in Peru. As recounted by S. Maria Charitas Morgan, IHM. Acute food shortages and hunger, particularly of the working classes, led Sánchez Cerro to initiate food distribution centers in the local police stations. Long lines of people, some with children in their arms, collected staples. Some left praising God and the Virgin Mary for their brave new leader who had ousted the tyrant, Leguía.

⁶⁵Ibid. As recounted by S. Regina Mary Markey, IHM.

⁶⁶Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 21 October 1930.

scrutinized state funding for private schools and required all teachers to have valid professional certificates.⁶⁷ Mother Cornelia strove to implement all the new norms of the government; however, she could not produce professional teaching certificates for herself and the sisters. Mother Cornelia explained the predicament to Mother Loyola. She and the sisters appointed to Peru had not completed courses for professional certificates prior to being sent to Peru. Archbishop Lisson had promised to “take care of everything,” and, during President Leguía’s regime, no official ever questioned the sisters’ credentials. The new government replaced all the officials in the Ministry of Instruction. These officials were hostile toward the United States and enacted new regulations aimed at private schools which had received favors from the disgraced president. Any school that had received funds had to return the money or face appropriation by the state.⁶⁸

Thanks to Archbishop Cigcognani’s (the papal nuncio) advice, the IHM congregation in the United States lent money to the sisters in Lima for the construction of a new site for Villa Maria Academy. No funds from either Archbishop Lisson or President Leguía were used to build the school; however, the sisters did not fulfill the requirements as certified teachers. Mother Cornelia dared not ask the papal nuncio or Mr. Moore, the United States’ ambassador, to act as

⁶⁷Dirección General del Ministerio de Educación de la República del Perú, 3 septiembre 1930, Circular 74, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 43.

⁶⁸Eduardo Palomino notes that the Peruvian constitution holds that the state has the right to educate the child, not the parent; therefore, the government has power to control all forms of education, state and private. This has been and continues to be an obstacle since the Ministry of Education’s policy usually depends on the political party’s platform. See Palomino, *Política educativo escolar*, 144-145.

intercessors with the officials in the Ministry of Instruction. She feared that they would think ill of the congregation for sending sisters under false pretenses.⁶⁹ In desperation she wrote to Mother Loyola. S. Cornelia wrote, “I can assure you, Mother I am ready to give up the ghost. . . . We are in the depths of despair. . . . There have been many lonely anxious hours spent in this far-away land, but never has the community been in any worse plight than at the present time.”⁷⁰

Indeed there were many reasons for such feelings. The banks had failed and parents had fled the country. Tuition payments dwindled. The debt was mounting, the sisters lacked proper credentials, and they lost the patronage of Archbishop Lisson and President Leguía. Without confidantes or a trustworthy means of communication, Mother Cornelia remained steadfast in spite of their dire circumstances. Relief came when a letter from Mother Loyola: “Your letter has caused us grave anxiety, and we are praying sincerely that all may be adjusted as you wish.”⁷¹ Mother Loyola’s cryptic remark, “that all may be adjusted as you wish” referred to the sisters’ credential crisis; she had informed Cardinal Dougherty of the crisis. Using his influence with the Pennsylvania Department of Education in Pennsylvania, credentials would be

⁶⁹Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 28 August 1930.

⁷⁰Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 21 October 1930.

⁷¹Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Mother Cornelia and Sisters of Villa Maria Academy, 14 October 1930, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 44.

forthcoming.⁷² The Cardinal expressed his concern for the sisters' safety in a message to Mother Cornelia via Mother Loyola:

Make no investments of any sort. . . . The money is to be kept in a strong box, buried somewhere where it may be safe yet easy of access. He wishes you to make no statements of any kind; even regarding the Archbishop [Lisson] and that you leave the convent only for business during the next few months. 'Tell the Sisters that under the circumstances they are to live lives as secluded as Carmelites.'"⁷³

He asked that this message be posted in the community room: "The reason for the existence of the Academy in Miraflores is for SOULS. This ideal should be kept in mind at all times that your interest is in the souls of *all* not in the politics of any party."⁷⁴ This dictum proved to be the touchstone that guided the IHMs throughout the years. Their mission was transcendent, not political. "To save souls" was the primary mission of the Church.

Lapses in communication due to a dysfunctional postal service were a concern for sisters on both continents and caused some confusion and misunderstanding. Mother Loyola expressed her irritation to Mother Cornelia when vital financial information did not arrive on time for the superiors' corporation meeting. She was so perturbed that she challenged Mother Cornelia to "do

⁷²Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 6 and 14 October 1930, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 42. Certainly the cardinal and Mother Loyola were aware of the persecution of nuns and priests during the recent Mexican revolution. The United States Catholic press and the American bishops decried the treatment of clerics and religious and the appropriation of Church property. See Mary McGlone, CSJ, *Sharing the Faith across the Hemisphere* (Washington, DC: National Council of Catholic Bishops, 1997), 75-82. Pope Pius XI published *Acerba Animi, On the Persecution of the Church in Mexico* (1932).

⁷³Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Mother Cornelia and Sisters of Villa Maria Academy, 14 October 1930.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*

something about the postal system in Miraflores.”⁷⁵ More alarming, however, was a letter from Mother Cornelia about Father Cotte’s invitation to the sisters to inspect a possible convent for the sisters in Callao. Before knowing that the communication was not received in Lima, Mother Loyola interpreted the invitation as a breach of contract, which explicitly stated that Father Cotte would provide transportation each day. Mother Loyola curtly communicated that she and the cardinal demanded the sisters withdraw from St. Anthony School since Father Cotte was not fulfilling their contract.

The decision is quite against the opening of a house in Callao. . . . The transportation plans which I arranged with Father Cotte last year should be carried out. Our contract with him was made on these conditions. Since Father Cotte now finds the question of transportation difficult and even impossible, and since the health of at least one of the Sisters is now suffering under the strain, we now find it wise to give notice of the withdrawal of the Sisters. You will please inform Father Cotte of this decision at once.”⁷⁶

Mother Cornelia was shocked. She wrote:

I regret very much that I misrepresented the case, for otherwise you would not have decided so. I say all this simply in justice to Father Cotte . . . [who was living up to the terms of the agreement to provide transportation]. Mother you know that [the] school has taken many from the Methodists in Callao and we would all be very sorry to see those children go back to that influence and they assuredly would, as there is no other place for them to continue their English. . . . I do not deny that conditions are not ideal. . . . my only reason for advocating the opening of a house is that the Sisters would get a better hold on the place and really have the direction of the school.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵Mother M. Loyola IHM to Mother Cornelia IHM 26 July 1930, Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 42.

⁷⁶Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Mother Cornelia and Sisters of Villa Maria Academy, 14 October 1930.

⁷⁷Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 21 October 1930.

The papal nuncio and Archbishop Lisson each wrote to Cardinal Dougherty and Mother Loyola asking them to reconsider the decision. Mother Loyola and the cardinal did reconsider, and the sisters were not withdrawn.

The sisters' letters show that they could manage just about any crisis as long as they trusted in God, each other, and in those who, in God's providence, were there to counsel them.

Mother Cornelia, in particular, reveals her personal struggle in dealing with "these men."

Archbishop Lisson was continually pressing her to ask for more sisters to establish another school, Mother Cornelia expressed her frustration to Mother Loyola: "Really Mother these *men* are not so easy to deal with!"⁷⁸ After the credentials crisis with the Ministry of Instruction,

Archbishop Lisson asked her, again, for more sisters:

Really, [I] try to do all that he asked [establish a second school in Lima] and at the very last minute it seemed impossible to me. In any case, we had a week of strenuous worry and anxiety, so much, so that I felt almost like running away and leaving the whole business. On top of all this comes your cable saying you cannot reply until I answer your letters—oh! Mother, I am heartsick and more discouraged than I ever was in my life. Do you not believe me when I say I have written and written—have always told you all we do, as far as I can explain on paper . . . ? Don't worry, though I shall not run away. Soon the Lord will adjust things, I hope.⁷⁹

The sisters did survive the political crisis, and they did receive the necessary credentials from the Pennsylvania Department of Education to fulfill the Ministry of Instruction's requirements in Peru. When the credentials arrived, Mother Loyola indicated that these were

⁷⁸Mother Cornelia, IHM, to Mother Loyola, IHM, 26 August 1929, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 33.

⁷⁹Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother Loyola, IHM, 5 April 1927, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 24.

provisional certificates; therefore, Mother Cornelia was to arrange for the sisters to take classes to fulfill all the requirements. Mother Cornelia graciously asked Monsignor Aldo Laghi, the papal nuncio's assistant, to teach the sisters philosophy. Rosalia García, a laywoman, agreed to teach the sisters Spanish literature and the history of Peru. Since gymnastics was a requirement, Mother Loyola also sent the sisters a gymnastics textbook. The sisters were to teach themselves, "One sister can teach the rest of the sisters from the book being sent on the topic. Sisters may assemble in the patio during the summer vacation and Sister may teach them. They in turn are to teach the children." ⁸⁰

Mother Cornelia insisted that the sisters learn Spanish and speak to each other in Spanish daily. ⁸¹ Sister Avellino recalled:

Sisters were put on portress [duty] and had to speak Spanish. They had to speak Spanish at each meal and had to converse on spiritual subjects with one another at every recreation. The sisters were also going to confession in Spanish since they had no priest who could speak or understand the English. . . . we even pinned Spanish phrases on our cuffs while cleaning. ⁸²

Dilemmas and Decisions

The IHMs' documents of this period reflect the sisters' ability to maneuver within the complicated political culture. For example, Mother Cornelia had to decide whether President

⁸⁰Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Mother Cornelia, IHM, 26 February 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 50.

⁸¹Until the 1960s, few sisters needed to become fluent in Spanish. Parents generally preferred that the sisters conduct all classes and interactions with students in English. Although many superiors encouraged the sisters to learn Spanish, the school's schedule and after-school activities made it difficult to accomplish.

⁸²Interviews with First IHMs Missioned in Peru.

Sánchez Cerro should be invited to Villa Maria's graduation ceremony. She revealed her predicament to Mother Loyola. She did not wish to take sides; however, not to invite the president would show a lack of respect for Peruvian custom. Government officials expected to be invited to such ceremonies. Following the advice of a staff member at Villa Maria, Mother Cornelia decided to invite him. Mother Cornelia was granted an appointment with the president (with the help of a friend of a friend of the president) so she could invite him personally. When she and her companion arrived at the palace, they were escorted into the reception room where, to their amazement, President Sánchez Cerro appeared immediately to greet them and thank them for the invitation. He then graciously offered Mother Cornelia his arm and escorted her on a tour of the palace.⁸³ In a letter to Mother Loyola recounting the event, Mother Cornelia admitted that she had misgivings about inviting a "rebel leader" to a school ceremony; however, she learned that the IHM mission, as Cardinal Dougherty reminded them, "to SAVE SOULS," meant adapting to political realities, as confusing and contradictory as they usually were.⁸⁴

⁸³Mother Cornelia's experience of Sánchez Cerro coincides with the description of his leadership style. He mixed with the common people, encouraging them to approach him personally to ask for favors. He "patted [them] on the back, writing down their names, and at times taking money from his pocket for them or even giving them articles of clothing from his own wardrobe. Always employing the *tú* form and speaking to them in simple language." He was an impressive orator and exemplified the paternalistic and personalistic style that endeared him to common people. See Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 104-105.

⁸⁴Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 10 December 1932, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 71.

From St. Anthony Catholic School to Colegio San Antonio for Girls (1927-1939)

As the IHM sisters told their story, it was clear that their first preference was to work with the working poor, the so-called “masses” in Peru.⁸⁵ Sister M. Rosalita Friel, IHM, a pioneer at St. Anthony School, recalled:

Those who came [to Villa Maria] . . . were of the upper class of society and Mother told the Archbishop [Lisson] that we had come to teach the poor. He replied that it was the Will of God that they [the wealthy] came [to Villa Maria], and we should accept them as they would help us in our work with the poor. His words were prophetic . . . for many years the Sisters in Villa Maria and those in Escuela Inmaculado Corazón supported the Callao Sisters and their work with the very poor. . . . Thanks to our sisters there is a middle class in Callao now.⁸⁶

But the IHMs soon discovered that educating the wealthy could be risky and dangerous:⁸⁷ S. Rosalita commented about the dangers: “[The] Presidents of Peru always came to graduations at Villa Maria. . . . When Sánchez Cerro came after the deposition of Leguía . . . Everybody of

⁸⁵The “poor” in Lima and Callao at this time were families with no social prestige whose occupations were menial. Shantytowns were a phenomenon of migration in the latter part of the century. Alicia del Aguila Peralta, *Callejones y mansiones*, ed. J. Michael Miller, CSB (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1997), 43, 93.

⁸⁶Interviews with First IHMs Missioned in Peru

⁸⁷The political climate of this era was filled with acrimony between political factions. The APRA party aimed its attacks at the Leguía legacy and Sánchez Cerro, his successor. Thenceforward, anti-elite sentiment will become a “potent political symbol” throughout the twentieth century. The elites were denounced as a “parasitic caste” that kept the poor in poverty. Sánchez Cerro, a political conservative who wooed the masses, was labeled an “uncultured, illiterate, vain, smelly, dirty, cowardly thief whose supporters were similarly unlettered and unscrupulous vendors in the Lima market.” Stein, *Populism in Peru*, 165.

the male sex in the audience was carrying a gun. Thanks to prayer nothing happened. Had one shot been fired many people would have lost their lives.”⁸⁸

Mother Loyola’s decision to send sisters to catechize and educate poor children in Father Cotte’s parish in Callao shows how the IHMs struggled to balance their mission in Peru. The sisters’ remarks show clearly that they would have preferred to work with the “poor masses”; however, they soon learned that in Peru poverty was a trap that few escaped. The *Annals of Villa Maria* and *Annals of San Antonio* show the sisters’ zeal “to save souls” no matter the strictures of social class or skin color.⁸⁹

As the sisters’ mission to the children of the poor in Callao evolved, so did the name of the school. The first named, St. Anthony Catholic School, emphasized its American identity. Then, the name Colegio San Antonio Inglés, highlighted its Peruvian identity as an English language school. The final name, Colegio San Antonio, identifies it as a Peruvian Catholic school. When Father Cotte, of the Canons Regular of the Immaculate Conception founded the school, he purposely gave it an English name. The Protestants already had two thriving schools, one with an English name, Callao High School. He realized he was losing the battle for souls

⁸⁸Ibid. Social status in Lima was determined by membership in social clubs, schools, and family reputation. Outsiders, especially individuals from the provinces, used public events like school ceremonies to display their entry into social circles. See Aguila Peralta, *Callejones y mansiones*, 27, 66, 74.

⁸⁹The majority of the working class (artisans, vendors, laborers) lived in tenement housing (*callejones*). These dwellings provided the cheapest housing in Lima. In late 1930, the Peruvian legislature forbade further construction. Hence, the waves of peasant immigrants in the 1950s invaded and occupied deserted areas on the periphery of Lima. Henry Dietz, “Urban Squatter Settlements in Peru: A Case History,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 11, no. 3 (July, 1969): 354.

through education, and so he, initially emphasized that the school would teach English by giving it an English name.

Saint Anthony's School has been proposed first by His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop of Lima, in order to make it easy for the families of Seaport, the learning of English language, united with a thoroughly Catholic education . . . in order to facilitate the families of this Port in learning the English language... The School functions under the direction of the pastor and a commission of gentlemen presided by Mr. Walker Mitchel. The School offers strong training in English without neglecting the mother tongue. The students will be subjected to an intensive practice of the English language without neglecting their mother tongue.⁹⁰

Father Cotte opened St. Anthony School and the enrollment increased steadily. So the first pages of the annals reflect the sisters' joy when enrollment reached one hundred at the close of the first school year.⁹¹ As the school grew, so did the faculty. Father Cotte hired two laywomen, Señora Aurora de la Cruz de Vásquez and Señorita Amalia Espinoza, to join the faculty of sisters.⁹² Although the Peruvian teachers' methods and attendance did not always reflect the IHM values of punctuality and preparation, the sisters desperately needed Spanish-speaking lay faculty members since not one of the sisters was fluent in Spanish. Thus, while students and teachers were schooled in IHM pedagogy, the sisters were schooled in humility.

⁹⁰Prospectus for Saint Anthony's Catholic School, Escuela "San Antonio" para la Enseñanza Práctica del Inglés 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J5 Box 1 Folder 1. *Para facilitar a las familias de este Puerto [sic] el aprendizaje del idioma inglés nectamente católica... Los alumnos serán sometidos a una práctica intensiva del idioma inglés sin descuidar a la propia lengua natal.* Translation mine.

⁹¹*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957.* Five soles per month amounted to about twelve dollars. The matriculation fee was three soles, about seven dollars.

⁹²Asociación de Ex-Alumnas del Colegio San Antonio, "Historia del Colegio," http://reocities.com/csa_callao/historia.html. In 1931, the Ministry of Education permitted a middle grade and postprimary secretarial curriculum. In 1936, Father Ciaffie, the pastor of Iglesia Matriz, obtained "valor oficial" (state recognition of the legal status of a school).

Telling Stories

Faithful to their teaching commitment, the sisters daily made the twenty-eight miles round-trip journey to Callao and home again. There were two possible routes. One was a rocky road etched along the steep cliffs and skirted the sea; the other was through the narrow congested streets of downtown Lima. Father Cotte hired a driver who was not dependable. He often arrived either late or never; mechanical problems or political protests were the common excuses. One entry noted, “The driver came at the usual hour [he was] very much excited. He deemed it wiser that we should remain at home. We, however, went.”⁹³ Oblivious to danger, the sisters disregarded the driver’s advice and went to school, but as the school day progressed mothers began to appear at the gate asking to take their children home immediately. The mothers recounted rumors of violence in Lima. Striking workers had resorted to violence. When the sisters’ driver did not arrive to take them home, the sisters realized that they were stranded in Callao. The situation was so dangerous it would be unsafe for anyone to travel the road of Lima. A neighbor of the sisters, Mrs. Castañeda, realized the sisters’ plight so she prepared three cots for them in the school and “spread [them] with nice clean linens.” When she realized no driver would ever come for them, she and another mother sent the sisters “nice salads, rolls, and tea” since they realized the sisters had no food for dinner. Between them, the sisters had two cents, which they used to purchase an onion and a can of beans in the nearby market. The story continues:

⁹³*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 21 October 1937.

We feasted on a nice supper. . . . We began to undress when four men in an automobile came looking for us. The señora [Castaneda] and her sister were afraid to let us go; they were almost in tears. We went taking Matilda Indacochea, a pupil of our school who lived in Barranco, with us into the small car with the four men. We went from one police station to another [where] a change of armed guards was given to us. They all had pistols, rifles etc. Our chief worry was about Mother [in Villa Maria] who was ill. At last, we started for Miraflores by the sea route. The men were extraordinarily big and stout. You can picture the ride, very slow, cautious and being stopped every few squares [blocks] by policemen. At last, at about eleven p.m. we reached Villa Maria. Mother and the poor Sisters had been so worried, as they thought we were in real danger. . . . We stayed home from school the next days . . . then Sister M. Augustine and Sister Leontia went to Callao by tram to investigate. . . . So ends the story of the strike.⁹⁴

This experience taught the sisters a lesson. They learned that they needed to relinquish a measure of their American self-reliance and rely on the goodwill and common sense of those whom they came to serve. Being less independent, however, led to occasioned humorous misadventures.

The car was not running very well and [the driver] was late in coming for us. The chauffeur tinkered with the motor and finally ended up by going to buy some gasoline. At last with the aid of the children from San Jose's school, we got started. They pushed and we nearly ran up a pole. Once started, we were afraid to stop regardless of the fact that we watched black smoke coming from our car. We did not mind as we thought it was from the exhaust pipe. This kept up until we were near Miraflores, then the smoke became bad enough to suffocate us. We asked the chauffeur to stop but he, fearing it would never get started again, would not do so until one of the Sisters practically jumped out while it was going. The other Sisters followed suit and then the back seat burst into flames. We had been riding over a smoldering fire all the way home. We had stopped by a patio where a servant was watering the grass with the hose. She came to the rescue. We were a sorry sight and didn't know exactly what to do for a few minutes. Half-laughing, half crying we didn't realize just what we looked like as we started to walk toward home, one carrying a bouquet of flowers, another a layer cake, which the children had presented for the Feast, and another the schoolbags. After walking another block, we hailed a taxi. . . . It took quite a few days to get the horrible smell of smoke from our habits.⁹⁵

⁹⁴*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 21 October 1937.

⁹⁵*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 6 December 1940.

Another lesson the sisters learned was how to stretch their mission across sharply divided social classes. Gradually they adopted practices of other religious congregations in Lima who ministered to both the poor and the wealthy.⁹⁶ The IHM sisters, however, never gave up all their American practices. Unlike their Peruvian counterparts, they traveled outside the convent and were seen in public. They also performed manual labor. There were no class distinction between choir sisters (upper class) and lay sisters (lower class).⁹⁷ Their willingness to be seen in public gave them the opportunity to lead by example. One development that crossed social classes was the sisters' invitations to Villa Maria students to join them in catechizing the poor children in Callao at San Matriz parish near St. Anthony School. Together, the sisters and their students handed on the Faith. (see figure 2.8).

Broken Bodies and Brave Hearts

Not all of the sisters' experiences were mishaps and adventures. The sisters wrote about tragedy, too. In May of 1940 a severe earthquake reduced St. Anthony School to rubble. Two children died. S. Marie Augustine Dorans, IHM, records her memories of the moment of the quake in the *Annals of San Antonio*:

⁹⁶Klaiber devotes a chapter to the service of Peruvian and European orders of religious women dedicated to education in Peru prior to the IHMs' arrival. He opines that they performed an inestimable service for the Church in Peru. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 213-244. Similarly, Guerra provides a detailed investigation of the evolution of schooling in Peru, with particularly the efforts of laymen, religious orders, and political leaders. See Guerra Martinière, *Historia de la educación peruana*.

⁹⁷The IHM rule was based on the rule of St. Alphonsus Ligouri. He adapted the Jesuit model focused mainly on apostolic mission, particularly to the pastorally abandoned peasants in Italy.

A sad day, indeed, must we take to start the annals of this year. It is Friday and an exceptionally beautiful day, although the forenoon becomes intensely hot. About 11:28 there is a violent shaking of the earth, the children seemed to sense the great danger in store for them and hurried to the spacious patio. Some of the older girls instead of going out started to cry such phrases, as "My mother is ill." "My mother is alone" etc. and it was through sheer force that they were made to go out in the safety of the patio. As a shack was seen falling, we ordered the children in the middle of the patio, and, just in time, for the walls of the row of classrooms fell to the ground. Then the wall of the patio did likewise. All around us there were buildings tumbling down like so many paper houses with a deafening noise as they crashed to the ground. There was panic in the hearts of the crying children as well as the frantic parents who came searching for their children. There was much gratitude in our hearts as . . . we thought all the children safe. Then, to our horror, we saw two girls of the Commercial department moving in the ruins of the typing room. They were unhurt but very nervous and when questioned why they did not come with the other girls they replied that Margarita would not let them out. When I turned again, I saw Mrs. Lobaton with her Margarita in her lap drawing her last breath. She had stopped to pray and tried to induce the others to do likewise. There was also a little boy killed. He was taken to safety but ran back to get his school bag and was caught in the crashing of the wall. Graciella Bustamante was also injured. Thank God, there were no more out of the two hundred forty children in the school. Finally, a truck came and removed the injured and the dead. The little boy was Juan Altuna who was eight years of age. The school is in ruins and the part that remained standing must be torn down. . . . A few minutes after the earthquake the homeless people came into the patio and there made themselves a temporary home bringing with them anything they had been able to save from the wreckage (25 May 1940).

A day after the quake, S. Augustine recounted the effect of the disaster on the children and their parents:

Small tremors continued to frighten the people. . . . there are three hundred ninety-nine people in the patio. They are using desks, doors, or anything else they can find or pick up to shelter them. Our beautiful cedar typing tables are being used to cook on, but we did not have the heart to take them from the poor people. . . . We went to visit Father Ciaffie today and, also, the two families of the children who had died. We witnessed many pathetic sights. We had Graciella, who was in terrible condition, her whole body was bruised, a severe wound on the head, and three fingers off. We visited the old Bellavista Church and found that many repairs, readjustments, etc. must be made before continuing classes there (26 May 1940).

Further remarks on this event indicate that S. Augustine, herself was suffering from shock:

Attended Mass in the patio of the school, where Father Famiana celebrated Holy Mass on our old lunch table. The strained expressions on the faces of the poor people who have lost their homes are not easily erased from the memory. Our little chapel was destroyed as well as the poor houses. (26 May 1940)

Went to school to salvage what we could from the ruins. It seemed an impossible task and our heavy hearts did not make the task any lighter. The desks etc. were sent to Bellavista (27 May 1940).

S. Augustine, due to stress that resulted in illness, was unable to continue to record the events so an unnamed sister continued to update the events following the earthquake:

Sister Marie Augustine [Dorans] is ill, and Sister Leontia [Hawmann] is teaching in V.M.A. Sisters Leonilla [Forquer] and Mary Flora [Sullivan] went to Bellavista to reopen the school. There was nothing ready and plaster all over. We put the children in line and went around the corner to attend Holy Mass in the Chapel of San Jose. . . . we tried to arrange the classes in different corners of the hall. The work was very difficult trying to get order out of chaos. . . . In the midst of all of this confusion, the Villa Maria omnibus drove up and there were our dear Sisters. What a happy sight they were to us. They brought us some lunch, which we immediately devoured as we had not stopped since our arrival in the morning, and we did not even realize how hungry we were until then. The Sisters then began to help us work and we shall never be able to tell how hard they did work or how very grateful we shall ever be to them (24 June 1940).

With most of the school uninhabitable, a single room in a nearby hall was divided into sections to accommodate all the students:

Teresa Montero who was also helping with the teaching of English took her class over the song, 'Jungle [*sic*] Bells.' We were at last forced to make the gentle request for its postponement until the following year, as it is hard enough to be heard with the ordinary teaching voices of so many.⁹⁸

⁹⁸*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 25 June 1940.

Father Ciaffie, CRIC, the new pastor, organized fundraisers to rebuild the school. The sisters in both schools, Villa Maria and St. Anthony, worked with the parish to reconstruct the school from rubble. Bringing the two schools together in a common effort was a witness to the people of Lima that the sisters had one mission and it embraced two social classes separated by fourteen miles.⁹⁹

This earthquake was not the first experience of “Nature’s tantrum.” S. Joseph Marie termed the experience, “*temblors*” (earthquakes).¹⁰⁰ Mother Cornelia had written of their first experience of an earthquake in 1932 but it was not as destructive as the one in 1940. Nonetheless, it was an experience of great fear for the sisters. It occurred one night during their annual retreat given by the nuncio: “Hopeless of being saved we fled to the chapel . . . amid sobs and tears . . . hugging each other we prayed to *Señor de los Milagros* [Lord of the Miracles] in tears fearing our end was near . . . the doorbell rang. . . . The papal nuncio and his secretary appeared to see how we fared.”¹⁰¹

Mother Cornelia was astounded: “The Nuncio gave the sisters recreation and requested that they be given a glass of wine. I told the Nuncio that it is not our custom for sisters to

⁹⁹David S. Parker, “Los pobres de la clase media: Estilo de vida, consumo e identidad en una ciudad tradicional,” in *Mundo Interiores: Lima, 1850-1950*, ed. Aldo H. Panfichi and Felipe S. Portocarrero (Lima: Centro de Investigación de la Universidad del Pacífico, 1995), 165-183. Parker investigates the evolution of social classes as Peru modernized. The sisters participated in this change since their schools were places where emerging social classes found a niche.

¹⁰⁰S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, “Villagrams” in *Annals of Villa Maria Academy 1922-1954*.

¹⁰¹Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 26 January 1932, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 60.

assemble at ten p.m. in the evening during their annual retreat for recreation or wine. To which he replied, ‘Nor is it the custom to have earthquakes during their retreat.’¹⁰²

Aside from earthquakes and political tensions, the *Annals of Villa Maria Academy* frequently note the dedication of the sisters and their students to their sister-mission, St. Anthony School in Callao. The “Villamarians,” students and sisters, joined forces in responding to the needs of their friends in the port city. All witnessed the poverty and responded generously on First Communion Day.¹⁰³ “The patio was just one pool of mud. The children looked lovely and all were very good. The senior class of Villa Maria Academy provided and served a lovely breakfast for Father Ciaffie and the first Communicants. This was a surprise, not only for the children, but also for us”¹⁰⁴ The sisters noted the sharp distinctions which defined status by social class: “Two very rich girls came from La Punta [a seaside resort] . . . to study English. They do not associate with the others so I hope they discontinue, which I feel sure they will do. Nice girls but they belong in VMA. Our girls resent their attitude and I believe the presence of these two causes sadness to our poor children.”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰²Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 26 January 1932. The nuncio at this time was Archbishop Cicognani; he and his secretary, Father Burzio, were present because they were giving the annual retreat.

¹⁰³As Lima’s urban population grew, social differences and poverty were more apparent. See Aguila Peralta, *Callejones y mansiones*, 94.

¹⁰⁴*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 11 June 1937.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 17 April 1936.

The sisters did not view their principal mission as a struggle for social justice; rather, they acted sometimes as intermediaries and other times as bridges. The sisters in both schools brought together two school communities and social classes to make St. Anthony School a beautiful, wholesome learning environment.¹⁰⁶ The annals of both Villa Maria and San Antonio record communal endeavors in both schools such as painting classrooms, hauling donated desks and chairs, sweeping, cleaning, and performing various maintenance chores. The students of both schools learned from the sisters' example. Manual work was not demeaning, working together accomplished beneficial tasks. The IHMs' one mission served two distinct communities. Even though their ministry was in distinct locations, the sisters worked together to accomplish that single mission. Mother Cornelia, the superior of Villa Maria Academy, regularly visited St. Anthony parish school to visit the students, inspect the classrooms, and encourage the sisters and lay teachers confirmed the IHMs' one mission in two schools (see figure 2. 9).

Ministry in Peru was challenging and the hardships took a toll on the sisters' physical and psychological health. The annals of San Antonio reveal that the sisters struggled to keep their spirits up during sunless, damp winters and tiresome travel: "In Callao it is so dreary. . . . If it continues thus we shall be obliged to ask for electric lights. Money for April not as much as we had hoped for. . . . Padre Ciaffie was disappointed. Please God, we shall at least meet expenses."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Manual labor was not considered "decent" work for decent people. The only acceptable manual labor for women of high social status was embroidery. Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History*, 174-175.

¹⁰⁷*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 23 May 1936.

The children also suffered, “[They] trudged through the mud to get to their classrooms . . . the winters are damp and wet. . . . When it is raining (which is almost daily since school opened) the patio is a bed of mud. The poor children thus have wet feet all day, and the classrooms are a sight.”¹⁰⁸

Their trust in Providence bore fruit: “Money is not as much as we had hoped. St. Joseph helped us much and we depend on this dear Saint to help us do great things for our school . . . we should love to have a cement patio . . . we are putting St. Joseph in charge of getting the money for us. Padre Ciaffie promised [us] all the surplus of money for that purpose.” To help with the financial situation at St. Anthony’s the sisters organized small fundraising projects to assist the pastor. A one-penny collection from the student body paid for two trees, a rose bush, and a hedge. Attention to aesthetics lifted their spirits. S. Marie Augustine, the annalist that year, wrote, “Our garden is coming along nicely and our two trees are doing beautifully.”¹⁰⁹

One of the most vehemently anti-clerical groups in Peru was the Masons. In Callao, they were the sworn enemies of the Church. However, an official on the civic council, who was a Mason, offered to lay concrete to improve the ever-muddy schoolyard, and the sisters agreed.

We taught the children to sing hymns and gradually peace and calm reigned [in Callao] in a short time you could hear “Mother Dear, Oh Pray for Me!” being sung or whistled by trash collectors, fruit vendors etc. . . . [The] Mayor of Callao came to see school, a

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 15 July 1937.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

Mason, with a group of men they began to sing the hymn to St. Anthony. The mayor was much impressed with everything.¹¹⁰

The decision to accept the Masons' help displeased Father Ciaffie. He had had a long-standing feud with the local Mason lodge.¹¹¹ The sisters' ignorance of the culture paradoxically enabled them to cross unseen boundaries but also brought them into the middle of a civic dispute.

The kindness and attentiveness to the needs of the children was never forgotten by them.

These children [in Callao] were poor and daily we shared our lunch with those who had none. They have never forgotten what the Sisters did to help them, and several times I have met those who, because of their education were able to better themselves, came back to see what they could do to help us in our work.¹¹²

It was not only the attention the sisters gave regarding the education of the children, it was also their awareness of physical needs. "Our school was in view of the ocean and many times a homework assignment consisted in a trip to the ocean for a bath."¹¹³

A concern of the sisters at St. Anthony School inspired them to a collective action of improving the possibilities of students' getting a job without forsaking their Faith. At this time neither the Catholics nor the Protestants had the insights or the skills to respond to the root causes of economic poverty and social exclusion; however, the aspirations to make progress

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ *Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 15 July 1937. Klaiber comments on the powerful anticlericalism of Masonic lodges in Peru. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 112-113.

¹¹² Interviews with First IHMs Missioned in Peru.

¹¹³ Ibid.

were clear. Yet the attitudes and actions of Protestant missionaries and the insertion of American Catholic sisters presaged change.

Closing ceremonies for each school year were public events in Peru. The sisters took advantage of this opportunity and promoted their students' progress in academic subjects, English, and the arts. Customarily, these events were occasions for civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries to award prizes and be entertained. The expertise of the students of St. Anthony School in music, art, dance, and oratory, all executed in English stunned the spectators. A sample of the sisters' hard work is evident in the brochure for the *clausura* (closing) of St. Anthony School in December 1930:

Peruvian national anthem
 Salutory in English and Spanish
 The "Ave Maria" sung in chorus (Montini)
 Tableau of the Nativity
 Flag drill
 Song "Blue Bell"
 Distribution of prizes¹¹⁴

The public display of the students' achievements in ceremonies at St. Anthony School and Villa Maria Academy attracted the attention of influential leaders. Requests mounted to open more schools with more sisters. For example, Dr. Jesús E. Maravi, a congressman from one of the most abandoned mountain regions in Peru, contacted Mother Loyola and requested sisters to

¹¹⁴*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, December 1930.

administer a normal school in Ayacucho, one of the poorest regions in the Andes.¹¹⁵ The sisters seriously considered his plea. Mother Loyola consulted Mother Cornelia who supported the plan. Mother Loyola studied the contract, suggested a few revisions to insure the congregation's autonomy in hiring teachers, and was ready to make the commitment; however, this was not to be. Mother Loyola passed away, leaving the contract unsigned.

The IHMs everywhere were heartbroken to lose their beloved leader. Mother M. Kostka McCormick, IHM, her successor, chose not to send sisters and asked Mother Cornelia to inform Dr. Maravi.

After giving much consideration to the proposed school in Ayacucho, Reverend Mother General has reached the following decision . . . she regrets very sincerely that due to the lack of Sisters sufficient to carry on effectively the work of the schools . . . it will not be practicable for her to accept the very desirable offer of the school at Ayacucho. . . . [It] is due in no way to indifference to the honor conferred on the Community . . . not to lack of appreciation of the confidence thereby indicated . . . and should the obstacle be removed, we should be glad to consider again this or some other offer further.¹¹⁶

The request for sisters to expand their missionary work to Ayacucho was not the first. On two previous occasions prominent leaders asked Mother Cornelia to request more sisters to establish schools in the Amazonian region. Her thoughts about IHM missions in the interior of Peru reveal her growing awareness of the IHMs' limits as foreign missionaries. In a letter to

¹¹⁵Dr. E. Jesús Maravi to Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, 14 February 1935, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 92.

¹¹⁶Mother M. Kostka, IHM, to Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, 25 March 1935, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 92.

Mother Loyola (1928) about a possible mission to Iquitos, a hub for commerce in the Amazon River region, she wrote:

The Iquitos mission would be a *real* missionary work and one that, naturally speaking, there would not be much attraction for, but it seems to me always that the Sisters of the I.H.M. have more and more difficult work to do in South America than what we are doing now. Perhaps our Lord helped us along these first years so that he could call on us for something *more missionary*. . . . As for there being much communication between here and Iquitos, one might just as well be in the U.S. unless one goes by aero plane.¹¹⁷

She knew firsthand the hardships they had encountered in the capital city and in Callao. She also realized, humbly, that most members were not able or willing to live a “real” missionary life.

In addition to the numerous references to the sisters’ activities in school and the political turmoil, they authored numerous reflections about their spiritual growth. A testimony to the spiritual dimension of the IHMs’ first foreign mission is evident in the reflections of the sister-pioneers in Peru. These sisters were interviewed in 1974.¹¹⁸ Each was asked how her experience in Peru affected her:

The spiritual experience in Peru was and still is my greatest joy. I am deeply grateful to God that he permitted me to spend nine years on this mission. We gave our all to God and he in return gave us an abundance of spiritual blessings—closeness to himself that I treasure.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 28 October 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 29. By the 1980s, both regions were infiltrated by Shining Path terrorist cells and narcotic trafficking. The founder of Shining Path, Abimael Guzmán, was a professor at the University of Huamanga in Ayacucho.

¹¹⁸ These interviews are written and preserved in the archives of Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

¹¹⁹ Interviews with IHM Sisters stationed in Peru, S. Amabile Lovette.

I loved my mission there in Peru. It was my first love.¹²⁰

Some sisters mentioned that they longed to return:

I longed to return to Peru but . . . Mother Francina thought I had been there long enough. I had lost my mother, father, one sister and two brothers during my happy days in South America and never returned for their funerals. I kept my passport for many years hoping I would return some time in the future, but Mother General thought I owed that to my family.¹²¹

They also humorously admitted their ignorance of Peruvian ways:

There were many embarrassing and humorous stories to tell about shopping in Lima. A few of us used the ‘point’. We might know a few words and when the article we asked for turned out to be something different—we would go behind the counter and ‘point’ to it. How relieved we were when our purchases were completed!¹²²

Missing “home” was a recurring theme expressed in correspondences:

Surely, we must live like Carmelites—I think even worse for them, at least, [they] have their friends and relatives to visit them while we see no one. Even on Christmas Day, not one person came except Monsignor Nuncio to give Benediction. We try to entertain ourselves as best we can . . . when summer course work begins . . . it will not be so lonely.¹²³

It was not hard to adjust to Peruvian culture because the people had the greatest respect for the sisters, but there were times when we missed home. Everyone felt like they knew each other’s parents [in sharing letters from home at recreation].¹²⁴

The annals of Villa Maria and San Antonio also reveal how the community mourned the death of loved ones, especially parents, siblings, and their beloved sisters at the infirmary in

¹²⁰Ibid., S. Regina Mary Markey, IHM.

¹²¹ Ibid., S. Maria Charitas Morgan, IHM.

¹²²Ibid., S. M. Amabile Lovett, IHM.

¹²³Mother M. Cornelia, IHM to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 8 January 1931.

¹²⁴Interviews with IHM Sisters Stationed in Peru, S. M. Amabile Lovett, IHM

West Chester. The sisters relied on each other for solace and consolation in times of sorrow. These shared experiences generated a special quality to community life in Peru, one that few sisters ever forgot.

Religious Women: Link to the “Church of America”

When the IHMs established Villa Maria Academy in 1923, they had never considered what they would do if Peruvian women aspired to join the congregation. So when two graduates of the Academy expressed their desire to “come and see” (Jn.1:39) in 1928, Mother Cornelia and Mother Loyola shared their thoughts on the matter. Mother Cornelia proposed that a novitiate be established in Lima. Mother Loyola agreed that part of the formation should occur in Lima, but she believed that the novitiate should be at the West Chester, Pennsylvania with the North American novices. Thinking of the future of these first Peruvian IHMs, she wrote: “Your plan for the postulants [to live at Villa Maria] is excellent; however, the novitiate is to be at the novitiate in West Chester Pennsylvania. They would be better prepared, then, to return to Peru with teaching skills and English immediately after profession.”¹²⁵ Founded on the Michigan frontier, the IHM congregation like many religious institutions of United States’ did not divide members by social class. Unlike European monastic orders, the IHMs did not have choir sisters or lay sisters. Therefore, when Peruvian women were accepted into the congregation, they were regarded as members of a community of equals.

¹²⁵Mother M. Loyola, IHM, to Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, 4 April 1927, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 25.

When the two graduates of Villa Maria Academy expressed their desire to join the congregation, Mother Cornelia and Mother Loyola rejoiced; however, as ready and willing as they were, the students' parents were not. The parents of one sent their daughter to Europe, then, when she returned home her parents asked her to wait yet another year before entering the convent.¹²⁶ Mother Cornelia wisely suggested that the young girl seek a spiritual director's help to discern her call. She suggested Father Gordini, a Salesian, whom the archbishop had assigned to perform the IHMs' canonical visitation. She trusted him and admired his forthrightness. During the visitation he confided that he had had misgivings about the IHMs because they were a "North American" congregation. She wrote about his curious prejudice about American sisters to Mother Loyola:

They [clergy] think all U.S. people are Protestants or nearly so. His report, according to what the Nuncio told me, was very good—in fact, he said Father Gordini told him there was a better religious spirit in our Community than many in Lima who make much more pretense of being very strict, severe rule, etc.¹²⁷

If the priests themselves were not too sure about this "American" congregation, the parents of these two young women must have found it even more difficult. The other candidate's parents also refused her permission.¹²⁸ Although parents were not ready yet to entrust their daughters to the congregation as IHM sisters, they had few qualms about sending their daughters

¹²⁶Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 26 August 1929, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 33.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁸Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 16 and 29 June 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 54.

to Immaculata College. Since no opportunities for higher education of women existed in Peru at this time, Villa Maria graduates enrolled at Immaculata College.¹²⁹ IHM schools in Peru mirrored Catholic primary and secondary education in the United States, therefore, graduates were not only proficient bilinguals they were also prepared to succeed at a United States' college. Three graduates of Villa Maria were accepted at Immaculata College. "The three students from Peru are really wonderful girls. We marvel here what the sisters [in Peru] are able to accomplish. The girls are always so sure of themselves and excellent students."¹³⁰

As the next few decades unfolded, these young women represented a rising generation of socially active and professionally educated Peruvian women. Not only could they be wives and mothers, but also physicians, lawyers, teachers, professors, architects, politicians, and, eventually, IHM sisters.¹³¹ In 1943, Augusta Espantoso, a graduate of Villa Maria Academy, was accepted as a postulant with her parents' blessing. Acceptance into the congregation was one challenge, travelling to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was another. Since it was wartime, Augusta's flight to Philadelphia was delayed twice. In Lima S. Maria Rose Bushong, IHM, notified Mother M. Franceline Hayes, IHM, the directress of novices, in West Chester, Pennsylvania that Panagra Airlines routinely denied civilian passengers seats to accommodate Chilean and Peruvian

¹²⁹Mother Maria Alma, IHM, to Mother Cornelia, IHM, 12 April 1931, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 70.

¹³⁰S. Helen Patricia, IHM, to Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, 20 February 1958, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 85.

¹³¹ For an exploration of the changing role of middle class women in Limeñan society see Norma Fuller, *Dilemas de la femineidad: mujeres en la clase media en el Perú*, Lima, Peru: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1998.

soldiers. S. Maria Rose wrote, “Her parents are most anxious that she have some rest before entering [the postulate]. . . . Balboa [Panama] and Miami are filled with soldiers and sailors now and the prospect of staying at either place is uninviting, but Augusta has her heart set on [entering] on our Lady’s feast of the Assumption.”¹³² The first Peruvian postulant arrived in time for the feast day in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The first IHM missionaries arrived in Lima on the feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of the Americas. In honor of the principal patroness of the IHM congregation Augusta was given the religious name, S. María del Rosario.¹³³ Zoila Quiroz, inspired by the courage of her classmate Augusta, joined her the following year.¹³⁴ The IHMs on both sides of the hemisphere rejoiced that God blessed the congregation with Peruvian sisters. The seeds sown at the dawn of the twentieth century bore lasting fruit into the twenty-first. Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, Mother Superior, consulted Mother Maria Regina Hoban, IHM, superior at Villa Maria Academy at this time, about their education: “Both [Rosario and Zoila] have commenced their studies at Immaculata [College], we are directing them into the field of Spanish Literature and culture. . . . They may supply a vital

¹³²S. Maria Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Franceline, IHM, 5 August 1943, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Box 28. She added that some passengers en route to the United States were delayed two to three weeks in Miami, Balboa, and Cali, Colombia.

¹³³Ibid. S. Maria del Rosario asked for and received dispensation from perpetual vows in 1958.

¹³⁴Zoila Quiroz, now known as S. Maria Carmen Quiroz, recounted how the moment Mother Trinita announced Rosario’s decision to join the IHMs inspired her. She is the senior of the Peruvian sisters in the IHM congregation. Personal interview S. María Carmen Quiroz, IHM, Villa Maria-by-the-Sea, Stone Harbor, NJ, 25 July 2011.

need in Chile or Peru. After a talk with [the] representative of the Ministry of Education along these lines, this seems the best route to go.”¹³⁵

Mother Maria Regina responded:

I am glad that Sisters Maria del Rosario and Zoila are studying. I think your plans for them are fine. By all means they should have at least the Bachelor degree before they come back. I would suggest some experience in the classroom, too, even if they had to wait and get their Masters later, but don't tell me after waiting twenty years for postulants you are going to send them down to Chile!¹³⁶

More young women were inspired by the sisters in Villa Maria and St. Anthony School in Callao during this period, and, as vocations significantly increased in the 1950s, decisions had to be made about where a new generation of Peruvian women could best serve the Church in the IHM congregation.¹³⁷

¹³⁵Mother Maria Alma, IHM, to Mother Maria Regina, IHM, 14 October 1945, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 6.

¹³⁶Mother Maria Regina, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 28 October 1945, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 6. In 1939 Archbishop Aldo Laghi, nuncio to Chile, asked that the sisters of IHM establish an academy similar to Villa Maria in Santiago. Mother Kostka and the council deferred his request, since the sisters were already in high demand in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia and Peru. Cardinal Dougherty urged Mother Kostka to send sisters anyway. Villa Maria Academy, Santiago, was founded in 1940. See Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 303.

¹³⁷From 1940 to 1959, five Peruvians and one Bolivian entered the IHM novitiate in West Chester, Pennsylvania, and were professed. South American Vocations Statistics (1992), Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 3 Folder 19A, B.

The End of the Pioneering Era

During World War II, the conflict in Europe and Japan (1939-1945), communication between the sisters in Peru and the United States was restricted.¹³⁸ Shipping lanes in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were dedicated to troop transport so mail and civilian travel was curtailed. Vigilant for the sisters' welfare as war erupted in Europe, Cardinal Dougherty asked Mother M. Kostka McCormick, IHM, for a detailed report of the IHMs' schools in Peru.¹³⁹ Nazi Germany posed a threat, not only to Europe, but, also, to the republics of Latin America. Mother Kostka supplied this information¹⁴⁰:

Villa Maria Academy (1923)

Total cost of grounds, buildings, and equipment	\$250,000.00
Enlargements, new land, improvements	\$300,000.00
Enrollment	468

San Antonio Free School (1928)

Location: Callao a distance approximately 14 miles from Villa Maria	
Enrollment	200
Lay teachers: Inability to hire 80% Peruvian teachers as required by Peruvian law due to prohibitive financial cost.	

¹³⁸The Pan-American Security Zone and the Declaration of Panama (1939) was a signed agreement by nations of North and South America that secured shipping lanes in the Atlantic and Pacific. Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 322.

¹³⁹Cardinal Dennis Dougherty to Mother M. Kostka, IHM, 28 April 1939, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 27. Secretary of State Cordell Hull negotiated the treaty to bring Latin American republics over to the Allied powers in Lima. The United States feared German interests in Mexico and Argentina.

¹⁴⁰Mother M. Kostka McCormick was the mother superior of the congregation from 1935 to 1940. She travelled to Peru for customary visitation although she had great fear of water. She died shortly after she returned to the motherhouse. Crumback, "We Walk on Their Shoulders," 37.

Financial investment

Loans from the West Chester Motherhouse granted for construction excess of \$100,000.00 obtained by a mortgage in the USA.¹⁴¹

The financial strain, however, was less than the drain on the health and strength of the Sisters in an unaccustomed climate. From the time of the foundation until the present, at least ten Sisters have had to return to the States, broken in health; one Sister died a few months after her return. At present Mother Paulina, who has been Superior for the past four years, lay for months in a Peruvian hospital in imminent danger of death because of the strain and anxiety consequent on the acquisition of new property absolutely required by the growth of the work of the Academy.¹⁴²

Mother Kostka included information about the human cost, too. The *Annals of Villa Maria* record the sisters' frequent illnesses. The climate, the stress, contaminated water, and the minimal medical resources available contributed to frequent illnesses. Cardinal Dougherty received the report and, for the security of the sisters, sent a copy to the Peruvian ambassador to the United States, Mr. Freyre y Santander, an acquaintance of the cardinal. The ambassador replied: "Your eminence may rest assured that the case of those Sisters will be referred by the Embassy to the appropriate authorities of my government, with a strong recommendation that means should be found to avoid any measure being adopted prejudicial to their interests."¹⁴³

The sisters' presence in Peru, however, turned out to be propitious for the United States' State Department during the war years. Peru's ample natural resources, particularly oil, rubber,

¹⁴¹Mother M. Kostka, IHM, to Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, 4 May 1939, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 4 Folder 27.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*

¹⁴³Mr. Freyre y Santander to D. Cardinal Dougherty, 23 May 1939, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 27.

and minerals, contributed significantly to the United States' war effort. The United States government reciprocated with technical assistance, loans, and war material under the Lend-Lease Act.¹⁴⁴ Lima also hosted diplomatic conferences to consolidate the Allied cause in the southern hemisphere. The United States was eager to thwart the designs of Nazi sympathizers in Mexico and Argentina to attack the United States. An instance of the link offered by the IHMs presence in Peru was the visit of the United States' Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, to Villa Maria Academy for a reception in his honor:

We regard our Academy as being a great means for creating friendship between the people of Peru and our own country.”¹⁴⁵ The National Catholic Welfare Conference also publicized the sisters' mission in Peru during the war years as “[North] America's ambassadors of the good will to Latin America.”¹⁴⁶

Villa Maria Academy steadily gained renown as an “American Catholic school” staffed by English-speaking American sisters: the United States State Department capitalized on the IHMs' experience in Latin America. Apparently, Mr. Hull had been so favorably impressed by the sisters' educational successes that he invited the IHMs to send participants to a conference in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the State Department. He wrote:

¹⁴⁴Peru's president, Mr. Prado y Ugarteche, a civilian, combined diplomacy and political shrewdness in garnering public support during World War II. He permitted the United States to build an airstrip in Talara staffed with United States pilots to protect the Panama Canal. The Peruvian navy also joined the U.S. Navy in defending the Pacific shipping lanes. Within ten hours of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, President Prado, with the help of U.S. officials, arrested about 10 percent of the Japanese population residing in Peru. They were sent to U.S. internment camps. David P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale, IL: South Illinois University Press, 1978), 225-226.

¹⁴⁵Mother M. Kostka, IHM, to the Honorable Cordell Hull, 26 November 1938, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 19.

¹⁴⁶Mother Maria Regina, IHM, to NCWC News Service, 16 June 1941, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 49.

One of the most significant activities in which the Department is interested is that covering the field of educational activities . . . it is essential that the Department have the counsel of distinguished individuals in this field. . . . I am sure you will agree that the development of firm and friendly understanding between the American nations has never been more important than it is today.”¹⁴⁷

Although sisters participated in the conference, there is no record of the degree or nature of their participation.¹⁴⁸ The IHMs embraced the “Good Neighbor policy,” by considering themselves as the unofficial goodwill ambassadors of the United States in Peru (see figure 2.10).¹⁴⁹ The State Department realized that Americans were ignorant of Latin America, and so the motion picture industry was encouraged to produce films with Latin American actors and themes.¹⁵⁰ A short documentary film released in 1944, *The Lima Family*, introduced American citizens to a middle-class family in Peru. In the segment about schools in Peru, two IHM sisters appeared instructing school children dressed in immaculate uniforms lining up for class.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷The Honorable Cordell Hull to Mother M. Kostka, IHM, 25 October 1939, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 8 Box 26 Folder 41.

¹⁴⁸Mother M. Kostka, IHM, to the Honorable Cordell Hull, 28 October 1939, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 8 Box 26 Folder 41.

¹⁴⁹The Good Neighbor policy had its critics; however, the IHMs saw the United States government’s efforts to befriend Peru positively. For another view of this policy, see Carleton Beals, “A Skeptic Views the Good Neighbor Policy,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*, ed. Robert H. Holden and Eric Zolov (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 156-157.

¹⁵⁰“Road to Rio” (1947), “The Life of Simon Bolivar” (1942), and “Blood in the Sand” (1941) were a few of the feature-length films. Holden and Zolov, *Latin America and the United States*, 160.

¹⁵¹The Office of the Coordinator of InterAmerican Affairs, “The Lima Family” (Quality Information Publishers, 1944). The U.S. State Department encouraged the motion picture industry to raise awareness of the Latin American republics.

In times of war, few questioned the idyllic stereotype such pictures promoted by the United States' government and the sisters themselves. As the mission in Peru developed during the succeeding decades, the sisters began to reflect formally on their mission in Peru. S. Helen Patricia Corcoran, IHM presented a paper on the IHMs' mission in Peru entitled, "A Contribution to Spiritual Inter-Americanism" at Barry College, Miami, March 1942.¹⁵² S. Joseph Marie, then a doctoral student in literature at the University of Pennsylvania, also published "The IHM Foundation in South America" the same year.¹⁵³ These essays manifested a maturing IHM missiology. No longer did the sisters see themselves as the first line of defense against the Protestant threat; rather, they viewed their mission as a spiritual link between the Americas, North and South. Their schools represented a small, but significant, effort to assist a sister-nation to modernize. Since the United States was the model of progress, opportunity, and freedom, the sisters uncritically endeavored to educate their students "the IHM-American way." Few in the Church or state questioned the wisdom of this endeavor.

The Philadelphia press similarly showed interest in the ever itinerant IHMs. Reporting on groups of sisters going to and arriving from Peru and Chile was newsworthy. The *Philadelphia Record* published a photograph of four sisters bound for Peru with the caption, "Catholic Work in Two Countries Expanded." The article informed the public that the IHM sisters had been

¹⁵²Helen Patricia Corcoran, IHM, "A Contribution to Spiritual Inter-Americanism," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 53, no. 1 (1942): 1-10.

¹⁵³S. Joseph Marie McCrosson, IHM, "Foundation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in South America," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 53, no. 1 (1942): 52-58.

awarded a medal from President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognizing them as ambassadors of goodwill of the United States.¹⁵⁴ The *Catholic Standard and Times* of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia also published a photograph and short article entitled, “Five More Sisters of the Immaculate Heart Order Go to Peru.”¹⁵⁵ The sisters who compiled the annals of each mission in Peru also gathered articles and photographs and pasted them in the annals, such as “Nuns Journey to Peru” and “Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Leave for Peru,”¹⁵⁶ “Sisters Seeing Service in South America,”¹⁵⁷ and “U.S. Nuns en Route to Peru.”¹⁵⁸ From all the publicity, the sisters gained a new perspective about their mission in Lima. No longer were their schools viewed as a remedy to Protestantism but rather a salutary presence of United States’ citizens in Lima. A few essays focused on the IHMs as bearers of American idealism. “Three Sisters on Mission to Peru: Sisters Journey to South America” noted that the sisters established “not only an academy for young ladies, but also a school for small boys in Miraflores, as well as

¹⁵⁴Joseph A. Burke, “Catholic Work in Two Countries Expanded,” *Philadelphia Record*, 29 August 1942.

¹⁵⁵“Five More Sisters of the Immaculate Heart Order Go to Peru,” *The Catholic Standard and Times*, 23 June 1944.

¹⁵⁶“Nuns Journey to Peru: Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Leave for Peru,” 22 June 1945. Statistics stated that 31 sisters were serving in Peru and 16 sisters in Chile.

¹⁵⁷“Sisters Seeing Service in South America,” 1946. This article names the IHMs being sent to “south of the border” and those returning to the United States. This excerpt does not name the source. It is an article attached to the annals of Villa Maria Academy (1922-1954).

¹⁵⁸“U.S. Nuns en Route to Peru,” *The Catholic Word in Pictures*, 1947.

an American plan [sic] parochial school at St. Anthony's Callao."¹⁵⁹ Another article in the

Evening Public Ledger lauded their successes as entrepreneurs.

Millions of dollars have been spent by business organizations in developing better trade relations: cultural and educational tours have been made and numerous organizations have been established solely to foster better feelings between the Americas. And, although much publicity has been given to these various endeavors, there is one project established by a group of Philadelphia women which virtually has gone unnoticed. The project which has done much to create better understanding between South and North Americans and especially Philadelphians is Villa Maria Academy in Miraflores, Peru. The women who founded it are Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. . . . In an earthquake of 1940 the school [San Antonio] was destroyed, but recently was rebuilt. It is composed of 11 large classrooms, with an equipped commercial department, library and office. There are three spacious patios, bordered with a flower garden. The teaching staff numbers nine members, four nuns and five Peruvian teachers. The enrollment at present is 270 students. Thus, it may be said that Philadelphia played a pioneer part in the recently renewed campaign of Latin American solidarity and Cardinal Dougherty, who went to Peru on an unofficial mission, attained the rank of those ambassadors of goodwill who without being bearers of written credentials from their governments, develop advantageous activities to strengthen friendly relations between cities and countries.¹⁶⁰

The IHMs could be justifiably proud of their work. Mother Maria Regina admitted her pique to Mother Maria Francina Coll, IHM, when the IHMs were not mentioned in an article in *Sign* magazine about mission work in South America:

Do you read *Sign*? . . . Page 583 of the May number nearly burned me up and I'm still burning every time I think of it. INTER-AMERICAN PANEL and among others, Mother M. Cleophas, Rosemont; Mother Dammann, Manhattanville; Mother M. Honora, Marygrove; etc., etc., etc., I'll bet not one of them was ever farther south than the Catholic University and here are the I.H.M.'s down here for nearly twenty two years and not a mention of them! What about Mother Cornelia: She could tell them more in five

¹⁵⁹“Three Sisters on Mission to Peru: Sisters Journey to South America.”

¹⁶⁰Edward A. M. Foley, “Phila. Women Foster Good Spirit among Americas,” *Evening Public Ledger*, 28 July 1941.

minutes than they find in all the books they have been poring over in libraries all over the country!¹⁶¹

Mother Maria Regina considered the IHMs' experience of missionary work as worthy of attention although the two schools in Peru were receiving plenty of attention. Indeed, neither school could accommodate the number of parents vying to enroll their sons and daughters in them. More sisters were needed. Mother Cornelia had written on various occasions of the need for more sisters: "The high school is over-crowded so that I am taking classes to relieve them of some of the girls. We could use two sisters, not one, and a few in Callao. S. Amabile is nearly frantic with her Kindergarten and First Graders who are not able to help themselves and who know no English."¹⁶²

The war had accelerated the Peruvian economy. The middle class benefitted from the increased investment in Peruvian natural resources. The United States gained an increasingly positive image as a world power. Thus, parents were highly motivated to enroll their sons and daughters in IHM schools. Higher enrollment meant more classrooms so the congregation bought property across the street from the school to expand Villa Maria. Enrollment in St. Anthony School increased particularly because graduates of the secretarial division were articulate in both English and Spanish secretarial skills. Parents saw that graduates of the secretarial division found immediate employment and acknowledged this as the economy

¹⁶¹Mother Maria Regina, IHM, to Mother M. Francina, IHM, 25 May 1941, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 49.

¹⁶²Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 20 August 1930, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 40.

boomed.¹⁶³ Since Villa Maria Academy had successfully fulfilled the requirement of the United States Southern States Association academic evaluation committee, graduates of the academy were permitted to enroll in colleges and universities in the United States.¹⁶⁴ The success of these two American-style Catholic schools was the fruit of the combined effort of the IHM congregation, the laity, priests, and religious of both countries. The IHMs played a significant role in consolidating the Catholic identity of the middle class. The booming economy benefitted mainly the social classes to whom the IHMs ministered in Lima and Callao. This small but significant fragment of the Peruvian Church demanded more schools and more sisters to catechize and to educate.

The sisters in both Peru and the United States benefitted from the expansion of the congregation's two schools in Peru. Engagement with the pastorally neglected in Callao exemplified their Redemptorist charism in a new context. Father Cotte faced a similar challenge as did Father Gillet. Children and youth needed catechetical instruction and an academic education. Dr. Maravi's request for IHMs to staff a school in Iquitos confirmed the value of the IHMs' model of Catholic education in Peru. The United States' State Department capitalized on

¹⁶³Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 250. Private investment by U.S.-owned firms doubled during this period. Such companies as Cerro de Pasco, American Smelting and Refining, and Phelps-Dodge Newmont Mining merged to form the Southern Peru Copper Company, and the Marcona Company mined iron ore. A cover story in *Fortune* magazine praised General Manuel Odría's regime of holding up a standard in international economic conduct that far richer nations might imitate; Werlich, 250, citing John Davenport, "Why Peru Pulls Dollars," *Fortune* 54 (November 1956): 131-132.

¹⁶⁴Frank C. Jenkins to Mother Marie Angele, IHM, 30 November 1949, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 76. Mr. Jenkins' letter of congratulation contains the certificate of accreditation to Mother Marie Angele Gibbons, IHM, principal of Villa Maria Academy.

the American identity of the IHMs in Lima as a validation of the Good Neighbor Policy. The local press in Philadelphia publicized the American IHMs missionary work in Peru. The IHM's mission was highly regarded not only as Catholic educators but also as Ambassadors of the Good Will of the United States toward its southern neighbors. Some leaders hailed the American style of education and the acquisition of English as contribution to the Peruvian educational system; however, the early resistance to a genuinely inculturated model of education led to an excessively North American conception of a superlative education. Few could doubt the quality of the IHM education; however, this model could only be replicated by North American religious congregations of educators. Peruvian schools, public and private, could not boast of North American nuns educating their sons and daughters.

Chapter 2 Illustrations



Figure 2.1. Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1926.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata.



Figure 2.2. St. Anthony School in Callao, 1928.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.3. S. Marcella Murphy, IHM, and students of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón with reading textbooks, 1945.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.4. S. M. Rosalita Friel, IHM, and students of St. Anthony School, 1928.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.5. IHM sisters, lay catechists, first communicants of St. Anthony parish, 1928.



Figure 2.6. Archbishop Emilio Lisson and First Communicants of Villa Maria Academy, c. 1924.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

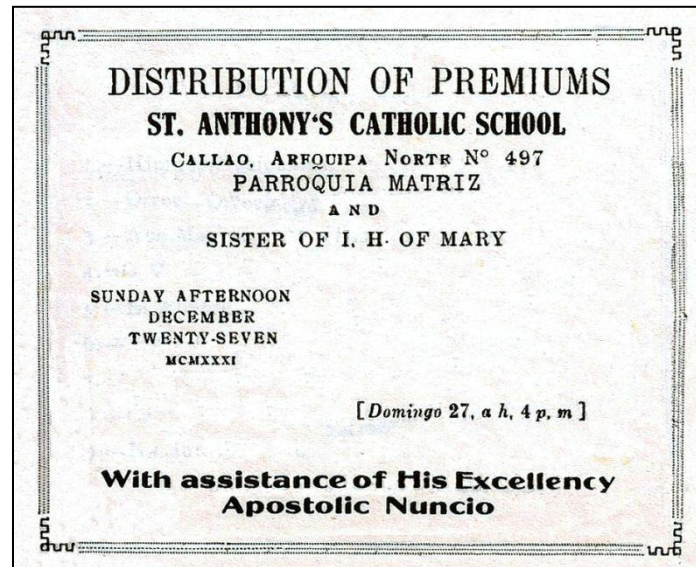


Figure 2.7. Program for closing ceremonies, St. Anthony School, 1929.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.8. Villa Maria Academy students serving First Communion breakfast to First Communicants in Callao, 1945.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.9. Mother M. Cornelia Higgins, IHM, in the garden of Villa Maria Academy, 1923.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 2.10. Pan American Day, Villa Maria Academy, ca.1945.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

Chapter 3

The Mission Grows (1947-1966)

[In Peru there is] . . . a craze for English. . . . The people are ready to sell their souls to get their kids into a good school, above all, where English is taught.

—David Paul McEvoy, O.Carm., to Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, 1953

Chapter Three will show how the IHMs and other religious congregations from the United States responded to the growing need for American style schools in Lima where English was the principal language of instruction. As the Peruvian economy grew, Lima became a major center of commerce in need of professionals fluent in English and Spanish. There, the IHMs increased the number of schools in Lima during the next decades. The chapter also addresses how they accomplished the task. The documents the sisters wrote during this period are presented because they disclose the sisters' willingness to collaborate with lay and clerical counterparts to fulfill their mission. In addition, the sisters' gift of hospitality in welcoming numerous American religious congregations to Peru is described. Together these congregations collaborated with both the United States and Peruvian hierarchies to revitalize the Church of Peru.

Continuing the Mission

The congregation continued to send sisters to Peru during the next two decades. The number of sisters sent to Villa Maria Academy and Colegio San Antonio could barely keep pace with the increasing enrollment. By 1965 approximately 200 hundred sisters had been sent to Peru. Initially, the number of years a sister spent in Peru, and later, Chile, was open-ended. The

duration of an appointment depended on the sisters' health and the congregation's needs in the United States. Sister St. Chrysostom McGrory remained in Villa Maria Academy from 1922 to 1949; S. Mary Compassion Cox, IHM, from 1924 to 1946; S. Rita Josephine Duffy, IHM, from 1926 to 1947; and Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, from 1930 to 1951 (see appendix 1).¹ The congregation's commitment to the Peruvian missions is evident in both the willingness of members to go to Peru and the willingness of the IHM administration to send sisters for the foreign missions. Fifteen sisters were sent between 1922 and 1929, and sixteen more arrived between 1930 and 1940. Any sister who could not adapt or fell ill returned to Philadelphia.

Growing Schools

As S. Joseph Marie observed, the IHM seeds planted in Peruvian soil bore abundant fruit. During the next decades Villa Maria Academy and St. Anthony School, now called Colegio San Antonio, flourished. "We had to refuse two hundred parents. . . . If we put another girl in any of the classes then Sisters would have to step outside and teach from the patio,"² wrote S. M. Marguerite Murray, IHM, the senior sister at Colegio San Antonio. At this time, the leitmotif in the sisters' correspondence and the *Annals of Villa Maria* is the plea for more sisters. In addition to classroom teaching, the sisters conducted catechetical classes in various parishes: Santa Rosa

¹Statistics of Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Peru, Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA. Appointees to Peru, 1922-2000.

²S. M. Marguerite, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 16 April 1956, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 58.

had 320 children in elementary grades and 250 in secondary grades; San Vicente had 160 children in elementary and 200 in secondary; Roosevelt school, had 120 children.³

When parents insisted that their sons or daughters be accepted into IHM schools, the superiors could hardly resist. Many parents begged for the sisters to accept “*unita más*,” one more “little one.” Classrooms in Villa Maria Academy and Colegio San Antonio averaged forty-five students in rooms with limited space. Class size meant nothing to parents who often asked officials in the hierarchy, the government or the military to intercede on their behalf.

Mother M. Kostka McCormick, IHM, Mother Loyola’s sister-assistant, was elected mother superior in 1935. Although in ill-health and fearful of water, Mother Kostka suppressed her fears and realized her dream to travel to the IHM’s foreign mission in Peru. In 1938 she sailed to Lima and spent a month visiting the sisters at Villa Maria. In 1939 Cardinal Dougherty asked Mother Kostka to establish a girls’ academy in Santiago, Chile. The Nuncio to Chile, Aldo Laghi, had written to Cardinal Dougherty asking for the IHMs to establish a school in the Archdiocese of Santiago modeled after Villa Maria in Lima. Archbishop Laghi had become a friend and confidante to the sisters in Peru during his term as secretary to the apostolic nuncio to Peru. The request for sisters in Chile came at the same time the IHMs in the United States were staffing new grade schools and high schools in Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The IHMs, also, published the perennially popular English grammar textbook, *Voyages in English*.⁵

³ Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA, J4 Box 3 Folder 76.

⁵ Crumback, “We Walk on Their Shoulders,” 38.

Mother Kostka's successors, Mother M. Francina Coll, IHM (1940-1944), and Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM (1945-1956), led the congregation during World War II and the Cold War. Mother Francina died in 1944 before completing her term as general superior. During Mother Maria Alma's two terms, the congregation initiated accelerated college degree programs which involved Saturday classes and summer sessions at Immaculata College and other colleges and universities. She also prepared documents for papal approbation that would change the congregation's canonical status from a diocesan to a pontifical institution. Henceforth, the Holy Father, not the local bishop, was the highest authority in the congregation. The congregation's general superior, formerly mother superior, now had the authority to appoint sisters to missions outside the Archdiocese of Pennsylvania without the local ordinary's consent. Mother Alma's doctoral dissertation, *Standard Bearers*, documented the contributions of women religious in the United States.⁶ Later, she authored two histories of the congregation; and collated the life and letters of Reverend Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR, founder of the congregation.⁷ The scope and depth of Mother Alma's understanding of the congregation's origin and unfolding mission aided the rapid expansion in the mission of the Church.

⁶ Sister Maria Alma [Ryan], *Standard Bearers: The Place of Catholic Sisterhoods in the Early History of Education and Schools within the Present Territory of the United States in Comparison with Schools Provided by Federal and State Legislators from Earliest Sources Until 1950*, (PhD diss., Villanova College, 1924).

⁷ *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary with the Life and Letters of our Founder Reverend Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR*, (Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1934). *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, 1845-1967*, (Lancaster, PA: Dolphin Press, 1967). *Reverend Louis Florent Gillet: His Life, Letters, and Conferences*, (Lancaster, PA: Dolphin Press, 1940).

After two terms as mother superior of Villa Maria Academy (1923-1939), Mother Maria Regina Hoban, IHM, was appointed superior (1940-1946). She, too, appreciated the value of the congregation's mission work in Peru and viewed expansion there in a positive light. Since the primary school enrolled boys and girls, she initiated a plan to establish a separate primary school exclusively for boys. Demand for enrollment matched the growth of the Peruvian economy. More families entered the middle class and could afford tuition fees required by Colegio San Antonio and Villa Maria Academy. By 1944, Villa Maria Academy primary school enrolled 332 students (Kindergarten to eighth grade). There were nine sisters and five lay faculty. In the secondary school there were 120 students, six sisters and four lay teachers. The Sisters taught religion, English, history, Latin art, mathematics and biology. Lay teachers taught Peruvian history, geography, Spanish language arts (*lenguaje*), physical education and dance. Colegio San Antonio primary school enrollment numbered 314 students with four sisters. In the secondary commercial school there were seventy-two students and two sisters. The subjects in the commercial curriculum included arithmetic, typing, shorthand, economics, business, and English. Six lay faculty and a physical education teacher taught Peruvian history and Spanish language arts (*lenguaje*) in Spanish. Escuela Inmaculado Corazón enrolled 280 boys (kindergarten to third grade) with eight sisters and four lay teachers. Class sizes for all three schools averaged thirty-four students.⁸

⁸ The Peruvian educational system required 6 years of elementary school and 4 years of secondary school. The IHMs duplicated the United States education system by adding three grades to the Peruvian system:

Blessed with numerous vocations during the first half of the twentieth century, the IHM congregation did not have to sacrifice the needs in the Church of the United States to send sisters to Peru and Chile. New American IHM missionaries replaced some of the pioneer sisters at Villa Maria and San Antonio, others were sent as classroom teachers to meet the need of ever expanding enrollment. A new generation of sisters began to tell new stories about their experience in a new land. Preparation for missionary life was still minimal. Some sisters volunteered with some knowledge of what they were undertaking. Since classes in Villa Maria Academy and Colegio San Antonio were conducted in English, preparation in Spanish or Peruvian cultural history was considered unnecessary. The demands of classroom teaching, music lessons, the convent's daily *horarium*, and ancillary services in the parish, left little time for preparation for foreign missions. In essence, being sent to a parish school in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia or Lima was viewed as the same IHM mission although worlds apart.

The new generation of IHM missionaries wrote about the political and economic strife in Peru as United States' post-war investments were directed toward rebuilding Europe and Japan. In 1947 S. M. Cecil King, IHM, revealed her perception as a missionary in Lima of the strife between the military, Peruvian President Bustamante, and the ever restive APRA party.

We almost had the long threatened revolution in Lima. A general strike was declared . . . and there were a few gun shots and public bus windows broken. . . . A bomb was thrown into the home of Señor Prado, the ex-President, but caused little damage. The buses that pass our door had armed soldiers at the entrance. . . . We do not know how much to

Kindergarten – eighth grade and ninth –twelfth grade. “School Sheets 1944-1945,” Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA. See Appendix C-16.

believe of what we hear. Father Brown . . . thinks it would have been better to have allowed the Apristas to go the limit, and they would have disgusted the people with their party. . . . They had threatened to turn off electricity and water. . . . Father thinks they will just go smoldering on now that the President [Bustamante] has asserted his authority.”⁹

The political strife, whether in the northern or southern hemisphere, did not prevent the IHMs from establishing another school. In 1942 Mother Maria Regina, the superior of Villa Maria, wrote to Mother Francina Coll, IHM, the mother superior, expressing her disappointment that so many parents felt deeply disheartened when their *hijitos* (little sons) completed primary grades at Villa Maria Academy and had no secondary school for them that they considered equivalent to Villa Maria Academy.¹⁰ She reminded her, “In my more recent letters, Mother, I explained that the real need is a primary [school], [for] the little boys . . . the first boys of the land, Peru’s future Presidents, Senators etc.”¹¹ She noted that although the Marianist Brothers (Dayton, Ohio) had recently established a Colegio Santa María (1939), a school for boys similar to Villa Maria Academy, they faced many challenges in teaching primary-age boys in all English classes.¹² Mother Maria Regina offered a plan that would relieve the brothers of some of their educational challenges and permit Villa Maria Academy to expand enrollment. Establishing

⁹S. M. Cecil, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 3 September 1947, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 43.

¹⁰Mother Maria Regina, IHM, to Mother M. Francina, IHM, 19 March 1942, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 53.

¹¹Mother Maria Regina, IHM, to Mother Maria Francina, IHM, 26 August 1941, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 47.

¹²*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

another IHM school for primary age boys would solve three problems: overcrowded classrooms, discontented parents, and distraught Marianists. After consulting Cardinal Dougherty, Mother Francina agreed to the plan. Thus began a friendly, supportive collaboration between the two congregations. The IHM and the Marianists' schools became the premier American-style Catholic schools in Peru. The English-speaking Marianists acted as true brothers to the IHMs. Marianists served as chaplains, confessors, advisors, and friends.

Mother Francina wisely chose S. Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, to be the superior of the new primary school for boys. S. Maria Pacis was a good choice since she had already spent fourteen years as a teacher in Villa Maria Academy. Her tenure as superior of the new boys' school prepared her for the impressive expansion of the congregation mission in the decades that followed.

Her first project as mother superior was the relocation and expansion of Colegio San Antonio (1957). Villa Maria Academy was also expanded and relocated to desert hills west of Lima, Rinconada Alta. And, to provide for post-secondary education, she established Villa Maria Junior College, the first ever of its kind in South America, on the same property (1966).¹³ She would later serve as general superior (1958-1968), and, during her two terms significantly broadened the IHMs' horizons by accepting new missions in the United States, Peru, and Chile;

¹³Crumbach, "We Walk on Their Shoulders," 48-49. The membership peaked during her second term. In December 1966 there were 1926 professed sisters: 301 in first vows, 175 novices, and 88 postulants, total number 2,490. *IHM Community Records*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4.

relocating and constructing a motherhouse and novitiate (1964); Camilla Hall, a new infirmary for elderly sisters (1958) and erecting the first IHM novitiate in Las Condes, Chile (1962).

The boys' school was named Escuela Inmaculado Corazón (School of the Immaculate Heart). Five more sisters were appointed to go to Peru to staff the new school and live in the convent connected to the school building. S. M. Benedicta Kearney, S. Leontia Hawmann, S. Miriam Consuelo Buggy, S. M. Francis Gavin, and S. M. Gemma Kurtz formed the first community. The seeds, S. Joseph Marie alluded to in her account of the pioneer community, bore new fruit. By 1945, four American-style Catholic schools had been established in Peru. Mother Pacis and the first community lived in a rented house on Avenida Santa Cruz in San Isidro, a neighborhood near Villa Maria Academy. Until the new school was built classes were held in the spare rooms in their house.

The *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* and Mother Maria Pacis' "desk journal" tell the story of constructing a school community as well as a school building. Everyone was included in the project. The collaboration of so many, each according to his or her skills, led to the completion of the new school by the projected dates — a feat since Peru fell into economic recession shortly after the project began in 1945. The first challenge, however, came before community could be built. She had to secure a loan to begin the construction. With the help of the papal nuncio, Archbishop Fernando Cento, the Holy See granted permission for the IHM congregation in Peru to secure a loan from the Banco Hipotecario in Lima. Mother Maria Pacis' congenial personality endeared her to the board of leaders in the civic and business community

to raise funds. Mother Pacis befriended everyone involved in the project. The *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* and her desk journal provide a litany of names: Dr. Pedro Beltrán of the Banco Internacional, Dr. Luis Echocopar, the legal counsel, Guillermo Payet, the architect, and Mr. Miguel Dammert, mayor of San Isidro. Each was remembered in the annals and her journal as friends and benefactors more than as hired professionals.¹⁴

The newly appointed sisters were as eager to begin classes as the laity was to get the school built, so, as soon as the sisters arrived from the United States, a house was rented in Miraflores so classes could begin immediately. Shortly afterward, property was purchased, and a groundbreaking ceremony took place in June 1942 (see figure 3.1).¹⁵ Once more the IHMs, the hierarchy, civic dignitaries, and friends assembled to plant a seed for another school in the IHMs' "new Jerusalem." The new school opened two years later. On April 14, 1947, classes began thanks to Mother Maria Pacis's daily visits to the construction site prodding workers and engineers to reach the target date, the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, who would be the patroness of the new school.

Since the two congregations established schools nearby each other, the sisters wrote about their Marianist friends stopping by for meals, sharing a cup of coffee, celebrating Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July, and for household emergencies. Not only the annals, but

¹⁴Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, 328-329.

¹⁵Ibid., 329.

also IHM oral tradition, are replete with stories of the manner of living and acting that created a unique *esprit de corps*.

One story recounts how the brothers came to the sisters' rescue when a pipe burst in the laundry one Sunday morning. The sisters called for help. One of the brothers, an experienced plumber, arrived in minutes to survey the damage. By the time the sisters returned from Mass, the brothers had fixed the pipe and mopped the floor.¹⁶ The IHMs, too, came to the Marianists' aid in working with the tedious and often inconsistent directives emanating from the Ministry of Instruction [Education]. Most significantly, the Marianist priests acted as confessors, spiritual directors, retreat directors, and school chaplains. Although the sisters frequently mentioned the deep faith of the Peruvian people, they longed for English-speaking confessors and retreat masters. As Mother Cornelia had once written: "Oh, Mother! It would be a delight to make a good English [language] retreat and be able to . . . tell ones sins in good, old English . . . confessing sins in Spanish just does not sound the same."¹⁷

Motivated by zeal to work in foreign missions, North American religious congregations flowed into Peru in the late 1940s and 1950s in a steady stream.¹⁸ In 1948 the Maryknoll Fathers

¹⁶Personal reminiscence of S. Maria Carmen Quiroz, IHM, 12 May 2011.

¹⁷Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 10 July 1932, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 65.

¹⁸The National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) under the leadership of Father John J. Burke promoted awareness among U.S. Catholics of the need to assist the Latin American Church respond to multiple social and political challenges, most notably Protestantism and communism. Mission literature avoided labeling Latin America a "mission territory" since Catholicism in South America predated the United States. See Dries, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, 98, 99.

of New York came to Peru. Originally, they came to minister to the Chinese colony in Lima; however, they, like the Marianists, accepted a parish in Lince, a new working class district near Miraflores. Aware of the plight of rural farmers, Maryknoll missionaries also established a mission in the Andean province of Puno. In 1957 the Carmelite Fathers of Chicago, Illinois accepted a new parish, Nuestra Señora del Carmen, located in a thriving middle class district near Miraflores. In 1958 the Missionary Society of St. James of Boston, Massachusetts and the Society of St. Columban also arrived in Peru to work principally among the shantytown dwellers. The annals of every IHM mission record the names of the priests, brothers, and later, sisters, whom they welcomed and assisted in beginning their ministries.

The first American women religious the IHMs welcomed were two Dominican sisters of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin. They stayed with the IHMs for two days before continuing their journey to Bolivia where they intended to establish a mission.¹⁹ It was not until 1952 that the IHMs were joined by American women religious companions. The Maryknoll Sisters arrived in Peru in 1952. They were invited by a Peruvian laywoman to staff a school in the Maryknoll parish of Santa Rosa.²⁰ Unlike their male clerical counterparts who relied on Mass stipends and mission societies, North America religious congregations of women relied principally on an institutionalized ministry to finance mission work. This was not a new trend since the first

¹⁹*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón*, Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, 30 June 1947. The sisters named are S. Hilaire, OP, and S. Sheila, OP, from Rosary College.

²⁰ Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde independencia*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1997), 231, 232, 375-385.

Spanish monastic orders of nuns relied on ministry to the local population and the patronage of wealthy landowners to survive. Monasteries of nuns also aided orphans, widows, and the poor. Convent schools were attached to monasteries offering religious instruction and basic schooling.²¹

The arrival of North America religious congregations of women complemented the legacy of earlier generations of women missionaries from Spain, Italy, France and Germany. Though often overlooked, religious orders of women evangelized culture principally by their way of life and the varied ministries they performed in the civic community. The arrival of hundreds of North American religious women in the post-World War II period heralded the call to evangelize traditionally Catholic Latin American cultures anew.²²

Certainly, Villa Maria Academy and San Antonio Callao showed that American style Catholic schools did respond to the urgent need for education. As the Peruvian economy diversified, a well-educated, English-proficient, observant Catholic laity played a crucial role in supporting American style private Catholic schools. Amazingly, in a largely male dominated educational culture, both Villa Maria Academy and Colegio San Antonio were impressively successful in educating young women for college and secretarial professions. Competent in speaking and writing English and well educated in academic subjects, graduates of Villa Maria

²¹Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 30, 31. Santa Clara monastery, founded in 1533 in Cuzco, acted as orphanage and school of Spanish culture.

²² John J. Considine, MM, *Call for Forty Thousand*, New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1946), 14; Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America: Successes and Failures of the Twentieth Century Crusade*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979), 62.

and Colegio San Antonio demonstrated that Peruvian women could not only be wives and mothers, but also, earn professional degrees enabling them to pursue careers as teachers, doctors, lawyers, and secretaries.²³

Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, was elected mother general in 1944. She, like S. Joseph Marie, interpreted the IHMs expanding mission in Peru as the realization of Father Gillet's unfulfilled dream to serve in the South American missions. She viewed the sisters' work in Colegio San Antonio as particularly important so she granted permission for the Sisters to rent a house in Callao to facilitate their ministry in the school and the parish. The sisters rejoiced that their daily journey had come to an end but quite aware of the risk of the area: "We want to live in a property adjoining [the school] of the Brothers of Mary for they would be our only protection."²⁴ The sister-*chalacans*, the nickname for the people of Callao, wrote to Mother Alma expressing their gratitude and devotion to their mission:

May I add my heartfelt "thank you" along with the rest of the "Chalacans"? [Now] we will really be able to *do* something. There is still much work to be done in Callao, and the only way we can really do it is to be right there with the children and their parents whose education, on the part of most of them, has been sorely neglected. Once again Mother, "thank you" for the wonderful opportunity you are affording us to really do something for God's dear poor. (S. Mary Alphonsus Kreider, IHM).

²³ Fuller, *Dilemas de la Femenidad*, 67-96. Fuller analyzes the struggle of middle class women to straddle the two worlds of wife and mother and newly acquired professional roles. Her anthropological study examines women's roles during the 1970s. The IHMs inaugurated a distinctly American approach to girls' education departing from the later nineteenth-century European model.

²⁴ *Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 21 February 1951, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

We are very anxious now for the first shovelful of dirt [to be] lifted. (M. Marguerite Murray, IHM).

Our happiness was increased a hundredfold when we received the wonderful news. (S. Elizabeth Therese McNamee, IHM).

Mother, you must have heard us in West Chester last night when we heard the good news. It will be wonderful to be living near the school. (S. M. Camille Tierney, IHM)

The words of the “*Jubilate*” seem to express adequately our sincere thank you. . . . You can imagine how happy we were when we saw “San Antonio” in print. (S. William Francis Kaehler, IHM)²⁵

The IHMs and the Marianists demonstrated that American style Catholic schools could function successfully in Lima and Callao. Both congregations worked together in catechizing the hundreds of children who could not attend their schools since private schools relied on tuition to function. So, as North American missionaries continued to stream into Peru in the 1950’s, the IHM and the Marianist schools’ served as models for the new wave of English-speaking missionaries.²⁶ The IHMs witnessed the surge of foreign missionaries in Peru during the forthcoming decades. The Church of the so-called First World responded zealously to the papal summons to reinvigorate the Church of Latin America. Priests, sisters, brothers, and lay

²⁵Sisters of San Antonio to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 4 September 1953, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 4 Folder 84.

²⁶ The IHMs, unlike other co-institutional missionary groups such as Maryknoll Fathers and the Maryknoll Sisters, came to Peru without the support of a male missionary organization. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Protestant women missionaries were coworkers of male missionary ministers. The Maryknoll Sisters initially understood their mission as to help missionary priests, as did the wives of Protestant ministers. The IHMs departed from this model since they founded missions without clerical counterparts. For more on male/female counterparts in mission, see Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997), 2-66, 335-343.

missioners arrived in Peru presaging a glimpse of a “world church.”²⁷ Missionaries came from all over the globe, Spain, Germany, Italy, England, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States.

The story of foreign missionaries coming to Peru during these decades is recounted in the annals of each IHM mission since many of the newcomers were guests in IHM convents. The sisters offered hospitality to almost all of these congregations, offering their resources to assist them in getting their particular ministry established, usually schools or hospitals. The clerical congregations and the religious congregations of women collaborated in ministering to all sectors of the Peruvian population, principally through catechesis, sacramental ministry, and pastoral care.²⁸ The IHM sisters meticulously record the sisters’ participation in catechetical programs with the Columbans, the St. James Society, the Maryknoll society and the Franciscans. On weekends and after school an army of student-catechists joined the sisters in catechetical programs in the shantytown parishes surrounding the city. Catechetical ministry to the most abandoned poor in these districts was never written down as a part of a sisters’ assignment to

²⁷ Karl Rahner viewed the post Vatican II period as the initiation of the of the “world church.” European and North American interests could no longer dominate the Church’s attention. See Karl Rahner, SJ, “Toward a Fundamental Interpretation of Vatican II,” *Theological Studies* 40 (1979): 716-727. For more current reflection see Ian Linden, *Global Catholicism: Diversity and Change Since Vatican II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). He traces the development of “world church” to “global church.” He notes the influence of Johannes Hoffinger, SJ, in spearheading the catechetical movement and liturgical renewal, as well as, the Sister Formation Conference of women religious in the United States in shaping global ecclesiology (26-29).

²⁸ John J. Considine, MM, *Call for Forty-Thousand* (New York: Longmans and Green, 1946), publicized the drastic need for priestly ministry in Latin America.

Peru. Few needed a written mandate to minister to the children and adults who lived in cardboard shacks without running water or electricity.

The sisters used their organizational skills to develop catechetical materials and provided transportation for numerous groups of sisters and student-catechists to travel to the shantytowns (*barriadas*). Since few of the IHMs at this time were bilingual, the sisters relied on the student-catechists to hand on the basic truths of the faith to the pious, but poorly instructed, children. Catechesis focused principally on sacramental preparation for baptism and the Eucharist. The students and sisters celebrated First Communion and baptisms, often providing clothing and food for the festivities. The IHMs' catechetical expertise also included the sons and daughters of the growing number of English-speaking diplomats and their professional staff. The sisters catechized rich and poor alike. They were blessed with the resources and the knowledge to include all social classes in their catechetical ministry.

As Peru's economy stabilized in the 1950s, advances in technology and transportation increased the demand and availability of Peru's abundant natural resources, particularly precious metals and oil. The resources bought investors, engineers, and trading firms from all over the world. They settled in Lima and sent their children to the American-style schools that the Marianist and IHMs operated; these schools were ranked among the most prestigious schools in Peru.²⁹ Soon other private secular schools and academies were established to respond to an

²⁹Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 232.

increasing demand. Public education in Peru could not match the professional caliber of foreign teachers nor provide infrastructure or materials to educate the economically poor or middle class.

The IHMs, Marianists, Columbans, and Maryknollers assiduously dedicated themselves to the well-defined educational and pastoral mission of the Church in Peru during the decades preceding the Second Vatican Council. The American missionaries shared a common understanding of their mission, namely, to catechize, to educate, and to minister to the economically poor by all means available. The unity of the foreign missionaries was bolstered by their frequent gathering to share national holidays and special events. The sister-annalists refer to the Marianists, the Maryknollers, and the Columbans as frequent guests at the dinner table. They shared humorous stories and anecdotes, particularly of peasant communities in the *altiplano* (highland) region of Puno in the interior of Peru. The witty Irish Columbans entertained everyone with stories of their homeland. These stories evoked the sisters' compassion and generous assistance. They listened and they responded. As their awareness of poverty grew so did their zeal.

Since a growing number of American priests lived in peasant communities in the Andean region of Peru, they were welcomed as guests at the IHM houses.³⁰ There they enjoyed the luxury of running water, healthy meals, and friendly company. Most importantly the guests and

³⁰*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, July 1944 to September 1964. Father Fedders, MM, was appointed the apostolic vicar for the Andean prelature of Juli, Peru in 1957. The Maryknollers established a minor seminary, community libraries, catechetical centers, health clinics, a radio school, and countless services to the peasant farmers of the region. The Maryknoll center house was located in Miraflores. For an extensive early history of Maryknoll Fathers in Peru, see John John Considine, MM, *Call of the Forty Thousand* (New York: Longmans and Greene, 1946).

the IHMs had the opportunity to tell their stories, to laugh and to cry over the incongruities and inhuman circumstances faced daily by the poor in the city and the sierra. The sisters also heard the exciting events transpiring in Rome as the first session of the Second Vatican Council began. The sister-annalists recount the visits of Bishop Edward Fedders, MM, and Father Martin Murphy, MM; both were participants in the council and guests at Escuela Inmaculado Corazón.³¹ In the *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* it reports stories of their guests' experiences as participants in the sessions of the Second Vatican Council in Rome. As they sat around the dinner table with guests, friends and companions, the IHMs in Peru gained a new understanding of universality of the Church and their place in it.

The IHMs, too, had experienced the solidarity and support of the priests and sisters who so often were their guests. When an IHM sister died of injuries in a traffic accident, their North American and Peruvian friends supported them in their sorrow and assisted in funeral arrangements. The accident occurred when eighteen sisters were enjoying an afternoon excursion riding in a school bus driven by a Marianist brother. An inebriated truck driver struck the bus, injuring eight sisters. Mother Maria Regina, the IHMs, Father Bernard Blemker, the Marianist superior, and the Marianist brothers kept vigil at the hospital as the sisters recovered from their injuries. S. M. Flora Sullivan, the most seriously injured, suffered delayed shock and died on

³¹*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, July 1944 to September 1964. In 1943 the Maryknoll Fathers were invited to Puno, Peru by Bishop Salvador Herrera. Father Fedders, MM, was appointed the apostolic vicar for the Andean prelate of Juli, Peru in 1957. The Maryknollers established a minor seminary, community libraries, catechetical centers, health clinics, a radio school, and countless services to the peasant farmers of the region. The Maryknoll center house was located in Miraflores. For an extensive early history of Maryknolls in Peru see John John Considine, MM, *Call of the Forty Thousand* (New York: Longmans and Greene, 1946).

April 1, 1942, two days after the accident. Father Blemker anointed her shortly before she died.³² The IHMs, Marianists, the Ursuline Sisters, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and many other congregations joined the IHMs in mourning her death. Since she had taught in Colegio San Antonio, the school community grieved the loss of their beloved sister. Her funeral mass was celebrated in the chapel of Villa Maria Academy with a large crowd of laypeople, religious, and priests who prayed and consoled the grieving IHM community. After the solemn mass, a funeral cortege proceeded to *El Ángel* cemetery, where her remains were interred. She was the first IHM to be called home to the heavenly Jerusalem on Peruvian soil.³³

Mother Francina and the entire congregation grieved the death of such a young member of the community. S. Flora was thirty-five years of age and seventeen years professed. Mother Francina shared her deep regret and concern for the sisters in Peru in a letter to Mother Maria Regina: “I cannot tell you how sorry I am for you and all the Sisters. I know the greater burden falls on you for you must shoulder the responsibility and keep things going.”³⁴ S. Flora’s

³²Sister Mary Flora Sullivan, *IHM Menology*, Vol. 6, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies. See also S. Mary Flora Sullivan Photo Album, Immaculata PA: South American Heritage Room. Both sources recount S. Flora’s piety and zeal. She started the commercial classes for girls in Colegio San Antonio.

³³ War time travel restrictions prevented the return of her remains to the IHM cemetery in West Chester, PA. for interment.

³⁴Mother Maria Francina, IHM, to Mother Marie Regina, IHM, 20 April 1942, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 9 Box 26 Folder 61.

unexpected death introduced the IHMs to the cruel reality of premature death in Peru (see figure 3.2).³⁵

Mother Maria Pacis's Desk Journal

Mother Maria Pacis's desk journal and the *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* show how the IHM sisters became a vital resource for the Church in Lima by linking their mission to the aspirations of the rising middle class and the need for well-educated leaders. More religious congregations of men and women arrived in the 1950s. The annals of each IHM mission record the many guests they welcomed.

Undoubtedly Mother Pacis led by example. Her personal interest in each individual, including the construction workers during the construction phase, endeared her to all. She and the sisters encountered a dizzying diversity of social networks. As administrator of the school and local superior of the convent, she departed from the stereotype of *madre superiora* (mother superior). The notations in her desk journal and the *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón*, reveal her amazing acumen in befriending the humblest *peones* (laborers) and the eminent elites. Blessed with an affable, kindly nature, she artlessly charmed the male business community. Above all, her humility and simplicity manifested her profound trust that God would provide even in the direst circumstances. And, dire, indeed were the times. Shortly after construction of

³⁵Other IHMs died unexpectedly in Peru. S. Marie Hugh McLaughlin, IHM, died 10 March 1984 while recuperating in the Clínica Americana in Miraflores, and S. Cristina María Naranjo Matto, a Peruvian IHM, died 28 August 1987 in Escuela Inmaculado Corazón. "Untimely death" emerged as constant theme in the spirituality of liberation. Gustavo Gutiérrez coined the term, "unjust and premature death," to designate the short life expectancy of the poor and vulnerable. Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 2.

the school began, the Peruvian economy floundered. As the economic recession worsened, funds for construction dried up. The APRA party urged restive labor unions to strike and once more violent riots broke out throughout the city.³⁶

After World War II, the United States diplomacy focused on restoring the devastated infrastructure of Europe and Japan. Funding for the Marshall Plan diverted investment from Peru to rebuild the European economy.³⁷ United States foreign policy focused intently on building alliances with the democratic nations in the so-called First World while combatting the spread of communism in the Second World.³⁸ Wary of APRA's communist ideology and the dysfunctional political party system, the United States supported General Manuel Odría's military coup which toppled President José Luis Bustamante in 1948.³⁹ General Odría and Doña María Delgado-Romero, his wife, styled themselves after the Argentinian presidential couple,

³⁶David P. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History* (Carbondale, IL: South Illinois University Press, 1978), 221-246. Werlich describes this period (1939 to 1948) in Peruvian history as an era of "Détente and Debacle." President Manuel Prado (1939-1945) restored a modicum of democracy after General Oscar Benavides (1933-1939) completed Sánchez Cerro's term. APRA was outlawed as a political party due to its international claims; however, political violence and social unrest returned at the end of World War II. President Jose Luis Bustamante (1945-1948) agreed to legalize APRA as a political party, now renamed the Peoples Party of Peru (PAP). But a political impasse arose in the Congress, whose majority now belonged to the APRA/PAP party. Various rebellions, insurrections, assassinations, and violent demonstrations ensued. General Manuel Odría (1948-1956) took over the presidency to regain control of a severely divided populace. In October 1948, APRA naval officers staged an insurrection at the naval base in Callao. Fighting and bloodshed spread to the streets of the city, and APRA militants took over the telephone company in Lima. The rebellion was quelled by military forces loyal to President Bustamante.

³⁷ Fredrick A. Pike, *The Modern History of Peru* (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, 1967), 284-285.

³⁸The terms *First World*, *Second World*, and *Third World* nations originated from Louis-Joseph Lebret's economic analysis of world poverty. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 356.

³⁹Jeffrey Klaiber examines Peru's ongoing struggle for an authentically representative democratic government. See Klaiber, "El miedo al APRA," in *El miedo en el Perú : Siglos vii al xx*, ed. Claudia Rosas Lauro (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2005), 257-274.

Juan y Eva Perón. General Odría's *ochenio* (eight years) restored economic stability and a measure of prosperity to the growing middle class that could now afford to send their sons and daughters to Villa Maria Academy and Colegio Santa Maria.⁴⁰ The working class in Callao could also afford to send sons and daughters to the less expensive, but equally excellent, Colegio San Antonio de Mujeres [girls] and Colegio San Antonio de Varones [boys] in Callao.

The private Catholic schools administered by American religious congregations flourished during this period because of their political neutrality. As American citizens, the North American administrators of these schools owed no loyalty or favors to officials in the highly partisan political culture that divided Lima, Trujillo, Cuzco, and Arequipa.⁴¹ The IHM's remained true to the origins of their mission in Peru. They were invited by the Church of Peru to provide an educational mission. Sent by the Church of the United States, the sisters believed that their educational mission transcended politics.⁴² Peruvian lay leaders and the hierarchy

⁴⁰ Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 210-211. Steve Stein views the *Ochenio* (eight years) of the Odría regime as a reoccurrence of a populist military strongman. The IHMs' schools ministered to social classes that benefitted from political stability. Stein, *Populism in Peru: The Emergence of the Masses and the Politics of Social Control* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 214-215.

⁴¹The political hostilities had severe repercussions for the Church. The APRA party and other anticlerical factions strove to nullify the Church's role in civic and moral issues. Catholic schools administered by new religious orders of men and women were committed to the education and formation of a "militant laity" (*laicado militante*); Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 149; Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 246. From 1945 to 1948, non-APRA members of the Peruvian Congress boycotted parliamentary sessions to prevent a vote on APRA reforms; Werlich, 246. Leftist APRA radicals then instigated a revolt against the government without informing their leader, Haya de la Torre. The revolt failed, however, to restore order. General Manuel Odría then ousted President Bustamante and took over the government; Werlich, 245.

⁴²After World War II, APRA leaders toned down the anticlerical and anti-American rhetoric. United States power had contributed mightily to the defeat of fascism and Nazism. APRA also denounced both, although it partook of a cult-like adulation of its founder, Haya de la Torre. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 231-233.

recognized the value of American-style Catholic schools particularly at this moment in Peruvian history. Eminent members of the Peruvian academic, civic, and diplomatic community were present at the dedication of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón. Dr. Jorge Basadre, a scholar in Peruvian history, and Mr. Prentice Cooper, the United States' Ambassador to Peru, extolled the work of the IHMs. Education was the key to Peru's future as a modern, democratic republic (see figure 3.3). Dr. Pedro Beltrán warned that Peru would not progress unless its leaders were dedicated educated Catholics; otherwise, moral chaos, collective greed, and crass materialism would go unchecked.⁴³ Animated by these accolades the IHMs and their American counterparts forged ahead in shaping a new generation of leaders and a stable middle class formed in the Catholic educational tradition.⁴⁴

A new generation of lay leaders, inspired by the principles of Catholic Action, formed a new political party based on Catholic social teaching. Founded principally to support President José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, their efforts failed since the APRA party and the oligarchy

⁴³ *Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*. The text of the speeches was printed in an unnamed and undated newspaper article pasted in the *Annals*.

⁴⁴ Notable alumni of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón are Alfredo Bryce Echenique, author, the Archbishop of Lima, Cardinal Juan Luis Cipriani; Luis Fernando Figari, founder of the lay movement Sodalitium Vitae; and Jorge and Carlos Álvarez Calderón, diocesan priests and associates of liberation theologian, Father Gustavo Gutiérrez. Notable alumnae from Villa Maria Academy and Colegio San Antonio arose in this era: Liliana Mayo, PhD, noted psychologist in special education for children and Patricia Castro, journalist for *El Comercio*; Pilar Arroyo sociologist Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, Laura Vargas, sociologist Peruvian Episcopal Commission on Social Action (CEAS). Ana Maria Romero, Minister in Peruvian government, Susanna Villaran, mayor of Lima. The impact of the graduates of IHM schools merits a separate investigation. Some are international celebrities: Gaston Acurio, graduate of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, known as the "Peruvian Ambassador of Cuisine," and Claudia Dammert, theater and film star; Josefina de la Puente journalist and television news anchor, graduates of Villa Maria Academy.

rejected his platform of reform.⁴⁵ As a new class of social-minded leaders was forming, Mother Maria Pacis and the sisters translated their idealism into action. If Peru were ever to be an authentically democratic society, leaders needed to be educated.

Mother Pacis immersed herself in the construction of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón from beginning to end. Her congeniality and practicality endeared her to the engineers, managers and day workers. Mr. Guillermo Payet, the architect, became a devoted friend and benefactor of the congregation. He designed a school building that blended classic Spanish architecture with a modern style. The convent, the school, and the school chapel were connected by stately arches and columns, which enclosed a garden with a statue of Mary, so that the cloister opened on three sides to the public, the school, and the chapel. The sisters were not enclosed behind a grill; rather, the stately arcades opened out to an area where children and family assembled each day to pray to God and honor the nation. Sacred space and public space inspired the IHMs' and deepened their belief in God's presence among them in their mission work.

The magnitude of the construction project required significant investment and sacrifice. The sisters, the construction workers, Mr. Guillermo Payet, Dr. Pedro Beltrán, the financial advisor, and the parents all sacrificed their time and gave generously of their myriad talents to complete the project during a severe financial crisis (see figures 3.4, 3.5). The arid terrain was arduously transformed into an elegant school. Mother Maria Alma called the new school "the

⁴⁵ In 1947 Fernando Stiglich Gazzini, Héctor Cornejo Chavez and Luis Bedoya Reyes formed the nucleus of what was later named the Christian Democrat political party (DC). *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 356-367.

ultimate in South American building surrounded by the cloistered arcade and its schools wing overflowing with young Peruvian gentlemen in kindergarten to third grade, 550 in number. The chapel is a gem of simple, but dignified, architecture.”⁴⁶

The *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* reveal how the IHMs continued “to school” and “be schooled” by challenging circumstances.⁴⁷

Mr. Payet has not taken a salary since the beginning of July. . . . We pressed him to take it because he, too, is in need of money. . . . We are now at sea where to lay our hands on money because the banks can’t lend. If we can get the Chapel finished we will be so grateful. It is so needed for First Communion (20 September 1947).

We haven’t that much [money to finish] and know we can’t borrow from the Bank. Certainly good St. Joseph and our Immaculate Mother will intercede for us (17 October 1947).

We were so worried because we have given Mr. Payet all our money and are living on the Music income. He in turn has used twenty thousand of his own money (24 January 1947).

The Ursulines came for a visit. So worried about the deeds . . . asked Mr. Enrique Gutiérrez to lend us 100,000 *soles* . . . the banks went on strike this a.m. (4 February 1947).⁴⁸

Big fear . . . a third mortgage. A novena of grace was begun with that intention . . . thousands of *soles* were lost during strikes, increase of wages, and rising prices (12 March 1947).

⁴⁶Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 334.

⁴⁷The Peruvian government recognized the IHMs’ contribution to Peruvian culture. Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, and Mother Trinita McGinnis, IHM, were awarded the prestigious *Orden del Sol del Perú*. Similarly, the Peruvian Ministry of Education awarded S. Miriam Rose Curry, IHM, and S. Clare Mary Butterhof, IHM, *Palmas magisteriales* for their contribution to Peruvian education. More eminent recipients of this recognition are Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, Peruvian Nobel Laureate in Literature, Mario Vargas Llosa, and the rector of the Universidad de San Marcos, Dr. Juan Mackay.

⁴⁸Inflation reached 30 percent and the price ceilings on certain goods created shortages. A black market for these items flourished. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 241.

The workers have gone on strike. Ministry of education delayed school opening. Relief! More time to get the building finished (21 March 1947).

Mr. Payet succeeded in bringing the strikers to an agreement. The building has police protection (22 March 1947).⁴⁹

Mr. Beltrán called to tell me that the Hipotecaria [bank] had to cease giving mortgages. I almost died—so did the Community. Where would we ever procure six hundred thousand to pay the International Bank? I went over to Mother Marie Angele [principal of Villa Maria Academy] who could only lend us a hundred thousand [*soles*] (19 June 1947).⁵⁰

Mother went to the Mortgage Bank (Banco Hipotecario) again today but to our regret they cannot take over the mortgage. We don't know what we will do now. To add to our misery we discovered that twenty of our little trees were stolen (14 September 1948).

. . . [we] had ham for the first time in over a year. We have saved 1000 *soles* by raising our own vegetables and so Mother thought we could afford a ham for the feast of St. Teresa of Avila (15 October 1948).⁵¹

The IHMs had to deal with often belligerent construction workers, some of whom were eager to have work and others, influenced by APRA, ever ready to go on strike. Not all workers responded positively to Mother Pacis's persuasive skills. In fact she was scorned and ridiculed as Mother Maria Alma Ryan, IHM, noted in her letter to the congregation about the dedication of the new school for boys in Peru:

You will remember that these same workers, suspicious of all Americans, drew her [Mother Pacis] caricature all over the walls supplied with horns, a tail and not very

⁴⁹The Peruvian economy was slow to adapt to the postwar time climate. Strikes, food shortages, and bloody riots expressed the people's outrage. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 241.

⁵⁰Pedro Beltrán was a banker and the publisher of the conservative newspaper, *La Prensa*, organized a political party (the National Coalition) to initiate democratic elections during the Odría presidency. He was appointed finance minister in the Prado administration (1959). Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 255-256, 259.

⁵¹*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975.*

complimentary wording; then before the building was half completed, they were coming to Mass on Sunday—as they had seldom done—singing hymns under the direction of Sister Miriam Consuelo and receiving Holy Communion.⁵²

The sisters' real accomplishment was not the construction of a school; it was building a school community. Stories live on of Mother Pacis's daily interaction with the men on the construction site. She knew them by name and inquired about their wives and children. She monitored their work inserting religious sayings and aspirations into her remarks, "God bless your hands!", "Dear and good holy, St. Joseph, keep you!" She was said to have asked for a sample of the concrete mix to feel its texture, to sniff it, and to taste it to check if there was too much water or too little aggregate. The workers gradually endeared themselves to her and began to respond to her unusual interest in their families, their work, and their spiritual well-being. She and all the IHMs discovered the depth and beauty of the *piedad popular* (popular piety) of the uncatechized and sacramentally neglected peasant workers. They discovered the vitality of their spiritual life focused on devotion to the saints (*patrones*) and the *Virgen* (Blessed Virgin Mary) peculiar to their village in the Andes or barrio in Lima.⁵³ Sensitive to their Redemptorist legacy, the sisters devoted themselves to catechize these humble workers by preparing them to receive

⁵²Mother Maria Alma, IHM, "Angelus," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, October 1949.

⁵³Luis Millones notes that there is a *fiesta popular* (local festivity in honor of a patron saint) somewhere in Peru almost every day of the year. Millones, *Calendario tradicional peruano* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2003), 7. For a theological view of popular piety and its roots, see Simon Pedro Arnold, OSB, *La otra orilla: Una espiritualidad de la inculturación* (Lima: Centro de Estudio y Publicaciones, 1997), 2:31-34.

the sacraments.⁵⁴ The *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* are replete with references to the sisters' devotion to their "men."

The men are beginning to sing—so few know how to read. Each Sunday it improves and the number increases. The Sisters take great pleasure in giving them their breakfast (13 July 1947).

We had a little ceremony in honor of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for all the men who work on the building. It was most impressive to see the attention and devotion of all. . . . The little daughter of one of the workers presented Our Lady with flowers. After the ceremony, wine and cakes were served (18 August 1947).

We deemed it advisable to have the ceremony [first mass in the chapel] for the men *before* [italics added] the dedication as they feel they belong to us. . . . [if] their ceremony [were] after that of the rich [it] would mean less to them (18 August 1947).

14 men went to confession. [In] Santa Maria [church we] celebrated the first communion of a worker's child, Luisa. [We] celebrated [afterwards] with a moving picture . . . and [for] the men who received their first communion with her (29, 30 August 1947).

The workmen have been very kind—they are not as resentful as before. Yesterday they attended a big meeting in Campo Marte so we expect another strike (30 August 1947).

Throughout every phase of establishing this new mission, the sisters persevered in their multiple ministries. They evangelized the workers by working *with* them and working *for* them: serving meals and catechizing them and their families. The first Mass in the new chapel was celebrated *with* them and *for* them. This was the IHMs "real accomplishment." Their lives and

⁵⁴ Alphonsus Ligouri founded the Congregation of the Holy Redeemer to catechize the rural population in Scala, Italy. Most clerics and members of religious orders lived and worked in Naples. Few priests ministered to the abandoned rural populations. For a perceptive reflection about St. Alphonsus's view of mission, see Margaret McDonald, "A Reflection on Alphonsus' Moral Vision: Implications for Evangelization," *Spiritus Patris* 28 (2002): 77-78.

the lives of the “men” with whom they worked were mutually enriched and purified. Their missiology arose from their encounter with the people whom they loved and served.

The sister-annalist of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón records how they worked side-by-side with the workmen and how they learned to celebrate special occasions festively. The workers maintained their rich tradition of *fiestas* to mark holy days and sacred events. Celebration of sacraments, especially baptism, First Communion, and matrimony, *required* a fiesta. Fiestas required singing, dancing, and special foods. The sisters learned from the untutored, yet profoundly religious workmen, the value of devoting time and resources to celebrate. The sisters, also, shared their patriotic days so dear to every American citizen, Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July. The sister-annalist notes, “We celebrated 4th of July with the workers. The Villa Maria girls sang the national anthem, workers [were] given cakes, with wine, coffee, candy” (4 July 1948). The IHMs demonstrated the distinctly American ideal of *all* classes working *together* to accomplish a common project. *Peones* (peasants), professionals, politicians, and *padres* (priests) worked with the sisters thus building community while building a school as the *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* show.

The *alcaldesa* [mayor], Sra. Larco, came to see what was needed. We say, “trees” (7 August 1947).

Delia [secretary] dyed the sawdust green to make it look like grass. Mrs. Payet helped prepare the area (20 August 1947).

. . . The palms [trees] were to be removed. We spent the afternoon cleaning the garden, removing decayed leaves, etc. (23 October 1948).

It makes us a little sad to see all our old friends [construction workers] departing (14 April 1948).

Our last workman left today! Although these men were a trouble to have around the place we regretted to see them go as we had really learned to like them (12 June 1948).

European religious congregations also assisted the IHMs. German Ursuline sisters and Spanish Passionist priests were mentioned for their special assistance in preparation for the dedication of the new school building.

The Passionist Fathers hooked up their amplifying system for the dedication and donated their carpet for the nuncio to walk on (20 August 1947).

[We] asked the Ursulines for a hedge (28 October 1947).

Everyone was welcomed and encouraged to help get the job done, especially the manpower available from the Maryknoll Fathers and Marianist Brothers.

The sisters moved all the furniture for school. Father. Mitchell [SM] sent four men (7 April 1947).

Delia and Rosa [secretaries] worked like the Sisters. Everyone is tired—but relieved (8 April 1947).

All the Sisters from Villa Maria came to clean the nearly finished school building. Mother Angele and Sister St. Chrysostom brought lunch for all (12 April 1947).

The *alcaldesa* [mayor] Sra. Alicia Larco sent men and a truck to help. Santa Maria [Marianists] did too (16 April 1947).

To prevent theft of articles in the partially constructed building, the Sisters moved in [to the building] with the help of Brothers of Santa Maria.

Father Morris [SM] put up all the beds and wardrobes. The [Marianist] Brothers brought scout lanterns because there is no electricity (17 April 1947).

The [Marianist] Brothers came to see if we were all right since [there are] no locks on [the] doors yet. They sang Christmas carols at night. Since there was so much putty on the windows it looked like snow. . . . the lanterns gave a Christmas like look to the place (18 April 1947).

All the Sisters are sleeping in the workroom since the rooms are not ready. There was not a door in the place (19 April 1947).

There are three watchmen. Father McCarthy [MM] came to see if we were all right (20 April 1947).

[The convent] Chapel is in the library (21 April 1947).

The [Marianist] Brothers spent all day getting the plumbing out of the old house. I don't know how we would or could have done it all because we can't leave the children a moment because of the construction (21 April 1947).

The [Marianist] Brothers went into Lima [to see] about a telephone. . . . S. John the Evangelist made a pie on a kerosene oven. . . . We are living in dust and grime (22 April 1947).

These documents also reveal how the sisters themselves were schooled in the Peruvian institutional culture. Unlike the static roles assigned to pastors, superiors, sister-teachers in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, the sisters in Peru had to learn new rules and roles for social interaction, for now they were the owners, administrators, and managers of their schools.⁵⁵ The laity assisted the sisters in learning the ropes of the state educational bureaucracy. The sisters, in turn, involved the entire school community in pastoral ministry to orphans, the disabled children and adults, the indigent elderly, victims of frequent natural disasters (floods and earthquakes),

⁵⁵Latin American corporate culture relied on networks of fictive kinship, such as confraternities (*cofradías*) and godparents (*madrinas-pradinos*). This meant that personal relationships were cultivated to advance a project; hence, *padrinos*, *madrinas*, *compadres*, or *comadres* were expected components of any business relationship. For the prevalence of fictive kinship in Limeñan culture, see Alicia del Aguila Peralta, *Callejones y mansiones*, ed. J. Michael Miller, CSB (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1997), 121-129.

and inhabitants of the expanding shantytowns surrounding Lima and Callao. To support these many charitable works, all the IHMs encouraged the students in each of their schools to raise money for the missions. The Archdiocese of Lima also organized mission crusades to raise money to evangelize and catechize in mission lands. The students of each school competed with each other to raise funds. For example, annals note their success: “Mission money crusade, final count—\$8405.60. Hooray!”⁵⁶ And, “The mission drive is steadily advancing. The children are in the spirit of it. The First and Second Year Commercial [secretarial school] played ‘Bingo’ in their own room in order to help the mission fund. The Third and Fourth Year Commercial made and sold pin cushions and sold lemonade today to help their fund.”⁵⁷

From the humblest worker to the most influential professionals, the sisters learned how to accommodate their work to new social standards. Socially defined roles, both of the North American sisters and the various classes of Peruvians, overlapped. North Americans, so renowned for independence and self-reliance, often needed staff members or workers to communicate *for* them. As fair-skinned foreigners and religious, the IHMs often defied the roles assigned them. Seeing sisters performing menial tasks like washing windows or preparing meals blurred preconceived notions about Americans and American sisters.

The sisters’ experience of church and school in Peru enriched and purified their understanding of themselves and their place in the universal mission of the Church. Gradually,

⁵⁶ *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón*, 24 September 1949.

⁵⁷ *Annals San Antonio*, 10 October 1947.

the IHMs developed an understanding of mission that embraced both cultures. Although it was never explicitly written, the IHMs consistently interpreted their work in Lima as a mandate entrusted to them by the Church of both archdioceses even though they did not receive any financial compensation for their work. This autonomy had certain benefits: the sisters could determine and define their educational mission without the constraints of archdiocesan structures or a local pastor's "fancies."⁵⁸

Most Catholic schools administered by religious congregations in Peru had school chapels the size of a church.⁵⁹ The IHMs added church-size chapels in the construction of new schools. True to their Redemptorist heritage, the IHMs energetically fostered devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Daily visits to the Blessed Sacrament in the school chapel, Benediction, Eucharistic Holy Hours were integrated into catechetical instruction.⁶⁰ Understandably, the

⁵⁸Orders of religious women in the United States, of European or United States origin, developed mechanisms to adapt to specific contexts in the Church of North America. See Sandra M. Schneiders, IHM, *Finding the Treasure: Locating Catholic Religious Life in a New Ecclesial and Cultural Context* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000), 1:360.

⁵⁹Since clerical religious orders, principally the Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercedarians, and the Society of Jesus, accompanied colonizers, these religious orders constructed churches that functioned as a parish. Lima was the "city of churches" known for their magnificent architecture as evidenced, for example, in the Jesuit Church of San Pedro and the Franciscan Church of San Francisco. See Higgins, *Lima: A Cultural History*, 56.

⁶⁰Villa Maria Academy Chapel was included in the construction of two buildings for primary grades in 1950. In 1958 the new complex for Colegio San Antonio on Avenida Sáenz Peña was blessed. It included a residence for the sisters, a school chapel, auditorium, and classrooms. Enrollment surpassed 1,100. Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 379, 390.

sister-annalists of each mission frequently referred to the sisters' and students' devotion to the Holy Eucharist (see figure 3.6).⁶¹

The genesis of the Eucharistic school community can be traced using Mother Pacis's desk journal. The construction of the school chapel for Escuela Inmaculado Corazón demonstrates clearly the Redemptorists' spirit of inclusive Eucharistic devotion embracing every social class.⁶² The *Annals of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón* disclose the sisters' eagerness to have a school chapel for daily Mass and visits to the Blessed Sacrament. The chapel's design reflected simplicity compared to Hispano-American love for lavish ornamentation.

The "Cement Men" (Aguirre and Company) worked until one o'clock in the morning and by the morning of the first Mass they were there to carry in the benches. Andres put in the Altar Stone. They resemble the early Christians. . . . [The] fathers [among them] long to have an education for their children. Would that we could help them! If it weren't for these good men and the kindness of the Sisters to them our Chapel would never have been finished in time. It can be truly said—"The poor you have always with you" (24 November 1947).

First Mass [was] offered by Father Morris, Payets and family present, all the workers and their wives were present. Coffee and sandwiches were offered to over 180 men.

First Communion [of the workers] the next day. Men worked until two in the morning to finish it. First celebration in the chapel was First Communion.

Mrs. Said sent Rosa Mouchard to see what we would like as a parting gift. I bravely told her a crucifix for the back of the Altar. The price was uncertain—so I said a thousand *soles*, but she gave fifteen hundred. God is good! (24 January 1947).

⁶¹The Archdiocese of Lima instituted the Forty Hours Eucharistic devotion at the conclusion of the 1935 Synod, a devotion originating in the sixteenth century was popular in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia during St. John Neumann's episcopacy. "40 [Cuarenta] Horas, Constitución del Sínodo XIV," *El Amigo del Clero* 1334 (1935): 27-25.

⁶²Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, Desk Journal, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J1.

Feast of *Corpus Christi*, the Sisters go out to find hymnals so the men workers can sing in the procession. They find them at the German fathers [parish] (4, 5 June 1947).

We practiced Spanish hymns to help them [workers] sing. After school we arranged the tables in the *sala* [auditorium] in order to give the workers a surprise. There were over a hundred to enjoy the feast. We were all very happy to see their surprise and joy (4, 5 June 1947).

Men turned out for Mass in large numbers. They seemed so happy to have the hymn books. Of course everyone had a tune of his own—so did we—but I am sure the Lord was pleased with their efforts (15 August 1947).

We placed the first baby on our altar today and it was one of our workers, Andres. It seemed quite fitting that a poor baby and one whose father had helped to build the chapel should have this honor (14 August 1947).

The completed new complex for Colegio San Antonio included a school chapel accessible to children every day. S. Marguerite wrote:

The most wonderful part of the blessing of the chapel is that the Blessed Sacrament is now reserved there and it is so convenient to step from the patio into the chapel for a visit. The children love making four or five visits each day and I'm sure our dear Lord is pleased and happy with all this company.⁶³

Constructing a church-size chapel did bring criticism. The sisters were aware of the rumors, as the author of the *Annals of San Antonio* noted:

An anonymous letter was received by Father Andrés about the American Sisters getting rich collecting for the chapel. We are supposed to be getting rich by coming to school daily in a luxurious car. If we only could tell them how many times we had to walk partway because the car had broken down. Father Andrés assembled all the children and told them exactly what the Sisters get from the pension collected each month. He gave a

⁶³Mother M. Marguerite, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 1 May 1954, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 13.

beautiful tribute to the Sisters . . . and promised them a remembrance in all of his masses for life. He is a very saintly man and was very much upset about the affair.⁶⁴

The decline in clerical vocations during the nineteenth century prompted the deeply religious, though inadequately catechized, laity to express their spirituality in popular religion.⁶⁵ Since the IHMs schools could afford hiring a chaplain, Eucharistic devotion and popular piety complemented daily religious instruction along with frequent Mass and confession.

Growing Colegio San Antonio for Girls

The sisters tell the story of St. Anthony School's transition to Colegio San Antonio during these years. As the working class in Callao expanded, parents could pay tuition and the parish school expanded to include primary and secondary divisions with a commercial school component. The sisters viewed increased enrollment as a summons to enlarge the school and increase the number of sisters. To achieve this goal, Mother Maria Alma, through Mother Mary Ivo Dougherty, IHM, the superior at Villa Maria Academy, asked the Canons Regular to cede the school to the IHM congregation. Father Andrés Bertolotti, CRIC, the pastor, agreed to this proposition after consulting with his superiors.⁶⁷

The expansion of Colegio San Antonio was another community project. The sisters in Villa Maria Academy and Escuela Inmaculado Corazón started a savings fund to buy property

⁶⁴*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 11 July 1950.

⁶⁵ For an analysis of the origin, scope and depth of Latin American popular piety see Manuel Marzal, SJ, *Tierra Encantada: Tratado de Antropología Religiosa de América Latina* (Lima: Editorial Trotta, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002).

⁶⁷Chinnici, *Prayer and Practice*, 45. Initially Father Andrés and his community wavered between "yes" one day and "no" the next. *Annals San Antonio, 1928-1957*, 22 and 26 February 1951.

and to construct a secondary school and convent. By 1951, funds were sufficient to purchase a lot on Avenida Saenz Peña in the Bellavista district of Callao (see figure 3.7). As the enrollment grew, more classrooms were needed. Eventually the primary school was transferred from the parish buildings to the new location. Graduates of San Antonio commercial division was so successful in getting jobs that funds were raised to build a commercial school on in the same location.

As already noted the sisters considered their mission in Callao particularly important since the congregation was founded to catechize and educate those in most need. The remarks of the sister-annalists of San Antonio often pointed out that the real success of the school was the religious formation of the students. The graduates of San Antonio (*ex alumnas*) often returned to their *querido San Antonio* (dear San Antonio) for special feast days and anniversaries inspiring the sister-annalist to write:

May procession held for the ex-alumnas [*sic*] . . . the first... all the sisters (IHM) came. Everyone was impressed with the simplicity and sincerity of these our former pupils. Certainly, the sisters who sowed these seeds of spirituality in years gone by can be truly proud of the fruits of their endless effort. What is done for God and love of God is done well.⁶⁸

The students graduating from the secretarial section were sought after by businesses eager for the moral comportment and professional caliber of bilingual secretaries. Since the graduates excelled in English and Spanish grammar, office management, typing, and

⁶⁸*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 19 May 1951. Alumnae of Colegio San Antonio continue to gather for the yearly May procession.

bookkeeping, and, most importantly, they were fluent in English, they were often immediately employed.⁶⁹ “At least half of the graduates of San Antonio secured jobs; phone calls kept coming asking for our girls for secretarial positions.”⁷⁰

As the social matrix in Callao changed, so did the type of student. Colegio San Antonio was no longer a school for the destitute. The struggling lower middle class now vied to enroll their daughters since so few schools offered such excellent training (see figure 3.8). Graduates of San Antonio were offered employment in international banks, trading firms, the United States Embassy, the Peruvian diplomatic corps, and mining companies. In 1945 enrollment in the elementary school totaled 426 and in the commercial division, 144. The commercial curriculum included religion, English, stenography, and typing. There were four classes averaging thirty-six students per class. The elementary school included Kindergarten to grade 7. Class size averaged 53 students (see appendix 2).⁷¹ The IHMs featured the successes in San Antonio as a sure sign of God’s blessing. After Mother Maria Alma’s visitation of Peruvian missions in 1949, she wrote to her “Dear 1725” (the number of professed sisters) about Colegio San Antonio:

⁶⁹By 1958, Colegio San Antonio had two sections of secondary, Media and Commercial. S. Flora Sullivan began the Commercial in 1939 in the original building. Their course of study was recognized by the Ministry of Education. The *media común* (secondary) was established in 1958. Ryan, *Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart*, 390.

⁷⁰Mother M. Marguerite, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 6 January 1954, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 1.

⁷¹ Peruvian educational systems allows for 6 years of elementary school and 4 years of secondary. The IHM schools added Kindergarten to 8th grade and 4 years secondary. San Antonio commercial school (secretarial school) was the exception. “School Sheets: 1945- 1946,” Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

This, by far, [Colegio San Antonio] is our best work in Peru, and it is giving evidence daily, according to the Father with whom I have spoken, of both spiritual and material improvement among the people. While our academies are doing a very necessary work in affording an education in English—the goal of all progressive Peruvians—and thus maintaining the Faith among the upper and necessarily influential class, since the only other English teaching schools are under non-Catholic influence, still in San Antonio, we can see year by year the uplift spiritually in attendance at Holy Mass and the Sacraments, and materially in the fact that having completed a commercial course with stenography in both English and Spanish, the students secure and retain splendid positions in banking, transportation and industry and receive salaries which to their parents seem fabulous.⁷²

The success of the American-style Catholic school the IHM sisters established became the model for future United States' missionaries in Peru. The Maryknoll Fathers established Santa Rosa de Lima, an American-style parish with a school in Lince, a new housing development near Miraflores.

The IHMs appreciated the Maryknoll Sisters since for nearly thirty years they had had no companionship with other English-speaking religious women. The Maryknoll Sisters and priests formed lasting friendships during this period. Father Robert Kearns, MM, the chronicler of the Maryknoll Fathers' work in Peru, wrote, "No history of Maryknoll in Lima would be complete without mention of the Brothers of Mary . . . and the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters. . . . Their kindness and their thoughtfulness and charity to Maryknoll priests will never be forgotten by those Maryknollers who have ever come in contact with them."⁷³

⁷²Mother Maria Alma, IHM, "Angelus," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, October 1949.

⁷³Robert M. Kearns, MM, "Maryknoll Fathers in Peru 1943-1953" (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Mission Archives). Maryknoll's initial mission in Peru focused on evangelizing the Japanese and Chinese enclaves in Lima. Chinese indentured laborers were brought to Peru to assist in the construction of the railroad in the later nineteenth

The IHMs similarly assisted the Maryknoll Sisters in dealing with the Ministry of Education to establish Santa Rosa School.⁷⁴ Both congregations worked together preparing catechetical materials and teaching each other new methods.⁷⁵ What the Maryknollers knew about cultural adaptation of catechesis from their work in China they imparted to the IHMs. What the IHMs knew about classroom management and pedagogy they shared with the Maryknoll Sisters. The American priests relied on the sisters for catechetical instruction, particularly for the reception of the sacraments. The Maryknoll Fathers focused their attention on the pastorally abandoned in Andean villages and the shantytowns surrounding Lima and Callao. The IHMs and Maryknoll Sisters worked together in preparing catechetical materials, preparing student catechists, and supplying food, first aid, and clothing for peasants arriving in Lima with

century. After their service, Chinese settled in the sector of Lima known as the *barrio chino*. Maryknoll established parish and parochial schools in middle class parishes as a base for branching out to serve the poor and destitute in the growing shantytowns on the periphery of Lima and in the Andean highlands. Klaiber examines Maryknoll's transformation as a missionary society in Peru. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 380-382. For a positive view of shantytown culture, see Henry Dietz, "Urban Squatter Settlements in Peru: A Case History," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 11, no. 3 (1969): 353-354. Dietz challenges the assumption that shantytowns (*barriadas*) are places of misery and suffering. He argues that the term "slum" carries a negative meaning. His case study revealed that the individuals and communities in these settlements were highly motivated to better their state in life by emigrating to the city where education, work, and opportunity existed; Dietz, 363. A component of this motivation is the freedom to select a community of faith that responds to the need for change. The prevalence of Pentecostal churches attests to this phenomenon. For a helpful analysis of religious migration in Peru, see José Luis Pérez Guadalupe, *Ecumenismo, sectas, y nuevos movimientos religiosos* (Lima: Asociación Hijos de San Pablo, 2002), 289-375.

⁷⁴A laywoman Rosario Araóz invited Maryknoll to Peru. She was concerned about the poor in her middle class neighborhood. The Maryknoll Society proceeded to adapt the mission model current at the time, the formation of native clergy and sisters by establishing parishes and schools and eventually a native priesthood and sisterhood. Dana Robert examines the Maryknoll sisters' mission during this period. See Robert, *American Women in Mission*, 382-384. Costello notes that the Maryknoll parish in Lince was the model for American congregations arriving in Peru. The Carmelite Fathers of Chicago replicated that model. See Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 63.

⁷⁵Sisters of Maryknoll Convent Diaries 1951-1967, Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Mission Archives, Box 66 Folder 3.

practically nothing.⁷⁶ This was the period when the American congregations of men and women worked closely together animated by the same mission. Their camaraderie and support boosted their morale, especially in times of tragedy:

We had seventeen priests [sic] for supper tonight! Nine [are] vacationing in Lima, five of the Society of Mary, three of the Most Precious Blood, one from Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, one Carmelite, and ten Maryknoll (17 August 1949).

Father McGinn [MM] borrowed our silver. Bishop [John F.] O'Hara [CSC] was visiting for dinner (1 May 1945).

The sister-annalist of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón notes the conviviality.

Father Carey, a Maryknoll Father, was killed. Father Bush came to tell us. Father Morris happened to be here—so we all went into the Chapel to pray for the repose of his soul. Fathers Carey and Donnelly were on their way to Puno for retreat. Their truck overturned killing Father Carey. Father Donnelly was saved and was able to give Father Carey absolution. We had a Mass said for him and offered Holy Communion [for the repose of his soul] (5 March 1945).

Father Kirsch, chaplain for EIC brought a new German father [priest] to see us. They told us some of the horrors they endured during the war (16 November 1948).

The sisters' courtesy to guests included visits to all their schools; however, lapses in communication sometimes created problems. The author of the *Annals of San Antonio* recalls one such lapse. The influential archbishop of New York City, Cardinal Francis Spellman, was a guest at Villa Maria Academy while visiting Lima. The sisters, students, and teachers of San Antonio and all nearby schools in Callao were informed that he would visit San Antonio, too.

The sister-annalist wrote:

⁷⁶In 1940 a severe earthquake in the Andes sparked peasant migration to Lima. Search for work, education, and a better way of life spurred continuing growth. By the 1970s the young towns' (*pueblos juvenes*) population increased. Werlich, *Peru: A Short History*, 22-23.

All children, priests from surrounding parishes, several Marist Brothers assembled at 2 pm awaiting the arrival of Cardinal Spellman. The flowers donated were gorgeous. By 5 pm the Cardinal had not arrived the children were still waiting in line. Photographers and the children were a bit on edge. Sister called every place wondering about the delay. By 6 pm we realized to our sorrow that the Cardinal was not coming to visit us at all. The children were so tired and sad that many of the big girls shed a few tears feeling a little bit slighted. We too were sorry for them as they have been disappointed so many times when they thought they were going to have visitors. Due to some mix-up in plans Cardinal Spellman did not even know that he was to visit us so all was forgotten.⁷⁷

As members of the American hierarchy visited dioceses in Latin America, particularly, Peru and Bolivia, the Conference of Catholic Bishops in the United States created the Bureau of Latin American Affairs to respond to the financial needs of the Church in Latin America and assist priestly formation.⁷⁸

Growing Demand

In April 1949 Mother Maria Alma notified the congregation that Archbishop Juan Panico, the papal nuncio to Peru, asked her to appoint one hundred more sisters to further the Church's educational mission in Peru.⁷⁹ She could not honor his request, but she did appoint sisters to Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen in the newly establish Carmelite parish. During

⁷⁷*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 20 November 1951.

⁷⁸Pope Pius XII established the Pontifical Commission for Latin America (CAL) in 1958 to coordinate the curial congregations working with the Latin American Conference of Bishops (CELAM). In the United States, the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) established the Latin American Bureau to garner financial support and educate Catholics in the United States about the needs of the Church in Latin America. In the same year Cardinal Richard Cushing (Boston) established the St. James Society, an association of diocesan priests, to work in Latin America to respond to the shortage of priests in Latin American dioceses. See Mary McGlone, CSJ, *Sharing the Faith across the Hemisphere* (Washington, DC: National Council of Catholic Bishops, 1997), 84-87.

⁷⁹Mother Maria Alma, IHM, "Angelus," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, April 1949.

these decades Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts, OFM, archbishop of Lima, welcomed foreign religious congregations of men and women who streamed into Peru to found parishes, schools and hospitals that were needed for the thousands of peasants flooding into the city in search of a better way of life.⁸⁰ The United States Catholic Church responded generously to the demand for more priests and sisters to assist the Church of Peru.⁸¹ The Carmelite Fathers of Chicago were advised by the Maryknoll Fathers to establish a parish and a school in Lima first, using it as a base to establish missions in poorer areas.

When the IHMs heard the news that another order of American priests was coming to Peru, they were delighted. Mother Marie Angele, the superior of Villa Maria wrote, “The Carmelite Fathers are coming to Peru . . . a great blessing as there are two first class Protestant schools [in Miraflores]. . . . They plan to set up a parochial school system as we have in the States.”⁸² She sent two sisters to the airport to meet the Carmelite Fathers and invite them to visit them at Villa Maria Academy. Father Nevin Hayes, OCarm., the first superior of the

⁸⁰Cardinal Ricketts inaugurated the “Mission of Lima” in 1957 to respond to the pastoral needs of a growing urban population, especially the shantytowns surrounding Lima, the “*cinturón de pobreza*” (“belt of poverty”). In 1940 the population of Lima equaled approximately 600,000, in 1961 it reached 1,700,000, and by 1984 it had over 6,000,000 inhabitants. In 1955 there were fifty-one parishes in the Archdiocese of Lima, and by 1985 the number had reached 136. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 363-364. He cites José Matos Mar, *Desborde popular y crisis del Estado*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986), 71-72, footnote 12.

⁸¹For a comprehensive analysis of this period see Gerald M. Costello *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 1-163. Cardinal Richard Cushing, the Archbishop of Boston, encouraged American congregations to send sisters to Peru. He established the St. James Society of priests for this purpose. There were more priests and sisters in his diocese than in all the dioceses in Peru. Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 377.

⁸²Mother Marie Angele, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 25 May 1949, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 69.

Carmelites in Peru, toured the IHM schools. He was so impressed that he penned a letter to Mother Maria Alma asking for sisters to staff the parish elementary school and high school the Carmelites established.⁸³ Although Mother Maria Alma could not appoint sisters immediately, she promised that as soon as sisters were available they would be sent to assist the Fathers in their efforts to bring back to the fold “so many lapsed Catholics.”⁸⁴ A year later three sisters were appointed to Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen: S. M. Rosalita Friel, IHM, S. Rose Marita Leifholt, IHM, and S. Alice Mary Breslin, IHM.

Since Nuestra Señora del Carmen was a parish school, the Carmelite Fathers provided the sisters with a convent. The Carmelites, like many North American congregations arriving in Peru at this time, financed the construction of the school, church, priory and convent with mission funds from the United States and, as the parish grew by tuition payments. The sisters, Carmelites, and lay faculty worked together to educate the increasing number of middle class families in a new housing development near Miraflores. The sisters, lay teachers, and Carmelites replicated an American style parish school. Photographs of the sisters, priests, lay faculty manifest an upbeat spirit and joyfulness during this time of expansion. (see figure 3.9). Although the IHMs staffed Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen and Villa Maria Academy, the schools differed. The Carmelite Fathers were responsible for the financial and administrative duties. An

⁸³The Reverend Nevin Hayes, O.Carm., to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 24 June 1953, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 20 Folder 1.

⁸⁴Mother Maria Alma, IHM, to the Reverend Nevin Hayes, O.Carm., 7 February 1955, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 20 Folder 3.

IHM was the principal and several sisters and laywomen comprised the teaching staff. The emphasis on English was similar; however, the school aimed to integrate children and their parents into the life of the parish. The Carmelite charism motivated the educational mission of the school.⁸⁵

The *Annals of Nuestra Señora del Carmen* tell a more familiar story of the sisters involved in parish catechetical programs, after school literacy classes, and parish liturgical celebrations. The sisters nicknamed the new mission, “Cozy Carmel,” because it was so similar to IHM missions in the United States.⁸⁶ Similar to the three other IHM schools in Lima, academic subjects (reading, grammar, spelling, religious instruction) were conducted in English by the sisters and geography and Peruvian history were taught by laywomen in Spanish. The sisters were not expected to learn Spanish because what made the IHMs the most sought after teachers was their knowledge of English. Students had to learn English to succeed.⁸⁷ The sisters and the priests were amazed at the school’s immediate success. Parents vied to enroll their children. Few distinguished the difference between a parish school and a private academy.⁸⁸

⁸⁵The current website describes its mission. The IHM’s were to support the Carmelite’s mission. “Orden de los Carmelitos en el Perú.” http://www.carmelitas.edu.pe/acerca_de/historia_del_colegio.html accessed 20 February 2013.

⁸⁶*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁸⁷See Muriel Saville-Troike, *The Ethnography of Communication*, (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 35,36, 213-216.

⁸⁸*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*.

One of the Carmelites commented, “The ‘craze for English’ . . . makes the people . . . ready to sell their souls to get their kids into a good school, and, above all, into a school where English is taught.”⁸⁹ The “craze for English” blurred the distinction between parish and academy as Father Nevin Hayes noted in a letter to Mother Maria Alma.

Villa Maria is famous not only in Lima but all over Peru. Therefore people jump to the conclusion that our school, being American and having American sisters, will also be “high class” . . . You see, Mother, the idea of a *parish* school is completely unknown in Peru. The Maryknoll Fathers started a parish school three years ago with Maryknoll Sisters as teachers. . . . Because it was American, of course, everybody thought it would be high class, and people came from all over the city to enroll their children. However, the pastor there followed the same plan as us: the parish school is for parishioners. . . . Our school is only the second parochial school in the country. It will never be an academy-type school under any name.⁹⁰

By 1959, the rapidly changing demographics of the Archdiocese of Lima required a new strategy for the evangelization of hundreds of peasants living in poverty in the shantytowns surrounding the city, as well as, the growing middle class. Cardinal Ricketts, convoked an archdiocesan synod to respond to the pastoral crisis. The synod developed a pastoral plan for catechesis and ministry to the poor, and where possible, to establish parish schools (*escuelas*

⁸⁹David De Paul McEvoy, “Twenty-five Years of Modern Mission: The North American Carmelites in Peru 1949-1974” (doctoral work, Washington Theological Union, 1988), 48. The school was so popular that rivalry for students created tension. During visitation, Mother Mary Hubert, IHM, a member of the Council, was disturbed by the news that the new school did not attract children of poor families but of the middle class.

⁹⁰The Reverend Nevin Hayes, O.Carm., to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, December 1955, Immaculata, PA: Archives, Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 20 Folder 5. By 1955 Villa Maria Academy was the premier school of its kind in Peru. Other private nonsectarian schools in this category were Markham, Abraham Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Pestalozzi. IHM schools kept tuition fees at a minimum in comparison to other for-profit schools. See Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 15 March 1959, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 4.

parroquiales). All the members of the Church, clergy, religious, and laity were exhorted to establish programs to catechize youth, especially the poor and those unable to attend parish schools or private academies. Each parish was to form catechetical teams to teach religion in public schools during the designated class for religion (public schools were required to have religion class). An Archdiocesan office of Catholic Education (Oficina Nacional de Educación Católica, ONEC) was to be formed to coordinate catechesis of all children and youth in public, private, and parochial schools.⁹¹ The faithful were urged to participate in Sunday Mass and to join Catholic action groups to work for social justice, especially toward the working class. Aware of the poverty of the thousands of peasants now surrounding the city, the synod challenged every member of the Church to minister to the poor and most vulnerable.⁹²

The recently arrived foreign missionaries and the IHMs expanded their efforts to catechize and respond to the pastoral needs of those dwelling in the shantytowns. The IHMs had successfully combined full time classroom ministry with catechetical programs on the weekends and after school. Sacramental programs flourished in the IHM schools and in the shantytown parishes administered by the Columbans and the Maryknoll Fathers. Sister-musicians prepared

⁹¹Juan Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts, *VIII Sínodo de la Arquidiócesis de Lima* (Lima: Talleres Gráficos, 1959), 427, no. 88-92. The participation of American and Irish missionaries in the synod is illustrative: The Malaquias J. Murphy, MM; Thomas Murphy, MM; John Lawler, MM; Jaime Connell, MM; Albano Quinn, O.Carm.; Jorge O'Keefe, O.Carm.; Fintan Cassidy, CSC; Michael Fitzgerald Missionary, SSCME; Robert Hogan, SM; Valentin Mitchell, SM; Roberto Heil, SM. Perhaps the impulse to organize and coordinate the educational effort arose from Americans where the National Office of Catholic Education (NCEA) coordinated the Church's educational ministry in the United States.

⁹²Ricketts, *VIII Sínodo de la Arquidiócesis de Lima*, 427, no. 88-92.

students to perform in school shows borrowing themes of Broadway musicals. As amazingly successful these productions sung in English were, the catechetical events each weekend were even more impressive. Sisters, student-catechists, and parents boarded buses and cars to minister in massive catechetical programs for youth and adults (see figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12).

The sister-annalist of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón noted the increasing demand for more American-style Catholic schools. Parents came from Ecuador and Bolivia asking for sisters to staff schools in their countries. In Peru parents were willing to donate property for the sisters to build a boarding school in Chosica, a vacation spot forty kilometers west of Lima.⁹³ Similarly, a parent was willing to donate property if the sisters would build a school on it in Trujillo, a city north of Lima.⁹⁴ The sisters in Peru were so eager to open more schools in Peru that Mother Maria Alma reminded them that, “There is missionary work right here [in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia] as well.”⁹⁵

Naturally, the growing demand for more schools motivated the sisters to promote vocations to the sisterhood. The sister-annalists tell of the sisters’ collaboration in the archdiocesan vocations promotion programs. Students and sisters participated in diocesan holy hours to pray for vocations to the priesthood and religious life. Realizing that there were “no

⁹³*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, 11 April 1948.

⁹⁴Mother M. Cyprian, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 8 June 1956, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 64.

⁹⁵Mother Maria Alma, IHM, to Sisters in Peru, 5 December 1954, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 24.

IHMs to spare,” Father Bernard Ryan, MM, wrote to Mother Maria Alma’s asking if the IHMs would assist Maryknoll in founding a native women’s religious congregation.⁹⁶ Although she could not honor his request, Mother Maria Alma informed sisters in the United States of the sisters’ expanding catechetical ministry to those who could not attend private Catholic schools.

Three weeks ago an Irish Columban, Father Murphy, came to see me [at the Motherhouse] about a state school in his parish [in Peru] where 2000 boys were in dire need of religious instruction. Many [children] do not know how to make the sign of the cross. . . . The matter was put into the hands of Sister James David [Schiavone, IHM,] who has charge of the Villa Maria Academy catechists. Sister asked for volunteers from the senior and junior girls. Sixty responded. . . . Every Saturday she and S. Maria Cabrini [Bompadre, IHM] get on the bus with the girls to go to the *barrio* of Blessed Martin de Porres. . . . The girls have purchased catechisms for the children. . . . This [work] seems to be a first-class miracle [since they go to] a district that until some thirty years ago was absolutely caste-conscious. May God reward both sisters and students for this labor of love for Him.⁹⁷

Mother Maria Alma recognized the successes of the congregation’s schools in Peru and Chile; however, motivating students to join Catholic Action groups was, by far, the sisters’ greatest accomplishment.

It is an ever new mystery and miracle that the children in Peru and Chile, to whom English is a foreign language, speak it so well; but it is far greater joy to realize the extent to which these students, under the direction of our Sisters, participate in Catholic Action in their respective countries.⁹⁸

⁹⁶Reverend Bernard Ryan, MM, to Mother Maria Alma, 10 January 1950, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 78. Father Ryan prefaced his request by saying he knew that “there are no IHMs to spare” to send more American sisters to Peru.

⁹⁷Mother Maria Alma, IHM, “Angelus,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, November 1956.

⁹⁸Mother Maria Alma, IHM, “Angelus,” Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, December 1955.

The sisters in the United States demonstrated their support for their sisters in the foreign missions. Mission clubs in schools and parishes sent donations to the IHM missions in Peru and Chile. By the 1950's, so many sisters observed the custom of bidding farewell to the sisters bound for Peru, at the dock or airport, that Mother Alma issued a circular letter asking the sisters to refrain from gathering at the airport because the large crowd of sisters obstructed traffic there.⁹⁹

Growing Hospitality

Certainly, the IHMs' experience of the hospitality of Peruvian religious, most notably the Religious of the Sacred Heart, made them eager to do the same for newly arrived missionaries, and so in 1951, when Pope Pius XII exhorted religious congregations all over the world to send 3 percent of their members to Latin America, the IHMs welcomed them offering hospitality in the houses and assistance in establishing their specific ministry (schools, clinics, hospitals).¹⁰⁰ Although Latin America was a culturally Catholic region, the pope urged the European and North American churches to send priests and religious to reinforce the local churches in Latin America to combat the threat of atheistic materialism and the errors of communism.¹⁰¹ In the *Call of the Forty Thousand*, Father John Considine, MM, recounted the peril Latin American Catholics faced since "many live a certain form of Catholic life without priests, even forty

⁹⁹Ibid., July 1948.

¹⁰⁰Pope Pius XII, "Promotion of Catholic Missions (*Evangelii praecones*)," *Catholic Library*, no. 7 December (1951): 5.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 17.

thousand priests would be insufficient.”¹⁰² In 1961, Pope John XXIII renewed the call for more priests and sisters and lay missionary societies. Ten percent of their membership was to be sent.¹⁰³

Religious congregations, principally of the United States, Canada, Ireland, and England, generously sent priests, sisters, and brothers in response to the Holy Father’s plea. Peru, in particular, received a significant number of foreign missionaries since the number of native clergy was grossly insufficient.¹⁰⁴ The Church in the United States supported the mission effort. The laity gave generously to support the foreign missions. Religious congregations relied on these donations to support the construction of schools, hospitals, clinics, and orphanages to minister to the Church of South America. “America’s hour” of mission to Latin America had arrived.¹⁰⁵ The Church of the United States awakened to its new-found missionary zeal.

The sister-annalists of Villa Maria, Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, and San Antonio recorded the names and numbers of religious congregations of men and women whom they received as guests. These new missionaries, mainly from Europe (Spain, Italy, Germany) and

¹⁰²John J. Considine, MM, *Call for Forty Thousand* (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1946), 11.

¹⁰³In 1961 Archbishop Agostino Casaroli delivered an address at Notre Dame University in Indiana. In the name of Pope John XXIII he exhorted religious congregations to send 10 percent of their members to assist the Church in Latin America and requested the laity’s financial support. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 376.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, 153. Klaiber cites these statistics from Jesús Jordan Rodríguez, *Pueblos y parroquias del Perú* (Lima, 1950), 1:119, citing the Secretariado del Episcopado Peruano, *Directorio eclesiástico del Perú* (1984), 12, footnote 1, to illustrate the lack of priests: in 1940 there were 637 religious priests and 635 diocesan priests in Peru. By 1984 religious priests numbered 1,251 while diocesan priests numbered only 984.

¹⁰⁵Angelyn Dries, OSF, *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998), 86, 179. Dries acknowledges that the IHMs in Lima and Redemptorist priests serving the Guarani people in Campo Grande, Brazil, since 1930 offered “hospitality and advice” to new missionaries.

from Anglophone nations (Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada) responded to the Holy Father's mandate to religious and priests to assist the Church of Latin America in regaining and reclaiming its vigor.¹⁰⁶ Latin American bishops welcomed the arrival of priests, sisters, and brothers from churches around the globe.¹⁰⁷ The inability of the local church, particularly in Peru, to sustain diocesan clergy or to attract new vocations led to ministerial neglect of the expanding metropolitan population.¹⁰⁸ Before communities or dioceses sent missionaries to Peru, the superior or bishop would visit Peru and assess the need. Since each IHM house was designed to accommodate male and female guests, the sisters offered their houses and their resources to visitors and newly arrived missionaries or those en route to their homelands.

Since the IHMs had experience of the ecclesial and political culture in Lima, they assisted the sisters, religious brothers, and priests, many of whom were not fluent in Spanish, in obtaining the documents required for residency and permit to establish their particular ministry. Most importantly, guests in IHM houses were welcomed into the community as members of the

¹⁰⁶After 1940, forty-two foreign religious orders sent members to Peru. By 1968, sixty-eight percent were North Americans. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 376. He cites *El directorio eclesiástico del Perú*, 1984, and *Anuario eclesiástico del Perú*, footnote 34.

¹⁰⁷Mary M. McGlone, CSJ, *Sharing Faith Across the Hemisphere*, Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1997), 273. Between 1960-1969 United States' clergy in Latin America numbered 255, religious sisters, 249, and lay missionaries 217. From 1970 to 1979 there were 241 priests, 243 religious sisters, and 1142 laity.

¹⁰⁸Simon Pedro Arnold describes the rift between clerical ministry in Lima (*criollo*) and the popular religion in the peasant community in the Andes (*el ande*). See Arnold, OSB, *La otra orilla: Una espiritualidad de la inculturación* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones), 25-34.

IHM family. All guests joined the sisters for community meals and recreation. The sisters frequently ministered to the missionaries who often fell ill. Missionaries knew that the IHMs houses were places where they could rest, recuperate, and encounter spiritual refreshment. The privacy of the guest apartments, daily Mass, the beauty of the gardens, table fellowship: all the resources the IHMs had they shared.

As idyllic as the golden age of the foreign missionaries' arrival in Peru may sound, it did not last. In the succeeding decades foreign missionary activity would come under scrutiny, particularly the unusually high profile of foreign missionaries in Peru. As the theology of mission in the so-called Third World countries changed, some congregations abandoned their work in hospitals and schools in favor of working directly with the urban and rural economically poor. And, when the Peruvian Church directed its mission principally to the poor and abandoned, the IHMs were challenged to reevaluate the value of private schools and their tradition of hospitality.¹⁰⁹

The prominence of this undeclared ministry of hospitality is illustrated in the annals of each IHM mission. The *Annals of Villa Maria* recount how grief-stricken the IHMs were when they were informed that six recent guests at Villa Maria, the Halifax Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of the Holy Family, had been injured in a traffic accident in a small village in the Andes (Monsefu). One sister died of her injuries. Immediately, the IHM sisters arranged for two IHMs

¹⁰⁹ Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), 62, 63.

to fly to Monsefu to assist the five survivors. Two IHMs accompanied the injured sisters to a hospital in Lima, and the less seriously injured stayed with the sisters in Villa Maria. One of the Mercy Sisters died shortly after she was admitted to the hospital, while the other, who was expected to survive, died a few days later. The IHM community embraced the surviving sisters with heartfelt care and opened their house and school chapel to hundreds of priests, sisters, brothers, and laity who came to Villa Maria to offer condolences and support.¹¹⁰ The bishop of Newfoundland came to Peru, stayed in Villa Maria, and celebrated the funeral mass for the deceased sisters in the Villa Maria school chapel. With their multiple resources and friendly contacts in government, the IHM sisters arranged for the transfer of the sisters' remains to their homelands. The IHMs had already experienced the grief of a member's death in a foreign land and were prepared to assist their friends.

“We haven’t had visitors all week!”

Their hospitality endeared the IHMs to missionaries all over the world. All guests knew they would be welcome. The story of the adventures and misadventures of guests, expected and unexpected, who arrived on their doorstep is recounted in the annals of each house.

Retreat for all our sisters, as well as, newly arrived from other convents: two Mercies from Sicuani; four from St. Joseph Military Hospital; four Columbans, and two Precious Blood Sisters (2 March 1962).¹¹¹

¹¹⁰*Annals Villa Maria Lima, Peru, 1955-1971*, 1-14 March 1966. The sisters involved in the accident were Religious Sisters of Mercy of Newfoundland, Canada, and Sisters of the Holy Family.

¹¹¹*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*. English-speaking priests gave the retreats.

Bishop Manning OFM gave a retreat. Thirty-four sisters of different congregations made this retreat at Villa Maria (2 March 1962).

The sister-annalists record the struggles newly sisters and priests faced.

Three of the Canadian sisters came. . . . [they] asked if they could take turns coming to EIC [Escuela Inmaculado Corazón] for a day of reflection since their work in the hospital affords them no time or place for peace and quiet. (9 September 1951)¹¹²

Father Matthew O'Neill, prior of the OCarms was brought to EIC [Escuela Inmaculado Corazón] critically ill. [His] left side is paralyzed. Reverend Nevin Hayes stayed with him all night. Our priest room is affording Father the peace and quiet he needs. We are praying hard for his recovery (18 April 1951).¹¹³

The annals also reveal an interesting array of visitors.

Father Hickey [Maryknoll?] brought Bishop Horacio Ferruccio Ceol, Italian Franciscan, to visit. Bishop was tortured and under house arrest etc. . . . He is now the spiritual Father of Chinese Catholics in Peru. . . . He is fluent in 21 dialects in Chinese, plus various western languages (6 February 1956).

Two United States ice cutters that are on their way back from the South Pole arrived in Lima today. Three of the sailors came to call on us (13 March 1948).

The sailors came to see us again today and ask about hearing Mass and receiving the Sacraments as they were unable to do either while on the trip to the South Pole (15 March 1948).¹¹⁴

If there were stranded sisters at the airport, officials sent them to Villa Maria.

Two Sisters of Charity arrived on our doorstep looking very worried and frightened. They had been left waiting in the airport for three hours. They could not contact the friend they

¹¹²*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975.*

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975.*

were expecting to meet them. The men at the airport advised them to come to Villa Maria. They will be staying with us till Monday (12 July 1955).¹¹⁵

Church leaders in the United States made it a point of visiting the IHMs.

Bishop McCormick [Joseph Carroll?] and his entourage arrived . . . for dinner, [we gave him] a tour of VM [Villa Maria] and the usual sing along afterward. Bishop noted the spirit of joy among the sisters. . . . [he] promised to report to Mother General that the happiest houses of the IHMs are the ones in South America (6 August 1955).¹¹⁶

Cardinal Spellman [was] feted with an assembly at VMA [Villa Maria Academy] and Congressman Eberharder, his wife, and children (11 November 1954).¹¹⁷

The sisters thought it odd when they had no guests to welcome.

We must be going to have an earthquake we haven't had visitors all week (13 August, 1950)!¹¹⁸

IHM houses were places of rest, especially for those working in rural areas.

The Sisters Hospitallers of St. Joseph arrived for a month's vacation from Tingo Maria [Amazon River region where there was] an asylum for the leprosy of Peru. They [the Sisters] seem very nice but certainly look terrible (6 September 1950).¹¹⁹

The ministry of hospitality included care for the sick and the dying.

¹¹⁵ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. Although his first name is not mentioned it is likely that the annalist is referring to Joseph Carroll McCormick, an auxiliary bishop of Philadelphia (1947-1960).

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

Father Fergus Murphy [Columban Father] died. Mother closed his eyes. Father Laughlan is beside himself with grief. The Sisters have been saying the rosary at his bedside continuously (16 February 1951).¹²⁰

Priests and religious were not the only ones the IHMs welcomed.

Father Lawler came to visit with [film stars] Ricardo Montalban and Georgiana Young, Loretta Young's sister (15 February 1951).

Actresses Patricia Neal and June Haver, four French Canadians [nuns], Mother Charitas and Hiltruda of St. Ursula [Germans] came today (15 February 1951).¹²¹

Religious from Spain and Canada were also guests.

St. Joseph Sisters of Spain arrived with their Dominican superior (November 1954).

The Mercys of Newfoundland en route to Monsefu arrived. [After] twenty-four hours on a plane, [they are] glad to get here. Mother Imelda, superior, stayed at VMM [Villa Maria Miraflores] to recuperate (April 1961).¹²²

The sisters travelled to isolated regions in Peru with their guests to assist them in starting their ministry.

Mother returned from Chiclayo and Monsefu after helping the St. Joseph Sisters get their bearings in a new mission area. We were happy to know Mother helped pave the way for another community's entrance into missionary work in Peru (21 September 1960).¹²³

The sisters were enriched, though often spent, by the constant flow of visitors from all over the world. The sisters were full-time classroom teachers and weekend and weekday catechists, too.

¹²⁰ *Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975.*

¹²¹ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971.*

¹²² *Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975.*

¹²³ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971.*

Their guests expressed their gratitude and admiration to the IHMs for their gracious, generous hospitality. Father James E. Walsh, MM, co-founder of Maryknoll, wrote to Mother Francina to acknowledge the Maryknoll Fathers' gratitude to the sisters in Peru for caring for Father John Lawler, a Maryknoll missionary who died while recuperating from a stroke in the guest apartment of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón.¹²⁴ Father Dan McClellan, MM, thanked the sisters for their hospitality to an ill member of a native Peruvian congregation.

Mother Esther's sickness in Lima was providential . . . the inspiration she received from her contact with your community. As she told me, in spite of my best efforts to tell her what was the spirit of our American community she didn't quite grasp it until she saw it in action at Villa Maria. . . . I'm sure that the contact with your community in Lima will go down in the books as the turning point when the spirit of our group [of sisters] was bettered and crystallized.¹²⁵

In 1964, American Augustinian priests came to Peru. They, too, acknowledge the IHMs assistance in beginning their work in Peru.

Their hospitality to missionaries in Peru is fabulous and legendary. . . . They know how things are done down here. . . . Their whole community here has done dozens of things for us to help us adjust . . . [getting us through customs, taking us to Villa Maria having rooms ready for us]. If everyone's introduction to Peru were as pleasant as the IHM Sisters made ours, this country would be famous for its hospitality. We personally owe them a debt that we cannot repay.¹²⁶

¹²⁴The Reverend James E. Walsh, MM, to Mother M. Francina, IHM, 26 February 1943, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 2 Folder 67.

¹²⁵Dan McClellan, MM, to Mother M. Cyprian, IHM, 16 December 1954, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 27. He began by apologizing for the trouble he caused by asking hospitality for our "kid" sisters. This congregation worked with Maryknoll in the Peruvian highlands.

¹²⁶*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*. An article in *Cor Unum*, an OSA publication (p. 12), is pasted into the annals on the page dated June 1964.

On the fortieth anniversary of the “Villa Maria Sisters” (the name given to all IHMs in Peru), Maryknoll Father Vincent Mallon recognized the scope of the IHM sisters’ work in Lima in an article in the Lima’s daily newspaper, *La Prensa*:

These are the works that the public can see, but there are works that no one sees or very few. For example, the students of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary’s schools teach catechism to 8,000 children in the poor districts of Lima every week of the school year. . . . These girls do not only spend hours in schools in classes but also time in school is dedicated to prepare catechetical classes. Besides this, the religious are proud of having received and given hospitality during their first days in Peru. To each of the North American congregations that are working in Peru today, in truth, Villa Maria has been a hotel for religious.¹²⁷

Reflecting on this era, Gerald Costello, author of the book, *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of the Twentieth Century Crusade*, remarked that the mission crusade in the 1960’s to Latin America was unprecedented. Of the IHMs he wrote:

[T]he welcoming committee for hundreds of U.S. sisters answering the papal call in the early sixties. . . . If they made their fellow U.S. missionaries feel at home, they also gave them a touch of that local ambience, particularly the relative degree of independence that would be theirs in Peru. There were pisco sours for the new arrivals, who agreed that home was never like this.¹²⁸

The sisters themselves were amazed at the number and variety of guests they received. The sister-annalist of Villa Maria compiled a list of over sixty congregations who were guests in a single year.¹²⁹ The sisters generously and joyfully received all guests; however, such frequent

¹²⁷ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*. This article is attached to a page dated November 1963. Padre Vincent Mallon, MM, *La Prensa*, 15 March 1963.

¹²⁸ Gerald M. Costello, 62, 63.

¹²⁹ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 19 December 1962. Congregations represented were Sisters of Providence; Sister Formation Committee; Franciscan Sisters; Franciscan Sisters of Peekskill; Sisters of Mercy, U.S.;

entertaining taxed them since they were also engaged in full-time classroom teaching on the primary and secondary level, giving piano lessons, preparing school musicals, as well as organizing numerous catechetical programs, pastoral ministry to orphans, caring of tuberculosis patients, and sponsoring food and clothing drives.

Since the IHMs were blessed with resources and experience, they could perform multiple ministries to a variety of social classes. They demonstrated that it was possible to implant American-style Catholic school into a new ecclesial culture. And, in so doing the local church and the congregation were enriched and purified. The surge of new missionaries from Europe and the United States came as unprepared as the IHMs were in 1922; however, times had changed.

In 1953 the Church of Peru hosted the second international Catechetical Study Week in Chimbote, Peru. This international gathering of theologians, eager to adapt catechesis to modern times and modern problems, addressed the crisis of the massive number of Andean peasants living in shantytowns.¹³⁰ The Peruvian Church was already focused on the problem of embracing the evangelizing of the marginalized and abandoned poor and manifesting the global dimension

Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet; Sisters of Mary, Mother of God; Sisters of St. Mary; Sisters of St. Joseph, Canada; Sisters of Mercy, Newfoundland; and the Poor Clares.

¹³⁰Catechetical Study Weeks were international gatherings devoted to catechetical renewal. For the impact of the meeting in Peru, see Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 79. Delegates from twenty-three Latin American countries gathered to evaluate the Church's response to the very visible presence of the uncatechized peasant population at the threshold of every large city. Johannes Hoffinger, SJ, was a renowned leader of this movement. See Hoffinger, "Stages Leading to Faith and Their Role in the Catechesis of the Faithful," in *Pastoral Catechetics*, ed. Johannes Hoffinger, SJ (Montreal: Palm, 1964), 144-159.

of the “world church.” The bishops of Peru and other Latin American dioceses were in a unique position to receive the mandates of the Second Vatican Council since, prior to the promulgation of *Gaudium et spes*, the Church in Lima had begun to minister to the poor and a multiplicity of social classes.¹³¹ The magnitude of human need was visible in the shantytowns. American missionaries, known for their pragmatism and generosity, spearheaded programs to minister to the poor. Similar to their Protestant predecessors, American Catholic missionaries relied on donors in their home dioceses to support their many good works.¹³² At the same time, a generation of newly ordained Peruvian diocesan priests, educated in the United States or Europe, arose as indispensable leaders; however, this generation of Peruvian clergy did not have the institutional support of religious congregations in the United States or an appreciation for North Americans’ attachment to progress, so often understood as material wealth.¹³³ The Catechetical Study Week Conference can be credited as motivating the church to respond more intentionally to the poor.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, the IHMs viewed their mission as defending the Church against threats, whether Protestant or communist; however, the Peruvian Church’s abrupt turn to

¹³¹Articles 1,2 exhort all members of the Church to become engaged with culture. See “Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*),” in *Vatican Council II*, ed. Austin Flannery, OP (Northport, NY: Costello, 1966), 163.

¹³²Although the “ghettoes” of foreigner missionaries in Peru (to which the IHMs belonged) dissolved, Klaiber credits them with creating the conditions necessary for change. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 375-391.

¹³³Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 391. Some Peruvian priests were graduates of IHM schools, notably, the Reverends Jorge and Carlos Álvarez Calderón. Other priests were often the sisters’ guests, in particular, the Reverend Felipe MacGregor, SJ educated at Fordham University and Gustavo Gutiérrez educated at the Catholic University of Leuven and known as “the Father of Liberation Theology.”

the “left” shocked the IHMs in Lima. They had always viewed their work as benefitting the pastorally abandoned, whether rich or poor. Their mission was conceived as a “both/and,” not an “either/or,” task. However, they learned to adapt to the reversal of the church’s position and *their* status quo. The IHMs eventually had to defend themselves from attacks from the right and the left for being in the middle.¹³⁴ The IHMs viewed their mission as an ecclesial mandate; however, as the Peruvian church identified her mission to the poor, the sisters maintained their commitments to the social classes their schools served, which were comprised of both the economically secure and the poor.

In December 1955, the IHMs received papal approval for their request for changed canonical status. This meant that the IHMs were no longer under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Philadelphia. Now leaders in the congregation could decide to which dioceses they would send sisters and which schools and catechetical ministries they would accept.¹³⁵ As

¹³⁴Ibid., 354. Not all sectors of the Peruvian Church accepted the principle of “break” or “rupture” with institutional structures blamed for dehumanizing poverty; Klaiber, 355. The IHMs wavered between both extremes. For differing perspectives on liberation theology, I am indebted mainly to the following sources: for theological implications, Stephen J. Pope, “Proper and Impartial Partiality and the Preferential Option for the Poor,” *Theological Studies* 54 (1993); Stephen J. Pope, “Christian Love for the Poor and the ‘Preferential Option,’” *Horizons* 21, no. 2 (1994); and for a particularly insightful analysis, Tim Noble, “Jean-Luc Marion, Idols and Liberation Theology,” *Communio Viatorum* 48, no. 2 (2006); for political implications, Daniel H. Levine, “Assessing the Impacts of Liberation Theology in Latin America,” *The Review of Politics*, 50, no. 2 (1988): 241-263. For current interpretations, see Jung Mo Sung, *Desire, Market and Religion: Reclaiming Liberation Theology*, trans. Peter Jones, Jovelio Ramos, and Archibald Woodruff (London: SCM Press, 2007), and Daniel Groody, CSC, “Globalizing Solidarity: Christian Anthropology and the Challenge of Human Liberation,” *Theological Studies* 69 (2008): 250-268.

¹³⁵Cardinal Dougherty’s successor was Archbishop John F. O’Hara, CSC. The Reverend Bernard Ransing, CSC, a member of the Congregation for Religious Life and Secular Institutes in Rome, processed the IHM petition. The congregation accepted missions in these dioceses: Trenton, New Jersey; San Francisco, California; Miami, Florida; Atlanta, Georgia; Charleston, South Carolina; Charlotte, North Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; Hartford, Connecticut; and Scranton, Pennsylvania.

the pool of IHMs who had served in Peru increased and the “elders” returned to their homeland, new cohorts of sisters were sent to Peru and Chile. “Returnees” and “lifers” crisscrossed the equator and were appointed to different missions for varying periods of time. It was not until the General Chapter of 1968 that a sisters’ appointment to Peru or Chile carried a specific term of service; initially an appointment was for six-years. Even before establishing a six-year appointment, sisters were allowed to return to their homeland for a visit or a new assignment in IHM missions in the United States. Most significantly, the new generation of IHMs in Peru included Latin American sisters who were professed members of the IHMs.¹³⁶ The increase in vocations in Peru and Chile led to the construction of a novitiate in Santiago, Chile.

The Elusive “Siesta Hour”

The IHMs, therefore, had a sufficient mix and number of sisters to enable them to expand catechetical programs and social services to the rapidly growing shantytowns. The Church of Lima manifested a growing social consciousness as the plight of the poor became increasingly visible.¹³⁷ As the number of sisters increased, so did the number of student-catechists. The sisters provided the instructional content and the students creatively incorporated games, songs, and drama to adapt the content to the ability of children. Frequently food and clothing were provided for those in most need (see figure 3.13).

¹³⁶Thirty-one entered as postulants. One left before she was received as a novice. All of the remaining novices were professed between 1966 and 1971. Chilean Novitiate, Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 2 Folder 32.

¹³⁷In 1958 the Peruvian episcopate issued a letter to all priests, religious and laity calling for social mindedness (*mentalidad social y política*) especially education. Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 367-372.

The arrival of the student-catechists and sisters each weekend created a stir in the neighborhood. Children came running to sing, to learn, to pray, and to feel included in the Church. The scope of the sisters' catechetical activity is meticulously noted in the annals of every house. Sometimes the comments mirrored the sisters' prejudice.

Catechetical classes: 15 Sisters with 350 Villa Marians in Fray Martin *barriadas*, Columbans, San Vicente, Ciudad de Dios, la Matriz de Miraflores. This has been the largest program for catechetical thus far. Need demands further expansion.¹³⁸

We are trying to organize catechetical classes. . . . Some [sisters] go to Abraham Lincoln School. . . . In [San Vicente parish] we teach 1000 little darkies dirty and ragged. Here about fifty of our girls teach. . . . Our Spanish fascinates them more than helps them. The girls teach. We supervise.¹³⁹

On Saturdays six sisters go to the same place teaching sewing, tatting and embroidery.¹⁴⁰

The sisters transmitted their zeal to minister to the children of the economically poor in catechetical programs throughout the city and in the increasing population of the shantytowns. The students formed their own catechetical clubs. One of them was named the "Mother Paulina Catechist Club" in memory of a beloved mother superior who died shortly after returning to the United States.¹⁴¹ Enthusiasm grew in each school community as more sisters were sent to Peru to

¹³⁸*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 22 April 1961.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, 21 April 1961.

¹⁴¹Mother Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 17 April 1957. Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 75.

meet the growing demand for classroom teachers. As Mother Cornelia had noted, “Peruvian youth thrive on *cariño*.”

The English-speaking sisters and their bilingual students worked together in responding to the growing demand for catechetical programs for the children and youth in the *barriadas* (shantytowns).

The girls [in Villa Maria] are most enthusiastic [this year] having caught the spirit from the sisters. . . . The sisters, new and old, are grand! . . . One of our new sisters wanted to know when that famous ‘siesta’ hour began for us. We told her we, too, are still looking for it.¹⁴²

The “siesta hour” was a misnomer since the sisters and their students spent weekends and after school hours in catechetical programs in huge shantytown parishes administered by the Columbans and Maryknoll Fathers. The sisters and priests worked together in organizing and directing catechetical programs which relied on large numbers of lay catechists (see figures 3.14, 3.15). In the annals of each house the sisters narrate the story of the fruits of assisting parish work in the shantytowns. Priests, sisters and brothers of various religious congregations from all over the world worked together to respond to the visible pastoral crisis.

We went out to Ciudad de Dios [a shantytown] for the first solemn Mass of their first priest from the parish. . . . Just four years ago when we went out for the installation of Father McCarthy as pastor there was nothing but sand and now they have a parish hall, rectory, convent, and now the church.¹⁴³

¹⁴²Mother Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 17 April 1957.

¹⁴³*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 29 December 1963.

When the Columban Fathers established their first mission in Lima in 1957, the sisters assisted them in organizing their first catechetical programs.¹⁴⁴

We packed clothes and food for the Maryknoll and Columban Fathers for the poor in their parishes (December 19, 1957).

Sisters of St. Joseph who work in the *barriadas* came to visit the EIC with Mother Paul Marie, IHM (16 May 1963).

Father Fitzgerald and Father Donnelly conducted “a Day of Recollection” for our workers (19 July 1963).

The *Damas Catequistas* [lady catechists] attended the conferences; the day ended with an evening Mass and Benediction (19 July 1963).

The Marist Sisters [of Callao] came to observe IHM sisters teach. The sisters were most grateful for any little helps we could give (19 August 1963).

Father Lynn SSC, invited sisters to San Mateo in gratitude for weekly classes taught by sisters. Since this catechetical work in the *barriadas* is so close to our hearts, it was indeed a fitting way to end a happy year (30 December 1963).

Catechetical classes began in the *barriadas*. Besides preparing children for First Holy Communion, a new class for catechists is being inaugurated in Virgin Dolorosa parish with the Columban Fathers. . . . S. M. Genevieve IHM will train those interested youth in the teaching of catechetics (18 April 1964).

The IHMs’ collaboration with the Columbans and Maryknoll Fathers opened their eyes to the dire poverty the majority of Peruvians faced each day. Although most of the sisters were ignorant of Peru’s cultural history, especially the legacy of exclusion and marginalization of the mestizo and indigenous population, they witnessed the consequences of a stratified social

¹⁴⁴*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*. Father Fitzgerald was the founder of the Columban missions in Peru. By 1960, fifty Columbans were engaged in pastoral ministry in the shantytowns surrounding Lima. Their ministry expanded rapidly. In 1982 they operated fourteen parishes, with three parish secondary schools and fifty-two primary schools. See Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 383.

structure preserved by the special interests of a minority. As thousands of mestizos migrated to Lima, willing to live in massive settlements of straw mat huts encircling the city of Lima, the inhumanity of a culture of exclusion was now visible. Foreign missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, were not blind to the injustice of such poverty nor were a new generation of European educated Peruvian clergy.¹⁴⁵ The sisters' encounter with the poor, in their extensive catechetical ministry schooled them in the lessons that only the poor could teach. The sisters learned that Peru's "progress" ended in Miraflores and that the threat of Protestantism or communism paled before the magnitude of endemic poverty. For example, in Miraflores modern conveniences were available: water, electricity, shops, and medical clinics. In the shantytowns basic human necessities: water, food, clothing, and shelter were scarce. The untimely and unexpected death of the most vulnerable of Peruvian society would soon become the focus of theological reflection and pastoral ministry.¹⁴⁶

New Voices, New Vocations

In 1951 Pope Pius XII issued "The Promotion of Catholic Mission" (*Evangelii Praecones*). In light of the expansion of Catholic missionary effort, particularly in Africa and Asia, the Holy Father exhorted religious congregations to accept native vocations and to

¹⁴⁵Smith, *Emergence of Liberation Theology*. In the early 1960s The Latin American Organization of Church and Society (ISAL) organized by the World Council of Churches spearheaded theological reflection on the scandal of poverty in Latin America. Richard Schaul, a Presbyterian minister in Brazil, and a growing number of Catholic theologians were convinced that moderate reform of Latin American society would not address the scandal of poverty. An ecumenical consensus unfolded as Latin "revolutionary theology" was envisioned (17).

¹⁴⁶ Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells*, 2. "

establish seminaries and novitiates, especially in Latin America (18, 24, and 25).¹⁴⁷ By this time the IHMs realized that native Peruvian vocations were essential for the congregation to meet the increasing demand for schools and catechetical programs. When Mother Maria Pacis was elected the IHM superior general for two terms extending from 1957-1968, she and the council considered sponsoring a native Peruvian religious congregation. Although the IHM congregation had been blessed with a steady flow of Peruvian and Chilean vocations, Mother Pacis believed that a Peruvian congregation, imbued with the IHM charism and mission, would respond to the needs of the Peruvian Church. She shared this proposal with Mother Maria Trinita McGinnis, the superior of Villa Maria Academy who heartily agreed with the plan.¹⁴⁸

Mother Pacis mentioned this proposal to Cardinal Ricketts during her visitation of IHM missions that year. She thought he was in agreement with the proposal; however, when she received a negative reply to the formal request, she was disconcerted. He suggested that the IHMs send Peruvian women aspiring to join the IHM congregation to other North American congregations in Peru which were receiving native vocations. He noted that a Peruvian congregation, even though sponsored by the IHMs initially, could not survive financially in Peru.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷Pope Pius XII, "The Promotion of Catholic Missions (*Evangelii Praecones 1951*)", http://www.newadvent.org/library/docs_pi12ep.htm, accessed 7 December 2008.

¹⁴⁸Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, to Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, 9 December 1960, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 31.

¹⁴⁹The Most Reverend Juan Landazuri Ricketts to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 31 January 1961, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Box 6 Folder 31A.

Evidently, the cardinal misunderstood Mother Pacis request since the IHMs had been receiving Peruvian vocations since 1945. The congregation intended to offer Peruvian women an alternative to the manifestly North American character of the IHMs in Lima. Up until this time, Peruvian vocations were sent to the novitiate at the motherhouse in Pennsylvania where their religious formation and professional education were conducted entirely in English. This practice limited potential vocations to bilingual graduates of IHM schools and to women who had the ability to learn English and live in an English-speaking community. In light of the cardinal's opposition, Mother Pacis, the council, and the superiors in Chile and Peru revisited Mother Cornelia's proposal to establish an IHM novitiate in Peru.

Mother Pacis and the sisters debated whether the novitiate should be in Peru or Chile. They were sensitive to possible adverse consequences of mixing distinct social classes, ethnicities, and nationalities in the initial stages of formation. S. Paul Marie O'Donnell, IHM, the senior sister at Colegio San Antonio, asked Mother Alma's guidance about encouraging young women desirous of joining the IHMs whose parents were not legally married, whose skin color was not Negro but dark, and the high cost of passage to the novitiate in West Chester, Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁰ The Chilean and Peruvian sisters who had completed their novitiate in West Chester, Pennsylvania, were considered a sign of God's blessing on the congregations' mission in Peru.

¹⁵⁰ S. Paul Marie, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 26 December 1948, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies J4 Box 3 Folder 60.

Mother Maria Trinita, the superior at Villa Maria, shared her insights and experience on this matter.

In every way those who have gone up [to the novitiate in West Chester] meet our American girls socially, spiritually and educationally as equals, but have often surpassed them. . . . These girls have an innate refinement and culture that enables them to adapt themselves immediately. As for spiritual progress, we find that our girls in high school here surpass the spiritual level of our girls at home. That Mother is the consensus of opinion, not just a private thought.¹⁵¹

As glowing as Mother Trinita's estimation of formation in the West Chester novitiate, Mother Pacis and the council decided that formation would take place in South America. When Mother Pacis learned that suitable property was available in Santiago, Chile, she and the council decided that the IHM novitiate would be located in Las Condes, Chile. In January 1962 Mother Pacis informed the congregation that the construction of the IHM novitiate in Chile would soon be completed and asked the sisters to pray to God that "...He fittingly recompense those who, at home or abroad, have sacrificed their time, their talents, and even their lives, that Christ's kingdom may flourish in our Southern Hemisphere."¹⁵² Mother Thomas Michael Walsh, IHM was appointed the directress of formation for the so-called "Chilean novitiate." Four graduates of

¹⁵¹ Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 21 February 1960, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 20.

¹⁵² Mother Maria Pacis IHM to Sisters of IHM, 22 September 1962, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies C 2 Letters and Directives: 1945-1962.

IHM schools in Chile and Peru were the first postulants. Two of them were Chilean and two were Peruvian.¹⁵³

The *Annals of the Chilean Novitiate* reveal the growing awareness of cultural differences. The sister-annalist mentions the joys and jolts of intercultural community life. Mother Thomas Michael and her successor, Mother Marie Angela Natoli, IHM, adapted the West Chester novitiate norms to the lively dispositions of their charges. Anecdotes abounded revealing the incongruities of the mismatch. The light tone of each entry suggests that the sisters in formation and their directress accepted cultural ignorance with goodwill and humor.

One story recounts this innocent ignorance of cultural traditions. When the Latin American sisters in formation used Halloween decorations to prepare the dining room for Thanksgiving, they were dumbfounded that the sisters burst out laughing as they gathered for Thanksgiving meal, an unknown celebration in Peru and Chile. The stories in the annals of the Chilean novitiate portray a lively, joyful camaraderie among the professed sisters, postulants and novices unlike the regimented structure of the overcrowded novitiate at the motherhouse in West Chester.¹⁵⁴

Mother Pacis realized that the new generation of Latin American IHMs needed theological and professional education to meet the needs of the Church in Peru and Chile;

¹⁵³Chilean Novitiate, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7, Box 2 Folders 3. From Villa Maria Santiago were María E. Edwards (S. Élena María), María M. Barroilhet (S. María Paz); and from San Antonio, Callao were Angela María Luzuriaga (S. Angela María), Carmen A. Chumpitaz (S. Rosa María).

¹⁵⁴*Annals Noviciado Immaculado Corazón Chile, 1963-1969*, November 1964.

therefore, Jesuit, Benedictine, and Holy Cross professors were invited to the novitiate to teach courses in theology. The novices were also enrolled in Chilean universities which at this time were filled with the fervor of revolutionary spirit which characterized Chilean higher education during the late 1960s and 1970s.¹⁵⁵ Unlike their counterparts in the West Chester Novitiate, the Latin American novices and postulants were exposed to a radically political university culture.¹⁵⁶ Their religious formation also included involvement in parish catechetical programs and pastoral ministry.¹⁵⁷

The new faces and new voices of the new generation of Latin American IHMs preferred to express their idealism, fervor and joy in music and song, not in student protests or strikes. So talented were they that they were granted permission to professionally record their original songs and traditional Latin American folk tunes. The recording, “Alegría,” featured smiling Latin American IHM novices and postulants clad in blue habits and white veils armed with guitars and accordions. Their vitality, joy, and energy heralded a new phase of the congregation’s mission in Latin America.¹⁵⁸ An unforeseen consequence of the innovative formation program in the

¹⁵⁵Ibid. The novices were enrolled either in the University of Chile, the Catholic University of Chile in Santiago or the University of Valparaiso in Valparaiso.

¹⁵⁶Daniel H. Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 51-52. Levine describes the radical political climate in Chilean higher education during this period. He notes that Latin American bishops struggled to respond to the confusion created by the fusion of Marxism and social justice.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with S. Angelica Martens, IHM, and S. Marie Isabel Carpio, IHM, in Convento San Antonio Callao, Peru, 30 June 2008.

¹⁵⁸“Alegría,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4. The record was a 33 rpm. It was distributed among the houses in the IHM congregation.

Chilean novitiate, however, made it difficult for newly professed Latin American sisters to adjust to the realities of life on the mission. After religious profession, the Latin American sisters were appointed to schools in Miraflores and Callao. The sisters assumed the recently professed sisters from the Chilean novitiate would be prepared to assume full time classroom duties and participate in catechetical ministries. Some of them, coming from a very different experience of community in the novitiate, discovered that full time classroom teaching (in English), the structured schedule of prayer and common life was a difficult adjustment. Although they contributed their distinct IHM spirit to the school community, they were unskilled in the educational pedagogy of IHM schools. Those who had not graduated from IHM schools or lacked bilingual proficiency experienced frustration of communicating and praying in English. Latin American sisters of different social classes, ethnicities, age groups, and educational backgrounds lived and worked with different generations of North American sisters some of whom had recently arrived in Lima and did not speak Spanish. None of the sisters of either culture was prepared for the complexities of multigenerational and multiethnic community life. Congregational leaders assumed that the new generation of Latin American sisters would eventually adapt as did the Peruvian and Chilean sisters formed in the West Chester novitiate; however, times had changed. The mission of IHMs in Peru would be tested by radical reorientation of the Church's mission after Vatican II and, in its wake, the enactments of the Latin American Episcopal Conference.

The election of Ferdinando Belaúnde (1963-1968) as president of Peru marked a turning point in the relationship between the Peruvian Church and government, for he enacted social reforms which generated great enthusiasm among progressive thinking laity and clergy. During this period the sisters were increasingly involved with catechetical programs in the Andean highlands (*altiplano*) and the Amazonian region. President Belaúnde investment in a transportation infrastructure made isolated provinces accessible. So the sisters responded eagerly when American missionaries invited them to organize catechetical programs during the summer months. The sisters' increasing involvement in these secondary apostolates alerted them to the needs of the desperately poor and pastorally neglected outside of Lima. Clearly, the model of an American style Catholic school in Lima, failed to respond to the critical, unmet needs of the rural poor. Monolingual North American sisters were increasingly motivated and encouraged by Mother Maria Pacis to learn Spanish:

A better mastery of the Spanish language even for those who are fairly proficient in it should be a goal set for yourselves during the summer. Particularly, do I wish the high school Sisters to attain this mastery, and I am, therefore, asking you to put emphasis on this study. With staffing of more and more high schools, the knowledge of the Spanish language acquired by Sisters missioned in South America has been a great advantage for them in the classroom work here. In particular, I would ask that you learn the Spanish hymns.¹⁵⁹

Ever the pragmatist, Mother Pacis realized that bilingual sisters were an asset to the IHMs missions in North and South America.

¹⁵⁹Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, to Mother and Sisters in Peru, 30 December 1959, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 16.

The annalist of Villa Maria Academy notes that the sisters were enrolled at the Peruvian and North American Cultural Institute (*Instituto Cultural Peruano y Norteamericano*) and in the language school of the St. James Society. Private tutors were also provided.¹⁶⁰ As more sisters gained proficiency in Spanish, they relied less on student-interpreters. Now many were able to communicate with Peruvians of various social classes. They experienced a new dimension of their Redemptorist charism of ministry to the most abandoned poor because they could communicate sufficiently to establish personal relationships. A new age was dawning. The increase in Latin American sisters, the expanded involvement in catechetical programs in the distant Peruvian provinces, and the eagerness to communicate in Spanish foreshadowed unexpected conflict and division.

Blinding Success

During the 1960s the private American-style Catholic schools achieved peak enrollment, for example in 1962 Villa Maria primary school number 1,309 children from grades kindergarten to eighth grade.¹⁶¹ The sister-annalists record the story of continuing academic achievement and extensive catechetical programs and social service. The curriculum of Catholic high schools and grade schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia continued to be the basis for instruction. In 1949, Villa Maria Academy was accredited by the Southern States Accreditation Commission. The report noted that Villa Maria Academy surpassed accreditation benchmarks; however, it

¹⁶⁰ *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 8 January 1962.

¹⁶¹ See appendix C 11.

recommended the expansion of infrastructure to accommodate rising enrollment since it exceeded nine hundred students.¹⁶² Although the infrastructure had expanded, there were never enough sisters or desks to enroll all who applied. In 1961 Villa Maria Academy added seventh and eighth grade to the primary school “to bridge the chasm between primary school and secondary school.”¹⁶³ Colegio San Antonio was also recognized for its outstanding bilingual secretarial program. International banks, national firms and embassies sought graduates of San Antonio. The Municipal Council of Callao awarded the school a Gold Medal for Excellence and a Diploma for Efficiency in recognition of the students’ outstanding contribution to the civic community.¹⁶⁴

All the private Catholic schools contributed to Peru’s educational advancement even if they served a small fraction of the population. They also collaborated in the Peruvian Church’s increasing social awareness. Peruvian bishops initiated campaigns to raise funds for the missions, Catholic action groups, and Catholic Youth Organizations (JOC). The IHM annalists note how eagerly and generously students in each school joined this effort. They organized sports’ competitions and academic contests to raise fund for the missions. The sister annalist of Villa

¹⁶²W. R. Goodson, “Report of Vist to Colegio Villa Maria Lima Peru May 1960,” Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 25; Frank C. Jenkins to Mother Marie Angele, IHM, 30 November 1949. The report states that Villa Maria Academy achieved accreditation; the only recommendation was to expand infrastructure by adding more classrooms.

¹⁶³*Annals Villa Maria Academy 1955-1971*, 4 April 1961. The Peruvian educational ministry mandated for all children, six years of primary school and four years of secondary school.

¹⁶⁴*Annals San Antonio Callao, 1928-1957*, 29 July 1949.

Maria noted, “School volleyball contest netted twenty-four thousand soles for Fray Martin Parish.”¹⁶⁵

The secondary schools sisters organized clubs and activities similar to those in diocesan high schools in the United States. Student journalists published *The Villamarian*, a student newspaper, which was awarded highest honors by the Catholic Periodical Society of the United States.¹⁶⁶ The student press club organized interscholastic press conferences among private Catholic schools to address social and political issues. Professional journalists were invited as guest speakers.¹⁶⁷ The high academic standards of IHM schools enabled young women to receive scholarships to universities and colleges in the United States. IHM schools provided an elementary and secondary education equivalent to Catholic schools in the United States. By the 1960’s the social stigma attached to secondary education of women lamented by Mother Cyprian had been overcome.

Since many [students] wish to revalidate their [high school] credits here in Peru, we, at the suggestion of the supervisor of schools, have engaged a senorita [sic] to teach daily from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. for anyone who wishes to pass the State Board Examinations in Spanish Subjects. . . . As for a “Finishing School” . . . it is a great matter of regret to us when we see our graduates attending Sophianum’s “Finishing School” instead of going to our own college, Immaculata. We are more than delighted to hear that so many of our girls in Immaculata made the dean’s list.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ *Annals Villa Maria Academy 1955-1971*, 27 August 1961.

¹⁶⁶ S. Maria Corona, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 11 October 1955, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 45. Villa Maria Academy scored 800 out of 1000 points.

¹⁶⁷ *Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*, 28 April 1966, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

¹⁶⁸ Mother M. Cyprian, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 17 March 1955, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 5 Folder 35. The Religious of the Sacred Heart administered Sophianum.

In the 1960s the achievements of the 1940s and 1950s provided a base for continuing success. By 1964 enrollment boomed: Villa Maria Academy grade school had 992 students, and the high school 317 for a total enrollment of 1,309. There were twenty-one sisters and forty-one lay faculty. The average class size was 50 students. Escuela Inmaculado Corazón enrolled 603 boys (K to 3rd grade) with nine sisters and nine lay teachers. Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen, a co-educational school, had an enrollment of 652 students with seven sisters and twelve lay teachers. Colegio San Antonio's enrollment reached 1,130. In the secondary and commercial division there were 470 students and in the primary school, 660 students, twelve IHMs and twenty-eight lay faculty.¹⁶⁹

The demand for bilingual education, particularly in Callao, is evident in the class size at San Antonio: *Infancia* (pre-first grade) 105 and Kindergarten 110.¹⁷⁰ IHM achievements, particularly in American style English focused curriculum, were not without critics. Mother Trinita sent a letter to Mother Maria Alma telling her that Villamarians had won a televised Spanish spelling bee. She noted that this contradicted those who criticized Villa Maria school's emphasis on English.¹⁷¹ Later research confirms the value of bilingual education.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹“School Sheets 1963-1964,” Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA. See Appendix B 11-16

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 4 October 1959, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 14

¹⁷²For the benefits of bilingualism see J. A. Fishman, “The Sociology of Language,” in *Language and Social Context*, 45-58

The Peruvian press and media publicized IHM schools' achievements, particularly in the performing arts. The annalist of Villa Maria inserted a newspaper clipping noting the musical talents of students in Villa Maria and San Antonio. It read, "Youth, joy, spontaneity . . . the Villa Maria Chorus! A Masterpiece!" S. M. Beata Goeller, IHM, was named as the choir director, and, Tula Comena, a teacher, created arrangements for popular and indigenous music, "*Mi Peru*" and "*La Pampa y la Puna*."¹⁷³ The sister-musicians who were sent to Peru incorporated music into school curriculum with the same *gusto* as their counterparts in diocesan schools in the United States. Music programs included rhythm bands, guitar, piano, accordion, chorus, and folk dancing. The Peruvian talent for public performance provided increased exposure in the public forum. The annals record the jubilation when the choruses of San Antonio and Villa Maria Academy were the finalists in a nationwide choral competition.¹⁷⁴

Although American style private Catholic schools imparted a significant dose of United States' culture in the arts, Peruvian literature and music were also included. In 1947 Mother Angele proudly noted in a letter to Mother Maria Alma that the chorus of Villa Maria joined other choral groups in performing *Inty Rami*, an opera sung in Quechua, composed by Peruvian

¹⁷³“Juventud, alegría, espontaneidad . . . Coro de ‘Villa Maria’: !Magistral!” *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 1 July 1966.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

musician, Carlos Valderrama.¹⁷⁵ She was proudest that an American missionary in the audience said that the majority of the Villa Maria choir were catechists in his parish.¹⁷⁶

So it was that, in the 1960's, a local radio station broadcast their version of *American Bandstand*, named *The Villa Twist*. IHM schools made their debut in Peruvian popular culture, too.¹⁷⁷ The sisters' correspondence and their notations in the annals of each mission demonstrate the sisters' awareness of the congregations' contribution to the Church's mission to educate and to evangelize. The American style Catholic schools, pioneered by the IHMs, were now bearing abundant fruit even if to a relatively small segment of Peruvian society.¹⁷⁸

Perhaps the most significant sign of the fruitfulness of the IHM's educational mission was the decision to establish a college for women.¹⁷⁹ Although Mother Trinita had asked Mother Maria Alma to establish a women's junior college in 1952, she and the council denied her request. In 1960 during Mother Pacis official visitation of missions in Peru, Mother Trinita again requested permission to build a women's junior college and a new site for Villa Maria Academy secondary school. This time the Council voted in favor of the property for a new site

¹⁷⁵Carlos Valderrama was noted for fusing indigenous melodies with musical impressionism.

¹⁷⁶Mother M. Angele, IHM, to Mother Maria Alma, IHM, 4 November 1947, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 3 Folder 44.

¹⁷⁷*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, contains a newspaper clipping, 6 July, *Correo*, Lima.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Margarita Guerra Martinière at Instituto Riva-Agüero, Lima Perú 17 June 2009. Dr. Guerra noted the history of American religious orders in Peruvian education in the twentieth century merited research since American style Catholic schools introduced a new model of education.

¹⁷⁹"Proposals for Universidad Villa Maria La Planicie Lima Peru 2 February 1952," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 74.

for Villa Maria Academy; however, they rejected the proposed junior college. Father Felipe MacGregor, SJ, the rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, the most prestigious educational institution in Peru, and a frequent guest at Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, met with Mother Trinita to devise a plan for future graduates of Villa Maria College to complete their coursework at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. Her arguments were convincing.

“Education is going to be the medium through which these social classes will learn mutual respect and toleration, and since our beloved Community has done so much to further the society of Lima, it would be a pity if we were to give up so easily our leadership in the field of education.”¹⁸⁰ When Mother Pacis presented the rationale for junior college once more, the Council agreed. When the news was announced that Villa Maria College and a new secondary division of Villa Maria Academy were to be constructed, Church and civic leaders in both hemispheres applauded the decision. Cardinal Richard Cushing, who had been a guest at Villa Maria Academy during a tour of Latin America, offered a generous donation: “[Cardinal Cushing] donated \$500,000 for the new building—the reason for his generosity—our kindness to priests.”¹⁸¹

President Belaúnde granted Mother Trinita her request for special concessions to purchase property for the school complex in Rinconada Alta, the location for the new college and

¹⁸⁰Mother Maria Trinita, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 15 January 1961, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Box 6 Folder 33. She portrayed the Dominicans as “progressive and aggressive.”

¹⁸¹*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 21 December 1961.

secondary school.¹⁸² She also consulted officials at the United States Embassy in Lima and applied for funds from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).¹⁸³ During a visit to Peru, Dr. Peter Fraenkel of the Ford Foundation expressed an interest in the proposed school and visited the property. He, also, promised financial aid “if at all possible.”¹⁸⁴ Mother Trinita envisioned an “educational city” dedicated to the higher education of Peruvian women. With so many offers of financial support, the new school evolved into a grandiose project that incurred an even more grandiose debt when promises of assistance never materialized (see figure 3.16).¹⁸⁵

When the construction of the “educational city” in the desert was completed, the archdiocesan newspaper in Philadelphia announced: “Immaculate Heart Sisters Open First American Type College for Women in Peru...“It was said it couldn’t be done, but Mother Trinita realized her dream when a donor sold her a tract of land for a small cost. . . .Students are mostly from the upper classes, but they are not permitted to remain long-isolated from the social realities of their poverty-stricken country.”¹⁸⁶ The headline of the Peruvian daily newspaper offered a

¹⁸²Ibid., 23 August 1963.

¹⁸³Ibid., 27 June 1963. The officials named are Mr. James H. Boren, Mr. George Greco, and Mr. Robert Martin of USAID.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., 5 October 1963.

¹⁸⁵*Annals Villa Maria Academy 1955-1971*, August 1961. Later entries show that promised funding was denied or indefinitely delayed. “Promised aid from U.S. Embassy in Lima was denied due to denominational status of school” (18 November 1964) and “USAID financial help held up” (5 October 1963).

¹⁸⁶*Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*. An article from the *Catholic Standard and Times* found an entry for 3 April 1965.

glowing account, giving the details of the magnificent, new school, as well as, its religious mission: “Villa Maria, Great Place for a Great School for a City of Students... It is important to point out the religious base their work on inculcating in the students solid moral principles. They have awakened in them social awareness by accomplishing works for the good of poor people.”

187

No less significant was the feat of transferring of the secondary school desks, books, and didactic materials from Villa Maria Miraflores to Rinconada Alta, known also as La Planicie. The sister-annalist wrote: “A grand exodus along Javier Prado [Avenue] of trucks donated by Payet Construction Company, the maintenance staff . . . and numerous Villamarians in every type vehicle streamed along Avenida Javier Prado to La Planicie.”¹⁸⁸ The sisters, parents, teachers, employees worked together hauling furniture, laughing about the setbacks of starting school in such a great place. The IHMs displayed their eagerness to move into their new mission before construction was completed. S. Paul Marie summed up the *esprit de corps* in a telegram to Mother Maria Pacis. “The lack of hot water and electricity was forgotten because our hearts were warmed by the knowledge that the entire congregation was with us in prayer and in spirit.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷“*Villa María, gran local para un gran colegio será una ciudad estudiantil*,” translation mine. The article supplies statistics revealing the grandeur of the “student city”: 90,000 meters in area; 50,000 bags of cement; 290 tons of rebar; 2,500 square meters of terrazzo; a swimming pool with 1,000 meters of tile; convent, 25 bedrooms; secondary school, three buildings with 15 classrooms, two laboratories; junior college, 18 classrooms, six offices, a library, and cafeteria. See *La Prensa*, 14 April 1965. What is not mentioned is that the property was located in the desert forty-five minutes from Miraflores. In *Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*, 14 April 1965.

¹⁸⁸*Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*, 5 April 1965.

¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 13 April 1965.

As laudable as the intentions of foreign religious to establish parishes, schools, hospitals, and pastoral programs were, the financial resources and professional preparation of the newcomers revealed the glaring disparities between the native Peruvian religious congregations and clergy and the foreigners who came to invigorate the Peruvian Church. So, Cardinal Ricketts invited the leaders of North American religious congregations to a summit meeting at his residence to organize educational programs for congregations of Peruvian religious.¹⁹⁰ S. Ann Claudia Hendricks, MM, and Mother Maria Trinita agreed to plan the conference and to invite speakers to address the sisters on topics related to professional, theological, and psychological topics. Leaders of the Religious Formation Conference in the United States were invited to Lima to assist in planning the conference.¹⁹¹ Since the new threat during this period was the spread of communism, Church leaders viewed religious congregations of women as the first line of defense against the threat of communist takeover. The North American IHMs were particularly sensitive to the threat of communism. The sister-annalist noted that the rising “woman power” of religious in Peru would surely deter the rise of communism in Peru.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰These congregations are listed in the *Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, in 1962: Sisters of Providence (2); Sister Formation Conference (7); Franciscan Sisters (2); Franciscan Sisters of Peekskill (4); Sisters of Mercy U.S. (11); Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondolet (8); Sisters of Mary, Mother of God (7); Sisters of St. Mary (11); Sisters of St. Joseph, Canada (5).

¹⁹¹Regina Siegfried, “Religious Formation Conference: Education for Deepening Relationships: Theological/Communal/Societal/Cultural/Ecological,” *American Catholic Studies* 120, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 55-74. The *Annals of Villa Maria Academy, 1955-1971*, corroborate Siegfried’s research, adding that the two leaders of the Sister Formation Conference, S. Ritamary and S. Annette, also conferred with seven Peruvian bishops and the nuncio during the bishops’ retreat.

¹⁹²*Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1955-1971*, 2 February 1962.

In January 1961 a four-day conference for all women religious in Peru was hosted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart at Colegio Sophianum in Lima. North American and Peruvian religious gave presentation on religious formation, cultural adaptation, modern teaching methods, catechesis, missionary apostolate, social work, nursing, and ecumenism. The conference concluded with a “Day of Charity” (“*Día de la Caridad*”) dedicated to the celebration of friendship among all sisters. The first-ever assembly of all religious women was marked by celebration of the Sacred Liturgy, common prayer, festive meals, and folk dances typical of each nationality and region.¹⁹³ To insure that professional education and religious formation would be continued, the superiors of each of the sixteen congregations and two secular institutes participating in the conference met with the leaders of the Sister Formation Conference.¹⁹⁴ In August of the same year, the leaders of these congregations met with Archbishop Carboni at the apostolic nunciature in Lima to finalize plans to send twenty-three sisters of Peruvian congregations to colleges in Belgium, the United States, and Italy.¹⁹⁵ Seventy congregations in the United States, among them the IHMs, pledged their cooperation in promoting higher education for women religious in Peru.¹⁹⁶ Opportunities for professional education were also offered in Lima. The IHM sisters taught weekly English classes to twelve Peruvian

¹⁹³Ibid., 8-14 January 1961.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 17 January 1961.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 9 August 1961. Mother Maria Trinita represented the IHMs.

¹⁹⁶*Annals Villa Maria Lima, 1955-1971*, 4 July 1962. Sisters came from Seattle University, Alvernia College, Milwaukee, and St. Teresa College, Winona.

congregations interested in including English language instruction in their schools since the Ministry of Education decreed that English language instruction was to be included in the national curriculum. Arrangements were made with the Peruvian Ministry of Education to qualify the classes as credit hours for professional degrees.

During the 1960s many Church leaders believed that the antidote to the communist threat and the key to Peru's progress were the professionalization of Peruvian religious and the expansion of American style Catholic schools. As noble as this goal may have been, the scope and depth of poverty and exclusion in Peru proved Church leaders to be overly optimistic and naively idealistic.¹⁹⁷ New economic theories arose to explain endemic poverty of the Third World claiming that dependency on developed nations' economies, in particular the United States, caused the perennial problem of widespread, dehumanizing poverty. Cold War tensions escalated between the United States as the Soviet Union and Cuba defied United States' hegemony in the Southern Hemisphere.

Throughout the 1960's the documents the IHMs created display their firm conviction that the Church and civic society in Peru would continue the path of progress and develop with a well-educated, pastorally active, and socially conscious middle class. They firmly believed that the educational mission entrusted to them was bearing rich fruit in the expansion of the schools, the support of parents and the hierarchy, and the increase in Latin American vocations to the

¹⁹⁷ Costello contends that the North American mission crusade to Latin America in the 1960's was not a total failure; however, it did not achieve the intended goal. See *Mission to Latin America*, 1.

congregation. At the same time the sisters' were developing a broader vision of the mission of the universal church accompanied by a keen sense of their place in it. S. M. Maurice Cannon, IHM reveals the growing awareness of "world church" in a letter to Mother Maria Pacis. When Archbishop Romolo Carboni, the papal nuncio, arrived in Peru the IHMs gathered at the airport to greet him.

Mother, when we went to the airport [to meet Archbishop Romolo Carboni, the new nuncio] . . . he recognized our community and told us of meeting you while in Philadelphia. He told us we were very precious to God and to the church and to continue our wonderful work, to pray for more vocations. . . . Needless to say we were quite thrilled and proud of being I.H.M.'s. In fact we were proud just to belong to the church—it was a moving sight to see his welcome and to know we were part of such a great organism as the Church.¹⁹⁸

The congregation had, indeed, flourished in the "new Jerusalem." Few questioned or anticipated the consequences of the uncritical acceptance of the American style Catholic school ideal planted by the pioneers in 1922. Few recognized or questioned the value of a few schools providing a superior education for a minority while the majority of Peruvian of the population was illiterate, undernourished, without adequate healthcare or shelter. Most North American sisters adhered to the American ideal that education was the path out of poverty. Few realized that by virtue of their features as white-foreigners and the status as religious invested them with prestigious social status. Parents were complicit in assuring the status of IHM schools by

¹⁹⁸ S. Marie Maurice, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 29 March 1960, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 6 Folder 23.

preferring that their sisters *not* speak Spanish. Regardless of their acquired social rank, the sisters traveled to impoverished districts with their student-catechetists. The documents the sisters created during this period reveal their congregation's wholehearted investment in the network of American style Catholic schools which they created and sustained. Blinded by their successes the IHMs forged ahead believing that larger schools, expansive catechetical programs to the impoverished in urban and rural districts, native vocations, a Latin American novitiate, and accolades from civic and church leaders signified the new Jerusalem was within their reach.

The IHMs and the Church of the United States benefitted from the American enclave of religious sisters, brothers, and priests whom the IHMs promoted and sustained. Certainly, the many missionaries that arrived in Peru during this period profited from the IHMs hospitality and assistance. Similarly, the graduates of IHM schools, proficient in English and academically prepared for employment contributed to their respective social and economic networks. The Church of Lima benefitted from an educated, financed, and motivated gathering of missionaries - the majority from English speaking countries. All of the missionaries who arrived during this period aimed to assist the Church of Peru by providing services which neither the State nor the Church could adequately provide. The IHMs demonstrated the viability of the American Catholic school with its parallel catechetical and pastoral assistance programs for those children and youth who were excluded from these schools. The ascendance of the English speaking foreign missionary in the Peruvian Church diminished the status of native diocesan clergy and religious. Although they were well intentioned, the foreign missionaries' ignorance and assumed

cultural superiority prevented an authentic encounter between equal, but distinct expressions, of Church members collaborating in the same mission.

Chapter 3 Illustrations



Figure 3.1. Groundbreaking for Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1942.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.2. S. M. Flora Sullivan's interment at El Angel cemetery in Lima, Peru, 1942.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.3. U.S. Ambassador to Peru Prentice Cooper addresses IHM sisters and dignitaries at the dedication of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1945.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.4. Sisters and dignitaries at dedication of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1945
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies Immaculata, PA



Figure 3.5. May procession, Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1950
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.6. Benediction in Villa Maria Academy Chapel, 1950.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.7. Colegio San Antonio de Mujeres, new building, 1958.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.8. S. Jane de Chantal and students of San Antonio, 1950.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.9. Father Nevin Hayes, O.Carm., IHM sisters, and faculty of Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1950.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.10. S. Elizabeth Therese McNamee, IHM, and Catechetical class at first Communion Day Breakfast c. 1950

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA

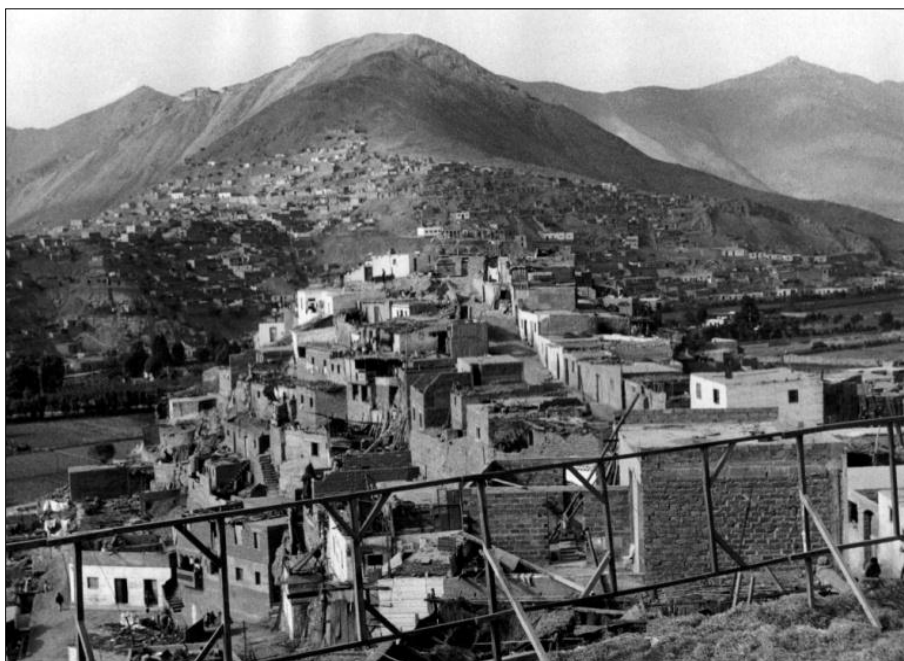


Figure 3.11. Shantytown near Lima, catechetical site, 1960.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.12 Sisters arrive for catechetical class, 1958.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.13. Villa Maria Academy student catechist, 1960.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.14. IHMs and Father Matthew Connell (Columban) prepare for catechetical program in Villa Maria Academy community room, 1960.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 3.15. S. M. Kevin King, IHM, and catechists, 1960.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA



Figure 3.16. Villa Maria secondary school, junior college, and convent in La Planicie, 1965.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

Chapter 4

The Mission at Risk (1967-1981)

What is our future in South America? Everything is so confusing at present that I can't and, I doubt, if anyone else could answer that question.

—Mother Miriam Rose Curry, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, 1967

This chapter examines the impact of the Second Vatican Council and the Latin American Episcopal Conference at Medellín on the IHMs and American religious working in South America, particularly in Lima. The confusion, conflict, and divisions among the IHM sisters caused by divergent interpretations of Vatican II and Medellín will be analyzed. The documents the sisters wrote reveal the struggle to adapt institutional ministries while responding to injustices that cause endemic poverty in Peru.

New Challenges

The IHMs faced new and complex challenges to their mission in Peru following the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). The Bishops of Latin America, eager to implement the decrees of the Council, yet aware of the different challenges the Latin American Church faced, prepared for a continent-wide episcopal conference. Three years later, after intensive preparation on all levels of Church ministry, the Latin American bishops met in Medellín, Colombia, to examine, revise, and restructure the Church's mission in light of Latin American cultural realities. Pope Paul VI's presence at the opening of the conference signaled the recognition of episcopal authority to adapt the mission of the Church according to differing cultural contexts. The pronouncements of the Latin American bishops at Medellín called all members of the

Church to examine, analyze, and respond to the reality of widespread, systemic poverty. The call to holiness for all Christians required challenging unjust social structures and enacting social and political reforms.¹

A new way of “doing” theology unfolded. The principal architect and spokesperson for this new approach was Peruvian theologian, Father Gustavo Gutiérrez, who formulated a methodology for reflection on God’s word and action in favor of justice.² A rising generation of Latin American theologians articulated that the Church’s mission was a struggle for justice. The Peruvian Church, led by Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts, soon became a mecca for liberation theology.³ Thus, inspired by the mandate of the Episcopal Conference in Medellín to work for justice, the Church of Peru became the vanguard for liberation theology.⁴ The phrase, “preferential option for the poor,” evolved as a byword in discussions about ministry among

¹J. Míguez Bonino, “The Reception of Vatican II in Latin America,” *Ecumenical Review* 37 (1985), 266-274. Bonino traces the evolution of the term “option for the poor” and examines the consequences of the shift to an ecclesiology articulated as the Church of the poor (270-273). For a collection of essays examining the Peruvian Episcopal Conference’s reception of the Episcopal Conference at Medellín, see *Between Honesty and Hope: Documents from and about the Church in Latin America, Issued at Lima by the Peruvian Bishops’ Commission for Social Action*, trans. John Drury, Maryknoll Documentation Series (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Publications, 1970).

²Gustavo Gutiérrez, *We Drink from Our Own Wells: The Spiritual Journey of a People*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell, rev. ed. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2003), 1-5. Many insightful and provocative interpretations and applications of liberation theology have been written in recent decades since the publication of Gutiérrez’s, *A Theology of Liberation*, trans. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1971) and Gutiérrez’s, *The Density of the Present: Selected Writings* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1999). For recent reflection see Edward L. Cleary, *How Latin America Saved the Soul of the Church*, (New York: Paulist Press, 2009); Tim Noble, “Jean-Luc Marion: Idols and Liberation Theology” *Communio Viatorum* 4, no. 2(2006): 131-154; Jung Mo Sung, *Desire, Market and Religion: Reclaiming Liberation Theology*, trans. Jovelio Ramos, Peter Jones, Archibald Woodruff (London: SCM Press, 2007).

³ Smith, *Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 100-104.

⁴ Gutiérrez, *Density of the Present*. Gutiérrez notes that during the Second Vatican Council a group of Latin American bishops, led by Bishop Manuel Larrain of Talca, Chile, and Cardinal Ricketts realized that the Latin American Church faced a different challenge than the European and North American Churches. After the Council the Latin American bishops focused principally on adapting the Church’s mission to address injustice and massive, endemic poverty. Pope Paul VI encouraged the Latin American bishops to address these specific challenges at the close of the Council. One of his first papal trips was to Medellín, Colombia, to open the Conference of Latin American Bishops (63-65). See also Klaiber, *Historia de la Iglesia en el Perú*, 397.

priests, religious brothers, and sisters. For some it meant to “choose to disengage from serving the interests of the powerful and instead to take the side of those who are relatively powerless.... The non-poor’s awareness of their wealth or privilege compels them to identify with the poor by relinquishing their privileges, to some extent, at least, and identify with those who have none.”⁵ Liberation theology, thus, challenged North American religious congregations of men and women to examine their way of life according to these principles.

Many North American clergy and religious embraced the rebirth of the Latin American Church’s social consciousness; however, they were stung by Father Ivan Illich’s essay in *America* magazine which criticized their work. His article, “The Seamy Side of Charity,” attacked the hierarchy in Rome, the United States, and Latin America for sending and receiving ill-prepared priests, sisters, and lay missionaries to build up the Church of South America. Few of the so-called missionaries understood the culture, spoke the language of the people, or were aware of their cultural bias. Illich lamented the Vatican’s utilization of First World missionaries to combat the rise of communism in the Third World nations.⁶ Consequently, North American missionaries were called upon to examine their work and evaluate its effectiveness.⁷

Just as the Peruvian church began to focus on social justice, a military *coup* removed President Belaúnde from power. The ousted president’s platform for land reform and economic stimulus had failed, and the scandal of an illicit deal with the International Petroleum Company,

⁵ Donal Dorr, “The Preferential Option for the Poor,” in *The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought*, ed. Judith A. Dwyer (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 755.

⁶ Ivan Illich, “The Seamy Side of Charity,” in *Mission to Latin America: The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade*, ed. Gerard M. Costello (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1967), 283-289. Illich, a European priest, directed the Inter-cultural Documentation Center in Cuernavaca, Mexico (CIDOC).

⁷ Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 135-136.

prompted his successor, General Juan Velasco, to enforce socialist reforms.⁸ Unlike most military regimes of this era, General Velasco's regime consulted prominent Church leaders to shape policy for agrarian and educational reform. The latter precipitated a crisis for private Catholic schools. Ricardo Morales Bermúdez, SJ, and Gustavo Gutiérrez, President Velasco's principal educational advisors, promoted extensive educational reforms designed to democratize education. The two-tiered system of private schools for the elites and public schools for the poor was eliminated. All schools in Peru were required by law to follow the same curriculum, wear the same school uniform, and participate in patriotic ceremonies. Private schools were to permit public schools to function on their premises for afternoon or evening sessions (*turnos*). Furthermore, tuition for enrollment in private schools could not be increased nor were private schools permitted to engage in fundraising activities of any kind.⁹

The IHMs and other private schools, notably the Marianists and the Carmelites, were stunned by the drastic educational reforms. Private schools depended on tuition for teacher's salaries and maintenance of infrastructure. Surplus funds and donations were invested in building and staffing schools for the poor.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the Church and the State were allies in radically

⁸Abraham F. Lowenthal, "The Peruvian Experiment Revisited," in *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*, ed. Cynthia McClintock and Abraham F. Lowenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 424-430. The reforms Velasco initiated failed to promote economic growth or reduce poverty; however, Peru identified itself as a nation capable of charting its future without dependence on the United States or the Soviet Union. For the position of the Church, see Jeffrey Klaiber, SJ, *La Iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde independencia*, 2nd ed. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1997), 393-428.

⁹The educational reforms of this era (1968-1980) are analyzed by Eduardo Palomino, *Política educativa escolar en el Perú, Historia: 1933 al 2005* (Lima: Consorcio de Colegios Católicos del Perú, 2006), 35-48. Palomino notes that during the military regimes (1970-1980), educational reform was of the highest importance. General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) and General Francisco Morales Bermúdez Cerrutti (1975-1980) believed that education and land reform would democratize Peruvian society. Although the reforms failed, educational reform remained a divisive political issue.

¹⁰See Jeffrey Klaiber, SJ, "The Battle over Private Education in Peru, 1968-1980: An Aspect of the Internal Struggle in the Catholic Church," *The Americas* 43, no. 2 (1986): 137-158. In 1967 Mother Miriam Rose had informed Mother Pacis, and later Mother Claudia of the split developing between the Peruvian hierarchy and the

restructuring Peru's unjust educational system. The Peruvian Church claimed its identity as the Church of the poor; henceforth, private schools were obliged to conform to the State's mandates.¹¹ For the IHMs, this was a particularly delicate task. Since all of the IHM schools had educated distinct diverse social classes for the past forty years, the prospect of pitting one class against another to achieve justice was not appealing. The mission of the church was often articulated as a struggle against oppressive social classes (*lucha contra los opresores*).

The documents the sisters generated during this period tell the story of the sisters struggle to reconcile the congregation's original mission with a changed ecclesial mandate. The high profile of IHM schools as American style Catholic schools, targeted them for criticism. Although the congregation sent sisters to staff Colegio Santa Cruz, a Marianist parish school for the poor in Callao, the criticism continued because some clergy and religious judged that it was not a "radical" option for the poor.

Confusing Ideas

The barrage of talk among North Americans about changing structures, serving the poor, and living in experimental communities (relaxed schedule for prayer, meals, and community recreation) also perturbed veteran IHMs who had spent most of their religious life in Peru.

Mother Miriam Rose Curry, IHM, the superior of Villa Maria Academy in La Planicie expressed

administrators of private Catholic schools. See Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 26 May 1967, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 36.

¹¹John Novitski, "Peru Presses Reform by Blending Cooperatives and Capital," *New York Times*, 28 July 1971. Roman Catholic bishops endorsed the military regime's plan to blend capitalism and the cooperative model. Novitski notes that Roman Catholic priests worked comfortably with the military government, which he terms an "unusual experiment because it is unlike any other nation in Latin America in terms of reform." Hal Brands argues that the emergence of a distinct Peruvian state identity enabled its leaders to negotiate adroitly between the interests of the USSR and the USA. "Astute Peruvian diplomacy" kept Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon guessing. See Brands, "The United States and the Peruvian Challenge, 1968-1975," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 21 (2010): 475.

her frustration:¹² “There are so many North American communities down here who are so far out that you are happy to find someone with his feet still on the ground.”¹³ The new focus on discussion and dialogue disturbed her. “We are all so discouraged with so many of the priests who are either far out or feel duty bound to promote dialogue and discussion when all we want is a little quiet to pray and think.”¹⁴ Her correspondence and that of Mother Leonita Vezis, IHM, the regional superior, with Mother Maria Pacis; and Mother M. Claudia Honsberger, IHM, her successor, reveal their confusion and frustration when revolutionary ideas spread throughout the community.

Mother Miriam Rose had also expressed her concerns to Mother Pacis about the military takeover:

Many people are happy about the situation. It could be worse if it were a communist takeover. At least the military . . . are definitely anti-communistic. . . . Naturally, no one really approves an army taking over a constitutional government, but a firm hand is needed to stabilize the country.¹⁶

¹² Mother Miriam Rose Curry had served in San Antonio Callao (1942-1944), Villa Maria Academy Santiago, Chile (1944-1961), the IHM Novitiate Las Condes, Chile (1964-1965), Escuela Inmaculado Corazón San Isidro, Peru (1971-1974), Villa Maria La Planicie, Peru (1974-1980), Regional Superior of Peru (1980-1985). Mother Leonita Vezis served in Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, San Isidro (1956-1962), Villa Maria Academy Miraflores (1967-1971), Villa Maria La Planicie (1971-1974). Statistics courtesy S. Margaret Shields, IHM (Immaculata, PA: Villa Maria House of Studies).

¹³ Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, January 1968, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 45.

¹⁴ Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 2 October 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 73.

¹⁶ Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 5 October 1968, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 59.

Mother M. Leonita worried about the risk the congregation faced:

The political situation is very unpredictable. Most are concerned. Many feel our time here is limited. Directly we are not suffering. . . . Some parents put pressure [by] using the Ministry of Education against us . . . Others are very supportive.¹⁷

Mother Miriam Rose received a particularly harsh admonition from the Estanislao Illundain, SJ, Director of the National Office of Catholic Education, for permitting a school dance.

The evil done by all these signs [a school dance] show we are bourgeoisie who give in to youthful weakness instead of educating them to evangelical austerity....Peru is an under-developed country, and your school should not be an island of your nation because this is contrary to Pope Paul VI's *motu proprio* '*Ecclesiam suam*'.¹⁸

Since Mother M. Claudia was elected general superior shortly after the military takeover, she was unfamiliar with the crisis in Peru.¹⁹ She, too, was alarmed by the Church's political stance:²⁰ "I must confess that South America right now is a big worry for me. Peruvian relations

¹⁷Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 4 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 34.

¹⁸Estanislao Illundain, SJ, to Madre Superiora [Miriam Rose], 2 November 1967, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 42. ". . . *el mal que hacen todas esas señales de que somos burgueses y condescendientes con la flaqueza juvenil, más que educandolas de su austeridad evangélica... El Perú es un país subdesarrollado y no deben de hacer de su Colegio una isla de su país de origen, porque eso esta contra el Motu proprio de Pablo VI 'Ecclesiam suam.'*" Translation mine.

¹⁹Mother Claudia Honsberger, IHM, was well-known leader in the Religious Formation Conference. After she was elected general superior in 1968, she was increasingly alarmed by the rapid secularization of the religious life. She withdrew the IHMs from the Leadership Conference of Women Religious for she disagreed with the organization's interpretation of the "Decree for the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life, *Perfectae caritatis*." In 1970, she and a group of like-minded general superiors formed an alternative association of general superiors called the Consortium Perfectae Caritatis. For more on Mother Claudia's profile during this period, see Lora Ann Quiñonez, CDP, and Mary Daniel Turner, SNDdeN, *The Transformation of American Catholic Sisters* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992), 153-157, 193-194 n15.

²⁰For a helpful analysis of the complicated relationship between the United States and Latin America during this period see Brands, "The United States and the Peruvian Challenge." He investigates the loss of U.S. prestige beginning in the 1960s. Peru and Chile in particular challenged U.S. policy to contain Soviet influence in the southern hemispheres. The Velasco regime and socialist president of Chile, Salvador Allende (1970-1973), demonstrated their autonomy. The United States' harsh tactics against the Allende government contrasted with its attenuated policy toward Velasco. Velasco's regime crafted strategies to outwit the U.S.; thus, Peru emerged as a respected leader among the nonaligned Third World nations (486-489).

with the United States have not been the best in these past two weeks.”²¹ And, when the International Petroleum Company was nationalized by military regime, Mother Claudia feared the United States would sever diplomatic ties with the regime. Once more, an exit strategy had to be devised in case the sisters’ lives became endangered. She and the council decided that sisters who were United States’ citizens would return to home immediately, and Peruvian sisters would have a choice to stay or to remain.²² Fortunately, the crisis was resolved through diplomatic channels; however, the United States’ image was damaged by its capitalistic interests in Peruvian natural resources rather than its people.

Another revolution was also occurring within religious congregations in the wake of Vatican II’s call for adaptation and renewal. Varying interpretations of the decree on Religious Life (*Perfectae caritatis*) created tension within many religious congregations, especially the IHMs in the United States, Peru, and Chile. Mother Claudia endeavored to implement adaptations of the IHM rule mandated by the Extraordinary Chapter of Affairs (1968). The new rule, *Faithful Witness*, decentralized authority by dividing the congregation into twelve regions. A superior was appointed to each region. Moreover, regional assemblies provided a forum for sisters to promote apostolic effectiveness and make recommendation to the

²¹Brands, “The United States and the Peruvian Challenge,” 486-489. Because the military regime nationalized U.S.-owned International Petroleum (Standard Oil), the Hickenlooper Amendment could have been invoked to cut diplomatic ties to Peru. The Congress of the United States, “The Hickenlooper Amendment,” in *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*, ed. Eric Zolov and Robert H. Holden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Brands notes that Velasco’s junta’s adroit handling of a confrontational policy with the United States “set an example of how a comparatively weak nation can successfully navigate a confrontation with a vastly more powerful opponent” (487).

²²Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 17 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 35.

General Administration for implementation.²³ In Peru, this forum became a platform where diverse and divergent opinions surfaced about the IHMs' identity and mission in the Peru. Since the 1960s IHMs in the Peruvian region of the congregation included sisters from differing cultural, ethnic, professional backgrounds, and novitiates (Chile and United States). Ideas and opinions abounded. Some wished to follow the path of the Maryknoll sisters who withdrew from the parish school in Lince to live and work directly with the poor. Although the IHMs had adopted an incremental approach to adaptation, conflict arose among the sisters about the degree and direction it should take in Peru.²⁴ Meanwhile, Mother Claudia and her administration adhered to a more cautious approach to adaptation and renewal. Opposition to cautious approach to renewal won Mother Claudia critics from many quarters, particularly progressive thinking groups of IHMs, clergy, and sisters of other religious congregations.²⁵

Some sisters were inspired by the heroism of revolutionary Latin American political leaders, especially Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara; however, others were appalled. The indiscriminate use of the rhetoric of revolution alarmed many sisters who did not associate the congregation's mission with political or social revolution.²⁶ Some sisters interpreted the Latin

²³ *Faithful Witness: Constitutions of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* (1969), articles 84, 85, 86, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, B.

²⁴ Mother Pacis realized the need for adaptation of the congregation's mission in Peru prior to the Chapter of Affairs. See Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, to Mother M. Leonita, IHM, 27 November 1967, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 6.

²⁵ See John W. O'Malley, "Reforms and Two Great Reformations: Towards a Historical Assessment of Vatican II," *Theological Studies* 44, (1983): 373-406. *Faithful Witness* reflects the reception of the call to renewal of religious life mandated in *Perfectae caritatis* in terms similar to O'Malley's interpretation of Vatican II. Other religious congregations of women in the United States followed a more liberal interpretation.

²⁶ The terminology of the pronouncements of the Bishops' Conference in Medellín are illustrative: "a new historical epoch" ("*una nueva época histórica*"); "longing for total emancipation" ("*anhelo de emancipación total*"); "liberation from every form of slavery" ("*liberación de toda servidumbre*"); "personal maturity and collective integration" ("*maduración personal y de integración colectiva*"); "painful birth of a new civilization" ("*dolorosa gestación de una nueva civilización*") art. 116 in Episcopado Latinoamericano, "La Iglesia en la actual

American Bishops' mandate as a direct challenge to IHM traditional mission in Peru.' Yet, IHM schools in Peru had reached peak enrollment during this period so they remained convinced and committed to the congregation's educational mission in private schools and catechetical programs.²⁷

The sisters in the region did agree that they needed to be informed about Peruvian culture, economics, political and educational reforms, and the theology of liberation. Mother Leonita, with the assistance of the regional councilors, organized monthly lectures to familiarize the sisters with the Peruvian reality. The presentations were delivered in the auditorium of Villa Maria Academy, Miraflores. The *Annals of Villa Maria* records an impressive list of speakers and controversial topics: Bishop Dammert, "Peruvian Reality;" Father José Pastor, "Peruvian Episcopacy and Educational Reform;" Mr. Edgar Beltrán, "Christians in an Unjust World;" Mr. Luis Pasara, "Education and Social System in Peru;" Ms. Teresa Pastor, "Group Dynamics;" Mr. Jaime Gianella, "Economics in Peru;" Father Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Liberation Theology;" Father Ricardo Bermúdez Morales, SJ, "Educational Reform in Peru;" Father Alejandro Cussianovich, "The Educators' Role in Peru."²⁸

In addition, the IHMs hosted or attended conferences and retreats given by speakers of international fame. Father Francis MacNutt, OP, led an ecumenical charismatic retreat at Villa

transformación de América Latina a la luz del Concilio," in *Conferencias Generales: Río de Janeiro, Medellín, Puebla, Santo Domingo: Documentos Pastorales* (Santiago: Librería San Pablo, 1993), 106. Translation mine.

²⁷ IHM Personnel in Peru 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 33. Enrollment statistics show: Colegio San Antonio, 1338; Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 824; Villa Maria Academy La Planicie, no data; Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1095; Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, San Isidro, 615; Colegio Santa Cruz, Callao, 126.

²⁸ *Annals of Villa Maria Miraflores 1955-1971*, May to November, 1970. Villa Maria Academy auditorium was a well-known hub for meetings. Preparatory meetings on pastoral action and catechesis in preparation for the bishops' conference in Medellín were held here in 1967. See *Annals of Villa Maria Academy Miraflores 1955-1971*, October - November 1967.

Maria.²⁹ The annalist records the sisters' eagerness for spiritual enrichment noting their attendance at lectures given by Father Charles Curran, professor at The Catholic University of America and the noted psychologist, Father Eugene Kennedy.³⁰ Father Barabas Ahern, CP, also, presented a series of lectures on biblical themes.³¹

The annalists were careful to tell the story of the sisters' continuing education and implementation of the liturgical reforms. *The Annals of Villa Maria, La Planicie* included clippings from the local newspaper, *Última Hora*, depicting students at mass in the school chapel accompanied by student guitarists. The article explains that in Villa Maria Academy, "[The students'] religion is not only worship; rather, it enters into every moment of their [the students'] lives. In their studies, [in] their work, [in] their homes ...when they sing ...when they dance; ... [they are] happy because the Lord goes with you [sic]."³² The sisters integrated the liturgical reforms in their school liturgies and in the numerous catechetical programs allied with each school. *The Annals of Villa Maria* notes that the school hosted an archdiocesan program, the *Escuela de Catequesis* (Catechetical School) for catechists in local parishes and rural zones.³³ Although ideas and opinions diversified during this period, the annalists record the sisters' desire to understand Peruvian reality and to enrich their spiritual life. Mother Miriam Rose wrote to Mother Claudia about the lectures.

²⁹ *Annals Villa Maria Academy 1955-1971*, 3 January 1971.

³⁰ *Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen 1956-1971*, January 1968

³¹ *Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, 27-30 March 1967.

³² *Annals Villa Maria Academy La Planicie, 1965-1971*, 3 December 1966. "Su religión no sea solo un culto sino que intervenga en todos los momentos de sus vidas. En sus estudios, su trabajo, su hogar. . . cuando cantan . . . cuando bailan . . . feliz porque el Señor va contigo."

³³ *Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1955-1971*, 17 January 1971.

The speakers have been excellent. . . . They were frank in letting us know just what those criticisms are. They felt we should be better prepared in the language before coming to South America. . . . Mr. Evans spoke . . . Father Jorge Álvarez Calderón, Father Alzamora, a Marianist, señora Isabel Martino de Vargas. . . . Everyone enjoyed both the talks and the discussions. . . . What is our future in South America? Everything is so confusing at present that I can't and I doubt if anyone else could answer that question now. That is why I feel it is an area that needs prayerful consideration.³⁴

In contrast to speakers who advocated the Latin America Church's militant stance toward social injustice, Mother Leonita reported that some sisters walked out of the school auditorium when the papal nuncio, Archbishop Romuolo Carboni gave a lecture criticizing "the false prophets of the gospel of the poor."³⁵

Mother Leonita's correspondence with Mother Claudia discloses her concern about the sisters whose minds and hearts were increasingly captivated by priests who were proposing a revolutionary break from the traditional Church's status quo, particularly its association with the wealthy.³⁶ Inspired by these controversial ideas, a group of IHMs began to critique the congregation's ministry to the elites in private schools. Mother Leonita was particularly concerned about the recently professed Latin American sisters who had been sent to Peru to teach in IHMs schools. Since seventeen of the sixty sisters in Peru were Latin Americans, the "American style Catholic school" was no longer staffed solely by native English-speaking North

³⁴Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis, IHM, 25 October 1967, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 40. S. Miriam Rose Curry, IHM, had been missioned in Latin America for 21 years when she was appointed superior of Villa Maria Academy, La Planicie, Peru (1965) and later as regional superior of Peru (1980-1986).

³⁵Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 15 April 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 31.

³⁶Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 13 February 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 31.

American sisters.³⁷ Mother Leonita revealed to Mother Claudia her concerns about the new configuration of the community in Peru:

The Peruvian [temporary professed] sisters are doing well. . . . Mother you may hear things about these sisters from the Novitiate in Chile. Much is exaggerated (I think). They are not without their faults and need training but who didn't at that stage of religious life? They are weak in prayer, especially the Way of the Cross and the Rosary. . . . They do not see the importance of Stations or Rosary. . . . They are very willing and hold their own in school. . . . Those from the United States are very good and showed their training.³⁸

To remedy the gaps in the temporary professed sisters' religious formation, a juniorate program was started in Peru. It was similar to the juniorate program for sisters in temporary vows in the United States. The juniorate in Peru included customary IHM spiritual practices: the rosary, stations of the cross, spiritual reading, mental prayer, spiritual discussion, and spiritual conferences. English classes were provided for those less proficient in English. The junior sisters also organized a summer catechetical program for children in Chosica.³⁹ Although some of the sisters in temporary vows initially resisted the program, Mother Leonita reported to Mother Claudia that they were eventually appreciated the opportunity to intensify their spiritual life and to prepare for renewal of vows.⁴⁰

³⁷IHM Personnel in Peru 1969: As of March 1969 there were 8 Peruvian sisters in temporary vows from the IHM novitiate in Chile and 4 North American sisters in temporary vows from the IHM novitiate in West Chester, Pennsylvania; 9 Peruvian sisters in perpetual vows from the IHM novitiate in West Chester, and 39 North American sisters from the IHM novitiate in West Chester, Pennsylvania.

³⁸Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 20 March 1967, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J 7 Box 10 Folder 15.

³⁹Formation Plan 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 32. The juniorate in Peru was meticulously prepared. It was based on recent directives from the Congregation of Religious Life and Secular Institutes, *Renovationis causam* (1969). See http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccsclife/documents/rc_con_ccsclife_doc_02021990_directives-on-formation_en.html.

⁴⁰Mother M. Leonita to Mother M. Claudia 4 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies J7 Box 10 Folder 34

Aside from these problems, the Latin American IHMs formed in both novitiates, Chile and West Chester, added a new, and needed, dimension to the congregation's mission in both hemispheres. The native sisters' language skills and cultural knowledge provided the congregation with leaders who possessed an insider's view of their own culture. In a letter to Mother Claudia, Mother Leonita recognized their abilities when they participated in a catechetical conference: "The contribution of our sisters [Peruvian] was outstanding. . . . They really made us proud of their contributions."⁴¹

Conflicting Opinions

The IHMs were now a multiethnic, multinational, and multigenerational community, deeply invested in schools and catechetical programs with a mission entrusted to them by the hierarchy and re-affirmed by leaders since their arrival in 1922. When the Peruvian Conference of Bishops, speaking through the National Office of Social Information (ONIS), denounced the inherent injustice of private Catholic schools' ministry to a fraction of the population, many sisters were confounded and others were delighted.⁴² The Latin American Conference of Bishops, furthermore, challenged the Church members throughout the continent to inaugurate structural reforms in the Church and society. Although most agreed that the poor were underserved in Church ministry, especially in education, the IHM community was divided over how to reform their way of life and ministry in schools in a manner that conform to the bishops'

⁴¹Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 15 March 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 50.

⁴² ONIS supported a demonstration against a conservative Italian auxiliary bishop in Trujillo. This action infuriated Archbishop Carboni who asked Cardinal Ricketts to discipline the "rebel priests." Ricketts defended the "rebels" although he did not support their radical protest. Shortly thereafter, Carboni was recalled to Rome. Father Nevin Hayes, O.Carm., the apostolic administrator of the Prelature of Sicuani, considered ONIS's tactics reprehensible. See Costello, *Mission to Latin America*, 160-161.

mandate.⁴³ For the IHMs this task was particularly complex since the newly constructed million dollar educational city, Villa Maria Junior College and Villa Maria Academy, was deeply in debt.⁴⁴ The Junior College was discontinued within three years. Paying for repair of buildings due to a strong *temblor* (tremor), the military regime's fiscal control of all schools, and the minimal enrollment in the Junior College led to its closure.⁴⁵

To those imbued with the ideal of a preferential option for the poor, the magnificent, modern school in the desert embodied the IHMs' excess of success in Lima. It was a First World school in a Third World country. Since Vatican II, ecumenism, not competition for students to save their souls, should determine the Church's educational mission. The original purpose of IHM schools was no longer relevant. Protestants and Catholics now worked together in pastoral ministry to combat the threat of early death to the young, the poor, and most vulnerable in Peruvian society.

⁴³Smith, *Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 101-103. CELAM endorsed reform within the Church and in society. Cardinal Ricketts promoted Father Gustavo Gutiérrez and the social and ecclesial reforms he inspired in the Peruvian Conference of Bishops. The few who questioned some of these reforms had little recourse. Jesuit Father Roger Vekemans, SJ, offered a critique of liberation theology; however, he was discredited when rumors were spread that he had contact with the Central Intelligence Agency in Chile in instigating the overthrow of the Allende government. See Vekemans, *Agonía o resurgimiento?* 2 vols. (Santiago, Chile: La Librería de las Ciencias Sociales [CLAL], 1974).

⁴⁴By 1978 the debt and interest amounted to over one million dollars. Mother Claudia decided to liquidate the debt since the Velasco regime's strict control of private school's income prevented payment. See extensive correspondence between Mother Miriam Rose, Mother Maria Pacis, and Mother M. Claudia from May 1966 to May 1976 about this magnitude of the legal and financial crisis. Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 1 Folders 1-75 and J7 Box 10, Folder 30.

⁴⁵"Report on the Instituto Superior de Estudios Generales Villa Maria 1969," Immaculata, PA:Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 76. Six students graduated from the liberal arts program, 13 from bilingual secretarial school, and 3 from bilingual elementary education program. An agreement was made with, Father Felipe MacGregor, SJ, the Rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru that upon completion of the Junior College students would be accepted into the university. The report concludes that students preferred to enroll in the university, not the Junior College. The decision to close the Junior College is also noted in the *Annals of Villa Maria L a Planicie, 1965-1976*, 20 November 1969.

Aware that trouble was developing among the sisters about the congregation's mission in Peru, Mother Claudia visited Peru in 1969. She interviewed each sister and local superior, and conferred with Peruvian and North American clergy with whom the sisters worked.⁴⁶ Mother Claudia shared her conclusions about the mission of the congregation the day before her departure. She reaffirmed IHMs' educational mission in Peru; however, she, stressed that this mission could and should also be adapted to the social mission of the Church. In a communiqué to sisters in Peru and Chile, she enunciated principles of adaptation.

The Sisters assigned [to Peru and Chile] must be willing to study, absorb, and [to] accept the culture—and the difference of the people they are to serve. On its part, the congregation will provide an orientation period, which will be developed and consistently improved. . . . Strong community spirit is needed, together with an absolute conviction that *Catholic Education* is our apostolate—indeed a primary concern of the Church today! This apostolate may take new and varied forms, but our original spirit must be maintained. We must give genuine witness of poverty as missionaries in this twentieth century when our lives speak louder than our words. The Document on Mission [*Ad gentes*] breathes this spirit.⁴⁷

Although some sisters agreed with her affirmation of the educational mission (in schools), others were dissatisfied. They believed that “adaptation” was insufficient response to the bishops' mandate. Radical change in the congregation's ministry and lifestyle in Peru was required. This cluster of sisters, both North Americans and Peruvians, both from the West Chester novitiate and the Chilean novitiate, formed the nucleus of discontent. Since the sisters in each of the five missions held differing opinions about Mother Claudia's statement, local communities became even more divided. Sisters wrote to Mother Claudia criticizing

⁴⁶ *Annals Villa Maria Miraflores 1955-1971*, 20 January 1969. Father Carlos Álvarez Calderón, graduate of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, is mentioned as one of the priests “stirring things up” against private Catholic schools. His father was one of the laymen instrumental in establishing the Marianist school for boys, Colegio Santa Maria, and later, Escuela Inmaculado Corazón.

⁴⁷ Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué to IHM Congregation No. 3, February 1969, “Angelus,” 1969 to 1975, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

Mother Leonita's handling of growing dissention. Mother Leonita wrote to Mother Claudia telling her that she had tried to be fair:

This brings me to the Peruvian Sisters. 'They say' there is much discontent among them—we are not moving with the Church. 'They say' I do not listen. This I can firmly disagree with, but I will say I have had many occasions lately to disagree with some of the thinking. Nevertheless, I do not feel the situation is serious as some would give the impression—Here, I'd say some of our North American Sisters are at fault. Nor is the camp so divided—North vs. South.⁴⁸

She observed that division among the sisters arose from differing views about the congregation's schools for the elite in Peru. Later that year, the Conference of Peruvian Bishops (CEP) issued a directive that supported their argument. The document caused great consternation for those who believed schools were vital to the Church:

Despite recent efforts in the field of education, we find that huge sectors still do not have access to it and remain illiterate. . . . In our dioceses we shall energetically denounce 'the abuses and unjust consequences that result from excessive inequalities between the rich and the poor, the powerful and the weak . . .

This vocation to evangelical poverty affects all the People of God: bishops, priests, religious, and laity. It should prompt them to revise their attitudes and commitments at every level; to seek new styles of life, presence, and action that will accord with the summons of the Lord at this particular moment in our country's history . . .

We must proceed to evaluate all our social, charitable, and educational works. . . . We have an urgent duty to re-examine all the properties, real estate, assets and resources of the diocese, the religious communities, and our church organization. We must examine them in their totality, check their usefulness, and gear them to the dictates of evangelical poverty and service. Church schools must train people to commit themselves to human liberation. They must avoid inculcating class feelings, and they must operate within an atmosphere that is called for by a true democratization of education.⁴⁹

A directive from the Archdiocesan Organization for Social Justice (ONIS) asked all foreign religious congregations to submit their financial assets to them for public scrutiny, as well as, a

⁴⁸Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 8 April 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 36.

⁴⁹Peruvian Episcopal Conference, "Closing Statement of the Thirty-Sixth Peruvian Episcopal Conference," in *Between Honesty and Hope*, ed. Lima Peru Comisión Episcopal de Acción Social (Maryknoll, NY: Maryknoll Publications, 1969), 229-233.

statement of the congregation's mission in Peru. Officials in ONIS would then determine if the congregation met the criteria for continuing its ministry in Peru.⁵⁰ Sister Timothy Galvin, MM, the coordinator of English-speaking women religious in Peru, sent an urgent message asking all English-speaking sisters to reflect on this statement in preparation for a meeting to discuss its recommendations.⁵¹

Mother Claudia responded to the Peruvian Bishops' declaration immediately. She wrote to Cardinal Ricketts and to the papal nuncio, Archbishop Carboni. To Cardinal Ricketts, Mother expressed her dismay.

Many of our Sisters there, especially the native Peruvians, have been greatly distressed since the issuance of the statement by the Bishops of Peru in January on the subject of education. They feel that our work there is no longer relevant or needed, and that we should be working entirely among the poor.⁵²

She reminded the cardinal that the congregation's mission embraced all social classes, especially the poor, and unceasingly aimed at promoting social justice by inculcating moral principles to various social classes. She concluded her letter to the cardinal saying:

I am hoping that you feel our work is what it should be. I am agreeable to broadening it to further reaching of parents, and to anything reasonable within the framework of CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS and allied with Catechetical work—which is our apostolate, and which is [in] the spirit of our founders. It would help me greatly in stabilizing our Sisters there, dear Cardinal, if you could send me word that our work is acceptable, and that we are giving the service to Peru which is desired and needed. Otherwise, perhaps we should withdraw our Sisters and leave the field for another congregation if the work of education in which we are involved is no longer essential or relevant. . . . I cannot see the extension of ourselves in the social service

⁵⁰Oficina Nacional de Información Social, "Conclusiones del segundo encuentro nacional de sacerdotes de ONIS," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 44.

⁵¹Madre Timotea Galvin, MM, to Religious Congregations [in Peru], 7 October 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 44.

⁵²Mother M. Claudia, IHM, to Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts, 17 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 36.

apostolate for which we are not prepared and which should rightfully belong to other Congregations whose work it is.⁵³

One reason congregational leaders may have been shocked by the Cardinal's endorsement of the letter was that he had supported the construction of the Junior College. Mother Miriam Rose noted that, when he toured the new buildings, he said, "He was very grateful and impressed since the school was for the betterment of the Church in Peru."⁵⁴

Cardinal Ricketts responded promptly to Mother Claudia's letter.

The Church can't neglect any social class or any group. It is true that the poor because of their needs require special consideration. However, this in no way means that you should not teach the upper and middle social classes. . . . As Shepherd I appreciate the presence of the IHMs among us. Your letter is another example of your generous spirit that will continue to be perfected even more the work fitting it to the needs of the present moment. We desire Catholic schools ever more solid and open to all without social or economic barriers, where there abides an atmosphere of austerity and fraternity without luxuries or ostentation where women and men of tomorrow are formed with a true consciousness of their religious and social obligations. Likewise there is open to every educator various opportunities to collaborate with the church's present needs without dropping or decreasing your specific mission.⁵⁵

Mother Claudia sent Archbishop Carboni a similar letter. The archbishop responded.

At present your Sisters are doing the most essential, necessary, indispensable, vital and providential work in Peru. . . . Every social class needs to be educated. . . . Therefore, your sisters must not abandon the present apostolic work in the field of education in their schools and colleges. . . . They must remain to support themselves and to support the poor that they help in different sections of the city and areas around the city.⁵⁶

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴ Mother Miriam Rose IHM to Mother Maria Pacis IHM 9 January 1966, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies J6 Box 2 Folder 21.

⁵⁵ Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts to Rvdma. Madre Claudia, 7 April 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 36. Translated by S. Peter Mary Birster, IHM.

⁵⁶ The Very Reverend Romolo Carboni to Very Dear Mother General [Mother M. Claudia], 25 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 36. He lamented the uncritical adoption of the Marxist, materialistic, atheistic mentality among foreign clergy and religious. "They are the first and worst victims and propagandists of such fatal errors." His outspoken criticism of this trend led to his removal at the request of Cardinal Ricketts.

Evidently, Cardinal Ricketts preferred to support the IHMs' schools privately, while publicly endorsing the principles enunciated in the Bishops' letter.⁵⁷ Mother Leonita noted earlier: "Concerning the 'poverty image' I'd say it is La Planicie which has really harmed us. 'They say' that some of our Peruvian Sisters feel that it and E.I.C. [Escuela Inmaculado Corazón] should be GIVEN to the government."⁵⁸ Paradoxically, the IHMs newest mission, Colegio Santa Cruz, a school for poor in district of Callao, failed to add to the congregation's credibility as a promoter of social justice. Mother Miriam Rose lamented the unrest.

There is so much unrest today with everyone ready to talk but no one with a solution. Every meeting you go to they speak of problems, problems and problems and seem to be indirectly hitting us because of our association with the upper class. However, you confront them and ask for a solution, they admit they haven't any. . . . Sociologists stir the waters and, unfortunately, some of our Sisters imbibe some of these ideas. The Sisters, themselves, are very sincere and naturally want to help their country, but they also do not have practical solutions. And I sometimes wonder if they are not only stirring the waters. We have problems here in South America to face: problems from without and from within. Latin America has awakened and we as a Community can't be isolated anymore. We have native vocations, and there is a strong nationalistic movement, and they want to be involved. We must use them to the best advantage of the Church and Community, and this is a problem that needs to be studied!⁵⁹

Disturbing Developments

The church's official statements (ONIS) spurred even greater debate and discussion. The Regional Assembly became the forum where these issues were debated. The documents

⁵⁷*El Comercio* published the Peruvian Episcopal Conference statements. The sisters were attentive to these articles, particularly those directed toward religious congregations in Peru. See Conferencia Episcopal Peruana, "Iglesia asume su responsabilidad en reforma," *El Comercio*, 20 enero 1969, Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J 7 Folder 12A.

⁵⁸Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 23 March 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 35.

⁵⁹Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 19 April 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 2 Folder 64.

generated during this period reveal the congregation's struggle to agree on its identity and mission in the Peruvian church. The sister-annalist of Villa Maria, La Planicie wrote:

The community met to discuss IHM responsibility in Peruvian [public] education. No decisions made but the basic question asked was if IHMs were going to continue to be 'efficient' or try to be more effective in solving the educational problems related to the Peruvian reality.⁶⁰

At a subsequent meeting the sisters voted to form a committee to formulate a philosophy of the congregation's educational mission in Peru. The annalist notes later:

[The sisters met for] a day of reflection in [Villa Maria] La Planicie. The Reverend Cussianovich spoke on the role of Catholic educators in Peru. There was a discussion on the philosophy commission's paper . . . Because of a heated discussion we never reached ratification of the philosophy.⁶¹

To gather more data, the regional assembly voted to prepare and distribute questionnaires to determine each sister's opinion about the congregation's mission and way of life. Meanwhile a group of sisters had begun meeting privately to create an adaptation of *Faithful Witness*.⁶² The resulting document, "Effort to Be Faithful Witnesses of the Kingdom in Peru," was submitted to Mother Claudia asking permission to form experimental fraternal communities.⁶³

We desire to direct our apostolic life as a Community according to the original intention of Father Louis Florent Gillet. . . . We reaffirm the value found in religious consecration. . . . We see urgency of fulfilling this consecration adapted to the Peruvian reality. . . . We ask with trust and sincerity that we be permitted to make this experiment with the

⁶⁰*Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*, 8 May 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁶¹*Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, Lima, Peru, 1972-1994*, 8 May 1971, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies. Reverend Cussianovich was one of a series of speakers the IHMs invited to expand the sisters' understanding of "Peruvian reality," which included the economic, cultural, social, and psychological condition of the majority of the populace.

⁶²*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, November 1970.

⁶³The Extraordinary Chapter of Affairs (1968) adapted the IHM rule of life and customs. The document was named *Faithful Witness* (1969). See Sisters of IHM, "Effort to be Faithful Witnesses of the Kingdom in Peru 1970," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 51.

approval and support of the Community at large which since its arrival in Peru fifty years ago has had the desire to serve Peruvians with the best intentions.⁶⁴

The intention for living in such communities was to live with the poor and perform acts of social service. It reflected the ideals of the times expressed in *Faithful Witness*.

The transformation and revolution in search of a new society has begun in Peru at the initiative of the present revolutionary government. The Church, reaching for the Kingdom of God, ought to endorse all that tends toward a just society and ought to commit itself, today, more than ever, to the liberation of man from his economic, political, social and cultural bonds.⁶⁵

Another disturbing development was a paper presented by S. Elizabeth Marita Evans, IHM, at a meeting of the Peruvian Conference of Women Religion. Her address, “A Religious Sister in Private Education,” questioned the value of American style private schools in Peru and was a public rebuke of the congregation’s mission in Peru.

A radical change is evident if we accept that we have been favoring greatly only a minority, privileged groups with the false idea that the country lay in their hands or believing that by inculcating Christian meanings they would introduce them in the structures. Will we have the courage to face the truth that this ideal was wrong and that only this so-called ‘privileged class’ has continued to assure their privileges putting on the line those [the poor] who become every day more numerous?⁶⁶

Wrestling with the “Restless Ones”

Years later, S. Marie Angela Natoli, IHM, the former directress of formation and general superior, reflected on this particularly difficult period. She identified the group of sisters asking for radical change as the “the restless ones.”⁶⁷ Their restlessness proved to be contagious for it

⁶⁴‘Motivation,’ in “Effort to be Faithful Witnesses of the Kingdom in Peru.”

⁶⁵‘Reflections on Pastoral Needs,’ in “Effort to Be Faithful Witnesses of the Kingdom in Peru.”

⁶⁶S. Elizabeth Marita Evans, IHM, “A Religious Sister in Private Education,” 3 October 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 65.

⁶⁷ S. Marie Angela Natoli, IHM, “Noviciado Inmaculado Corazón: A Memory of the Immaculate Heart Novitiate,” in *IHM Sisters: On Mission* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2008), Office of Ministry Advancement, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

spread throughout the entire community in Peru. With the authorization of the Regional Assembly, the sisters responded to a questionnaire designed to give all the sisters' a chance to express their opinion about the congregation's mission in Peru. The results showed a divided community:

An overwhelming majority of the sisters favor . . . that we should incorporate working among the more neglected people outside of Lima to our existing apostolate . . . ; however, . . . only sixteen sisters replied 'yes' to this question [releasing sisters from classroom teaching]. Thus raising the point as to how it would be possible to work in these more needy areas without releasing sisters [from the classroom].⁶⁸

Although a majority of sisters were in favor of sisters teaching in public schools, few were willing to undertake it. Sisters were asked their opinions about pertinent aspects of the IHM way of life and mission: formation of novices and junior professed, IHM schools, *Vespertina* (adult literacy) classes for domestic workers, summer projects, and future apostolates.⁶⁹ Some thought that Escuela Inmaculado Corazón should be closed. Still others believed sisters should be released from school to work directly with the poor in pastoral ministry. Similarly, lay personnel could replace IHMs as school administrators. According to some sisters, IHM schools should be transformed into cooperative schools as mandated by the Ministry of Education. Lastly, permissions should be granted for sisters to live in experimental fraternal communities so they might live with the poor and minister to them. The results showed that the sisters who responded were divided about the recommendations and a few sisters were undecided.⁷⁰

⁶⁸"Minutes of Regional Meeting, 19 June 1971, Submitted by S. Regina Elizabeth IHM," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 85.

⁶⁹Minutes of Regional Meeting, 19 June 1971."

⁷⁰Ibid. The vote showed that "[for] turning schools in cooperatives fifteen for it; seventeen against it and twenty undecided."

The restless Peruvian and North American IHMs expected a timely response. When Mother Claudia delayed, criticism and division increased. Mother Claudia appointed three sisters to Colegio Santa Cruz, a school for the poor near Callao. She thought she had satisfied the demand to work for the poor. They lived in a small dwelling near the school. One of the sisters appointed to Santa Cruz wrote to Mother Claudia saying, “We were relieved to know the house situation for our new mission at Santa Cruz was restudied and that a nice little house was found. It certainly was a very positive move to make when starting our work with the poor.”⁷¹ Another sister expressed the opposite opinion.

I will make no comment on the school [in Santa Cruz] until you come, maybe then you will realize all the harm that is being done by having a private school in a marginated [*sic*] zone. I am just sad that we have a share in this . . . even giving students . . . the same education as for the children of better social class. . . . We are instilling in them values of another culture and not developing their own. . . . the education does not respond to the needs of the country and the church of Peru.⁷²

Mother Claudia responded, “Your comment on the educational curriculum at Santa Cruz was food for thought.”⁷³ The restless IHMs sent Mother Claudia their evaluation of the Santa Cruz school: “Revision of Santa Cruz: March to December 1970.” They sent it as an “honest appraisal of a convent established in a *pueblo joven* [young town].”⁷⁴ The evaluation enumerated its serious failures: absence of pastoral guidelines for working in marginal areas, absence of interest or understanding of the community at large, absence of preparation and dialogue about

⁷¹S. Elizabeth Marita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 26 February 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 23 Folder 15.

⁷²S. Angela de Lourdes, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 12 April 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 23 Folder 18.

⁷³Mother M. Claudia, IHM, to S. Angela de Lourdes, IHM, 16 April 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 23 Folder 18.

⁷⁴Revision of Santa Cruz, March to December 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 23 Folder 22.

working directly with the poor, absence of consultative advice on the part of competent authorities prior to establishment, incorrect selection of members, neglect of poverty of lifestyle.⁷⁵ Mother Claudia and another group of sisters believed that the congregation consistently adapted to changing social conditions. Mother Claudia stood firm and acted decisively to maintain the congregation's original mission: establishing schools.

Although the educational reforms drastically changed the curriculum, private schools were still in high demand. Mother Leonita wrote: "Swarms of parents still seek to enroll their daughters in the IHM schools. They just won't take 'no'. We just dread these months of this type pleading."⁷⁶ The sisters and the lay staff and faculty revised the curriculum according to state mandates. To their dismay class periods devoted to religious instruction and English were significantly reduced. The National Office of Catholic Education (ONDEC) mandated that all schools, private and public, use the religious education leaflets they produced. Since these materials focused principally on social analysis, not religious instruction, the IHMs and other religious congregations created their own religious education curriculum which combined instruction on the sacraments, doctrine, Scripture, and social justice issues.⁷⁷ The Latin American sisters, in particular, were instrumental in creating religious education materials since all instruction was to be conducted in one of the two native languages (*Aymara* and *Quechua*). Each school printed religious education texts and materials created by the sisters. Often ideas and activities from the new religion series the IHMs used in the United States were incorporated into

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 30 January 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 55. She mentioned that a high official in the Ministry of Education continued to recommend Villa Maria as the best school in the Peru.

⁷⁷ Klaiber, "Battle over Private Education," 142-149.

the religious education program. True to their Redemptorists tradition, the IHMs retained sacramental catechesis.

The battle between the private schools and Peruvian National Office of Catholic Education turned into a confrontation. Brother Eduardo Palomino, SM, the president of Corsorico, and S. Maria Consuelo Sparks, IHM, the vice-president, placed a full-page grievance against the Ministry of Education and ONDEC in *El Comercio*, an influential newspaper. The advertisement protested the excessive government's control of private schools and ONDEC's focus on indoctrination and social analysis over catechesis.⁷⁸ To avert a crisis, Cardinal Ricketts appointed a commission led by the Bishop of Callao, Ricardo Durand Flores, SJ, to reconcile the two sides; however, consensus was never achieved.⁷⁹

Prior to an appointment as principal of Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie, S. Consuelo received a Fulbright Scholarship in political science to study in Peru and worked with Gustavo Gutiérrez at ONDEC. Her Peruvian nationality, her professional competence, and her political savvy admirably suited her to adapt the image and mission the congregation's educational mission in schools. The correspondence between Mother Claudia and S. Consuelo discloses the complexity of the challenge the congregation faced in reconciling its image as a North American school and its time-tested tradition of educating all social classes within its economic means. In one letter, S. Consuelo expressed her concerns about military regime's educational reforms: "If the reform goes through in practices [as] they intend it to, we might as well say 'goodbye' to

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid. The IHMs and the Consortium of Catholic Schools in Peru were not the only groups dissatisfied with the single focus on social awareness. See, also, Joaquim Maria Parron, *Moral Catechesis and Catholic Social Teaching* (Lanham, MD: University of America Press, 2003), 50-52.

education....They *cannot* and *will not* destroy private education in this country while God gives us the strength to fight."⁸⁰

To implement the educational reform Villa Maria provided scholarships to secondary school age girls. Many of them were daughters of domestic workers and maintenance staff at Villa Maria.⁸¹ To provide for primary school age children, S. Consuelo utilized her social connections with officials in the government to establish a primary school for sons and daughters of domestic workers and day laborers. The vacant buildings of Villa Maria Junior College (recently closed) became a school for the poor.⁸² In 1965, the Escuela Gratuita of Villa Maria was officially opened (see figure 4.1).⁸³

In addition to establishing numerous catechetical programs, the sister-annalists cite new initiatives. Secondary apostolates included prison ministry at the Lurigancho Prison, first aid in disaster areas, pastoral ministry in hospitals and orphanages. During the summer months the sisters travelled by bus, boat, and, sometimes, twin engine aircraft to the isolated Amazonian villages of Cutivireni and Tseni. Other sisters travelled to Puerto Supe, a fishing village north of Lima, to catechize children of local fishermen. The sisters of Villa Maria, La Planicie

⁸⁰ S. Maria Consuelo IHM to Mother M. Claudia IHM 20 May 1973, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 3 Folder 22.

⁸¹ Klaiber, "Battle over Private Education," 138-139. "Nuclear schools" (*núcleo*) planned by the Ministry of Education were an experiment intended to create community educational centers where private and public schools shared resources. The aim was to democratize education.

⁸² S. Maria Consuela Sparks Quesada, IHM, is a member of the Miro Quesada family, publishers and owners of the daily newspaper, *El Comercio*. Prior to appointment as principal of Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie, she had received a Fulbright Scholarship in political science for research in Peru. For her examination of the IHM's educational mission in Peru and Chile, see S. Maria Consuelo Sparks, IHM, "The IHM Response to Educational, Social and Economic Challenges of Human Rights in Peru and Chile: A Viable Option for the People of Latin America," *Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies*, 14 (April 2000): 195-231.

⁸³ *Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976; Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1922-1954; Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971; Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

concentrated on the nearby district of La Molina where “*Alfabetización* [literacy classes] began with 6 eager students and 5 sisters to teach them.”⁸⁴

Another reference demonstrates the sisters’ active engagement with the local poor. “S. Maria Carmen and S. Barbara Marian combed the neighborhood three days searching for adult illiterates. They [the sisters] found 30 only 6 were able to participate. Girls from national schools came to English classes on Saturday.”⁸⁵ In April 1970, Mother Claudia authorized Mother Miram Rose and Mother Catherine Dolores, the superior of San Antonio, to visit two pueblos in the sierra where priests requested the IHMs to staff their schools for the poor and establish catechetical and literacy programs. Mother Leonita wrote: “the school [in Huaral] is very poor but with great possibilities...Both the bishop and father are convinced of the need for Catholic education, and the latter has made many sacrifices to substantiate this.”⁸⁶

The congregation lent their schools and shared their resources with Church-sponsored meetings, sports events, festivals, retreats, diocesan meetings, and workshops such as the Christian Family Movement, Catholic Youth Organization (JOC), Sodalitium Vitae (a secular institute) the Conference of Latin American Bishops, the Conference of Latin American Religious (CLAR), the Charismatic Renewal Movement, and retreats (for domestic workers and faculty and soccer competitions, picnics), and civil elections. In the minds of some sisters, the congregation was already sharing educational resources with the community. IHM schools were

⁸⁴*Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1965-1976*, 8 April 1969.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 18 April 1969.

⁸⁶ Mother M. Leonita to Mother M. Claudia, 5 April 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 50.

not an oasis of learning for the elites; rather, the buildings, maintenance and security personnel were at the service of the community.

Although the annals of each mission record the IHM's efforts to catechize the poor in Lima and beyond, the restless ones were not content. Since Mother Claudia did not respond immediately to their request for experimental fraternal communities, rumors spread that a group of sisters were planning to leave the congregation if they were denied permission. Lay faculty members and clergy were apprised of the plan, but the local superiors were not. Mother Leonita received a letter from Father Geary, O.Carm., warning her of the departures. He asked that his letter be forwarded to Mother Claudia.:

Much of our [the Carmelites] work in Lima is due without question, to your Sisters. . . . To my knowledge, there is no other foreign religious group, priest, brothers or sisters that have had the success of your group. . . . You outdistance the rest of us in experience, professionalism, reputation, and, most of all, in integrating native vocations. . . . The "Philadelphia knows best" is the attitude of some [sisters] that is killing the spirit of the Peruvian sisters. . . . I sincerely believe your sisters will soon enter a crisis and you will begin to lose your native vocations just at a time when the Peruvian Church needs them most.⁸⁷

Aware of the impending scandal, Mother Claudia travelled to Lima a second time. Once more she interviewed the sisters asking each if she desired to remain an IHM by following the approved rule, *Faithful Witness* or if she were not, she was to request dispensation from her vows and be dismissed. She, then, issued a congregation-wide communiqué in October 1971.

My dear sisters your questionnaires have been studied and re-studied. Hours, days, and weeks have been spent by the entire Council reviewing the letters which accompanied them . . . letters which present contradictory points of view, and such varying opinions that time was needed to sort out and assimilate your ideas. In the light of such divergence of viewpoint, it was absolutely essential to weigh each sister's contribution prayerfully and to take careful consultation with Church authority in order to arrive at the best possible conclusion of all. The strong divisions in thinking, and the formation of 'groups'

⁸⁷Mother M. Leonita, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 30 April 1969, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 41. Father Geary, O.Carm., to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 15 April 1969.

among you, either willingly formed by some, or in sheer necessity by others, will preordain that any conclusion reached will certainly not please every sister. However, this communiqué will demand serious thought on the part of each one of you, and the burden of acceptance and decision rests with each individual.⁸⁸

Mother Claudia denied permission for sisters to live in fraternal communities and engage in social work among the poor and asked them to examine their motives for further experimentation.

Is each sister's effort, energy, enthusiasm directed toward educational mission imbued with social justice aimed at the good of ALL Peruvians?

Furthermore, every sister has been given permission to engage in supplementary apostolates that extend IHM reach into marginal areas. After consultation with many bishops not one advised the closing of our schools. In fact, we have been encouraged not to discontinue our work in education through schools.⁸⁹

Mother Claudia enumerated the reasons for denying permission for experimental communities.

1. The request for experimenting with fraternal communities dedicated to *promoción humana* is denied. We feel that these goals are totally possible within our own convents. . . . It is not the structure that has failed but our failure to live it.
2. The request for new or additional missions or apostolates within or outside of Lima is not possible at this time.⁹⁰

Mother Claudia challenged the sisters threatening to abandon the congregation if their demands were not met.

Certain Sisters who have been threatening to leave the congregation either in groups or singly if they are not permitted to do what they wish, have become, in essence, a real pressure force. This saddens me greatly because it has become common knowledge, and has caused almost irreparable damage to the congregation. . . .

⁸⁸Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué to IHM Congregation 1971 B, 11 October 1971, Peruvian Missions, "Angelus," 1969-1975, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁸⁹Ibid. Fraternal communities of diocesan clergy were particularly controversial in Brazil. See Kenneth P. Serbin analyzes the considerable controversy sparked by experimental "fraternal communities" (*pequeñas comunidades*) for seminarians in the Diocese of Recife, Brazil. See Serbin, *Needs of the Heart: A Social and Cultural History of Brazil's Clergy and Seminaries* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 248-249.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

All of these areas (prayer, apostolate, corporate witness) have suffered unbelievably through the period of turmoil to which all our Sisters have been exposed.⁹¹

Mother Claudia then asked these sisters to reveal their intentions. "I would appreciate an honest admission from those sisters who plan to leave our congregation so that plans can be made to carry on our work. It is with a sad heart that I will then acknowledge your desire to withdraw."⁹²

In Mother Claudia's communiqué she concluded the following.

Every sister must consider carefully her present assignment from the view point of what we hope to accomplish through our schools as outlined above. This, together with a genuine attempt to adopt Spanish as our community language there, is the justification for our community commitment in Peru. Each sister must now personally decide whether or not she desires to continue her contribution to our missionary endeavors which must be carried out this way.⁹³

Mother Claudia did not close the door on a future ministry to the poor in schools:

Be assured we are not closed to future extension of our community's work in Peru, but circumstances at this particular time preclude any further involvement until some of the grievous interior community conflicts have been resolved among ourselves. Then, and only then, can we proceed in any other direction to add to our obligations.⁹⁴

In the December communiqué, Mother Claudia announced the grim news that twenty-two sisters in South America decided to depart from the congregation.⁹⁵

Each sister who finds it necessary to leave our congregation leaves with us, nonetheless, a part of herself. . . . She takes too a part of the Congregation to her new venture . . . for despite the shortcomings she finds in us, and the frustrations she cannot overcome, much

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué to IHM Congregation 1971 B.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué 1971 C, 12 December 1971, South American Missions, "Angelus," 1969-1975, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

of goodness and God's grace has come to her through her time with us, and this will be always a part of her.⁹⁶

Since the sister-faculty in existing schools was now reduced, a study of staffing in the remaining schools was now necessary "to allow us to complete plans now in progress for the opening of one or two missions in the marginated areas or in the provinces (regions in Peru) in response to the great need for schools among the poor."⁹⁷

Mother Claudia's communiqués manifested her conviction about the necessity of schools and common life. Her correspondence with Father Bernard Ransing, CSC, reveals the justification for her decisions.

[The IHMs in Peru have been under] constant pressure and demand on the part of these young Sisters to experiment with a new life-style, small community groups, no Superior, unstructured prayer-life, etc. as they see so many other religious women doing in Lima and in Santiago. . . .

I have been very firm with them in my resistance to their demand because I feel that our apostolate . . . is valid, needed, and that our Chapter directives have stated very clearly what our life is to be. . . . The two regional superiors, both in Peru and Chile, have suffered through a real martyrdom attempting to show kindness tempered with firmness and in trying to understand and yet not give in. At last, as you will read in the October 11 Communiqué, I set forth the firm stand that they must decide what they want and act accordingly. . . . Hence; we have this exodus which I know will disturb the entire congregation. However, dear Father, I know I must act on principle and that I must protect the community from inroads of secularism and abandonment of the essentials of religious life as the Church seems to define it. These young people have been ill advised, too, by several priests and this grieves me. However, I suppose it is all part of the dreadful turmoil we are suffering. Had these young sisters been living a fervent IHM life I would have been more tempted to consider further, but they were determined to have their own way, and I feel this is the end of obedience, as difficult as it is. I feel sure it is in God's plan for us now. Pray that the repercussions are not too harmful—or even that they may produce a salutary fear in some sisters who may be of the same type thinking!⁹⁸

⁹⁶Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué 1971 C, 12 December 1971, South American Missions, "Angelus," 1969-1975, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Mother M. Claudia, IHM, to the Reverend Bernard Ransing, CSC, 12 December 1971, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, MG 12 Box 42 Folder 46. Father Ransing was the secretary of the Prefect of the Congregation for Religious Life and Secular Institutes in Rome.

The sisters' departure damaged the image of the congregation in Lima and the United States. A letter written by a group of the departees protesting Mother Claudia's mandate circulated among the sisters in the United States. The letter also became a topic of discussion for members of the Peruvian Conference of Religious Women.⁹⁹ Mother Claudia sent a communiqué to update the congregation of the departures.

There are countless circumstances and individual facets of the problem which can never be relayed. The situation is so complex and deep-rooted that tremendous faith is needed to view it peacefully in the light of its final outcome. . . . During this time of purification at the end of which such momentous decisions had to be made, [we] spent many hours reading the history of our missions in Latin America—the original motives for their foundations, the struggles to extend our work and to reach people of all classes, rich poor and needy in all areas of the mission field. . . . This present suffering is one of a long series of sacrifice and generous giving. Although it is of a different nature, it bears within it the seed of new growth for the Congregation. . . . For those sisters who remain in Peru and Chile and who will now have the very difficult task of carrying on our mission there, we shall pray daily, and I am sure that God in His infinite goodness will lighten their burden and enable them to realize that He who gives has the right to take away—and that He has, also, the power to make possible that which seems impossible.¹⁰⁰

Two sisters left the congregation without requesting canonical dispensation from vows. Two others asked for dispensation of vows stating that they could not live their Christian vocation as a member of the IHM congregation since they were not permitted to fulfill the gospel mandate to serve the poor. The remaining eighteen left for personal reasons.¹⁰¹ The timing of their departure and the number of sisters who departed shocked and saddened the IHM school communities.

⁹⁹Mother M. Claudia, IHM, to Mother M. Leonita, IHM, 18 and 26 February 1972; Mother M. Leonita to Mother M. Claudia, 19 February and 26 March 1972, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 11 Folder 13. Mother Claudia and Mother Leonita exchanged views about the letter's impact, particularly its reference to Mother Claudia's "cruelty" and "mistreatment" of the dissenting sisters.

¹⁰⁰Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Communiqué 1971 C, 12 December 1971, South American Missions.

¹⁰¹Departees, Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

Sister-annalists report the sadness that so many sisters left and a certain relief from the tension of living in divided local communities. The annalist of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón explained the situation in her community:

The sisters of the group had a meeting and reflection here today. Those of us who did not belong had supper at the beach. Since this was to be S. Anna Maria's last Sunday . . . She left the meeting early . . . We had a lovely time despite the sadness in our hearts. S. Elizabeth Marita came to visit S. Helene and S. Edward. . . . Sister [Elizabeth Marita] is planning to leave.¹⁰²

For the sisters in Peru, Christmas 1971 was particularly somber: "As the year comes to a close each day becomes darker and more depressing. There is neither a convent nor a sister who has not been deeply affected by the tragedy through which we are living."¹⁰³ Although opinions were divided, some sister remained friends with those who left: "S. Anna Maria left EIC [Escuela Inmaculado Corazón] today. . . . We went with her to her house. The sadness experienced as these sisters leave us, one by one, could never be expressed."¹⁰⁴ "Cozy Carmel" was no longer so cozy: "Today four more sisters left from Carmel. Some [sisters] came to say goodbye to them. Also present were all the sisters who left in the past two years. S. Helene and Edward went to Sta. Cruz [mission] to close it up."¹⁰⁵ And, "The sisters who left invited some of us to a Mass in one of their homes."¹⁰⁶

The customary Christmas Carol night with the Marianists was celebrated with heavy hearts. "The Marianists came caroling. Now that we are down to four and only two [were] around when the

¹⁰²*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, 17 December 1971.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, 25 December 1971.

¹⁰⁴*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, 11 December 1971.

¹⁰⁵*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, 17 December 1971.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 21 December 1971.

brothers came . . . They probably felt sorry for us and stayed longer than ever singing carols and playing the piano.”¹⁰⁷ Comments in the annals display an understanding of why the sisters left: “Two of our sisters left ‘to do a different work.’ Our prayers are with these sisters in their new endeavor.”¹⁰⁸

A few of the former IHMs established a fraternal community among the poor and ministered to them; however, they eventually disbanded.¹⁰⁹ Former directress of the Chilean novitiate and general superior, S. Marie Angela Natoli, IHM, interpreted the behavior of the “restless ones” as a sign of the times:

They came with hope, youth, education, family support, and great energy from Peru, Chile, and Bolivia. Some came seeking the treasure they sought . . . Others discovered the freedom to choose life in its fullness elsewhere: in marriage, in service to the Church, in living and working among the poor, or in politics. . . . They all chose life in its fullness in differing paths.¹¹⁰

Two former IHMs and twin sisters, Elizabeth Evans Risco and Nelly Evans Risco, personified the diverging paths. Elizabeth Evans founded an educational organization, dedicated to the professionalization of Peruvian teachers.¹¹¹ Nelly Evans Risco took another path. She

¹⁰⁷*Annals Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944-1975*, 24 December 1971.

¹⁰⁸*Annals Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956-1971*, 15 December 1971.

¹⁰⁹The *Annals of Nuestra Señora del Carmen* does not name the former IHMs who formed this community nor its location. For the positive impact of fraternal communities (ecclesial base communities) in Latin America, see Bonino, “Reception of Vatican II,” 273.

¹¹⁰S. Marie Angela Natoli, IHM, “Noviciado Inmaculado Corazón: A Memory of the Immaculate Heart Novitiate,” in *IHM Sisters: On Mission* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2008), Office of Ministry Advancement, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

¹¹¹EDUCA is an organization of experts in education dedicated to assisting in the professional education of teachers and the supporting of students’ learning. It is supported by the United Nations and the Peruvian Ministry of Education. See <http://www.perueduca.edu.pe/web/visitante/comunidad>.

dedicated her life to overthrowing the Peruvian government as terrorist in Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) and was admitted to its clandestine inner circle.¹¹²

Growing Resolve

Although the congregation's morale was severely tested during this period, the sisters steadfastly pursued their mission. The debate about their schools' option for the poor purified and, eventually, enriched their ministry to a variety of social groups. By the 1990's Lima was a multiethnic and multiclass megapolis. The dividing line between "rich" and "poor" could no longer be neatly defined by economic criteria.¹¹³

Much remained the same in the IHM schools but adaptation occurred. English remained an important element in the curriculum. The sisters strove to integrate the principles of social justice into their catechetical pastoral programs. The sisters and student-catechists continued their ministry in parishes and shantytowns. Though they were fewer in number, the sisters' zeal was not diminished. The decreased number of sisters led Mother Claudia to decide to relocate the sisters teaching in Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen to Escuela Inmaculado Corazón. The three sisters at Colegio Santa Cruz were appointed to other IHM missions. The remaining schools, Colegio San Antonio, Colegio Villa Maria (primary and secondary) and Escuela Inmaculado Corazón remained.¹¹⁴ The original Villa Maria Academy was sold. Mother Miriam Rose confided to Mother Claudia the benefits of selling the property.

¹¹²Former IHM, Nelly Evans Risco [S. Luz Marita], captured, tried, imprisoned. See "Ex-nun Convicted of Aiding Shining Path Reported Released after 15 Years," Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 8 Folder 39. As reported by the Associated Press at *Findlaw.org*.

¹¹³ IV Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, "Capítulo II: La Promoción Humana, in *Nueva Evangelización y Promoción Humana, Cultura Cristiana* (Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano [CELAM, 1992], 117-164. Afro-latinamericans, indigenous tribes, women, children, and all those impoverished by drug cartels, materialism, and the weapons' trade constitute the poor and marginalized.

¹¹⁴Mother Claudia, Communiqué, 1971C, 12 December 1971, South American Missions.

We would still have the [primary] school and could use what is now priests' guest quarters as a convent. It would all help financially this way: it would cut our work staff in half. We would not be able to care for so very many visitors—priests, sisters who are a great expense. (I'm willing to continue this and do feel we have made a wonderful contribution to the Church through all this but at this point maybe we should be practical . . .).¹¹⁵

Lay teachers, hired to replace the sisters, added diversity to the IHM schools; henceforth, their schools reflected more accurately Peruvian social reality. The sisters strove to convey to the faculty and students the transcendence of their mission, reminiscent of Cardinal Dougherty's solemn reminder, "to save souls." The sisters who remained, valiantly labored to adapt without compromising their identity as a religious congregation or their educational mission. The nucleus of discontent had been dissolved so a modicum of unanimity was restored. Hereafter, the sisters' correspondence and the entries in the annals of each mission disclose the steadfast hope that vitality could be restored.

Mending the Mission

The IHMs as well as other private schools staffed by religious congregations were engaged in a feud with the Ministry of Education. Mother Miriam Rose informed Mother Claudia about the problems that the Religious of the Sacred Heart encountered: "Rumors are that Sophianum [private school] had to sell their building . . . to the Villa Real [government school]. . . [There are] conflicting stories about what really happened. . . . The parents' assembly was so

¹¹⁵ Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 30 November 1974, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 3 Folder 77. One bright spot in the gloomy picture was the quick sale of Villa Maria Academy on Avenida Arequipa. In 1974 a severe earthquake severely damaged the new Villa Maria Academy in La Planicie. Since the original Villa Maria in Miraflores sustained very little damage, prospective buyers investigated the property shortly after the earthquake. The French Alliance Cultural Center (*Alianza francés*) now occupies the site.

scandalous that some [parents] felt sorry for the Sisters [of the Sacred Heart] who left the meeting crying.”¹¹⁶

The sisters who chose to remain in the congregation sent letters to Mother Claudia expressing their support of her decisions. Their letters reveal their desire to obey her and the constitution, *Faithful Witness*.¹¹⁷ The sisters in temporary vows, Peruvians, Bolivians and North Americans, made final profession of vows at a solemn ceremony in Villa Maria Chapel. Cardinal Ricketts presided at the mass with many concelebrants at his side. The school chapel was filled to capacity with family, friends, teachers, and staff. After the liturgy, all the sisters, their families, friends and guests gathered in the school patio to celebrate the occasion with folk dances, music, and refreshments.¹¹⁸ In the aftermath of strife, the sisters could celebrate the gift of religious vocations to the Church and the IHM congregation.

The *Annals of Villa Maria La Planicie* offers a good example of the sisters' vigorous efforts to promote religious vocations. The sister-annalist notes the sisters' inclusion of secondary students in their energetic and far reaching catechetical programs in nearby shantytowns and to rural regions during summer vacation.¹¹⁹ The intense catechetical activity

¹¹⁶Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 23 March 1975, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 3 Folder 80.

¹¹⁷Sisters in South America to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, December 1971, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 10 Folder 96.

¹¹⁸*Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1955-1971*, Four North American IHMs made Final Profession of Vows on 21 June 1970: S. Edwardine Marie, S. Rita James Murphy, S. Thomas Eugene Smith, S. John Bernard Kealy. Three Peruvian IHM made Final Profession on 9 February 1972: S. Rosa María Arenas, S. Teresa Alphonoso Bonani, and S. Santa Paula Martens; On 4 March 1972 one Bolivian and three Peruvian S. Tadea , (Bolivian) S. María Roberto, S. Marie Isabel Carpio and S. Norma Cómena in *Annals Villa Maria, 1972-1994*.

¹¹⁹The *Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1977-1993*, list the following IHM catechetical missions: in January 1979 to the village of Ocopa and the village of Canta in the Andean highlands; in January 1981 to Tablada de Lurin, a village south of Lima, and to Mochumi and Otica, villages in northern Peru; in January 1982 to the village of Cutiverni in the Amazon River region. Father William Brown, OFM, invited the IHMs to work in these areas which

inspired some of the students to discern their call to the IHMs or to other religious congregations. To assist these young women, the sisters established a discernment group for young women aspiring to join the IHMs. The steady increase of young women discerning, prompted the sisters to request a vocation director for Latin America.¹²⁰ Mother Claudia and the council responded by appointing a sister to accompany the aspirants in their discernment. The IHMs also joined in archdiocesan efforts to promote vocations to the priesthood and the consecrated life.

The *Annals of Villa Maria La Planicie* record that the sisters met with Cardinal Ricketts to develop programs for promotion of religious vocations and to sponsor prayer vigils in the Cathedral to pray for them.¹²¹ Each local IHM community included a weekly holy hour to pray together for vocations. During this period, God blessed the congregation with nine more Peruvian vocations. Seven were graduates of IHM schools in Lima, and two were the first fruits of the IHMs' new mission in Barranca, a port city three hours north of Lima. Each postulant spent the first few months in an IHM house in Lima before being sent to the IHM novitiate at Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, (previously known as Wester Chester) Pennsylvania.¹²²

The minutes of Regional Assembly gatherings in Peru during the 1980s tell the story of the sisters' desire to provide a more integrated culturally sensitive approach to religious

were Franciscan missions. Due to widespread terrorist activity in these regions, the IHMs had to discontinue this summer ministry.

¹²⁰Sisters of Villa Maria La Planicie to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, June 1980, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J6 Box 3 Folder 85.

¹²¹*Annals Villa Maria La Plancie, 1977-1993*, 12 June 1978, 8 December 1978.

¹²²South American Vocation Statistics, Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 3 Folder 19A, B. All nine Peruvian sisters were professed. One sister died while missioned in Peru. Four asked for and received dispensation from perpetual vows.

formation.¹²³ Similar to Mother Cornelia's request to Mother Loyola for a house of formation in Peru, Mother Genevieve agreed to have the initial formation (postulancy) in a designated IHM mission in Lima, which would be followed by two years of novitiate at the House of Formation at Villa Maria House of Studies in Immaculata.¹²⁴ Convinced by the many petitions and after prayerful consideration, Mother Marie Genevieve and the council voted to establish an IHM House of Formation in the Archdiocese of Lima. As of 1991, young women discerning a vocation to the IHM congregation entered the IHM Casa de Formación at Villa Maria, La Planicie.¹²⁵ Mother Genevieve appointed S. Mary Smith, IHM, directress of formation whose various mission experiences in Peru and Chile made her an ideal choice.¹²⁶ S. Mary and the postulants enrolled in the formation program sponsored by the Religious Formation Conference of Peru (CONFER). This inter-congregational formation program provided in-service training for formators, candidates, novices, and junior professed.¹²⁷ Once more the congregation's trust in divine Providence bore fruit. The scandal of division and discord among the IHMs in the previous decade may have scarred the congregation's image; however, those who felt called by

¹²³Regional Coordinating Assembly Minutes (1984-1989), Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, F6 Box 5 Folder 6.

¹²⁴Since there were no candidates from Chile, the Peruvian candidate, Srta. Ruth Bolarte, a graduate of Colegio San Antonio, followed this program of formation. S. Clare Mary Butterhof, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 15 August 1984, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 3 Folder 1. S. Ruth Bolarte, IHM, recounts her story of the challenge of integrating two cultures during initial formation. See Ruth Bolarte, IHM, "Our Ethnicity en Route to God," *Review for Religious* 67, no. 4 (2008): 358-365.

¹²⁵Sisters in Holy Spirit Region to Mother M. Genevieve Lawler, IHM, 4 December 1989, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 3 Folder 6. Three Peruvian sisters of the Casa de Formación professed their perpetual vows: S. Silvana Vega, IHM, S. María Elena Flores, IHM and S. Elizabeth Polanco, IHM.

¹²⁶"Statistics IHM Missions in South America," in IHM personnel database. Immaculata, PA: Villa Maria House of Studies, 2008. Missioned in South America since 1970, she was bilingual and served in many capacities in Peru and Chile as teacher, musician, principal, discernment group and retreat leader, and director of catechetical programs.

¹²⁷*Casa de Formación, 1991-2004*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

God to the consecrated life were not disillusioned. The sisters who inspired and guided them redeemed the failures of the past.

Although Mother Claudia could not honor the request of a parish priest in Huaral to staff a school for the poor, she did agree to send sisters to Barranca, a city north of Lima. Bishop Lorenzo León Alvarado, the brother of a lay teacher in San Antonio Callao, requested sisters for the Diocese of Huacho: “I bother you again, always in the hope that soon we may have a small community of your congregation for apostolic work in this area where there is a great cry for religious and social assistance.”¹²⁸ Mother Claudia accepted his request. “We have taken up in Council the matter of staffing a mission in Barranca and are delighted to inform you that the decision is affirmative.”¹²⁹ The sisters were not strangers to the Diocese of Huacho since they had engaged in catechetical programs in Puerto Supe, near Barranca. Their catechetical programs there were successful, and the sisters were delighted, even though the needs of Puerto Supe surpassed the ability of two sisters. Sister Carl Marie Barr, IHM, one of the sisters sent to Puerto Supe, sent a newsletter to the sisters in Peru about their ministry. “We are not changing the world—or Puerto—we didn’t intend to. We just wanted to share a little of His love and be there in case He wanted to use us, just as you and we try to all year round.”¹³⁰ Their humble, joyful attitude displayed a new sense of mission, aware of human limitation yet convinced of

¹²⁸The Most Reverend Lorenzo León Alvarado to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 16 May 1972, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 5. “. . . *Vuelvo nuevamente a importunarla, siempre con la esperanza que pronto tengamos una pequeña Comunidad de Sisters de su Congregación trabajando apostólicamente en esa zona en la que hay un reclamo tan grande de asistencia religiosa y de promoción social.*” Translation mine.

¹²⁹Mother M. Claudia, IHM, to the Most Reverend Lorenzo León Alvarado, 10 July 1972, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 5.

¹³⁰Sister Theresa Marian McCormick, IHM, and S. Carl Marie Barr, IHM, to Sisters in Peru, 4 February 1972, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 11 Folder 10.

God's providence. Three sisters were appointed to establish catechetical programs and to teach religion courses in the national school called Ventura Ccalamaqui. Bishop León provided a prefabricated dwelling in San Idelfonso parish in Barranca (see figures 4.2, 4.3).

The sisters lived simply and frugally. Electricity and water were available—occasionally. They adjusted to the cramped space, often making jokes about their new “house.” The *Annals of San Idelfonso* manifest that IHMs were willing to live with the poor and like the poor. The sister-annalist wrote, “Tonight we had a little rain. Since the roof is anything but waterproof; we wondered how we would survive. You can see the light right through many holes. But, fortunately, it was only a drizzle which didn't last too long.”¹³¹

Integrating time for prayer in common and daily mass proved to be a challenge. The only liturgy in the parish was a requiem mass celebrated every evening at 8 p.m. The texts for the Liturgy of the Word never varied. The stipends for masses for the deceased were the parish priest's main income. High masses (for higher stipends) included a choir or violins, an accordion, or possibly the organ. Few of the faithful received Holy Communion. The parish priest, an elderly *cura*, was “quite old, sick and deaf.”¹³² In Barranca, the IHMs focused primarily on catechesis and sacramental preparation for children and adults. The three sisters visited the local public schools offering catechetical preparation classes to the religion teachers.

Sister Theresa [Marian] visited a primary school just behind the convent. The teacher has five years [grades] in one room. She was sitting at the desk in her robe and night clothes. From her desk she called out that she never goes to church and that she is Protestant and doesn't want any help from us.”¹³³

¹³¹*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993, 22 April 1973, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.*

¹³²*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993, 22 April 1973.*

¹³³*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993, 22 May 1973.*

S. Edward Dolores Sullivan, IHM, assisted Father Ennio Leonardi, SDB, and Father Marino de Pra, SDB, in giving workshops to high school teachers of religion in Barranca.¹³⁴ The sisters' insertion into Peruvian public school system reality opened their eyes to the plight of the teachers and the students. "Sister Theresa and Edward visited a school in the Pampa de Lara. . . . The walk was long, hot and tiresome but most rewarding as all received us with open arms. They just couldn't believe that someone wanted to help them."¹³⁵

S. Maureen Margaret Illescas, a Peruvian IHM, established a kindergarten in the parish. Preschool-age children in rural areas of Barranca were particularly vulnerable to early death. The absence of pre- and postnatal care, the struggle for mothers to earn a living by working from dawn to dusk as street vendors, compromised the health and development of infants and toddlers. Most preschool-age children were tied to their mothers' backs or lodged in a niche in the vending cart. The kindergarten addressed a critical, unmet need.

The IHMs and sisters of other religious congregations worked together and shared their skills with one another.

S. Edward [Dolores] gave a workshop in Chinchá and learned from the Canadian Sisters some ideas to be employed in Barranca. . . . We began immediately studying the possibilities of working out lesson plans according to the *programa adaptada* for the *Reforma Educativa* for 1973. Using this as a basis we began planning themes with four lessons one for each week to be presented to the teachers with detailed explanations. It is hoped that the teachers will in turn present this lesson to their students.¹³⁶

Not all IHMs were willing or able to work in the Peruvian national schools. To many, the environment required more adaptation of their educational standards than they could manage. Ill-

¹³⁴Both priests were renowned in the Archdiocese of Lima for their expertise in catechesis of youth.

¹³⁵*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993*, 5 May 1973.

¹³⁶*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993*, 30 May 1973.

prepared teachers, impoverished students, and deplorable infrastructure were the norm in national schools, particularly in rural areas. The sisters who did volunteer to teach in the public school in Barranca discovered they were not welcome by some members of the faculty or even the principal. The *Annals of San Idelfonso* notes their struggles.

Now the *directora* [of Ventura Ccalamaqui national school] was unapproachable both on the subject of teaching English and Religion. She told the sisters that Padre Juan may very possibly not terminate his work there and there was no possibility of teaching English. . . . [sisters went to see Padre Juan] He clearly stated that he was giving up his teaching job. . . . We felt for some reason unknown to us that the *directora* did not want to have us as members of the faculty there. The only possible reason we could surmise was that there is also on the faculty two ex-religious who also want the religion hours. Possibly they had approached the *directora* on the subject of taking P. Juan's classes when he would retire. All in all it proved to be a most discouraging day. The long delay with the house and now the feeling of not being welcome on the faculty where we hoped to teach was most trying to our hopeful spirits.¹³⁷

Two sisters did eventually get teaching positions in the school; however, the meager income barely covered the sisters' living expenses. The teachers' union, *Sindicato unido de trabajadores de educación del Perú* (SUTEP), was thoroughly politicized by the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP).¹³⁸ Teacher strikes were frequent and prolonged. The sisters faced a dilemma: either to side with the union and to neglect the students, or to teach the students and to oppose the union. A bath in yellow paint was the fate of any teacher who broke the strike line. Although the sisters could not effect change in the system, their simplicity and joyfulness in spite of all opposition influenced the teachers and the students. IHM oral tradition is rich with humorous and amazing stories of teaching in Ccalamaqui, where a piece of chalk was a prized

¹³⁷*Annals Convento San Idelfonso Barranca, 1973-1993*, 28 March 1973. Ventura Ccalamaqui was a girls' high school. The enrollment was over 1,700. Three sessions (*turnos*), morning, afternoon, and evening were held to accommodate all the high school-age girls in the district.

¹³⁸Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru*, trans. Robin Cook (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The Shining Path terrorist organization had begun to infiltrate SUTEP by the 1970s (43-45). For an analysis of the infiltration, see David Scott Palmer, ed., *The Shining Path of Peru*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 2-18.

treasure. Most classrooms were made of straw mats for walls. Students milling around in the patio for want of a teacher meant that curious students poked their heads into the sisters' classes to watch the "*madres*" (sisters) teach.

The IHMs in Barranca followed the IHM tradition of formation and preparation of youth catechesis (see figure 4.4). Teams of catechists were sent forth to the nearby *haciendas* now turned into cooperative farms to catechize the most pastorally neglected in the hinterlands. A prefabricated hut on the property became a catechetical center, and sometimes, a guest house. Sisters and catechists met weekly to prepare lessons, pray, reflect on the Word of God, sing songs, and participate in *dinámicas* (educational games). Following the Redemptorist model of mission, sisters and the catechists walked through the dusty streets of Barranca and the nearby *haciendas* playing the guitar, ringing a school bell, inviting the children to assemble to sing and pray. After the children arrived, pairs of catechists accompanied groups of children to a humble home or vacant lot offered by the villagers for catechetical classes. Often, the children reassembled for "*chocolatadas*" (hot chocolate) and "*keke*" (cakes) donated by the parent associations of the IHM schools in Lima. Catechesis in solidarity with the rich and the poor, not struggles against opposing classes became the leitmotif of IHM mission in Peru. Thus, the IHMs resisted using the archdiocesan catechetical leaflets which viewed catechesis as a forum for *concientización* (raising awareness). Instead, the IHMs prepared materials which combined social awareness, doctrine, Scripture, and sacramental catechesis.¹³⁹ The IHM schools in Lima

¹³⁹Bishop Ricardo Durand Flores, SJ, ordinary of the Diocese of Callao, issued a catechism, *Doctrina Cristiana*, in the 1987. Catechism competitions were organized among the schools to address inadequacies of social analysis. Students of Colegio San Antonio excelled in these contests; however, the religious education curriculum borrowed from religious education texts used in IHM schools in the United States. *The Christ Our Life Series*, Sisters of Notre Dame of Chardon, Ohio (Chicago: Loyola Publishing Company), was the most widely used. Personal recollection.

actively promoted engagement with the economically poor. Busloads of parents, students, teachers, and sisters traveled to and from Barranca to participate in fundraisers and sacramental celebrations. IHM schools collected donations of food, prizes, school supplies, and catechetical materials as a manifestation of solidarity.

Those sisters who could not endure the rigor of a permanent assignment to San Idelfonso volunteered for catechetical ministry during the summer months (see figure 4.5). The annals show that the sisters favored direct ministry with the poor; however, few sisters could actually do it full time.

S. Claire Sullivan, IHM, one of the sisters who ministered in Barranca, presented a report to the Regional Assembly about the catechetical ministry in Barranca. Some sisters questioned her about the value of their work. She expressed her dismay to Mother Claudia:

Before I had a chance to present [a report on our work in Barranca] I was bombarded with all kinds of questions, as was Sister Leonita, about talents and preparations necessary to work here. I almost didn't believe it. No one from Callao or Villa Maria wants to come here. They are all saying they can't give talks to teachers and parents. Sister, you have to see these poor parents nursing their babies and wearing their little costumes and their long plaits and hats on their heads, living in one room shacks . . . just happy that someone cares about them—and our sisters can't do it with all their years of study and growth in the Lord. I almost cried and tried to make them see that what you have to do is pray, pray and ask God to do it and he'll help you in marvelous ways. I told them they are all hung up on the wrong thing. All they said was important but you step-out in faith to these poor people starved for a little knowledge of God. I also stressed that they better think a whole lot about living with three on top of each other and ask for that wonderful grace. Sister, we really have deep prayer encounter here in Barranca when we pray the office or have a sharing session and that's what makes life here go on as it does. . . . It is no wonder, I thought after the meeting that we don't move out into other areas of education. I got a good look at [the] authorities' side of the picture that day. They were given a wonderful opportunity to move out [of Lima] and now we can't get a replacement in the first year.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰Letters from the Sisters in Barranca to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, from 5 May to October 1973; Srs. Maureen Margaret and Edward Dolores, July 1973, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 10.

S. Claire was asking the same question Mother Cornelia raised earlier: could the IHMs perform “real” missionary work?¹⁴¹

The sisters amply proved that they could prepare catechists and organize multiple catechetical programs to minister to the poor in shantytowns near their missions in Lima. They successfully adapted the school curriculum to become a Peruvian-style Catholic private school; however, few could live like the poor and minister to them. Yet those who could were able to do so primarily due to the support of the IHM schools in Peru and mission promoters among the sisters and their families in the United States.¹⁴² Soon after arriving the catechetical work in Barranca was flourishing. In religion classes at the public high school, Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui, two sisters taught over seventeen hundred girls. Sisters prepared catechetical teams who went out to seven cooperative farms, and Bible study and the prayer group numbered more than one hundred regular attendees. Teachers in the local primary schools participated in catechetical workshops, a choir sang for Sunday Masses, and the parish kindergarten expanded up to second grade.¹⁴³ The congregation’s mission to the most abandoned poor in Barranca did bear fruit: three young women taught by the sisters became IHM sisters and one young man a diocesan priest.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹Mother M. Cornelia, IHM, to Mother M. Loyola, IHM, 28 October 1928, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 1 Folder 29.

¹⁴²The family of S. Claire Sullivan initiated this yearly event in their backyard in East Falls, Philadelphia. Eileen Flynn to Friends of IHM, 15 August 1993, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 42. The donations from the fundraiser provided for catechetical materials, food, and transportation for the three missions working directly with the poor in Barranca, Montenegro in Peru and Curacavi, Chile.

¹⁴³“Report on Our Apostolate in Barranca,” 1980, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 30.

¹⁴⁴Currently, S. Nancy Rivera, IHM, is the principal of Colegio San Antonio, Callao; S. Soni Avi, IHM, parish director of Hispanic ministry in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia; and S. Liz Veramendi, IHM, is directress of novices in the Peruvian house of formation at San Antonio Callao.

Mother Miriam Rose Curry, the regional superior in Peru (1977-1981), sent a report of the Regional Assembly to Mother Claudia. “Everyone participated with an openness and frankness that was very satisfying. Those who felt that they . . . had no charism for that particular work were respected and understood by those who did and vice versa.”¹⁴⁵

The sisters later, in reflecting on their experience, expressed their diverse opinions about their mission in Barranca. “I would love to go back. The best years of my religious have been while I worked in Barranca.” Other sisters continued wondered if IHMs were cut out for “real missionary work” in Peru.

I admire the Sisters who are a part of it, but I strongly believe that at least two more sisters should be appointed because of the distance. . . . more privacy in rooms, chapel. The bathroom is not too healthy etc.

I know the sisters have done so much work in Barranca. . . . In conscience I know for myself that I cannot give talks to adults and work late at night.

Language limitation continued to be an issue.

At present I do not feel capable of handling the variety of apostolic works that are now being done in such fluent Spanish.

I am unable to go due to a need for a better grasp of the culture and language. I am very much in favor of the mission . . . because of my age I feel it would be difficult to adapt.

The mission in Barranca also merited support as a true expression of the Redemptorist’s dedication to the most abandoned poor:

The apostolate in Barranca carries out St. Alphonsus’ desire to bring the sacramental life to the most abandoned poor. I believe it should be continued and encouraged . . . at this time.”

Yet, some continued to question the value of such a mission:

¹⁴⁵Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 18 September 1980, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 30.

The lack of a structured religious life, as told to me by a former member, is my strongest reason against it. The constant changes there make me wonder if God is telling us something.¹⁴⁶

Notably, Mother Miriam Rose reported that more than half the sisters in the region supported the mission in Barranca. Although some sisters were not convinced of its value and a few had reservations about it, the regional assembly recommended that the sisters be appointed to the sole mission in Peru dedicated principally to catechetical ministry to the poor.¹⁴⁷ Mother Claudia and the council agreed: “We concur with your request and will continue Barranca. . . . [There is a] misapprehension that we would discontinue our work with the poor in Peru if this mission were closed. We hasten to assure you that this is not our intention at all.”¹⁴⁸

During the tumultuous years following Vatican II and the meeting of the Latin American Episcopal Conference at Medellín, the IHMs struggled to adapt the American style Catholic school model to changing and seemingly contradictory political, social, and ecclesial demands. The spirited debate over the identity and mission of the congregation culminated in division, denunciation, and, lamentably, departures from the congregation. However, all was not lost in the “new Jerusalem.” Ultimately the congregation was purified and enriched by the scandal of discord, division, and disgrace. Chastened by their losses, the sisters gradually learned the value of discussion and dialogue to resolve differences. During this period, the sisters demonstrated the resiliency of their charism; their mission could still go forward. Although the departure focused the educational mission on the congregation’s original charism (education and catechesis), the manner in which Mother Claudia handled the crisis disillusioned some of the sisters.

¹⁴⁶Report on Our Apostolate in Barranca, 1980.

¹⁴⁷Mother Miriam Rose, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 18 September 1980.

¹⁴⁸Mother M. Claudia, IHM, Response to RCA Recommendations, Barranca.

Nonetheless, the IHMs pursued their educational mission, expanding catechetical programs, appointing sisters to San Idelfonso parish in the northern port city, Barranca, to teach religion in a government school, establish a catechist training program for teachers of religion in government schools, and vocations promotion in each of the IHM schools and catechetical missions. Furthermore, sisters in temporary vows made perpetual profession and young women aspiring to join the congregation were accepted as postulants in Peru and completed their novitiate at Villa Maria House of Studies in Immaculata, Pennsylvania. Peruvian sisters continued to be a valuable asset for the IHM congregation in ministering to Hispanics in the United States, assuming administrative and teaching positions in IHM schools in Lima, Callao, and Santiago, Chile.

Chapter 4 Illustrations

Figure 4.1. Children and teacher, Escuelita Villa Maria Academy, La Planicie, 1972.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

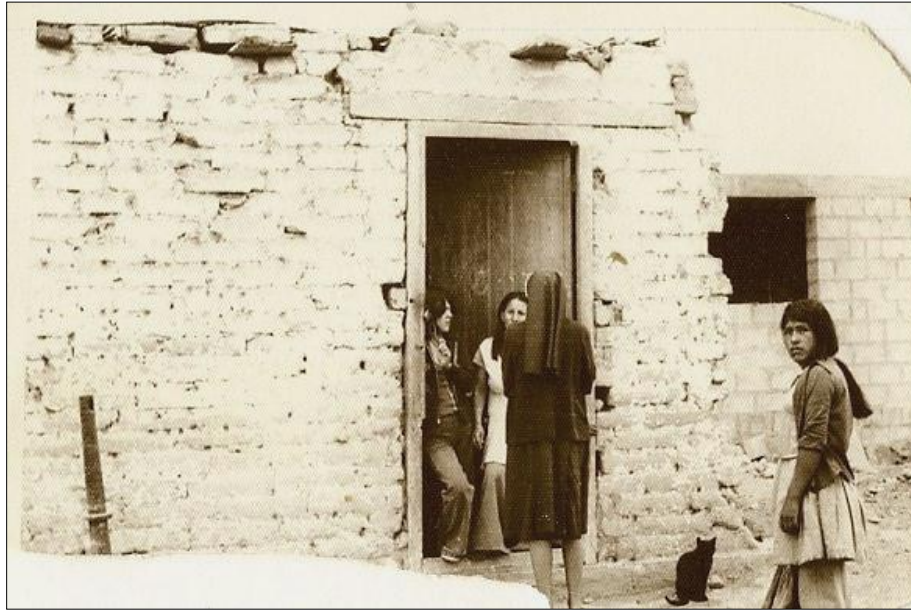


Figure 4.2. IHM visiting homes in Barranca, Peru 1970.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 4.3. IHM catechetical center in Barranca, Peru 1970.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata: PA



Figure 4.4. Catechists at IHM Catechetical Center, Barranca, Peru 1970.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 4.5. S. M. Osue Chuta, IHM, and children at play in Barranca, 1970.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

Chapter 5

The Mission Transformed (1982-2000)

Education is going to be the medium through which these social classes will learn mutual respect and toleration, and since our beloved Community has done so much to further the society of Lima, it would be a pity if we were to give up so easily our leadership in the field of education.

—Mother M. Trinita McGinnis, IHM, to Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, IHM, 1961

The previous chapter disclosed the turmoil and divisions among the IHMs due to divergent views about the congregations' mission in a so-called Third World country. This chapter will show how the IHMs adapted their educational mission to a changing church and to the people they served during a time of violence, terrorism, and economic hardship. The sisters' writings show how the IHMs created a network of solidarity between the various social classes they served. What is significant is that the IHM's educational mission did not change but its mission became more explicit about addressing social injustice and less dedicated to its identity as an American school.

Growing Crises

Mother Trinita's prescient observation proved true. By the end of the twentieth century IHM's educational mission was transformed. Crisis within the congregation, the Church, and society tested the congregation's ability to adapt. The American style Catholic schools founded

to combat the Protestant threat in the first decades of the twentieth century now formed a network of schools working in solidarity to realize the mission of the Church.

As Mother Trinita noted, the IHMs “were not willing to give up” their mission even as the Shining Path (*Sendero Luminoso*) terrorist movement swept through the provinces and into Lima. Although Fernando Belaúnde was elected president for a second term (1980-1985), he was unable to stimulate the Peruvian economy. The rising price of oil caused a worldwide recession making it difficult for Peru to service its debt to the International Monetary Fund is just one example.¹ El Niño (1982) caused floods and drought. Thus, the disgruntled electorate chose Alan García-Pérez, the APRA party candidate. President García effectively used his oratorical skills to energize the working and middle class voters with a populist platform. The first APRA party president of Peru gained international notoriety when he refused to honor the schedule of debt payments to the International Monetary Fund and caused frenzy among bankers by threatening to nationalize private banks; therefore, investors fled as inflation soared.²

During the Belaúnde and García presidencies, the Shining Path terrorist movement, led by Abimael Guzmán, capitalized on national discontent. Neither President Belaúnde’s capitalism nor García’s socialist leanings improved the standard of living, especially in the Andean region of Ayacucho. Guzmán, the mastermind of the movement, utilized his position as a professor of

¹Inflation in Peru increased to 60 percent in 1980 and exceeded 100 percent in 1984. Peru’s debt burden to the International Monetary Fund rose from \$8.4 billion to \$13 billion. David Scott Palmer, “Introduction: History, Politics, and Shining Path in Peru,” in *The Shining Path of Peru*, ed. David Scott Palmer, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), 13-14.

²Palmer, “Introduction: History Politics and Shining Path,” 15.

philosophy at the University of Huamanga in Ayacucho, to indoctrinate the faculty, students, and the public school teacher's union (SUTEP).³ Immersed in Maoist communist doctrine, Guzmán, “Presidente Gonzalo” to his followers, inaugurated a crusade to rid Peru of its historically ineffective, corrupt government. Guzmán and his secret inner circle dedicated themselves to a single objective: total revolution in order to purge Peru of corruption and inequality.⁴

The Shining Path rebellion was ignored by President Belaúnde's administration until the military reported assassinations of local magistrates and raids on police outposts. Few in Lima knew the scope or degree of Shining Path's control of the Andean provinces.⁵ Guzmán successfully recruited a People's Army to initiate the first phase of the revolution, which was to gain control of the provinces.⁶ As news spread, principally through press reports, of massacres of peasants in Andean villages; of bombings of power lines and government offices, of the theft of rifles and ammunition and dynamite from mining camps, President Belaúnde deployed a special forces unit [SINCHIS] to Ayacucho to quell the insurgents; however, neither President

³Ibid. 1-50. Palmer, a Peace Corps volunteer, taught in the Universidad de San Cristobal de Huamanga while Abimael Guzmán was a professor on the faculty. He recounts how Guzmán gained support of the intellectual leaders in the school to support and execute his plan to destroy the Peruvian state and replace it with a pure Maoist communist regime.

⁴Alma Guillermoprieto, “Down the Shining Path,” *The New Yorker*, 8 February 1993.

⁵Gustavo Gorriti, *The Shining Path: A History of the Millenarian War in Peru*, trans. Robin Cook (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 99. The Shining Path militants were dedicated to the “blood quota.” As Gorriti explains: “Shining Path militants had to be convinced of two things: the need to kill in a systematic and depersonalized way as part of an agreed upon strategy; and, as a necessary premise, not just the willingness but the expectation of giving up their own lives” (99).

⁶Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 98. Gorriti notes that “extravagance, not violence was the idiosyncrasy of the Shining Path rebellion.” It was becoming “one of the cruelest wars in the continental history of Latin America” (98).

Belaúnde's nor President García's special forces units could reclaim the provinces claimed by Shining Path.⁷ As Shining Path hoisted its emblem, red flags with hammer and sickle, above schools and government buildings in village after village, local farmers, shopkeepers, police, judges, and landowners were coerced to join the revolution or be tried by the Peoples' Court. Townspeople were required to witness summary executions of neighbors, friends, and family members if they were declared guilty by the Peoples' Court.⁸ Terrorized by Shining Path's omnipresence and intimidated by unscrupulous military personnel, thousands of villagers fled to Lima to escape violence and suspicion.⁹ By 1982, Shining Path accomplished the first objective, they controlled the Andean provinces. The next objective was to capture of Lima and overthrow the government.

Shining Path almost accomplished their second objective because neither the police nor military could prevent Shining Path's systematic terror tactics which effectively paralyzed Lima. Shining Path operatives routinely detonated electric power facilities causing blackouts and power outages for nine million Limeñans. Random bombings of high-visibility targets such as

⁷Some villagers took up arms and formed local militias (*ronderos*) to defend themselves from Shining Path. They proved to be quite effective. See Orin Starn, "Villagers at Arms: War and Counterrevolution in the Central-South Andes," in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steven J. Stern (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 224-257.

⁸Pillage and summary executions were termed the "harvesting of justice." See Gorriti, *Shining Path*, 60,61.

⁹Palmer, "Introduction: History, Politics, and Shining Path," 13-14. Shining Path's leaders had spent fifteen years preparing for revolutionary takeover. Shining Path recruits studied Maoist communist doctrine. Guzmán had studied and trained in China. He created a cadre of committed terrorist revolutionaries ready to die for the cause. By 1985, 6,000 had died from the violence. Over 3,000 human rights violations had been reported. Over \$1 billion in property damage occurred. See Palmer, "Introduction: History, Politics, and Shining Path," 14.

apartment buildings, banks, embassies, businesses, government buildings, and civic events, created fear and displayed Shining Path's apparently invincible power.¹⁰ Shining Path informants also infiltrated the shantytowns surrounding Lima. Prominent leaders of the shantytowns were assassinated or their family members were intimidated.¹¹

The sister-annalists report the bombings, blackouts, kidnappings, robberies, and deaths during the time of terror. "*Sendero Luminoso* got everyone's attention on the New Year...a blackout due to several electrical towers being blown up."¹² When a home appliance department store two blocks away from Villa Maria Academy was bombed, the windows of the chapel rattled from the impact. In downtown Miraflores, an apartment building was bombed killing twenty people and injuring many others.¹³ One entry depicts the cruelty of Shining Path assassins. "In the early hours of the morning, Carolina's family were victims of . . . terror[ists]. Gunmen entered their home, killed Mr. Franco and injured other family members."¹⁴ No one was

¹⁰Gordon H. McCormick, *The Shining Path and the Future of Peru* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1990), 25. This document is a report commissioned by the U.S. State Department to understand *Sendero Luminoso* and to shape U.S. foreign policy toward Peru. The section "War in the Cities" details Shining Path's strategy for the violent takeover of Lima, the final stage of its plan.

¹¹Burt, "Shining Path and the 'Decisive Battle,' " 279. Maria Elena Moyano, the vice mayor of Villa El Salvador, one of the most well organized shantytowns, was assassinated for leading a peaceful protest against Shining Path. After being shot to death, a stick of dynamite was attached to her body and detonated as a warning. Michel Azcueta, former Fe y Alegría teacher and mayor of Villa El Salvador (1983, 1986), also faced death threats (297-298).

¹² *Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1972-1994*, 1 January 1984.

¹³ *Annals Villa Maria Miraflores, 1972-1994*.

¹⁴ *Annals Villa Maria Academy Miraflores, 1972-1994*, 29 August 1987, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

exempt from Shining Path's terror tactics. The *Villa Maria Annals* reports that a sister and her parents, who were visiting from the United States, were robbed at gunpoint while sitting on the beach. "Everything was taken: the car, their habits, eye glasses, wallets and jewelry. A neighbor drove them to the Augustinians [priests] house."¹⁵ Another entry reports that "A state of emergency for Lima was proclaimed by the President [Alan García]...[When] picking up Mr. Anderson at the airport, [it] meant going through various police checkpoints."¹⁶ The proclamation of a state of emergency meant police enforced a curfew and public gathering were prohibited. Shining Path nearly accomplished its principal objective. The only institution the Peruvian people trusted was the Catholic Church.

Growing Balance

The Catholic Church's stature in Peruvian society underwent a noticeable change as the military regime gradually disenchanted Church leaders.¹⁷ President Belaúnde's election in 1980, plus a number of statements from the Vatican, as well as the Latin American Bishops' Conference, clarified the Church's role in the political sphere and focused on evangelization. Leaders in the Peruvian church adopted a more nuanced approach to the church's mission. Pope Paul VI's "On Evangelization in the Modern World" (*Evangelii nuntiandi*, 1975) and his

¹⁵ Ibid. 30 January 1986.

¹⁶ Ibid. 10 February 1986.

¹⁷ Klaiber, 420. Church leaders began to distance themselves from the second military regime lead by General Pablo Morales Bermúdez. The military leaders resorted to violent tactics to enforce reform and general elections were continuously postponed.

successor, Pope John Paul II's *Catechesi tradendae* (1977) delineated the nature of catechesis. The Latin American Episcopal Conference in Puebla, Mexico (1979) echoed *Catechesi tradendae* by reminding pastors that sacramental life and transmission of the truths of the Faith were essential components of the Church's mission. The Latin American Episcopate also affirmed the important contribution of religious congregations in institutional ministries such as schools and hospitals.¹⁸ Although controversial, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's analysis of liberation theology, "Instruction on Certain Aspects of 'Liberation Theology'" (1984), provided necessary guidelines for pastoral practices based on the theology of liberation.¹⁹ For the IHMs, these documents affirmed the original mission of their schools, namely, "to save souls" by evangelizing through education. In *Catechesi tradendae* (18), Pope John Paul II clearly defined catechesis as a "remarkable moment" in the process of evangelization, which also included sacramental initiation, reflection on the Word of God, instruction in doctrine, and striving for justice.²⁰

The Belaúnde administration gave private schools more leeway in interpreting the educational reforms of the Velasco regime. This enabled Catholic private schools to prioritize

¹⁸Episcopado Latinoamericano, "La evangelización en el presente y en el futuro de América Latina" (Puebla, 1979), in *Conferencias Generales: Río de Janeiro, Medellín, Puebla, Santo Domingo* (Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Pía Sociedad San Pablo, 1993), 380. Cited hereafter as "*Puebla*."

¹⁹See Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "On Certain Aspects of 'Liberation Theology,'" *Origins* 14, no. 13 (13 September 1984): 193-204, 548-515, 657. For the need for evangelization in Latin America see Episcopado Latinoamericano, "*Puebla*," 74, 257- 282.

²⁰ Pope John Paul II, "Catechesis in Our Time (*Catechesi tradendae*, 1979)," in *The Catechetical Documents*, ed. Martin Connell (Chicago: Liturgy Training Resources, 1996), 383.

catechesis as a component of their mission to evangelize through education.²¹ Students still wore the state-mandated national uniform, marched in patriotic parades, and participated in civic events. Each school developed a department of pastoral ministry designed to coordinate sacramental programs and social justice initiatives. Students were encouraged to share food, clothing, school supplies, toys in weekly *colectas* (collections). Interscholastic sports' events, fundraisers, family sports' days for maintenance and domestic personnel, visits to orphanages, hospitals, homes for the elderly were organized. Pastoral teams worked together to provide venues for encounters between youth and adults of different social classes. The network of IHM schools provided a framework to build solidarity.

The IHM schools were no longer enclaves of English-speaking North American sisters; rather, the faculties of each school were a combination of sisters, lay men and women, including many who were alumni of IHM schools. As the schools adapted to the changing social and economic conditions so did the sisters' way of life. Each local community determined if prayer in common would be in Spanish or English or alternate. Newly appointed sisters unfamiliar with Spanish participated in intensive Spanish classes. Until newly arrived sisters gained sufficient fluency in Spanish, they taught English in primary or secondary school. Latin American sisters were appointed as administrators of IHM schools, superiors of local communities, and directors of catechetical programs in the dioceses of both Lima and Callao. Although English tended to be

²¹The link between catechesis and evangelization was further emphasized in the publication of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. See Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Gospel, Catechesis, Catechism: Sidelights on the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1977), 36.

the medium of communication between the North American sisters, Latin American sisters spoke whichever language they preferred. Latin American sisters sent to missions in the United States were a vital resource for the dioceses in which the IHMs served. Their bilingual, bicultural experience aided the dioceses struggling to minister to the growing Hispanic population.²² North American sisters could visit their families periodically in the United States. More reliable international telephone service linked sisters with their families and friends at home. The IHMs struggled to balance the demands of their educational mission and their middle class lifestyle.

The minutes of regional assemblies and the annals of each mission reveal that the sisters experienced a pervasive uneasiness about the credibility of their witness to evangelical poverty. At local and regional assemblies the sisters engage in a constant self-critique of their middle class lifestyle and prudent ways of witnessing to a preferential option for the poor while promoting apostolic effectiveness as Catholic educators.²³ The minutes reveal frank discussions about the cost of food, the type of food, transportation by convent car or by public buses, dining in restaurants, forms of entertainment; all was carefully scrutinized in light of their vow of poverty. Although the sisters rarely reached a consensus about the details of a simple lifestyle, each local community strove to find the middle path. All agreed that excess and luxury were

²²For the unrecognized contribution of Latin American missionaries to developed nations, see Edward L. Cleary, *How Latin America Saved the Soul of the Catholic Church* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2009), 172-175. Current mission theory considers “mission territory” as any region in need of re-evangelization (175).

²³Minutes of the Regional Coordinating Assembly, Espíritu Santo Region, 1990-1998, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, F6 Box 5 Folder 6.

incompatible with evangelical poverty; however, the definition of “luxury” was a relative term since to many in Peru running water and three meals were luxuries few could afford.

Growing Initiative

By the 1990s, the congregation in Peru had acquired a firm conviction that their schools and pastoral programs contributed significantly to the evangelizing mission of the Church. Alberto Fujimori’s victory in the presidential election in 1990 signaled a new direction in Peruvian politics and economics. First, he implemented a drastic economic policy to stabilize the economy.²⁴ This measure, known as the “Fuji shock,” plunged seventy percent of the population into poverty.²⁵ President Fujimori then consolidated his power by dissolving the Peruvian Congress (1992). In the midst of the president’s reform efforts, a cholera epidemic exacerbated the nation’s challenges. To wipe out terrorism, the president permitted the military to employ tactics as brutal and clandestine as those of Shining Path. The Peruvian military imprisoned, tortured, and killed anyone on the slightest suspicion of terrorism.²⁶

²⁴In 1988, inflation reached 1722 percent and by 1989, 2775 percent. The economy contracted 25 percent. Jo-Marie Burt, “Shining Path and the ‘Decisive Battle’ in Lima’s Barriadas: The Case of Villa El Salvador,” in *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru, 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 271.

²⁵Burt, “Shining Path and the ‘Decisive Battle,’” 271. A Ministerio de la Presidencia (Ministry of the President of Peru) official defined two major levels of poverty in Peru at this time: critical poverty and extreme poverty. Critical poverty signified insufficient income to satisfy the basic needs of food for a five-member family. Critical poverty denoted insufficient income to cover the minimal nutritional requirements for a family of five. The *Fondo de Compensación y Desarrollo Social* (FONCODES) reported that government spending declined from 4.6 percent of the gross domestic product in 1980 to 1.78 percent in 1991. Education and health lost three-fourths of its value between 1986 and 1990. By 1994, 54 percent of the population (13 million people) lived in critical poverty. Twenty-three percent of this critically poor group had fallen into extreme poverty. See Burt, pp. 300-301n13.

²⁶For examples of human rights abuses see Gorriti, *Shining and Other Paths*, 145-150

The IHM congregation, now led by Mother Marie Genevieve Lawler, IHM, was facing its own crisis. A shortage of sisters in the United States meant fewer sisters could be appointed to Peruvian missions. Regional assemblies in Peru agreed to reduce their sister faculty by one in order to expand the IHM's ministry in Peru.²⁷

Father Vincent Hawe, SJ, had introduced Fe y Alegría schools in Peru in 1966. He knew Father José María Vélaz, SJ, the Venezuelan Jesuit who founded the Fe y Alegría movement in Venezuela in 1955. While catechizing children in a shantytown near Caracas, Vélaz and a group of university students decided to establish a Catholic school for the poor. The Venezuelan Ministry of Education agreed to co-fund the school, thus a new model of Catholic school for the poor was created. The State provided teachers and salaries, and the Jesuits provided funds to construct the schools. Religious congregations were invited to work with the Jesuits as the administrators and pastoral ministers.²⁸

The IHMs were not strangers to the Fe y Alegría movement in Peru for all private Catholic schools contributed to the national campaign to raise funds to build these schools. This

²⁷Minutes of the the Regional Coordinating Assembly, Espíritu Santo Region, 1981-1989, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, F 6 Box 5 Folder 6.

²⁸Ignacio Marquinez, SJ, *¿Cómo nació Fe y Alegría?* (Caracas, Venezuela: Formateca, 1982). Fe y Alegría in Peru established schools in the shantytowns surroundings Lima. Since the mission of Fe y Alegría embraced empowering the poor, schools were established if they were requested by the community (*comunidad*). A town hall meeting with parents and the Fe y Alegría general secretary met to seal the agreement, which stipulated parents' participation in building the school and maintaining it. This approach reversed the paternalistic attitude. The mission of Fe y Alegría considers the poor as the agents of their transformation in cooperation with the Church and the state. Clearly, Fe y Alegría schools confirm Henry Dietz's claim that shantytowns were centers of agency, not "belts of misery" or "festered sores." See Dietz, "Urban Squatter Settlements in Peru: A Case History," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 11, no. 3 (1969): 353.

model of ministry to the poor in schools appealed to the IHMs because they were educators. In 1987, the sisters in Peru asked Mother Genevieve for permission to establish a Fe y Alegría school. S. Clare Mary Butterhof, IHM, the regional superior, contacted Father Hawe, the national director of Fe y Alegría, asking for information to present to Mother Genevieve.²⁹

Father Hawe answered her letter and explained the partnership between Fe y Alegría and the Ministry of Education. The official *convenio* (agreement) between Fe y Alegría and the State stipulated that the Ministry of Education provided teacher salaries; Fe y Alegría agreed to fund the construction of schools, determine the administrators of the schools, and abide by all regulations of public education in the administration of the schools. The national office of Fe y Alegría determined which prospective schools a religious congregation would staff with a principal and a pastoral team.

Ideally, a Fe y Alegría school operated according to the principles of *pastoral de conjunto* (collaborative ministry). The religious, lay faculty and national office of Fe y Alegría worked in conjunction with the Ministry of Education to educate the children of the poor.³⁰ The

²⁹Vincent Hawe, SJ, to S. Clare Mary Butterhof, IHM, 19 February 1987, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 30.

³⁰Edward L. Cleary, *How Latin America Saved the Soul of the Catholic Church* (New York: Paulist Press, 2009), 100-105. Cleary considers the Fe y Alegría movement as an expression of partnership between the Church and the state to educate and evangelize. The Latin American Episcopal Conference in Aparecida, Brazil, identified evangelization as the pastoral priority and the Church's educational institutions as the most effective means to integrate the principles of social justice into the Church's evangelical mission, especially to the poor. Daniel H. Levine concurs with Cleary. He interprets the Episcopal Conference at Aparecida as demonstrating the bishops' support for institutional structures, especially schools and universities, in maintaining the Catholic identity of the continent before the threat of "multiple pluralisms." The social media exposes the populace to competing ethical and moral standards, particularly consumerism, gender identity, and sexuality. See Levine, "The Future as Seen from

thirty-four Fe y Alegría schools located in the poorest Andean, Amazonian and coastal regions of Peru favorably influenced the quality of public education (*educación popular*) throughout the country.³¹ Fe y Alegría signed an agreement with the religious congregation to build the basic structure of the school and a residence for the members of the congregation staffing the school. Most importantly, the townspeople in the proposed location of the school also signed an agreement with Fe y Alegría to provide the land and assist in the completion and maintenance of the school. Thus, each Fe y Alegría school represented the collective effort of Church, state, and the parents to establish an educational community in the poorest regions in Peru. This model proved to be an ideal fit for the IHMs since it provided a viable structure to evangelize and educate the poorest and most vulnerable youth in Peru.

Since each local mission had volunteered to reduce the number of sisters on faculty, it was possible to appoint sisters to a Fe y Alegría school.³² Meanwhile, Father Antonio Bachs, SJ, the successor of Father Hawe, wrote to S. Clare Mary providing her with the details for staffing a

Aparecida,” in *Aparecida: Quo Vadis?*, ed. Robert S. Pelton (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 2008), 177. He refers to *La Aparecida* articles 309 to 311 as particularly supportive of the Church’s educational ministry.

³¹ *Educación popular* as understood by the Fe y Alegría movement distinguishes their schools from private Catholic schools and parochial schools. *Educación popular* denotes free, public education. In Peru, a legal agreement (*convenio*) between the state and Fe y Alegría allows public school teachers to be hired by Fe y Alegría administration. The teachers are hired as public school employees. Fe y Alegría agrees to raise funds to construct a school only when parents in a zone petition Fe y Alegría to establish a school and promise to assist in its maintenance and to collaborate with the teachers in the education of their children.

³² Minutes Regional Coordinating Assembly, 1989- 1990, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, F6 Box 5, Folders 6,7.

Fe y Alegría school which S. Clare Mary presented to Mother Genevieve.³³ Mother Genevieve and the council decided in favor of the proposal and appointed S. Teresa Catherine Walsh, IHM, and S. Rosa Maria Arenas, IHM, to be the first members of the proposed school.³⁴ Before the school was founded, S. Teresa Catherine was welcomed as an intern at the Sisters of God's Love (Hermanas de Amor de Dios).³⁵

When Mother Marie Genevieve traveled to Peru for visitation, she also visited Sister Teresa at the Fe y Alegría school in San Gabriel. S. Teresa Catherine noted how the children's simplicity and joyfulness impressed Mother Genevieve. S. Teresa wrote to Mother thanking her for the visit saying, "I knew you'd be captivated by the children. . . . That's the way they always are to anyone who comes into their midst. I've learned so much that I can't write it down. . . . Some of my most valuable experiences have happened during this time."³⁶

Father Bachs met with S. Mary McBride, the regional superior, to discuss locations for possible Fe y Alegría schools. One site was a shantytown on the outskirts of Barranca and the

³³Reverend Antonio Bachs, SJ, to Madre Clare Mary, IHM, 18 November 1987, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 30 Folder 33.

³⁴ S. Teresa Catherine Walsh, IHM, served in IHM schools in Peru and Chile from 1975. During her ministry she directed pastoral and catechetical programs in Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie; Colegio San Antonio, Callao; and Colegio Villa Maria, Santiago, Chile, as a teacher, catechist, and retreat director. S. Margaret Shields, IHM, "Statistics IHM Missions in South America," in IHM personnel database. Immaculata, PA: Villa Maria House of Studies, 2008.

³⁵*Annals Villa Maria La Planicie, 1977-1993*, Immaculata PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, 13 February 1987. The term *asentamiento humano* (human settlement) replaced *pueblo joven* (young town) or *barriada* (slum). The term's evolution represents the change in attitude toward those living in these zones.

³⁶S. Teresa Catherine Walsh, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve Lawler, IHM, 4 September 1987, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J4 Box 31.

other in Montenegro, a recently settled shantytown in San Juan de Lurigancho, an expansive desert valley flanking Lima.³⁷ Both areas were refuges for thousands of families fleeing terrorism in the provinces. Clusters of straw mat huts sprang up nightly in both sites as family members occupied the arid desert surrounding Barranca and Lima. Without water, electricity, roads, or sanitation, families sought safety and freedom from intimidation (see figure 5.1).³⁸

On an earlier occasion Father Bachs told S. Clare Mary that the success of a Fe y Alegría school depended on the support of the entire congregation. He wrote, “It is important to feel that the school is a work of the congregation, and we [Fe y Alegría] collaborate to further the work of the Church.”³⁹ S. Mary McBride informed Mother Genevieve of the two possible locations. To everyone’s surprise, she and the council voted to appoint sisters to both locations to establish two schools, not one. The sisters in Barranca realized that the new administration of Ccalamqui public school made it increasingly difficult for them to teach religion classes in the school; therefore, S. Maria Teresa Scudellari and S. Eileen Buchanan were appointed to found the

³⁷Julio H. Abanto, *San Juan de Lurigancho un distrito milenario* (Lima: Instituto Cultural Ruricancho, 2001), 6. San Juan de Lurigancho is the most densely populated area in Peru. Its population represented 11 percent of the population of Lima. In 1998 the population of this district was approximately 700,000. Father Antonio Bachs, SJ, national director of Fe y Alegría commented that the two proposed sites were considered “red zones” by the Peruvian secret police. These were areas that the national police had ceded to Shining Path control. Personal interview with Father Antonio Bachs, SJ, Oficina Central de Fe y Alegría Lima, Peru, 14 April 1996.

³⁸Antonio Bachs, SJ, personal interview in Oficina Central de Fe y Alegría, Lima, Peru, 14 February 2000. Barranca and Montenegro were designated by the military as “red zones” (zonas rojas). Police or military would not patrol these areas.

³⁹The Reverend Antonio Bachs, SJ, to Madre Clare Mary, IHM, 18 November 1987. “*Es importante sentir que el Colegio es una obra propia de su Congregación y que junto colaboramos para llevar adelante una obra de la Iglesia.*” Translation mine.

congregation's first Fe y Alegría school. Shortly after their appointment, S. Teresa Catherine and S. Rosa Maria Arenas were assigned to the second Fe y Alegría school in Montenegro. Before a brick was laid to build either school, parents enrolled their children while the sisters from the schools in Lima assembled classrooms of straw mats (see figures 5.2, 5.3). The IHM sisters and school communities in Peru and the United States sent donations, school supplies, education materials, and food supplies to support the two Fe y Alegría schools. The entrance of the Jesuits and many other religious congregations of men and women, and the IHMs, into *educación popular* (education of the people) marked a turning point in the Church's educational mission in Latin America.⁴⁰ The link between the Jesuits and the IHMs proved to be a good match since the IHMs shared the Jesuit concern for the education of the poor. The sisters in both hemispheres allayed any doubts about the entire congregations' support of the two newest schools for desperately poor children. The saying, "Where one sister is, all [sisters] are," epitomized the solidarity between IHM missions in both hemispheres. The sisters' letters and the annals of both Fe y Alegría schools recount the story of the solidarity of the sisters and the school communities during times of suspicion, violence, and fear.

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⁴⁰Cleary compares the the Fe y Alegría movement to the between faith based-organizations and the United States government during the presidencies of Bill Clinton and George Bush. Cleary, *How Latin America Save the Soul of the Catholic Church*, 100-103.

“Where the Asphalt Ends,” Terrorism Begins

The Fe y Alegría schools offered a semblance of stability and order to families living in precarious circumstances. Although the Fe y Alegría movement had gained widespread recognition as schools for the poor “where the asphalt ends,” they were not exempt from the threat of Shining Path.⁴¹ Actually, part of Shining Path’s strategy to take Lima depended on the infiltration of shantytowns surrounding the city.⁴² Soon those who had fled the *senderistas* (Shining Path terrorists) in their hometowns in the provinces discovered that the terrorists’ cells were sowing seeds of suspicion and fear among the townspeople. The solidarity of the *comuneros* (neighbors) eroded as suspicious people (*sospechosos*) moved into the settlements gaining notoriety and control by punishing petty thieves and protecting the settlement from gangs. School teachers were the most likely suspect for sowing seeds of terror. Since they were literate and educated, many of the unlettered townspeople trusted their advice (*consejos*) and relied on them for protection. Since most of the Fe y Alegría schools were in rural areas and shantytowns encircling Lima, they were most vulnerable to Shining Path’s infiltration.⁴³

⁴¹J.S.T., “Of Many Things,” *America* 162, no. 2 (1992).

⁴²James O’Leary, SJ, “Where the Asphalt Ends,” *Company Magazine* (Spring 1998): 6-8.

⁴³Nelly Evans, former IHM, was a teacher in the Fe y Alegría school in Lima was a known member of Shining Path. She was suspected of using study groups in school to recruit youth. See Burt, “Shining Path and the ‘Decisive Battle,’” 281. Women of middle class and professional status were part of the nucleus of Shining Path leadership. See Isabel Coral Cordero, “Women in Ward: Impact and Responses,” *Shining and Other Paths: War and Society in Peru 1980-1995*, ed. Steve J. Stern (Durham: Duke University, 1998), 349-350.

Therefore, Father Bachs and his staff visited the schools frequently to support and to advise administrators and pastoral teams in schools where Shining Path sympathizers were suspected.

Growing Fear

The sister annalists of both Fe y Alegria schools reveal how the sisters, a trusted group of townspeople, and teachers supported and protected each other. Although many in the congregation were aware of Shining Path's notorious acts of terror, few realized that the sisters in Lima, and especially those in the two Fe y Alegría schools, were in the midst of the terrorism (see figure 5.4). The annals of every house record how the sisters carried on their everyday lives in spite of the danger that surrounded them. Samples of the annals tell the story.

Today was the anniversary of *Sendero Luminoso* [Shining Path]. There was a general strike, no stores open, no school, no bus transportation. There were shots heard and many red flags throughout the town. We took advantage of our free day to work on our marks. The whole town was anxious and disturbed over the situation (17 May 1992).

A bomb and a terrorist flag were placed on the roof of our parish clinic. It was in retaliation for the President's [Fujimori] visit to our town yesterday (13 May 1992).

Juan, a seminarian on our pastoral team, has been approached quite often by the terrorists. . . . He was asked to participate in the killing that took place last week (15 May 1992).

Word came that the Town Council had received a written warning from *Sendero Luminoso*, the terrorists, to stop certain activities that they did not like (5 November 1989).

The terrorists had called for a strike for everyone in Lima. . . . To scare people into obeying that order and to paralyze transit public buses were burned in different parts of the city. The sisters had to pass one of these buses just after it was set on fire on their way to school. The sisters decided that they would try to go to school in spite of the strike declared by the terrorists (20 July 1989).

Juan, our seminarian and pastoral agent, is still being visited by the terrorists (11 June 1992).

Sister Teresa and S. Helene attended a meeting at Fe y Alegría concerning the problem of terrorists (19 June 1992).

We held a workshop for our catechists with songs, contests and dynamics [games]. We are so grateful to our catechists because they reach so many that we alone could never touch (27 June 1992).

A gigantic car bomb exploded tonight in Miraflores, not too far from Villa Maria. Thirteen people died and about 200 injured (16 July 1992).

“*Paro Armado*” (armed strike) the terrorists called [for] a complete stop to any activities. No classes, work, meetings for two days. All buses were forbidden to move out of the town. There was a lot of tension among the people as they observed the red flags on the hills surrounding us (22 July 1992).

The sisters in Fe y Alegría 35 in Barranca tell of similar danger. Travel to or from Lima was dangerous since cars and buses were frequently hijacked by Shining Path. The sisters’ house was adjacent to the local police station. Often they could hear the cries and screams of prisoners being tortured. The sister-annalist notes that the sisters chose not to leave the house or move to a safer location for they feared that their absence would embolden the police to torture prisoners more cruelly.⁴⁴

The Peruvian hierarchy met with leaders of religious congregations to offer support and guidance. At a meeting of general superiors, Bishop José Antonio Dammert asked religious to remain in zones controlled by Shining Path since religious were a visible sign that the Church had not abandoned them. He added that if any religious was directly threatened he or she should

⁴⁴S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 19 October 1989, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 69.

leave the area for a short period, but the congregation should not abandon the area permanently. He lamented the brutality of the police and military sent to reclaim the zone occupied by Shining Path. For the majority of the population, the Church was the only trustworthy institution in the nation.⁴⁵

S. Mary McBride informed Mother Genevieve of the increasingly precarious situation the congregation faced. The sisters continued their ministry but not without risk. “In Barranca,” she wrote, “the sisters are doing what the parish priest will not do. The father of a child in school was killed in the presence of his wife and children. . . . Sister was asked to bless her husband’s [dead body] because the priest refused. . . . The sisters in both missions [Barranca and Monenegro] were asked if they wished to leave due to fear of terrorists. All replied, ‘no.’”⁴⁶ The *Annals of Fe y Alegría* 35 (Barranca) recounts the danger:

At a distance about two city blocks from our Fe y Alegría school there is a hill where *Sendero* (Shining Path) has its stronghold. . . . Members of *Sendero* asked to play “futbol” in our school patio. . . . The guardian [watchman] said they could, and he played with them. He thought that it’s better to have them as friends rather than enemies. . . . A priest friend [knowledgeable of *Sendero*] told the sisters to be cautious in their treatment of the children because there is no doubt that we have children of members of *Sendero* in our school. . . . [he] gave a few precautions for the sisters to take.”⁴⁷

S. Mary McBride described Shining Path’s terror tactics to Mother Genevieve.

⁴⁵S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 14 August 1991, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 74.

⁴⁶S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 14 August 1991.

⁴⁷S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 11 September 1991, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 77.

The tactics the terrorists employed are called ‘white terrorism.’ A handwritten note in red ink was thrown into a teacher’s room in Barranca. It said, ‘close the school, please.’ A second note was thrown in another teacher’s room, instructing the finder to present the first note to the principal. Once informed, the sister went to each classroom informing the teachers to meet with her in the teacher’s room. Another note was thrown saying, ‘We beg you to leave NOW or something will happen to the children...’

The children and teachers were dismissed. The sister [principal] in Villa Maria, La Planicie was informed and [also] Father Antonio Bachs SJ at the Central Office of Fe y Alegría. He instructed the sisters to come down to Lima immediately. Bishop León was also informed. He came to the sisters’ house and told them to not go near the police or the PIP [Peruvian Investigative Police] to report the incident. . . . One of the sisters reported that while leaving the school that day a child whispered in her ear that he wished to talk to her in private in the convent. He recounted to the sister that a man with his face covered had come to him giving him the note to throw into the window. He told him that he would kill him if the principal did not dismiss the children. The sisters returned to school the next Wednesday, ‘very calm and content.’⁴⁸

Rumors also began to circulate in Lima that Shining Path was planning to take over all public and private schools while schools were in session.⁴⁹ The Consorcio of Catholic schools immediately organized a meeting for all administrators giving them instructions from security experts how to respond to or avoid terrorist taking over a school. Administrators hired security firms to provide parents, teachers, staff, and sisters with safe practices to avoid being kidnapped, taken hostage or robbed. Sister Mary McBride alerted Mother Genevieve and the council that all

⁴⁸S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 3 October 1992, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 14 Folder 80.

⁴⁹Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación, *Hatun Willakuy*. Section 3.5 analyzes the Communist Party of Peru’s affiliation with *Sendero Luminoso* (PCP-SL) and infiltration and control of the teachers’ union (SUTEP). This report notes that between 1978 and 2000 the teachers’ union capitalized on the growing dissatisfaction with the government’s unkept promises to modernize Peru through education of the poor. Shining Path infiltrated and controlled the union to spark the nationwide revolt. Its goal was to destroy all institutions and remake Peru into a pure Maoist state (section 3.5). Since many public school teachers were Shining Path sympathizers, taking over the schools was part of Shining Path’s plan, not a mere rumor.

IHM schools had security measures in place to safeguard the children, teachers, staff, and sisters if Shining Path made an attempt to take over the school.⁵⁰

Growing Solidarity

Although Peruvian society was now permeated with suspicion, fear, and distrust, the sisters focused principally on the solidarity the schools shared among themselves. The sister-annalists report a litany of heroic acts of teachers, parents and students. In particular, the IHM schools in Miraflores and Callao supported the congregation's two Fe y Alegría schools. Parents and alumni of Villa Maria, Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, and Colegio San Antonio travelled to Montenegro and Barranca to join the sisters and the people in the ongoing construction of the two schools. They donated domestic items and food for prizes at the biannual Bingo organized by the Fe y Alegría parent associations in Montenegro and Barranca (see figure 5.5). The parents of children in Fe y Alegría also contributed to the construction and maintenance of the schools (see figure 5.6). The Association of Parents (APAFA) organized fundraisers and communal work days (*faenas*) to insure that parents acted as collaborators in the educational mission.

The sisters in the Fe y Alegría schools prepared and assisted teams of student catechists to complement parish catechetical programs. Although Pentecostal sects attracted many of the *gente humilde* (humble people), the teams of student-catechists manifested the Catholic Church's

⁵⁰S. Mary McBride, IHM, to Mother Marie Genevieve, IHM, 3 October 1992.

presence, too.⁵¹ The sisters recounted amazing stories of the humble peoples' deep faith and perplexing priorities. S. Anne Lafferty, IHM, the catechetical director in Montenegro sat beside a middle-aged woman on a crowded bus from Montenegro to Lima. She addressed S. Anne, “*Hermana* [sister], I used to be very Catholic; however, I quit the Catholic Church. When my husband joined the Pentecostal church, he quit drinking and stopped beating me.”⁵² On another occasion, one of her most effective catechists, José Tucto, revealed that he also belonged to the Pentecostal church. He told her that he had joined the *hermanas*’ (sisters’) church because he felt sorry for the *católicos* in the *pueblo* for they did not know how to preach.⁵³

The annals of each of the IHM missions refer to daring deeds of solidarity to support and maintain the Fe y Alegría school communities. For example, the solidarity between the schools is evident in efforts to bring materials to construct the schools.

S. Agnes Andrew [principal of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón] performed a minor miracle, she pulled a few strings and got admitted to [a] cement warehouse. . . . There, a general in the army . . . signed papers granting her 60 bags of cement at yesterday’s prices (7 September 1988).

⁵¹ Jose Luis Pérez Guadalupe, *Ecumenismo, sectas, y nuevos movimientos religiosos* (Lima: Asociación Hijos de San Pablo, 2002), 307-308.

⁵² Interview with S. Anne Lafferty, IHM, Convento Santa Rosa, Colegio Fe y Alegría 37 Montenegro, Peru, 25 March 1999.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30 May 2000.

Religious congregations of North American sisters collaborated in ministering to the poor. For example, Sister Mary McBride, IHM, the regional superior, visited Fe y Alegría 32 to thank the Springfield Dominicans for their service to the IHMs in establishing a Fe y Alegría 37.

S. Mary [McBride] visited the Dominican Sisters in Fe y Alegría 32. . . . [she] thanked them for their kindness to our sisters [in Montenegro] (31 August 1988).⁵⁴

The sisters realized the need for professional healthcare of the poor and encouraged doctors like Dr. Jorge Casas to volunteer their services.

Dr. Jorge Casas, a volunteer in the health clinic, met with sisters and teachers to involve them in a project to reach grown-ups though the children in order to solve some urgent health problems. One was the infant mortality rate due to dehydration. High school students would learn the importance and economic advantage of breast feeding, and the grade school children would appreciate the effects of brushing on teeth (7 March 1989).

Before Fe y Alegría schools could be constructed, the pueblo had to vote in favor of the school and parents had to sign a written commitment to assist in the construction of the school and the maintenance of its infrastructure.

For the next three Saturdays and Sundays the parents came to do their three work sessions [*faena*] for their children's school. . . . They cleaned the rooms that were just constructed and made a walk outside these classrooms by closely fitting stones together as a path just like their ancestors did. . . . Some took down the classrooms made of straw mats, repaired, rebuilt and relocated them for a principal's office, a lunchroom and a library where a few books the school had could be used. A beautiful straw chapel was also made. There the children could stop and pray on entering and leaving school A dirt

⁵⁴The Dominican Sisters (Springfield, Illinois) withdrew from Fe y Alegría 32 in 1992. Similar to the IHMs, they had established schools for different social classes (San Borja, Lima, and Amazonia). The Brothers of the Sacred Heart (Provincia de América Austral) replaced the Dominican Sisters. The IHMs were the only women religious staffing a Fe y Alegría school in the district of San Juan de Lurigancho.

floor straw walls and roof, a large wooden crucifix a picture of Our Lady and a table for the Bible made up the chapel. The words: 'I am with you' surround the crucifix. The parents were so proud of it. It was amazing to see how these people sacrificed and work so hard to give their children a chance at an education. One parent happily commented, 'I still cannot give them a permanent house to live in but look at this beautiful school we can offer them' (11, 12 March 1989; see figure 5.5).

The parents of children in all IHM schools collaborated in the sisters' mission, which now included the Fe y Alegría schools.

Mr. Augusto Belmont [father of Alexa] came to see the school . . . offered to give tiles for the bathrooms [in school] and in the house whenever we get it built (22 August 1989).

The sisters in their local communities also volunteered to assist in establishing Fe y Alegría schools.

Sisters from all convents came to help with the *kermesse* (bingo and games). . . . The parents made enough money to finish the floors and to buy doors for the remaining classrooms (6 November 1988; see figure 5.6).

The students of IHM schools were also directly involved in the sisters' mission to educate the poor.

Today is Solidarity Day. Three busloads of students and teachers arrived in Montenegro from Villa Maria La Planicie. All the students of both schools went out to the patio (which is dirt and rocks) and sang Christmas carols. In Montenegro children recited poetry and danced. Villa Maria provided hot chocolate for all and everyone had recess together. [Their] comments about the visitors? 'Why didn't they take off their wigs?' Blond hair is uncommon [in Montenegro] (5 December 1988).

Fe y Alegría throughout Peru invited business professionals to donate school supplies and food.

A bus full of representatives came from the large Banco de Crédito in Lima to present each student with a plastic case containing a copybook, pencils, pen and rule. . . . The

bank employees promised to . . . collect for some pedal-run sewing machines for the women. They did bring new machines in May (3 April 1989).

Fe y Alegría schools were designed to accommodate as many children as possible. To maximize enrollement, each school had two different sessions a day. For example, Fe y Alegría 35 and Fe y Alegría 37 each had an enrollment that surpassed 1,500 students from first grade to high school. Because not all children could be accommodated in these Fe y Alegría schools, the sisters established catechetical programs were established.

A catechetical program was begun for Saturday at 3 pm to encourage young children to participate in preparing to celebrate Sunday in the Catholic Church as various Protestant groups were active that same time proselytizing the children (10 June 1989).⁵⁵

As fearless as the sisters and their collaborators were, the murder of three missionary priests in Barranca and the execution of an elderly religious sister in a northern province, forced the congregation to plan an exit strategy in case the Peruvian government succumbed to Shining Path's increasing power.⁵⁶

S. Mary McBride and the regional councilors prepared a survey which asked each sister to prayerfully consider various options she could take if Shining Path toppled the government. The sisters were also asked to determine the most critical missions the congregation should keep if sisters chose to remain. "Are there places we can leave because the work can continue without

⁵⁵*Annals Fe y Alegría Montengro, 1988-2000*, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies.

⁵⁶Ernesto Ranly, CPPS, *Los religiosos en tiempos de violencia en el Perú* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 2003), 145-161. Ranly records the efforts of the Conference of Religious in Peru (CRP) to respond to terrorism. He recounts the terrorists' execution of Hna. Maria Augustina Rivas Lopes, a Sister of the Good Shepherd, on September 26, 1990. A small group of *Senderistas*, led by a young woman, ordered that S. Rivas and four children who were helping her make chocolates be decapitated in the plaza of the town.

us? Are there places we must leave because we do not have sufficient or experienced personnel to continue the work, even though this might mean the work may NOT go on without us?”⁵⁷ The sisters’ response revealed that most were willing to remain in Peru regardless of the danger; however, the sisters’ opinions varied about which schools the congregation should maintain.

I always supported and respected all the works done in our missions here in South America and North America. It is only now because of the terrorists’ activity and general threat to the religious working in poor areas that I feel strongly that we should retire from Barranca and Montenegro before we have unnecessary IHM martyrs.

I will stay in my country even if the presence of violence is very bad. I will never leave my country. Our presence as religious people is very hard for the terrorists even if they don’t let us work we are a contradiction to their ideals.

The uncertainty of the situation [is a “con” in Barranca]. We don’t know what Shining Path is planning for this Christmas 1991. Things are too quiet now. The violent situation surrounds the school area. We have already experienced the fear of the people and the red flags and painted symbols on the walls. [There is] a great distance between Barranca and Lima in case we have to leave in an emergency.

I am not afraid to die and I have not experienced yet the fear that exists among the people that live around our school and the *haciendas* whenever *Sendero* (Shining Path) gets them up for 5 hours during the night and they have to shout their slogans and listen to their doctrine. NOW some people are saying that *Sendero* is good but the only thing they don’t like is when they kill. In some cases, *Senderos* get food and beat up the men that are not good to their families. They punish and kill drug addicts and thieves. Quite often we hear shooting during the night and once in a while during the morning. The threats received by the bishop and his collaborators . . . [There is] a lack of volunteers to continue to this work.

Whether to minister to the rich or poor or both is difficult for the sisters to determine.

The problem is not whether we teach the wealthy or the poor. Whoever comes to our schools must understand that we are working for the poor and that our commitment is for

⁵⁷Survey Study of the Future of Our Missions in Latin America, 1991, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J7 Box 22 Folder 24.

the poor. Perhaps we cannot live among the poor, or as the poor, but we must be for the poor.

Sisters working in schools like this do not enjoy the “approval” of those who desire an exclusive option for the poor. . . . Students in Villa Maria do respond to the religious formation they receive . . . active participation in social work, collaboration in fund raising activities, growing social consciousness. . . . ‘Are some more in need of God’s grace than others?’ Having served in all three levels, ‘the people’s need for God is the same.

I can think of no reason why we shouldn’t stay here. . . . What they learn at Villa Maria will stay with them wherever they go in whatever they do.

In the past years, I feel that I have grown to be “selective” in my support for our missions in South America. My call to serve the poor has taken on such urgency that I find it difficult to appreciate the need for particular schools that serve a small percentage of the population. The crisis in the country is so great that I feel morally obliged to stand near the suffering ones (see figure 5.7).⁵⁸

In the midst of this discussion about serving the poor in times of violence and terrorism, the sisters expressed a desire to remain with the people and adapt prudently to dangerous conditions. The sisters focused on what they knew how to do to establish relationships with the children and youth, teachers, staff, and parents (see figures 5.7). Their preferential option was for the people whom they served and whom they would not abandon.

Shining Path’s grip over the nation relaxed when Abimael Guzmán and his inner circle were captured in an upscale apartment not far from Miraflores. Although his capture was a significant victory for the Fujimori government, terrorism continued and so did the military’s abuse of human rights. The Catholic Church in Peru was the only institution that the Peruvian people believed they could trust. The IHM congregation gained respect by joining the Fe y

⁵⁸Survey Study of the Future of Our Missions in Latin America, 1991.

Alegria movement and accepting schools in sites where the police dared not travel publicly. This demonstrated what had always been a priority of the sisters: establishing Catholic schools to defend and protect children and youth from threat to their Faith or wellbeing.

Growing Communion

An unanticipated fruit of the IHM's mission in Peru was the formation of a pool of sisters, North American and Latin American, prepared to minister to the Hispanic communities in the United States. As Mother Maria Alma noted, there was plenty of missionary work to be done in the dioceses of the United States. The IHMs early entry into the Hispanic apostolate in North America was an unexpected fruit of their ministry in South America. Peruvian sisters and North American "returnees" were appointed to the so-called "Spanish apostolate" in the Pennsylvania dioceses of Philadelphia, Allentown, and Harrisburg as well as the New Jersey dioceses of Camden and Metuchen and the Diocese of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Since few priests or religious accompanied the newly arrived immigrants from the Carribean, Mexico, Central America, and South America, the IHMs proved to be a vital resource.

S. Margaret Regina Cunane, IHM, a member of Mother Claudia's council and responsible for Hispanic ministry, outlined the new challenge.

At this time there is noted growth in the number of Spanish-speaking families in many local communities and a small percentage of their children attend Catholic schools [cites a study]. . . . It is obvious that we should make a conscious effort to be "the hands and feet of Christ" in meeting the needs of these people whose heritage is deeply rooted in the Faith. Since our community has been blessed with knowledge of the Latin American

culture, in planning for the future we wish to utilize the experiences of our Sisters to foster the spiritual and intellectual growth of the Spanish.⁵⁹

As Latin American immigration increased, pastors requested IHMs to minister to Spanish-speaking populations as directors of catechetical programs. The pool of “returnees” from Latin America ably and eagerly responded: “There is so much to be done, Mother [Claudia]! Spiritually those who have made a cursillo are close to God. But many others . . . are ever anxious to know and hear about him. And, there are those who have no interest.”⁶⁰

Once again the Philadelphia area press took note of the “Sisters in Blue” reaching out to the Hispanic community.⁶¹ S. Rosalita, a pioneer in St. Anthony School Callao, wrote of her new mission among Hispanics in Lancaster, Pennsylvania:

There is a Franciscan Sister working with me. Last week we went together visiting the homes. Since Sister is a native I want to see her way of dealing with her people. My heart goes out to them but in language and manner they are quite different from the Peruvians. . . I think the way they have been treated in their homeland has much to do with this. . . . Every home was one not begun in the grace of the Sacrament [of marriage] I am going to work in the school this week. . . . So many of the children do not understand English so I am trying to prepare them for the Sacraments.⁶²

In Reading, Pennsylvania, another returnee, S. Miriam Rose, shared her forty years’ experience in Latin America to assist in the foundation of the Kennedy House a program

⁵⁹S. Margaret Regina, IHM, to Sisters of IHM, 8 November 1971, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J2 Box 5 Folder 1.

⁶⁰S. Maureen Elizabeth, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 3 March 1970, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J2 Box 5 Folder 2.

⁶¹*Easton Express*, “Sisters in Blue Reach out to Hispanic Community,” 12 July 1980, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J2 Box 5 Folder 4.

⁶²S. Maureen Elizabeth, IHM, to Mother M. Claudia, IHM, 3 March 1970.

designed for the spiritual welfare of the Spanish-speaking community through religious education, adult education, English, day care, a well-baby clinic, Birthright, and Catholic Social Action.⁶³ To minister to the new immigrant church, sisters were appointed to administrative positions in various dioceses to coordinate programs for Hispanic ministry, pastoral formation, and evangelization. The IHMs educational ministry in both Americas linked the churches of the First World and the Third World.

The IHM sisters' decision to remain in Peru during dangerous times signifies the depth of the congregation's dedication the mission to "save souls." In an era marked by violence, terror, distrust, and suspicion the sisters resolved to remain with the people whom they were sent to serve. During this time, the Church of Peru, especially the clergy, the religious women and men, among them the IHMs, was the only institution in the nation which the populace trusted. The IHMs were recognized as a congregation willing to stay with people of all social classes in times of incredible danger and an uncertain future. The presence of IHMs in two areas notorious for terrorist activity (Barranca and Montenegro) erased the previous image of the IHMs as an enclave of North Americans sheltered from the brutality and desperation of economic poverty. The IHMs had now arrived at *Perú profundo*.⁶⁴ It was not the "new Jerusalem" S. Joseph Marie

⁶³Kennedy House, Reading, Pennsylvania, 1976, Immaculata, PA: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, J2 Box 5 Folder 8.

⁶⁴José Carlos Mariátegui, *Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality*, trans. by Marjory Urquidy. (Austin, TX:University of Texas Press, 1971). Mariátegui coined the phrase, *Perú profundo*, which signified the often ignored and demeaned indigenous population of Peruvian rural areas. The coastal elites of Spanish ancestry have dominated cultural ethos, economy, and land.

McCrosson imagined. It was a desert transformed into a vast collection of shantytowns, the City of God coming down from the mountains for safety and protection from terrorists and military. The poor built their own cities in the desert. The IHMs and numerous religious congregations of men and women from all over the world joined them.

Chapter 5 Illustrations

Figure 5.1. View of the site for Fe y Alegría 37 in Montenegro, 1987.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 5.2. S. Christine Virginia O'Donnell, IHM, and S. Anne Francine Windle, IHM, carrying mats to build Fe y Alegría 37, 1988.
Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

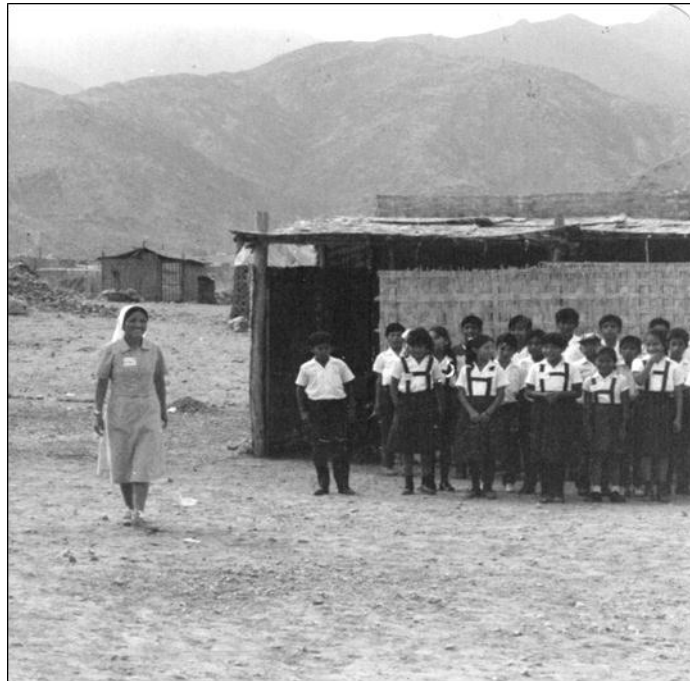


Figure 5.3. Students and S. Rosa María Arenas, IHM, outside classroom at Fe y Alegría 37, 1988.
Source: Archives Villa María House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.

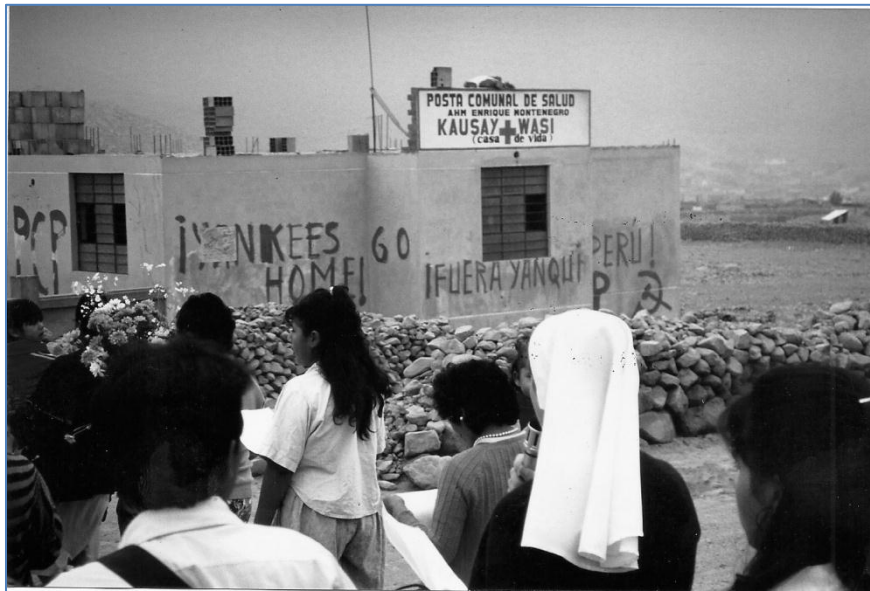


Figure 5.4. S. Teresa Catherine Walsh, IHM, and youth in Our Lord of the Miracles procession, Montenegro, 1987.

Source: Archives Villa Maria House of Studies, Immaculata, PA.



Figure 5.5. (Left to right) S. Elizabeth Polanco, IHM, S. Silvana Vega, IHM, S. Barbara Montague, IHM, S. Barbara Burnett, IHM, and lay teachers serve hot dogs at Bingo and Family Day (*kermesse*) at Fe y Alegría 37, Montenegro, 2000. Source: Personal collection.



Figure 5.6. Parents cleaning school walls of Fe y Alegría 37, Montenegro, 2000.
Source: Personal collection.

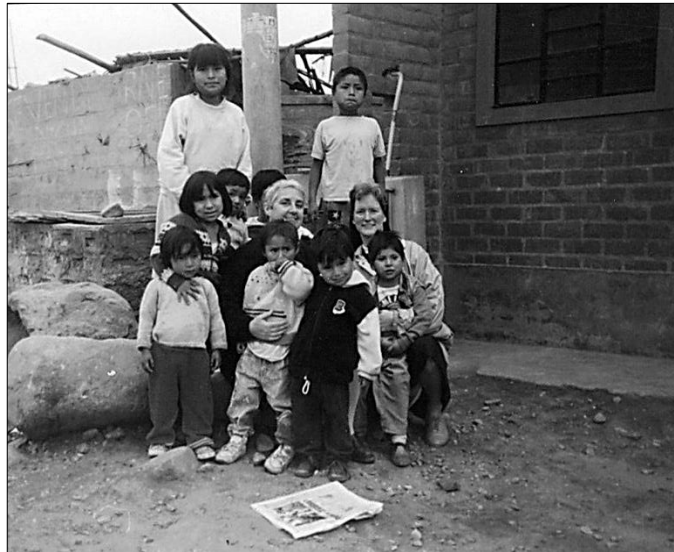


Figure 5.7. S. Helene Therese McGroarty, IHM, and S. Patricia Long, IHM, with next door neighbors' children on the front step of Santa Rosa Convent, Montenegro, 1994.
Source: Personal collection.

Chapter 6

General Conclusions

Three conclusions can be drawn from the texts presented in this investigation.

First, the Church's mission to evangelize through education requires both a model and a community of persons willing to invest themselves in this mission. The IHM congregation achieved its mission in Lima precisely because the sisters were willing to make the necessary sacrifices involved in transplanting a model of Catholic education familiar to them, namely, the parochial school. The first generation of IHM sisters duplicated the pedagogy, the content, and the ethos of Philadelphia parochial schooling, which at the time the sisters undertook the mission to Lima, Peru which incorporated a pragmatic approach to education which focused principally on the student as learner and the academic content aimed toward shaping future citizens prepared to contribute to the progress of society. The IHMs, therefore, did offer a viable alternative to the American Protestant schools introduced in Peru in the nineteenth century by Protestant missionaries prior to the IHMs arrival in 1922. In Lima, Peru today as in the first decades of the twentieth century, this model of education remains a critical component for progress and development. However, the Protestant-Catholic competition for "souls" fades in comparison with the magnitude of the challenge of educating all social classes, especially those for whom extreme poverty limits availability of schools designed for their inclusion and participation in creating a just and equitable society.

Given the reduction in the membership of IHMs and the decline in missionary motivation to establish schools, the unfinished task the IHMs face, as well as, the Church and State in Peru, is to fashion a functional model of schooling which attends to those still left out and left behind in rural regions and in the urban shantytowns encircling Lima and all the major cities in Peru and other Latin American countries. The *Fe y Alegría* movement has proven to be the most effective model of education for those excluded from effective schooling. Jesuit sponsorship of the schools insures a functional relationship with state funding and creates a corps of educators, religious congregations and laity, convinced that education is a vital component of evangelization and humanization of culture.

The first schools the IHM sisters founded and staffed in Lima (Villa Maria Academy and St. Anthony parish school), indicate that schooling is always the most effective means to shape future citizens to contribute to society and to participate in the evangelizing mission of the Church. The task entrusted to the IHMs by the Church changed both the IHM congregation, the Peruvian church and society. Then, there were no doubts about the value of either school for both functioned as catalysts for change. Now, both private academies and parochial schools remain effective models for shaping society and evangelizing culture; however, the financial cost of maintaining these models indicate the critical need to broaden sources of funding. Functional schools will always be critical to shape society and the Church; however, the willingness to sacrifice and take risks as the IHMs did, is the unanswered question.

Second, the mission of the Church in every cultural context is to evangelize culture through meaningful engagement. The content of the documents the IHMs generated in each context illustrate the wonder, the confusion, and the heartache of an encounter with ecclesial, social, political, economic *difference*. The IHM stories contain the grist for theological reflection. Their documents show that the sisters did not always understand or appreciate the people, the events or the postures of the Church or the State, however, they continued to pay attention to circumstances and, if necessary, to adapt the educational mission entrusted to them. Their reflections are neither theological nor academic; however, the stories, anecdotes, and consternation *locate* their mission in the lives of the people and the life of the Church. Their story is a narrative which discloses the rudiments of theological reflection and catechesis, namely, attention to social context and ability to adjust and adapt mission in continuity with their origins as a congregation of educators. No task is more crucial for the Catholic Church today. Edward Cleary, a prominent Latin American theologian, takes the post Vatican II Church in the northern hemisphere to task for falling into “hyper-intellectualism,”¹ i.e., theological brands of thought (liberals, progressives, and conservatives) that fight to shape the identity and mission of the Church according to varying theological constructs. Cleary suggests that the Church of Latin America, having paid attention to context, is now mobilizing the energy and expertise of the laity, principally as catechists, to engage and evangelize the multiple social and ethnic contexts

¹ Edward Cleary, *How Latin America Saved the Church's Soul*, 105

that define the Church of Latin America.² He notes that the American missionaries who came to Latin America in the twentieth century, of whom the IHMs were the very first to come to Peru, performed a necessary service. They had both the resources and the personnel to respond to pastoral and social needs the Church of Latin America was ill-equipped to perform. The fruit of their labor, principally the empowerment of the laity as catechesists and pastoral ministers, identifies the Church as a missionary Church, dedicated to challenging injustices and evangelizing local cultures.³

He notes that the Church of Latin America has rediscovered the ancient office of “catechist” which originally entrusted the sacred task of handing on the mysteries of Christ and initiating new members into the life of the church community.⁴ Consequently, the exaggerated attention devoted to disputed theological and moral questions such as ordination of women, sexual conduct in the Church of the northern hemisphere, particularly the United States, sidetracks the Church from its essential identity and primary task, to be the *missio Dei* (God’s mission) engaged with culture in order to transform humanity into the *imago Dei* (image of God). The crisis the IHMs faced in the 1970s in adjusting and adapting the educational mission when faced with pressure from within the community and from without, reveals the risk inherent in opting for adherence to origins over uncritical adoption of a new theological model, such as, theology of

^{2 2} Edward Cleary, *How Latin America Saved the Church’s Soul*, 114.

³ Ibid., 126.

⁴ Ibid., 129

liberation. The necessary refinements of liberation theology have occurred since it was first proposed in Peru in 1970s. Similarly, the IHM congregation has adapted and adjusted its mission in keeping with the original mission entrusted to the sisters, the education of youth. Had not the Church of Peru been so highly motivated the challenge the injustice and exclusion of traditional social structures, the IHMs could have remained as simply a manifestly North American religious congregation dedicated to duplicating a North American model of private education.

The third conclusion drawn from this investigation concerns the role of congregations of religious women in the Church of North and South America. When the IHMs came to Lima they were one of the many religious congregations of women deeply invested in ministering to the immigrant Church of the United States. They IHMs and their counterparts in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia (the Sisters of St. Joseph of Chestnut Hill, the Franciscan Sisters of Glen Riddle, Sisters of Mercy of Merion) were deeply dedicated to the needs of the ethnic populations they served, particularly in parochial schools and hospitals. There were no disputed questions about the identity of consecrated women or their mission. The sisters were the ministers of the Church closest to the people and therefore most attentive to human need. These religious congregations neither sought nor reveled in recognition or recompense. They performed this ministry because they firmly believed it was their call from God and their duty to serve. What did not change, however, was the crucial need authentically to engage the Church with the diverse cultures that burst into American society during the 1960's and 1970s. Although most congregations intended

to change in order to become more credibly involved in the numerous ministries they identified, unintended results ensued. Since religious women in the United States were now permitted to pursue theological education and other professional degrees, they formed a cadre of the most educated women in the world and the Church. Thus, the American sisterhood began to reflect the theological trends of the times: liberal, progressive, and conservative. In other words, attention to theological constructs took the now professionally educated and theologically informed sisters a step away from their origins and identity. Although theological education and professional education were critical for the enhancement of their identity and mission, the rift between the sisters and the people in the pews began to manifest itself in the public controversies, about such issues as the role of women in the Church, adherence to the Magisterium, and sexual ethics.

When the Church of Latin America reclaimed its identity as the Church of the poor, institutionalized ministries, particularly private Catholic schools, became targets of critique for their alliance with unjust social structure; however, as private Catholic schools, similar to the IHMs, refined and adapted their identity and mission, they provided a stable network of school communities of differing social classes acting in communion. The “new Jerusalem” S. Joseph Marie imagined was not a place but a state of mind and heart. The IHMs discovered that their mission was not restricted to a geographical region. Sisters ministered to the Church of America expressed locally in the dioceses of North and South America. Unwittingly, they established bonds of communion between “cities,” as different as Lima, Callao, Philadelphia, Raleigh, Camden, or Miami. The sisters showed their talent to adapt, adjust, and endure. At the beginning

of the twentieth century, the IHMs had established schools as missions as a new tool for evangelizing culturally Catholic Peru. As the Peruvian Church advanced into the modern age, the sisters themselves were schooled by the ecclesial culture they encountered as it strove to identify itself as a local church in the modern world. Ever sensitive to the mandate of the universal Church expressed in the Second Vatican Council, the papal encyclicals of John XXIII, Paul VI, John Paul II, and Benedict XVI, the Latin American Conference of Bishops, and the Peruvian Conference of Bishops, the IHMs manifested the possibility of communion no matter the context of political instability, social unrest, or theological controversy. Their narration of their experiences of foreign mission confirmed the ageless link between theory and practice. Without an academic theology of mission, the sisters's missiology arose from their engagement with multiple societies within the Peruvian church.⁵ And so, during the final decades of the twentieth century, the sisters could rely on the intuitive sense of their charism to guide their adaptation whether the obstacle to it be the threat of terrorism or the limitations of their members.⁶

The sisters have told their story of their mission. The documents they wrote and the actions they performed portray schools of mission always in the making. The circumstances they faced, for which they were unprepared, tested and reshaped their self-understanding and their

⁵For the inadequacy of a single theological interpretation of mission in a global world, see David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series 16 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1991), 353.

⁶Manuel Ruíz Jurado, SJ, "Consecrated Life and the Charism of the Founders," in *Vatican II Assessment and Perspective: Twenty-Five Years After (1962-1978)*, ed. René Latourelle (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 14. "The gift of the founders is destined to become a lasting good in the Church, endures through the faithfulness of their followers to their characteristic traits."

role as Catholic educators. Each school that the congregation founded developed into a veritable school of mission because the sisters handed on their mission tradition to a new culture in varying social contexts. The “new” Jerusalem, which S. Joseph Marie imagined, evolved into a cluster of mission-minded school communities.

These documents testify to the willingness of the IHM sisters to respond to a new need in the Church. The sister-authors of the letters, annals, and reports demonstrate the sisters’ eagerness, creativity, and perseverance when faced with unimagined challenges. Revolutions, natural disasters, social unrest, economic instability purified, refined, and enriched their identity as religious women capable of performing a mission which no North American religious congregation had done. Guided by the Redemptorist charism to catechize and educate the pastorally neglected, they chose an inclusive mission to the social classes they were sent to teach. The debate continues about the educational mission of the Church in an increasingly globalizing society. The noncritical acceptance of the multiplicity of moral and religious and social ideas disseminated through mass media requires a truly Catholic educational theory and practice. Faithful to their founders’ legacy, the IHMs have demonstrated that every mission contains a foreign frontier, no matter the geographical location.⁷ The IHMs consistently manifested their firm belief that their mission was and remains, essentially, to “save souls.” “Saving souls” today

⁷Margaret Brennan, IHM, “‘No Two Exactly Alike’: IHM Spirituality,” in *Building Sisterhood: A Feminist History of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary*, 107. S. Margaret Brennan interpreted the stories of the development of spirituality of the IHMs of Monroeville in the spirit of the according to Redemptorist charism. She concludes that the “frontier of faith” has anchored IHM commitment to mission throughout the history of the congregation.

means creating communities of learners where all are schooled in love and by love manifesting God's redeeming love in every time and every place.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SIGNIFICANT PERSONS, PLACES, SCHOOLS

Founders of the IHMs in Monroe Michigan 1845

1845-1849 Father Louis Florent Gillet, CSsR, (1813-1892) withdrawn from Monroe
1847 Eventually returns to Belgium and joins Cistercian Abbey at Hautecombe.

1845-1859 Mother Theresa Maxis (1810- 1892) deposed in 1859, joined Grey Nuns
of Ottawa and returned to IHMs in 1871.

Branches of IHM congregation

1845 IHMs of Monroe Michigan founded in diocese of Detroit

1871 IHMs of Monroe subject to the ordinary of the Diocese of Detroit

1871 IHMs of Scranton Pennsylvania subject to the ordinary of Scranton

1871 IHMs in Reading, Pennsylvania subject to ordinary of the Diocese of Philadelphia,
are designated the Immaculata IHMs

NB: IHMs of Los Angeles, CA are not a branch of the IHMs with origins in Monroe MI.

First Sisters Sent to Lima, Peru (1922-1923)

- 1923-1935 Mother Cornelia Higgins (1881-1967) First superior of Villa Maria Academy
- 1922-1931 S. Joseph Marie McCrosson (1889-1976) teacher author of “History of Our First Foreign Mission
- 1922-1928 S. Seraphine Bryne (1889-?) art teacher (left community in 1928)
- 1922-1949 S. St. Chrysostom McGrory (1894-1974) sister-cook
- 1923-1934 S. Avellino Bidenharn (1873-1959) author of “A Line a Day”
- 1923-1926 S. Gerald O’Donel, (1884-1932) teacher, artist
- 1923-1932 S. Amabile Lovett, (1884-1992) teacher
- 1922 M. Berenice, sister-assistant to Mother Mary James (1872-1951) temporary superior

IHM Mother Superiors (General Superiors)

- 1913-1923 Mother Mary James Sweeney (1851-1923) appoints sisters to Lima, Peru
- 1923-1935 Mother Loyola Gallagher (1861-1939) visits Lima to finalize plans for new site for Villa Maria, sends two sisters to teach at St. Anthony parish school.
- 1935-1940 Mother Kostka McCormack (1871-1940) intends to send IHMs to interior of Peru
- 1940-1944 Mother Francina Coll (1875-1944) visits the sisters in Lima dies shortly after she returns
- 1945-1957 Mother Maria Alma Ryan (1887-1971) applies and receives papal approbation. IHMs expand missions outside of Archdiocese of Philadelphia

1957-1968 Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty (1900-1985) erects novitiate in Chile for South American vocations

1968-1981 Mother M. Claudia Honsberger (1912-1993) dialogues with sisters restless and dissatisfied over retaining schools instead of working directly with poor

1981-1994 Mother M. Genevieve Lawler (1920-2003) granted sisters for Fe y Alegría schools, permission to open House of Formation in Peru, decided policy to withdraw sisters from Peru if Shining Path topples the Peruvian government

1994-2000 S. Marie Angela Natoli (1928) Directress of Chilean novitiate, convoked congregation-wide celebration of Jubilee Year (1995), supported and extended missions to the poor in Chile (Curacavi) and Peru.

IHM superiors of missions in Peru Mentioned in Text

1923-1935 Mother Cornelia Higgins, Villa Maria Academy (1881-1967)

1951-1955 Mother Maria Pacis Dougherty, Escuela Inmaculado Corazón(1900-1985)

1940-1946 Mother Maria Regina Hoban, Villa Maria Academy (1889-1980)

1970-1974 S. Miriam Rose Curry, Villa Maria Academy (1913-2001)

1965-1968 Mother Trinita McGinnis, Villa Maria Academy (1909-1983)

1957-1963 Mother Paul Marie O'Donnell, Colegio San Antonio, Callao (1911-1994)

Regional Superiors in Peru

1968-1972 Mother Leonita Vezis, (1915-2008)

1972-1981 Mother Miriam Rose Curry, (1913-2001)

1981-1986 S. Clare Mary Butterhof, (1933)

1986-1994S. Mary McBride, (1924)

1994-1998 S. Regina Plunkett, (1947)

1998-2002 S. Mary Smith, (1944)

Directresses of Formation in Peru/Chile

1962-1966 Mother Thomas Michael Walsh (1924-1979)

1966-1967 Mother Marie Angela Natoli (1928)

(1992-2002) S. Mary Smith (1994)

Houses of Formation

1962-1967 Casa de Formación de las Hermanas, Siervas del Inmaculado Corazón Los Condes, Chile

1992 Casa de Formación de las Hermanas, Siervas del Inmaculado Corazón, La Planicie,

Schools IHM's Constructed in Peru

1922 Villa Maria Academy (primary) Miraflores

1944 Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, San Isidro

1958 Colegio San Antonio School for Girls

1965 Villa Maria Academy (secondary) La Plancie

Schools staffed or administered by IHMs

1928 St. Anthony School, Callao

1956 Nuestra Señora del Carmen, San Juan de Miraflores

1998 Fe y Alegría 35, Barranca

1998 Fe y Alegría 37, Montenegro

Hierarchy and Clergy in United States

1841-1869 Peter Paul Lefevre (1804-1869) Coadjutor Bishop of Detroit

1850-1860 John Neumann, CSsR (1811-1860) Bishop of Philadelphia Canonized (1977); invited the IHMs to diocese of Philadelphia

1919-1938 Patrick Hayes (1867-1938) Archbishop of New York, Cardinal (1924); declines Archbishop Lisson's request for English-speaking American sisters

J.W. Moore, CM, Superior of the Vincentians in Brooklyn, New York where Archbishop Lissón resides during his trips to the United States to request sisters for Lima and to acquire loans from United States banks

1918-1951 Dennis Dougherty (1865-1951) Bishop of Nueva Segovia (1903-1908), Bishop of Jaro, Philippines (1908-1915), Bishop of Buffalo (1915-1918), Archbishop of Philadelphia, Cardinal (1921); requested sisters of IHM to go to Lima, Peru

1944-1970 Richard Cushing (1895-1970) Archbishop of Boston, Cardinal (1958); visits Peru, offers donation to help build new high school

Papal Nuncios in Peru

1921-1926 Archbishop Joseph Petrelli (1873-1962) assisted IHMs when they arrived.

1926-1928 Serefino Cimino (1883-1973) died during his office

1928-1936 Archbishop Gaetano Cicognani (1881-1962) assisted IHMs during riots after the military coup (1930)

1926-1936 Monsignor Aldo Laghi (1883-1942) later, Nuncio to Chile; assistant to Archbishop Cicognani

1936-1946 Fernando Cento (1883-1973) supported the establishment of an American style Catholic school for boys.

1959-1969 Romolo Carboni (1911-1999) staunch advocate to retain schools when religious congregations turned to pastoral work directly with the poor.

Sacred Congregation for Religious Institutes in Rome

Bernard E. Ransing, CSC (1908-2002) Secretary to Cardinal Hilderbrand Antoniutti, prefect of the Congregation for Religious Institutes 1965

Hierarchy and clergy in Lima and Callao

1918-1931 Archbishop Emilio Lissón Chávez, CM (1872-1961) Bishop Chachapoyas (1909-1918), Archbishop of Lima (Resigned)

1955-1989 Cardinal Juan Landazuri Ricketts, OFM (1913-1997) Archbishop of Lima, Cardinal 1962 (retired)

1975-1995 Bishop Ricardo Durand Flores, SJ (1917-2004) Bishop of Callao (retired)

1963-1977 Felipe MacGregor SJ (1914-2004), Ordained (1944), Rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru

1955-1959 Nevin Hayes, O.Carm: (1922-1988) Prelature of Sicuani, Peru (1959-1965), Bishop of Nova Sinna (1965-1977), Auxiliary bishop Chicago, Illinois (1977-1988)

Reverend Ernesto Cotte CRIC Pastor St. Anthony School

Reverend Ricardo Ciaffei CRIC, Pastor St. Anthony School

Teofilo Le Blanc OCD: Chaplain of Villa Maria Academy c. 1930

Francis Lecoq SJ: Established English Commercial School in Callao 1907

Religious Clergy of the United States in Peru

1939 Marianists (Society of Mary): Rev. Paul Blemker, Brothers Theodore Noll, Robert Buss, and Matthew Kessel found Colegio Santa María, an American style private Catholic school for boys.

1943 Maryknoll Society: Fathers Arthur Kiernan, Thomas Carey, Ray Hofeld, Bernard McGinn. IHMs: assist in catechetical programs in shantytowns

1951 Columban Fathers: IHMs assisted them in catechetical programs in shantytowns

1959 Mission Society of St. James the Apostle: Fathers Rudy Maschierelli, Robert Supple; IHMs assist in catechetical programs in Lima area

Congregations of Religious Women Peru

1876 Religious of the Sacred Heart (France): IHMs stayed with these sisters at San Pedro and visited Colegio Chalet and, later, the Sophianum.

1848 Religious of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (France): IHMs visited their school, Colegio Belen.

1936 Ursulines (Germany) Sisters Caritas Knickenberg, Gerturdis Neugebauer established Colegio Santa Ursula. IHMs teach them English, vouch for them during World War II

1951 Maryknoll Sisters: S. Ann Claudia [Barbara] Hendricks MM and IHMs collaborate in creating catechetical materials.

Presidents of Peru

1919-1930 Augusto Leguía (1863-1932) patron of Villa Maria Academy

1930-1931 Luis Sanchez Cerro (1889-1933) military coup, assassinated

1948-1956 Manuel Odría (1897-1974) styled presidency after Perón regime in Argentina

1956-1962 Manuel Prado y Ugarteche (1889-1967) permitted the APRA party legal status

1963-1968 Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1912-2002) social reforms halted due to scandal

1968-1975 General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1910-1977) military coup, educational reforms

1975-1980 General Francisco Morales Bermúdez (1910-1977)

1980-1985 Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1912-2002) Shining Path campaign of terror

1985-1990 Alan García Perez (1949) Shining Path claims Andean regions in Peru

1992-2000 Alberto Fujimori (1938) Shining Path leader, Abimael Guzmán captured, severe economic reforms, dissolves congress

Political Groups in Peru

APRA: Peoples' Revolutionary Alliance of America

SL: Shining Path (*Sendero Lumino*)

SUTEP: Peruvian Teachers' Union *Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores en Educacion del Peru*

Places

Lima: capital city of Peru, location of Convento San Pedro where IHM stayed when they arrived

Miraflores: district of Lima, location of Villa María Academy

San Isidro: district of Lima, location of Escuela Inmaculado Corazón

Callao: port city of Lima original location of St. Anthony School

Bellavista: a district of Callao Location of San Antonio School

Montenegro: a district in valley of San Juan de Lurigancho

Barranca: a coastal city north of Lima location of Fe y Alegría 35

Chosica: a district north of Lima, location of IHM retreat house

Appendix B: IHMs Appointed to Peru: Living and Deceased, 1940-2007

Peruvian and Bolivian Sisters in Italics

NAME	MISSION	FROM	TO
M. Elizabeth Monica Acri	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1983	1985
M. Elizabeth Monica Acri	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1985	1986
Trinita Marie Amorosi	Convento Villa Maria	1965	1970
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1971
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento San Antonio	1971	1981
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1981	1984
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1981	1984
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1984	1985
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1984	1985
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento San Antonio	1985	1988
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1988	1989
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1988	1989
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1989	1997
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1997	2007
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	1997	2002
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2002	2007
<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2007	present

<i>Rosa Maria Arenas</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2007	present
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1988	1992
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1988	1992
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1992	1995
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1992	1995
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1996	2000
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Convento San Martin	2000	2005
<i>M. Sonia Avi</i>	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2000	2005
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1954	1960
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento Villa Maria	1963	1968
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento Villa Maria	1978	1980
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento San Antonio	1980	1983
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento San Antonio	1980	1983
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1986	1989
Marita de Lourdes Barber	Convento San Antonio	1991	1994
M. Barbara Anne Barnes	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1965	1970
Kathryn A. Benham	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2010	2011
Kathryn A. Benham	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2010	2011
Kathryn A. Benham	Convento San Martin	2011	present
Jane Dolores Biddle	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1961	1966
Mary L. Birster	Convento San Antonio	1958	1964
M. Ruth Bolarte	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1990	1991

Dolores Joseph Bozzelli	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1996	1998
Dolores Joseph Bozzelli	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1998	2004
Dolores Joseph Bozzelli	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	1998	2004
Dolores Joseph Bozzelli	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2005	2006
Dolores Joseph Bozzelli	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2005	2006
Mary of the Sacred Heart Brignola	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1958	1964
Mary of the Sacred Heart Brignola	Convento Villa Maria	1972	1975
Mary of the Sacred Heart Brignola	Convento Villa Maria	1977	1980
Mary Ellen K. Broderick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1984	1987
Mary Ellen K. Broderick	Convento San Ildefonso	1987	1990
Marian Teresa Brophy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1958	1964
Marian Teresa Brophy	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1974
Marian Teresa Brophy	Convento San Antonio	1983	1986
Marian Teresa Brophy	Convento San Antonio	1983	1986
Kathleen M. Brown	Convento San Antonio	1980	1985
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1982	1985
M. Eileen Buchanan	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1985	1987
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Martin	1985	1987
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Ildefonso	1985	1987
M. Eileen Buchanan	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1988	1990
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Ildefonso	1990	1996

M. Eileen Buchanan	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1990	1996
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1996	2000
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Martin	1996	1996
M. Eileen Buchanan	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1996	2000
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Martin	2000	2003
M. Eileen Buchanan	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2000	2003
M. Eileen Buchanan	Instituto Superior "San Antonio"	2004	2008
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Antonio	2004	2008
M. Eileen Buchanan	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2008	2013
M. Eileen Buchanan	Convento San Martin	2008	2013
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento San Antonio	1978	1983
M. Barbara Burnett	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1988	1991
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento San Ildefonso	1988	1991
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1998	2001
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1998	2001
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2001	2008
M. Barbara Burnett	Colegio Villa Maria	2001	2008
M. Barbara Burnett	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2009	present
M. Barbara Burnett	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2009	present
Clare Mary Butterhof	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1957	1963
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	1965	1971
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	1974	1977

Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	1974	1977
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	1977	1980
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	1977	1980
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1981	1988
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1992	1998
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1992	1998
Clare Mary Butterhof	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1999	2005
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1999	2003
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2003	2005
Clare Mary Butterhof	Instituto Superior "San Antonio"	2010	present
Clare Mary Butterhof	Convento San Antonio	2010	present
Mary Canavan	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1982	1988
Mary Canavan	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1984	1988
Maureen Joseph Caranci	Convento San Antonio	1962	1963
Maureen Joseph Caranci	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1963	1967
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1968	1971
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1971	1975
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1975	1976
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1976	1984
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria	1984	1987
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1987	1989
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria	1989	1991

Maria Isabel Carpio More	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1991	1994
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento San Ildefonso	1991	1994
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1994	2003
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Colegio San Antonio	2003	2011
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento San Antonio	2003	2011
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2011	present
Maria Isabel Carpio More	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	2011	present
Joseph Marie Carter	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1989	1991
Joseph Marie Carter	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1989	1995
Joseph Marie Carter	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	1991	1995
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>San Francisco</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1971</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>San Mateo</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1974</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>1978</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>1984</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1989</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Vespertina Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1992</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1998</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>2005</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Colegio Villa Maria</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>present</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>present</i>
<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Fe y Alegria, Montenegro</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2007</i>

<i>Martha Maria Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Santa Rosa de Lima</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2007</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>1963</i>	<i>1968</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1972</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento San Ildefonso</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>1980</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento San Ildefonso</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>1980</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1987</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2001</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2011</i>
<i>M. Osue Teresa Chuta-Yamamoto</i>	<i>Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2011</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>San Mateo</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>1971</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1972</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>1972</i>	<i>1975</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	<i>1975</i>	<i>1979</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1985</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1986</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	<i>1985</i>	<i>1986</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	<i>1987</i>	<i>1989</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1995</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	<i>1989</i>	<i>1995</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	<i>1995</i>	<i>2007</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Colegio Inmaculado Corazon</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2009</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2009</i>

<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	2009	2010
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	2009	<i>present</i>
<i>Maria Norma Comena Duharte</i>	<i>Escuelita Gratuita Villa Maria</i>	2010	<i>present</i>
Georgiana Marie Connell	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1968	1974
Georgiana Marie Connell	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1976	1982
Georgiana Marie Connell	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1983	1987
Georgiana Marie Connell	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1983	1987
Koreen Marie Cote	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1994	1995
Koreen Marie Cote	Convento San Antonio	1995	1996
Koreen Marie Cote	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1996	2002
Koreen Marie Cote	Convento San Martin	1996	2002
M. Carol Anne Couchara	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1977	1979
M. Carol Anne Couchara	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1979	1982
Joseph Maureen Curran	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1955	1958
Joseph Maureen Curran	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1958	1959
Joseph Maureen Curran	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1959	1961
Mary Carmel Deering	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1963	1968
Maria Paula Delaney	Convento Villa Maria	1957	1960
Maria Paula Delaney	Convento Villa Maria	1960	1963
Maria Paula Delaney	Convento Villa Maria	1965	1970
Rosemary DePaul	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1980	1985
Rosemary DePaul	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1990	1992

Rosemary DePaul	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1994	2000
Rosemary DePaul	Convento San Martin	1994	2000
Rosemary DePaul	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2011	present
Rosemary DePaul	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2011	present
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1986	1994
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1987	1994
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2004
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2003
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2003	2004
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Colegio San Antonio	2004	2006
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento San Antonio	2004	2006
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2006	2013
<i>M. Ana Cristina Devoto Crosby</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2006	2013
Marie Philippine Dirvin	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	1946	1953
Mary Laureen Discher	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1960	1964
Mary Laureen Discher	Convento San Antonio	1964	1966
Dolores Jean Dowling	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1962	1964
Dolores Jean Dowling	Convento Villa Maria	1964	1967
Mary Ellen Eckardt	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1965	1971
Mary D. Ellis	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2000	2002
Mary D. Ellis	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2000	2002
Mary D. Ellis	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2002	2006

Mary D. Ellis	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	2002	2006
Mary D. Ellis	Convento San Martin	2008	2011
Mary D. Ellis	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2008	2011
Mary D. Ellis	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2011	present
Mary Josephine Ely	Convento Villa Maria	2005	2008
Mary Josephine Ely	Villa Maria Academy	2005	2008
M. Martina Anne Erdlen	Convento Villa Maria	2001	2007
M. Martina Anne Erdlen	Villa Maria Academy	2001	2007
M. Elenore Joseph Ertel	Convento San Antonio	1973	1978
M. Elenore Joseph Ertel	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1980	1986
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento San Antonio	1963	1964
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento San Antonio	1964	1965
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento San Antonio	1965	1968
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	San Francisco	1968	1971
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento San Antonio	1971	1974
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1974	1977
Victoria M. Ferraro Tarazona	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1977	1983
Mary Margaret Filan	Convento San Antonio	1979	1984
Mary Margaret Filan	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1987	1994
Mary Margaret Filan	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1994	1998
Mary Margaret Filan	Convento San Antonio	1998	2003
Mary Margaret Filan	Colegio San Antonio	1998	1999

Mary Margaret Filan	Colegio San Antonio	1999	2003
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Villa Maria Academy	2002	2004
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Convento Villa Maria	2002	2004
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Colegio Villa Maria	2004	2005
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2004	2005
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2005	2007
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2005	2007
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2007	2009
Kathleen M. Fitzpatrick	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	2007	2009
M. Patricia Anne Flanigan	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1978	1979
M. Patricia Anne Flanigan	Convento San Antonio	1979	1982
Regina Edward Flanigan	Convento Villa Maria	1959	1964
Regina Edward Flanigan	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1971	1972
M. Dalia Flores Armestar	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1960	1966
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1966	1968
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Santa Cruz</i>	1968	1971
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	1971	1974
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	1974	1975
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	1974	1975
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	1977	1978
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1978	1983
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	1983	1989

<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1989	1993
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	1989	1993
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie</i>	1993	1994
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1994	1999
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1999	2003
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Instituto Superior "San Antonio"</i>	2003	present
<i>M. Dalia Flores Armestar</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	2003	present
<i>Maria Elena Flores</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1996	2000
<i>Maria Elena Flores</i>	<i>Fe y Alegria, Montenegro</i>	2000	2010
<i>Maria Elena Flores</i>	<i>Convento Santa Rosa de Lima</i>	2000	2010
<i>Maria Elena Flores</i>	<i>Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie</i>	2010	present
<i>Maria Elena Flores</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	2010	present
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1964	1967
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1967	1969
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	1969	1971
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	1971	1972
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1972	1973
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen</i>	1972	1973
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1974	1977
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1977	1984
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Colegio Santa Maria</i>	1984	1985
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1984	1985

<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	1985	1989
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	1989	1992
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento San Antonio</i>	1993	1994
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	1994	2001
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	2001	2004
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria La Planicie</i>	2001	2004
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Villa Maria Miraflores</i>	2004	2007
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Colegio Villa Maria</i>	2004	2007
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	2007	present
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Colegio Inmaculado Corazon</i>	2007	2011
<i>Maria Antonieta Garcia Nicoletti</i>	<i>Colegio Inmaculado Corazon</i>	2011	present
Mary Frances Gavin	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1944	1951
Ellen M. Giardino	San Francisco	1974	1975
Ellen M. Giardino	Convento Villa Maria	1975	1978
M. Ann Dorothy Gittings	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1961	1963
Mary Glackin	Convento San Antonio	1983	1984
Mary Glackin	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1984	1987
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Convento Villa Maria	1971	1973
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1994	2001
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1994	2001
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2007
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2003

M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2003	2007
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2007	present
M. Patricia Michael Godoy	Colegio Villa Maria	2007	present
Louise M. Goeller	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1957	1968
Louise M. Goeller	San Mateo	1970	1974
Louise M. Goeller	San Mateo	1970	1974
Louise M. Goeller	Convento Villa Maria	1975	1977
Louise M. Goeller	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	2001	2002
Louise M. Goeller	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	2001	2002
Grace Mary Gorman	Colegio Villa Maria	2005	2008
Grace Mary Gorman	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2005	2008
Grace Mary Gorman	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2008	2011
Grace Mary Gorman	Colegio Villa Maria	2008	2011
Maryanne Graham	Convento San Antonio	1973	1974
Maryanne Graham	Convento San Antonio	1974	1978
Claudine M. Hagerty	Convento Villa Maria	1955	1961
Ann Marie Harrison	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1965	1970
Bernadette Mary Hiester	Convento Villa Maria	1988	1990
Marie T. Hirsch	Convento San Antonio	1965	1971
Marie T. Hirsch	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1972	1973
Marie T. Hirsch	San Francisco	1972	1972
Marie T. Hirsch	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1980	1983

Maria Patris Hogan	Convento Villa Maria	1958	1964
Marie Horstmann	Convento Villa Maria	1981	1987
Marie Horstmann	Convento Villa Maria	1982	1987
Marie Horstmann	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1989	1994
Marie Horstmann	Convento San Antonio	1994	1999
Marie Horstmann	Villa Maria Academy	2004	2011
Marie Horstmann	Convento Villa Maria	2004	2011
Marie Horstmann	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2011	present
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Antonio	1958	1965
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Antonio	1966	1971
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1971	1982
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Kinder San Martin	1972	1978
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1972	1978
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1978	1982
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1982	1983
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1987	1989
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1987	1997

<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1989	1996
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1989	1996
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2003	2004
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2003	2004
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Martin	2004	2005
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2004	2008
<i>Maureen Margaret Illescas Aicardi</i>	Convento San Martin	2005	2008
Miriam Vincent Jafolla	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1949	1955
Miriam Vincent Jafolla	Convento Villa Maria	1964	1970
Mary Elaine Joyce	Convento Villa Maria	1951	1957
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria	1960	1965
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria	1966	1967
Celeste Marie Kambic	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1967	1968
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1971
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1971
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1988	1990
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1988	1990
Celeste Marie Kambic	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1990	1992
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1992	1992

Celeste Marie Kambic	Colegio San Antonio	1992	1993
Celeste Marie Kambic	Convento Villa Maria	1993	1994
Marie Arthur Kane	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1957	1959
Marie Arthur Kane	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1959	1960
Marie Arthur Kane	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1960	1961
Marie Arthur Kane	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1961	1963
Marie Arthur Kane	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1971
Marie Arthur Kane	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1971
Marie Arthur Kane	San Francisco	1981	1984
Marie Arthur Kane	San Francisco	1981	1984
Marie Arthur Kane	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1985	1991
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1970	1974
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1974	1975
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1974	1974
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1974	1975
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Villa Maria	1978	1984
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1987	1989
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1987	1989
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1987	1989
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Colegio San Antonio	1989	1993
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Colegio San Antonio	1989	1993
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1993	1997

M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1997	2000
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Vespertina Villa Maria Miraflores	1997	2000
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2000	2001
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2003
M. Elizabeth Ann Kealy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2001	2003
M. Bernadette Anne Keane	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1975	1977
M. Bernadette Anne Keane	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1977	1980
Kathleen Dolores Keenan	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1968	1970
Kathleen Dolores Keenan	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1970	1974
Miriam Irene Keenan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1961	1965
Miriam Irene Keenan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1972	1975
Miriam Irene Keenan	Convento Villa Maria	1975	1977
Mary K. King	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1963	1963
Mary K. King	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1963	1964
Mary K. King	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1964	1968
Margaret Mary Kreider	Convento San Antonio	1952	1957
M. Rose Patrice Kuhn	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1998	2002
M. Rose Patrice Kuhn	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1998	2002
M. Rose Patrice Kuhn	Convento San Martin	2007	2011
M. Rose Patrice Kuhn	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2007	present
M. Rose Patrice Kuhn	Convento San Martin	2011	present
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1971	1973

Anne M. Lafferty	Convento San Ildefonso	1973	1977
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Villa Maria	1980	1986
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1989
Anne M. Lafferty	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1989	1996
Anne M. Lafferty	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1996	1998
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento San Martin	1996	1998
Anne M. Lafferty	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2000	2006
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2000	2006
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2007	2007
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2007	2013
Anne M. Lafferty	Convento San Antonio	2013	present
Christine M. Lamb	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1978	1983
Christine M. Lamb	Convento San Antonio	1985	1988
Marie Edwardine Leonard	Convento Villa Maria	1954	1960
Marie Edwardine Leonard	San Francisco	1961	1974
Marie Edwardine Leonard	San Francisco	1968	1974
Daniel Marie Liddy	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1965	1967
Daniel Marie Liddy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1967	1971
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento San Antonio	1967	1973
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento San Antonio	1975	1981
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1975	1975
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Villa Maria	1981	1983

M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1983	1989
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1983	1989
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1994	1999
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Villa Maria	1999	2004
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Villa Maria	1999	2004
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2008	present
M. Agnes Andrew Logan	Colegio Villa Maria	2008	present
Joan Marie Louis	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1968	1971
Joan Marie Louis	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1971	1971
Maryanne Lynch	Convento Villa Maria	1982	1987
Maryanne Lynch	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	1997	2003
Maryanne Lynch	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1997	2009
Maryanne Lynch	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2003	2009
Maryanne Lynch	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2012	present
Maryanne Lynch	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2012	present
Bernadette M. Lyons	Convento San Antonio	1961	1965
Bernadette M. Lyons	Convento San Antonio	1971	1977
Bernadette M. Lyons	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1979	1982
Bernadette M. Lyons	Convento Villa Maria	1985	1988
Anne Marie Markoe	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1973	1978
Anne Marie Markoe	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1992
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento San Antonio	1968	1973

<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1973	1978
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1978	1983
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1983	1984
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento San Antonio	1984	1985
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1985	1986
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1985	1986
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	1987	1989
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1987	1989
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1989	1990
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1989	1989
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1989	1990
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	1990	1992
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1990	1992
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1992	1997
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1997	1998

<i>Mendiguetti</i>			
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1998	1999
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1998	1999
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento San Antonio	1999	2010
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Colegio San Antonio	1999	2010
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2010	2011
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2010	2011
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2011	present
<i>M. Angelica V. Martens Mendiguetti</i>	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2011	present
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1968	1971
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1971	1974
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1971	1971
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1974	1975
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1975	1983
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1986	1989
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento San Antonio	1990	1995
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1995	1997
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1997	1998

<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2004	2007
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2004	2007
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2007	2013
<i>Maria Mateo Salas</i>	Convento San Antonio	2013	present
Mary Appolonia Matjasic	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1951
Mary Appolonia Matjasic	Convento Villa Maria	1952	1959
Mary Regina Matulka	Convento San Antonio	2006	2009
Mary Regina Matulka	Colegio San Antonio	2006	2009
Mary Regina Matulka	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2008	2013
Mary Regina Matulka	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2009	2013
Mary Regina Matulka	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2013	present
Marian Gregory Mazzotta	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1963	1968
Helen Loretta McAdams	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1968	1974
Ann M. McAlpin	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1979	1982
Ann M. McAlpin	Convento San Antonio	1982	1983
Ann M. McAlpin	Convento San Antonio	1983	1984
Ann M. McAlpin	Villa Maria Academy	1999	2011
Ann M. McAlpin	Convento Villa Maria	1999	2005
Ann M. McAlpin	Convento Villa Maria	2005	2011
Mary T. McBride	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1958	1964
Mary T. McBride	Convento San Antonio	1978	1984
Mary T. McBride	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1988	1994

Marita Jean McCormick	Convento Villa Maria	1960	1965
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento San Antonio	1965	1966
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1966	1971
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento Villa Maria	1975	1977
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1977	1980
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1977	1980
Maureen Dennis McCormack	San Francisco	1980	1981
Maureen Dennis McCormack	San Francisco	1980	1981
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1982	1984
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento San Ildefonso	1984	1986
Maureen Dennis McCormack	Convento San Antonio	1986	1988
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento San Antonio	1961	1967
Theresa Marian McCormick	Villa Maria Academy	1970	1971
Theresa Marian McCormick	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1970	1971
Theresa Marian McCormick	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1971	1972
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1972	1972
Theresa Marian McCormick	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1972	1973
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1972	1973
Theresa Marian McCormick	Kinder San Martin	1973	1974
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento San Ildefonso	1973	1974
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1974	1975
Theresa Marian McCormick	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1974	1975

Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1975	1981
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento San Ildefonso	1982	1985
Theresa Marian McCormick	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1982	1985
Theresa Marian McCormick	Kinder San Martin	1982	1985
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1985	1989
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento San Antonio	1989	1993
Theresa Marian McCormick	Colegio San Antonio	1989	1993
Theresa Marian McCormick	Convento San Antonio	1999	2004
Theresa Marian McCormick	Colegio San Antonio	1999	2004
M. Patricia McDermott	Convento Villa Maria	1986	1988
M. Catherine McElroy	Colegio San Antonio	2009	present
M. Catherine McElroy	Convento San Antonio	2009	present
M. Jane McFadden	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1973	1974
M. Jane McFadden	Convento San Ildefonso	1974	1975
M. Jane McFadden	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1974	1974
M. Jane McFadden	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1975	1978
M. Jane McFadden	Convento San Antonio	1983	1987
M. Jane McFadden	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1990
M. Jane McFadden	Convento Villa Maria	1990	1998
M. Jane McFadden	Convento Villa Maria	1990	1998
Mary J. McGarrity	Convento Villa Maria	1964	1970
Mary J. McGarrity	Colegio San Antonio	1989	1992

Mary J. McGarrity	Convento Villa Maria	1992	1995
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Convento San Antonio	1983	1988
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Convento San Antonio	1992	1994
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Convento San Antonio	1992	1994
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Convento San Antonio	2006	2013
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Colegio San Antonio	2006	2013
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	2013	present
M. Francis Xavier McGeown	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2013	present
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1967	1973
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	San Francisco	1975	1981
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1982	1985
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1982	1985
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento San Ildefonso	1985	1988
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1985	1988
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1990	1996
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1990	1996
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	2002	2003
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	2002	2003
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2003	2004
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	2003	2008
M. Helene Therese McGroarty	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2004	2008
Marie Jerome McHale	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1973	1978

Mary P. McKinley	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1953	1954
Mary P. McKinley	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1954	1959
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1981	1986
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1988	1990
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1990	1994
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1990	1990
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1990	1990
Regina Rosarii McLallen	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1991	1994
Regina Karen McNeill	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1969	1971
Regina Karen McNeill	Convento San Antonio	1971	1972
Marie Shaun McShane	Convento San Antonio	1958	1964
Marie Shaun McShane	Convento Villa Maria	1983	1989
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1974	1979
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Villa Maria	1982	1987
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1989	1992
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1989	1992
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1992	1996
M. Stephen Frances Meyer	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1992	1996
M. Michael Raymond Moore	Convento Villa Maria	1977	1982
M. Michael Raymond Moore	Convento Villa Maria	1989	1990
M. Michael Raymond Moore	Convento Villa Maria	1990	1992
M. Michael Raymond Moore	Convento Villa Maria	2003	2009

M. Michael Raymond Moore	Villa Maria Academy	2003	2009
Marian Vincent Morris	Convento San Antonio	1964	1969
Marian Vincent Morris	Santa Cruz	1965	1969
Marian Vincent Morris	Santa Cruz	1969	1970
Marian Vincent Morris	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1969	1970
Marian Vincent Morris	Santa Cruz	1970	1970
Marian Vincent Morris	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1993	1994
Marian Vincent Morris	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1994	1997
Marian Vincent Morris	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1994	1997
M. Elizabeth Ann Motz	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1983	1987
M. Elizabeth Ann Motz	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1991	1996
M. Elizabeth Ann Motz	Convento San Antonio	1996	1998
M. Elizabeth Ann Motz	Convento Villa Maria	1998	2002
Marie Mount	Convento Villa Maria	1961	1966
Marie Mount	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1990
Marie Mount	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1990
Mary Owen Mulhern	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1945	1951
Mary Owen Mulhern	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1951	1952
Therese Immaculee Mullin	Convento San Antonio	1964	1970
Concepta Regina Murphy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1964	1970
M. Rita James Murphy	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1968	1971
Francis Mary Murray	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1989	1993

Francis Mary Murray	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1993	1994
Francis Mary Murray	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1993	1994
Francis Mary Murray	Instituto Superior "San Antonio"	1994	1998
Francis Mary Murray	Convento San Antonio	1994	1998
Francis Mary Murray	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2002	2005
Francis Mary Murray	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2002	2005
Francis Mary Murray	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2005	2010
Francis Mary Murray	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2005	2010
M. Anna Josephine Musi	Convento Villa Maria	2001	2003
M. Anna Josephine Musi	Villa Maria Academy	2001	2003
M. Anna Josephine Musi	Convento San Martin	2003	2007
M. Anna Josephine Musi	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2003	2007
M. Catherine Nally	San Francisco	1976	1977
M. Catherine Nally	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1977	1979
M. Catherine Nally	Convento San Ildefonso	1979	1981
M. Catherine Nally	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1983	1984
M. Catherine Nally	Convento San Ildefonso	1984	1986
M. Catherine Nally	Convento Villa Maria	1986	1992
Marie Angela Natoli	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1964	1968
Marie Angela Natoli	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1971
Mary Anne Nyzio	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1963	1968
Mary Anne Nyzio	San Mateo	1971	1973

Mary Anne Nyzio	San Francisco	1973	1980
Mary Anne Nyzio	San Francisco	1973	1980
Mary Anne Nyzio	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1983	1989
Mary Anne Nyzio	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1983	1989
Mary Anne Nyzio	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1989	1989
Mary Anne Nyzio	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1989	1989
Mary Anne Nyzio	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1989	1990
Mary Anne Nyzio	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2006	2012
Mary Anne Nyzio	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2006	2012
Regina Christine O'Brien	Convento Villa Maria	1965	1968
Regina Christine O'Brien	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1971
Regina Christine O'Brien	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1971
Regina Christine O'Brien	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1979	1980
Regina Christine O'Brien	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1980	1982
Regina Christine O'Brien	Convento San Ildefonso	1980	1982
Christine Virginia O'Donnell	Convento San Antonio	1984	1989
Christine Virginia O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1990	1999
Christine Virginia O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1990	1999
M. Geraldine G. O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1978	1983
Marie O'Malley	Convento Villa Maria	1957	1963
Marie O'Malley	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1972
M. Margaret Joseph Pavluchuk	Convento San Antonio	1988	1994

M. Margaret Joseph Pavluchuk	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1995	2002
Annette M. Pelletier	Convento San Antonio	1981	1986
Annette M. Pelletier	Convento Villa Maria	1994	1996
Annette M. Pelletier	Villa Maria Academy	1994	1996
Annette M. Pelletier	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1996	2002
Annette M. Pelletier	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1996	2002
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	San Francisco	1968	1971
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Convento San Antonio	1971	1978
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	San Francisco	1978	1983
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Convento San Antonio	1986	1991
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1991	1997
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1998	2011
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Villa Maria Academy	1998	2011
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	2011	2013
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2011	present
<i>Mirna Peralta</i>	Escuelita Villa Maria La Planicie	2013	present
<i>M. Teresa Alfonso Perez Bonany</i>	Convento San Antonio	1968	1972
<i>M. Teresa Alfonso Perez Bonany</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1972	1975
<i>M. Teresa Alfonso Perez Bonany</i>	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1977	1979
<i>M. Teresa Alfonso Perez Bonany</i>	Convento San Antonio	1979	1983
Rosemary Peterson	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1985	1991
Rosemary Peterson	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1993	2000

Rosemary Peterson	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1993	2000
Rosemary Peterson	Convento San Martin	2002	2003
Rosemary Peterson	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2002	2005
Rosemary Peterson	Convento San Martin	2003	2005
Rosemary Peterson	Convento San Martin	2005	2007
Rosemary Peterson	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2005	2007
<i>Maria Nelida Pillaca Ccayo</i>	<i>Convento Inmaculado Corazon</i>	<i>2013</i>	<i>present</i>
Regina Plunkett	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1972	1973
Regina Plunkett	San Mateo	1973	1975
Regina Plunkett	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1977	1977
Regina Plunkett	Convento San Ildefonso	1977	1981
Regina Plunkett	Convento San Antonio	1981	1983
Regina Plunkett	Convento Villa Maria	1983	1989
Regina Plunkett	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1989	1994
Regina Plunkett	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1994	2000
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Colegio San Antonio	2000	2004
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Convento San Antonio	2000	2004
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2004	2007
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2004	2007
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2007	2011
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	2007	2011
<i>M. Elizabeth Polanco</i>	Convento San Antonio	2011	present

Jacinta Marie Potochney	Convento Villa Maria	1970	1975
Jacinta Marie Potochney	Convento San Antonio	1981	1987
Jacinta Marie Potochney	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1981	1987
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1954	1960
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1968	1971
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1971	1976
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1971	1976
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1976	1983
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1976	1983
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1983	1984
<i>Maria Carmen Quiroz</i>	Convento San Antonio	1984	1989
M. Helen Rapine	Convento Villa Maria	1952	1959
Rosemary Reher	Convento Villa Maria	1952	1958
M. Eileen Reilly	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1978	1983
M. Eileen Reilly	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1978	1983
M. Eileen Reilly	Convento Villa Maria	1988	1990
M. Eileen Reilly	Convento Villa Maria	1991	1998
M. Eileen Reilly	Colegio San Antonio	1998	1999
M. Eileen Reilly	Convento San Antonio	1998	2005
M. Eileen Reilly	Colegio San Antonio	1999	2005
M. Eileen Reilly	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	2006	2011
M. Eileen Reilly	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	2006	2011

M. Eileen Reilly	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2011	present
Carol Marie Repholz	Convento Villa Maria	1959	1960
<i>M. Nancy Carolina Rivera</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1990	1995
<i>M. Nancy Carolina Rivera</i>	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1991	1995
<i>M. Nancy Carolina Rivera</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	1995	2000
<i>M. Nancy Carolina Rivera</i>	Colegio San Antonio	2005	present
<i>M. Nancy Carolina Rivera</i>	Convento San Antonio	2005	present
Maureen Bernadette Roesser	Convento Villa Maria	1961	1964
Maureen Bernadette Roesser	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1987	1988
Mary Caritas Schafer	Convento Villa Maria	1974	1979
Mary Caritas Schafer	Convento Villa Maria	1995	2001
Mary Caritas Schafer	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2004	2008
Mary Caritas Schafer	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2004	2008
Mary Regina Schuyler	Convento Villa Maria	1964	1967
Mary Regina Schuyler	Convento Villa Maria	1967	1971
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento San Antonio	1974	1975
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1975	1976
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1979	1984
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento San Antonio	1984	1986
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1986	1988
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento San Ildefonso	1986	1991
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	1988	1991

<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1991	1993
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1991	1993
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1993	1999
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1993	1999
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1999	2004
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2004	2005
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2004	2008
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2005	2008
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2006	2007
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento San Antonio	2008	2010
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Instituto Superior "San Antonio"	2008	2010
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2010	2012
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2010	2012
<i>Maria Teresa Scudellari</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2012	present
Miriam D. Scully	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1962	1965
Miriam D. Scully	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1965	1967
Maureen Elizabeth Sell	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1956	1957
Maureen Elizabeth Sell	Convento San Antonio	1957	1962
Maureen Elizabeth Sell	Convento San Antonio	1964	1970
Maureen Elizabeth Sell	Santa Cruz	1970	1972
Maureen Elizabeth Sell	Santa Cruz	1970	1972
Carmel Regina Shields	Convento San Antonio	1956	1961

Honorio M. Smith	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1970	1971
Honorio M. Smith	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1971	1974
Honorio M. Smith	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1974	1975
Honorio M. Smith	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1976	1979
Marian Anne Smith	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1962	1967
Marian Anne Smith	Convento Villa Maria	1975	1981
Marian Anne Smith	Convento San Antonio	1986	1992
Marian Anne Smith	Convento San Antonio	1986	1992
Mary E. Smith	Convento San Antonio	1970	1974
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1974	1975
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1976	1982
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1982	1987
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1990
Mary E. Smith	Colegio San Antonio	1990	1991
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1991	2000
Mary E. Smith	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2000	2006
<i>Maria Consuelo Sparks</i>	Convento San Antonio	1963	1965
<i>Maria Consuelo Sparks</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1965	1971
<i>Maria Consuelo Sparks</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1971	1976
M. Claire Sullivan	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1972
M. Claire Sullivan	Convento San Antonio	1972	1973
M. Claire Sullivan	Convento San Ildefonso	1973	1974

M. Claire Sullivan	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1973	1974
M. Claire Sullivan	Colegio Ventura Ccalamaqui	1975	1980
M. Claire Sullivan	Convento San Ildefonso	1975	1980
M. Claire Sullivan	San Francisco	1983	1985
M. Claire Sullivan	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1985	1989
M. Claire Sullivan	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1991	1999
M. Claire Sullivan	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1998	1999
M. Claire Sullivan	Instituto Superior "San Antonio"	1999	2004
M. Claire Sullivan	Convento San Antonio	1999	2004
Marian Regina Sweeney	Convento Villa Maria	1967	1969
M. Linda Carol Taber	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1980	1985
Mary Rachel Torrieri	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1952	1958
Constance Marie Touey	Convento San Antonio	1969	1971
Constance Marie Touey	Santa Cruz	1971	1972
Virginia Catherine Varallo	San Mateo	1970	1974
Virginia Catherine Varallo	Convento Villa Maria	1970	1974
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Convento San Antonio	1994	1996
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Convento Villa Maria	1997	2000
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	2000	2001
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2001	2003
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2001	2011
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2003	2011

<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2011	2013
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2011	2013
<i>M. Silvana Vega</i>	Convento San Antonio	2013	present
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2001	2004
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Convento Santa Rosa de Lima	2004	2009
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	2004	2009
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2009	2011
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Convento San Antonio	2011	present
<i>M. Liz Selma Veramendi</i>	Convento San Antonio	2011	present
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Nuestra Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1966	1971
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Convento San Antonio	1972	1978
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1981	1982
Lucia Maria Vittorio	San Francisco	1982	1984
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Convento Villa Maria	1984	1985
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1985	1987
Lucia Maria Vittorio	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1985	1987
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento San Antonio	1975	1980
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	1982	1987
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1987	1989
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Fe y Alegria, San Gabriel	1987	1987
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Fe y Alegria, Montenegro	1988	1996
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Villa Maria Academy	1996	2005

M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento Villa Maria	1996	1999
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento Villa Maria	1999	2005
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	2006	2012
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Convento San Martin	2012	2013
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2012	2013
M. Teresa Catherine Walsh	Fe y Alegria, Barranca	2013	present
Catherine M. Ward	Convento San Antonio	1988	1994
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1995	2001
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1995	2001
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1995	2001
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1995	2001
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	2003	2004
Catherine M. Ward	Colegio Villa Maria, La Planicie	2003	2004
Catherine M. Ward	Convento Villa Maria	2004	2009
Catherine M. Ward	Villa Maria Academy	2004	2009
Maryann Weidner	Convento Villa Maria	1966	1972
Mary Lisa Weisglass	Colegio Inmaculado Corazon	2007	present
Mary Lisa Weisglass	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	2007	present
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1995	1997
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Convento Inmaculado Corazon	1995	1997
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Colegio Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1995	1997
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Convento Nuestra Senora del Carmen	1997	1998

M. Ann Raymond Welte	Colegio Nuestra Sen. del Carmen	1997	1998
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1998	2002
M. Ann Raymond Welte	Nuestra Senora del Rosario	1998	2002
Catherine Dolores White	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1951	1957
Catherine Dolores White	Convento San Antonio	1961	1964
Catherine Dolores White	Convento Villa Maria La Planicie	1964	1966
Catherine Dolores White	Convento San Antonio	1968	1974
Catherine Dolores White	Convento San Antonio	1968	1974
Catherine Dolores White	Convento San Antonio	1968	1974
Catherine Dolores White	Convento San Antonio	1968	1974
M. Anne Francine Windle	Convento Villa Maria Miraflores	1986	1988
Deceased			
NAME		FROM	TO
M. Rose Julie Barry	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1952
M. Clare of Assisi Belzer	Convento Villa Maria	1956	1962
M. Amelia Frances Bompadre	Convento Villa Maria	1970	1977
Cyrenia Marie Caffrey	Convento Villa Maria	1963	1968
Mary Albert Francis Collins	Convento Villa Maria	1945	1957
Mary Stanislaus Connell	Convento Villa Maria	No date	
Marie Coursey	Convento Villa Maria	1946	1953
Mary Josephine Cullen	Convento Villa Maria	1942	1949

Miriam Rose Curry	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1949
Miriam Rose Curry	Convento Villa Maria	1955	1961
Miriam Rose Curry	Convento Villa Maria	1955	1961
Miriam Rose Curry	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1964	1965
Miriam Rose Curry	Convento Villa Maria	1985	1987
Miriam Rose Curry	Convento Villa Maria	1987	1994
M. Anna Jean Dougherty	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1951
Helen Marita Duffin	Convento Villa Maria	1980	1983
Marita Agnes Finegan	Convento Villa Maria	1942	1949
M. St. Sebastian Flanagan	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1951
Grace Gallagher	Convento Villa Maria	1978	1983
Marie Angele Gibbons	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1941
M. Theresia Halloran	Convento Villa Maria	1950	1956
M. Theresia Halloran	Convento Villa Maria	1963	1966
Marian Beatrice Hanlon	Convento Villa Maria	1968	1969
Miriam Edward Hannan	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1946
Mary Alfreda Hannigan	Convento Villa Maria	1941	1948
M. Bernetta Hasson	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1965	1967
Mary Cornelia Higgins	Convento Villa Maria	1941	1947
M. Lucina Hirsch	Convento Villa Maria	1958	1963
Mary Lelia Hoban	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1950
Mary Hogan	Convento Villa Maria	1960	1965

M. Rose Vincent Hughes	Convento Villa Maria	1947	1953
Marita Gertrude Joyce	Convento Villa Maria	1949	1956
Maureen Francis Kealey	Convento Villa Maria	1954	1960
Marie Kelly	Convento Villa Maria	1954	1960
M. St. Cecilia Kinney	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1947
M. St. Cecilia Kinney	Convento Villa Maria	1953	1957
M. St. Cecilia Kinney	San Francisco	1972	1972
Rosaire Marie Little	Convento Villa Maria	1952	1958
Mary Alma Markey	Convento Villa Maria	1946	1952
Eileen Mary Mattis	Convento Villa Maria	1951	1957
Maria Jane McCarthy	Convento Villa Maria	1949	1955
Mary Delphine McCormick	Convento Villa Maria	1946	1948
Rose Mary McDevitt	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1947
M. Rose Irma McELwee	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1946
Mary Geraldine McMahon	Convento Villa Maria	1947	1953
M. Rose Amata Millard	Convento Villa Maria	1940	1946
M. Rose Amata Millard	Convento Villa Maria	1973	1975
Maria Denise Montague	Convento Villa Maria	1991	1994
Margaret Miriam Moughan	Convento Villa Maria	1948	1954
Mary Geraldina Obara	Convento Villa Maria	1952	1959
M. Peter Claver O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1944	1952
M. Peter Claver O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1974	1981

M. Peter Claver O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1974	1981
M. St. Hildegard O'Donnell	Convento Villa Maria	1950	1956
M. Estella Rock	Convento Villa Maria	1959	1964
Mary Jeanne Therese Splane	Convento Villa Maria	1956	1960
Marie Aileen Stephenson	Convento Villa Maria	1948	1954
Marie Aileen Stephenson	Convento Villa Maria	1957	1963
Marie Aileen Stephenson	Convento Villa Maria	1966	1968
Marie Aileen Stephenson	Convento Villa Maria	1966	1968
Marie Aileen Stephenson	Noviciado Inmaculado Corazon	1968	1970
M. Leonita Vezis	Convento Villa Maria	1977	1980
M. Thomas Michael Walsh	Convento Villa Maria	1945	1952
M. Thomas Michael Walsh	Convento Villa Maria	1963	1968
Anne Miriam Zimmerman	Convento Villa Maria	1949	1955

Appendix C.1 Villa Maria Academy, K-8, 1944

Prof.	Name	Grade	Total (G)	Cert.	Time
8-15-25	Sister Mary Ivo	8	36	S.S.L. 37	7 years
8-15-28	Sister M. Leonilla	7	36	S.S.L. 37	10 "
8-15-26	Sister M. Benita	6	35	A. B. IO 34 S.S. 31	10 "
12-27-20	Sister Marie Naomi	5	36	S.S. 30	12 "
8-14-38	Sister James Marita	4	37	H.S.	4 mo.
12-27-17	Sister Mary Compassion	3	38	S.S.L. 37	17 years
8-15-40	Sister M. St. Irminius	2	38	H.S.	1 1/2 yrs.
8-15-27	Sister M. St. Firminus	1	35	H.S.	9 years
8-15-44	Sister Mary Owen	K	41	H.S.	4 mo.
			Total	332	
			Last year's total	337	

Secular Teachers

Five (5) teachers for subjects taught in Spanish

Physical Training Teacher

Two Dancing Teachers

Appendix C.2 San Antonio School, 1944 Enrollment K- 7

COLEGIO VILLA MARIA							
APARTADO 1987							
LIMA - PERU							
San Antonio's School							
Callao							
Prof.	Name	Grade	B	G	T	Degrees and Certification	Time
8-25-35	Sister M. Regina Maris	Com. 4	-	4	4	A.B. IG 40	5 years
	"	3	-	9	9	CP. 40	
	"	2	-	14	14		
8-15-39	Sister M. St. Louise	" 2	-	13	13	H.S.	1 1/2 yrs.
	"	1	-	32	32		
		Total		72	72		
		Last year's total		70	70		
GRADE SCHOOL							
8-25-34	Sister Paul Marie	7	-	26	26	H.S.	2 years
		6	-	23	23		
8-25-36	Sister Mary Joan	5	-	49	49	H.S.	3 years
		4	-	41	41		
8-15-43	Sister M. Deodata	3	-	42	42	H.S.	4 mo.
		2	-	44	44		
8-15-28	Sister M. Edith Dolores	1	16	32	42	S.S.A. 36	4 years
		K	16	31	47		
		Grade School total	26	288	314		
		Last year's total	36	260	296		
Secular Teachers							
Six (6) secular teachers for all subjects except English							
Physical training teacher							
Each Sister has only one class in her room at a time; the other class is taken by the Senorita for the Spanish subjects.							

Appendix C.3 Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1944 Enrollment K-3

Colegio Inmaculado Corazon
Apartado 1987
Lima, Peru - South America

Superior: Mother Maria Pacis
Music Teacher: Sister Miriam Consuelo
Housekeeper: Sister Mary Gemma

Prof. 8-16-20 In Peru 14 yrs.
8-15-41 4 mo.
8-15-43 4 mo.

Address: Avenida Arequipa, 384 Phone 56-440

No. of Sisters: 6
Teachers: 4
Mus. less. wk: 21
Charge per less. 3 soles

Prof.	Name	Grade	Total	Cert.	In P
8-20	Mother Maria Pacis	1	36	SS	1
8-32	Sister M. Benedictus <i>David</i>	2	36	HS	1
8-30	Sister M. Leontia	3	37	HS (St. B.)	
8-42	Sister Mary Francis	K	38	HS	4

John Evangelist
Charles Barrameda
Secular Teachers:

2 - (3 hrs. a week) Spanish
1 - (1½ hr wk.) Physical Training

285

Appendix C.4 Villa Maria Academy, 1944 Enrollment High School

COLEGIO VILLA MARIA APARTADO 1987 LIMA PERU					
HIGH SCHOOL - VILLA MARIA					
		Seniors	13		
		Juniors	25		
		Sophomores	30		
		Freshmen	31		
		Total	99		
		last year's total	93		
Prof.	Name	Subjects	Degrees and Certification	Graduate credits	Years in Perf.
8-15-15	Sister M. Rita Josephine	Religion IV Eng. II, III, IV	A.B. IC. 1939 CP 39- Eng. Spanish, Sc.	22 s.h. Villanova Ed. and Sp.	2 years
8-16-21	Sister Marie Bernardine	Clothing	B.S. in H.Ec. IC 35 CP 36 Soc. St., H.EC. S.S. 30	8 s.h. Villanova Ed.	7 *
12-25-24	Sister M. Jane de Chantal	Religion III History I, II, III.	A.B. IC 32 CP 34 Eng. Soc St., Math.	8 s.h. Villanova 3 credits San Marcos Hist., Sp.	7 *
8-15-25	Sister M. Cyprian	Religion II Latin I, II, III, IV.	A.B. IC 33 M.A. V. 41 CP 35 Eng. Sp. Math. Soc. St., Lat.	M.A. degree Villanova	2 *
8-15-29	Sister Maria Rose	Art I, II, III English I	A.B. IC 35 SS. 34	3 credits San Marcos Hist., Sp.	10 *
8-25-30	Sister Maria Trinita	Religion I Math. I, II, III Biology	A. B. IC. 41 CP 41 Eng.; Math. Science	----	3 *
Secular Teachers					
Four (4) teachers for those subjects required by Peruvian Law to be taught in Spanish					
Physical Training Teacher					
Dancing Teacher					

Appendix C.5 Villa Maria Academy, 1945 Enrollment K- 8

1945-1946

COLEGIO VILLA MARIA
APARTADO 1987
LIMA PERU

Address -	Avenida Arequipa, 820	Phone 56007
Superior -	Sister Maria Regina	Prof. 12-27-11 - 4 yrs
Music Teacher -	Sister Regina Mary	" 8-15-26 - 10 "
Art Teacher -	Sister Maria Rose	" 8-15-29 - 10 "
Housekeeper -	Sister M. St. Chrysostom	" 12-30-18 - 22 "

Number of Sisters	24
Number of Teachers	22
Villa Maria	16
Callao	6
Music Lessons pr wk	74
Charge pr lesson	5 soles
Dancing Classes pr wk	17
Total income from last year's music and dancing -	s/. 10,909.25
" " " " " art	- s/. 1,900.00

Prof.	Name	Grade	Total (G)	Cert.	Years in Perú
8-15-25	Sister Mary Ivo	8	39	S.S.L. 37	6 years
8-15-26	Sister Marie Augustine	7	38	A.B. 10 34 S.S.L. 37	12 "
8-15-26	Sister M. Benita	6	34	A.B. 10 34 S.S. 31	9 "
12-27-20	Sister Marie Naomi	5	36	S.S. 30	11 "
12-27-23	Sister M. Frances Loretto	4	38	S.S.L. 37	9 "
12-27-17	Sister Mary Compassion	3	39	S.S.L. 37	11 " & 5 yrs.
8-15-40	Sister M. St. Irminius	2	39	H.S?	5 mos.
8-15-27	Sister M. St. Firminus	1	37	H.S. (st.b. 52)	8 years
8-24-35	Sister José Maria	K	37	H.S.	6 "
		Total	337		
		Last year's total	321		

Secular Teachers
 Five (5) teachers for subjects taught in Spanish
 Physical Training Teacher
 Two Dancing Teachers

Appendix C.6 Villa Maria Academy 1955 Enrollment K- 8

Sane prayers.
M.M.A.

March 17, 1955

CONVENT: *Villa Maria*
Villa Maria Academy

Address: Avenida Arequipa Phone: 56007

Superior: Sister Mary Cyprian Professed: 1925

Music Teacher: Sr. M. Florecita Professed: 1928

Housekeeper: _____ Professed: _____

Number of Sisters: 16
Number of Teachers: 15
Music Lessons per week: 80
Charge per lesson: 15 soles
Total income from Music, 1954, including Dancing,
Total income from Sheet Music, 195: S/. 100,930.00

Professed:	Sister M.	Grade:	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
1943	John the Evangelist,	8		42	85	H.S.	1 yr. 7 mo
1947	Catherine Dolores,	5 A 5 B		43 45 46	91	H.S.	4 years
1950	Marita de Lourdes,	4 A 4 B		60 61	121	H.S.	10 months
1942	Miriam Vincent,	3 A 3 B		63 64	127	H.S.	5 years 8 mo.
1949	Josette Marie,	2 A 2 B		64 64	128	H.S.	2 years
1938	Alphonsus Marie,	1 A 1 B		52 52	104	H.S.	4 years
1948	Maria Cabrini,	Trans. A Trans. B		63 64	127	H.S.	3 years 1 mo.
1946	Margaretta,	Kind. A-B		108	108	H.S.	5 years

For my

High School 348
Grade School 891

TOTAL REGISTRATION: 1239
LAST YEAR'S TOTALS: 1077

Appendix C.7 Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1953 Enrollment K- 3

+ Love & prayers! M.M.A. Same for books, too - Teachers guide -

CONVENT: *E. S.C. - Report -*

Address: Apartado 1758 Phone: 58440
Lima, Peru

Superior: Sister Mary Stephen Professed: 8-15-28
 Music Teacher: Sister Margaret Anthony Professed: 8-15-47
 Housekeeper: _____ Professed: _____

Number of Sisters: 10
 Number of Teachers: 1
 Music Lessons per week: 49
 Charge per lesson: S/350 per semester
 Total income from Music, 1953: S/. 73,939.00
 Total income from Sheet Music, 1953: _____

Professed:	Sister M.	Grade:	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
8-15-39	Richard Marie	3A	45		45		
12-27-21	Francis Loretta	3B	44		44		
8-15-47	Michael Bernard	2A	46		46		
8-25-36	Marcella	2B	47		47		
8-15-47	Theresa Inez	1A	55		55		
8-15-44	Alma Joseph	1B	54		54		
8-15-28	Mary Stephen	TA	51		51		
8-15-44	Mary Rachel	TB	52		52		
8-15-48	Maria Carmen	KA	50		50		
	Carmen Dreifus	KB	50		50		

Sister Margaret Anthony teaches TB three afternoons each week and Sister Mary Rachel takes TA.

In addition to Carmen Dreifus, we have three Senoritas for the Spanish classes.

TOTAL REGISTRATION: 494
 LAST YEAR'S TOTALS: 502

Appendix C. 8 Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1955 Enrollment K-4

Convent: ⁴ Inmaculado Corazón

Address: Avenida Arequipa 384, Miraflores Phone: 56440

Superior: Sister Maria Pacis Profession: 8-16-20
 Music Teacher: Sister Miriam Consuelo Profession: 8-15-41

Number of Sisters: 8
 Number of Teachers: 4
 3-(3 hours a week) Spanish
 1-(3 hours a week) Physical Education
 Music Lessons per week: 63
 Charge per lesson: 5 soles

Profession	Sister	Grade	Boys	Total	Cert.	Time
8-15-39	Richard Marie	4 (3rd yr.)	36	36	H. S.	2 mo.
8-16-20	Maria Pacis	3 (2nd yr.)	38	38	Normal	2 yrs. 6 mo.
8-15-42	Mary Francis	2 (1st yr.)	38	38	H. S.	2 yrs. 3 mo.
8-15-43	John the Evangelist	2(1st yr.)	35	35	H. S.	1 year
8-14-35	Alice Mary	1 (Preparatory)	36	36	H. S.	1 mo.
8-15-44	Ellen Francis	1 (Prep.)	30	30	H. S.	6 mo.
8-15-42	Charles Borromeo	Kindergarten	35	35	H. S.	1 year
8-15-43	Marie Philippine	Kindergarten	34	34	H. S.	1 mo.

Total Registration: 280 boys
 Last Year's total: 248 boys

Appendix C.9 Colegio Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1956 **Enrollment K – Pre First Grade**

5/26/56

Nuestra Señora del Carmen CONVENT: (School)

Address 185 F. del Castillo Phone: 59172

Superior: _____ Professed: _____

Music Teacher: _____ Professed: _____

Housekeeper: _____ Professed: _____

Number of Sisters: 3

Number of Teachers 2

Music Lessons per week: _____

Charge per lesson: _____

Total income from Music, 1956:-500:-

Total income from Sheet Music, 1956:-500:-

Professed:	Sister M.	Grade:	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
1927/8/15	Rosalita	Kindergarten	36	—	36	B.A.	
1935/8/14	Alice Mary	Transition A	31	—	31		
1951/8/15	Rose Marita	Transition B	31	—	31		
Miss Bertha Salgado		Kindergarten	36	—	36		

TOTAL REGISTRATION: 134

LAST YEAR'S TOTALS: _____

Appendix C. 10 Colegio San Antonio, 1955 Enrollment Elementary 1-7 and Commercial

CONVENT: *San Antonio*

Address: Miro Que sada 950, Pe ru, S. A. Phone: 91370

Superior: Sister M. Marguerite (Directora) Professed: 1935

Music Teacher: Sister Ann Joseph Professed: 1946

Housekeeper: _____ Professed: _____

Number of Sisters: 6

Number of Teachers: 6

Music Lessons per week: 40

Charge per lesson: 25 soles per month

Total income from Music, 194-55: 6025 soles

Total income from Sheet Music, 194-5: None

Glee Club 10 soles per month.

Professed:	Sister M.	Grade:	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
1946	Ann Joseph	7 6		41 42	83	H. S.	8 mon
1945	+ William Francis	5 4		59 52	111	H. S.	5 yea
1933	+ Camille <i>San Moni</i>	3 2		60 57	117	H. S.	6 yea
1 948	Alph onsus	1 Kind.		59 56	115	H. S.	3 yea
<i>426</i>							

COMMERCIAL

Prof.	Sister M.	Degree	Girls	Total	Present Roster	Time
1945	Joannes	--	38 38	76	Comm. 1-11 Religion English Stenog. Typing	3 yea
1935	Marguerite	--	38 30	68	Comm. 111 - 1V Religion English Stenog. Typing	4 yea
<i>144</i>						

Total Registration: 570

Last Year's Totals: 564

TOTAL REGISTRATION: _____

LAST YEAR'S TOTALS: _____

Appendix C. 11 Villa Maria Academy Elementary School, 1962 (K-8)

CONVENT <u>Villa Maria, Lima, Peru</u> ✓	
Address <u>Avenida Arequipa 4595 - Lima, Peru</u>	Phone <u>Media 56007</u> <u>Primaria 59430</u>
Superior <u>Mother Paul Marie, B.A.</u> <u>7 mo.</u>	Professed <u>8-34</u>
Music Teacher <u>Sister Maria Beata</u> <u>6yr.5mo.*</u>	Professed <u>4-51</u>
Housekeeper _____	Professed _____

Number of Sisters <u>21</u> ✓ Number of Teachers <u>elem.Srs.12-H.S.Srs.9-Lay T.41</u> Music Lessons per week <u>56</u> Charge per lesson <u>S/. 500 per semester</u> Total income from Music, 1962 to 62 <u>S/.122,240.97</u> Total Income from Sheet Music, 19____: _____ Total income from dancing classes is included above.	
--	--

Professed	Sister M.	Grade	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
4-53	• Patricia Miriam	8A		56		S.St.	1yr.7mo.
3-54	• Marie Damascene	8B		55	111	S.St.	3yr.7mo.
4-51	• Patrick Marie	7A		51		S.St.	6yr.5mo.*
	Olga Fernandez	7B		50	101		
4-51	• Maureen Therese	5A		58		S.St.	4yr.5mo.
	Isabel Arrieta	5B		59	117		(8mo. in Carmel)
4-52	• Marie Richard	4A		60		S.St.	7mo.
	Gabey Gomez de Wakeham	4B		60	120		
4-51	• Maureen Joseph	3A		46		S.St.	7mo.
	Luisa Morales	3B		48	94		
8-55	• Marian Teresita	2A		56		S.St.	1yr.7mo.
	Rosario Camarero	2B		56	112		
4-52	• Mary of the Sacred Heart	1A		64		S.St.	5yr.2mo.
	Angela Morales	1B		64	128		
8-59	• Marian Gregory	Trans.A		51		S.St.	7mo.
	Olga Ruiz Eldredge	Trans.B		52	103		
4-53	• Dolores Jean	Kind.A.		53		S.St.	1yr.7mo.
8-51	• Maureen Kevin	Kind.B		53	106	S.St.	6yr.5mo.*
				992 Primaria			
				317 Media			
				1,309			
* Sisters re-appointed		TOTAL REGISTRATION		1,299			
		LAST YEAR'S TOTALS		1,299			

Appendix C.12 Villa Maria Academy High School, 1962

HIGH SCHOOL <u>Villa Maria</u>						
Address <u>Avenida Arequipa 4595 - Lima Perú</u>				Phone <u>56007</u>		
Perfect <u>Mother Maria Trinita, B.A., M.A.</u>				Prof. <u>8-30</u>		
Number of Sisters <u>11</u>						
Prof.	Sister M.	Degree	Cert.	Roster	Extra Activities	Time
8-47	Mary Laurence Catherine Dolores	B.A.	Religion History Math.	Senior A-51 English IV Geometry (27 periods)	Student Council Catechetical Senior Activities 2 Study Periods	3yr. 1m
8-47	Mary Laurence	B.A.	English Latin	Junior A-46 Religion III English III Latin II (21 periods)	Vocation Week Carol Night	5yr. 2mo.
8-47	Joseph William			Senior B-51 English I, II Algebra Family Living (28 periods)	Secretary Catechetical Senior Activities	5yr. 2mo.
8-48	Maria Cabrini	B.A.	Spanish French	Freshman A-35 Religion I Latin I English I Biology (27 periods)	Library Catechetical	7mo.
8-50	Joanne Marie			Junior B-47 Religion III English III Typing I (27 periods)	Villamarian Catechetical	4yr. 6mo.
4-51	Marie Hugh			Sophomore A-52 Religion II Latin I Chemistry (28 periods)	Catechetical 1 Study Period	4yr. 6mo.
4-52	Marie St. William			Freshman B-35 Religion I Home Ec. Art. (27 periods)	Gold Gateways Catechetical	3yr. 7mo.
4-53	Patricia Miriam			English II (5 periods)	Sports Catechetical de Sales Club Catholic Action	1yr. 7mo.
3-54	Marie Damascene			Algebra (5 periods)	Catechetical Eucharistic League	3yr. 7mo.
4-53	Maria Beata			Music in High School and Grades		
Enrollment: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
		Boys <u>5</u>		Girls <u>317</u>	Total <u>317</u>	

Appendix C. 13 Villa Maria Academy Lay Faculty, 1962

Villa Maria, Avenida Arequipa 4595, Lima, Perú

Media Teachers

Rev. Sebastian Rabin, O.F.M.	Senior Religion
Rev. Lawrence Jordon, S.M.	Senior Ethics
	" Psychology
Rev. Thomas Sweeterman	Junior Conference
	Sophomore "
	Freshman "
Sra. Juana Berreto de Salinas	Historia-Senior and Junior
	Gramatica-Senior
Sra. Doris Fernandez Maldonado de Parodi	History-Freshman and Junior
Srta. Iliana Brancher	Gramática-Freshman and Eighth
Srta. Nelly Lavarello	Geografia-Senior, Freshman and Eighth
Sra. Olga López de Cáceres	Historia-Freshman and Sophomore
Srta. Mercedes Lozano	Ed. Civica-Senior
	Gramática- Junior and Sophomore
Srta. Graciela Mendizabal	Lectura-Sophomore
	Historia-Eighth
Srta. Requel Salinas	Literatura-Senior and Junior
Srta. Amalia Passano	Gym Instructio for high school and grades
Señor Amado Rotes	Volley Ball
Srta. Gabriele Le Goff	French
Sra. Margaret Bazo	Librarian
Srta. Alicia Maldonado	Librarian
Srta. Teresa Chusca	Secretary
Srta. Elsa Tori	Secretary
Sra. Esther Azula de Valverie	Secretary

Primaria Teachers

Srta. Olga Fernández	English-Seventh
Srta. Rosa Arce	Spanish- "
Srs. Carmen Arrieta de San Martin	Spanish Quinto
Srta. Elena Cornejo	" "
Sra. Gaby Gomez de Wakeham	English-Cuarto
Srta. Iliana Ranchera	Spanish "
Srta. Luisa Morales	English-Tercero
Srta. Elena Brocilla	Spanish " "
Srta. Isabel Guevara	" " and Transition
Srta. Rosario Camarero	English-Segundo
Srta. Yolando Perez Ruibal	Spanish "
Srta. Angela Morales	English-Primero
Srta. Nellie Aponte	Spanish "
Srta. Olga Ruiz Eldredge	English-Transition
Sra. Lucila Buckingham de Yabar	Secretary

Music Department Teachers

Srta. Esperanza Vargas	Srta. Isabel Cabello	Srta. Elsa Leon
Srta. Zaida Mayorga	Srta. Marta Rodriguez	Srta. Ana Rios Mattos
Srta. Graciela Mercado	Srta. Zunida Portugal	Srta. Norma Solari
Srta. Adelaide Yeckting		

There are eleven periods of Patio duty and sixteen bus trips daily to which the Sisters from the Primaria and Media are assigned. These duties are assigned for two weeks after which a different duty replaces the others following a system of rotation.

Appendix C.14 Colegio San Antonio High School/Commerical, 1962

HIGH SCHOOL <u>San Antonio</u>						
Address <u>1220 Saenz Pena, Callao, Peru</u>				Phone <u>92524</u> <u>92820</u>		
Perfect <u>Sister M. Rosalita</u>				Prof. <u>8-27</u>		
Number of Sisters <u>5</u>						
Prof.	Sister M.	Degree	Cert.	Roster	Extra Activities	Time
8-27	Rosalita	B.A. Col. Prov.		Religion IV-V (10) English IV-V (10) Psychology V (3)	Guidance Study Periods	7 mo.
8-47 8-41	Catherine Dolores Mary Laureen	---		<u>High School</u> Religion III (5) English III (5) World History III (3) Elements of Physics and Chemistry (3) <u>Commercial School</u> Religion I (5) English I (5) Intensive English Application (5) Reading (5)	Student Council Year Book Newspaper Club	2½ yr
3-54	Peter Mary	---		Religion I-II (10) English I-II (10) World History I-II (6) Geography I (4) Zoology-Botany II (3) Anatomy III (3)	Discussion Club	5 yr.
<u>COMMERCIAL SCHOOL</u>						
4-51	Maureen Dolores	---		Religion IV-V (10) English IV-V (10) Stenog. III-IV (10) Typing III-IV (9)	Glee Club Year Book Newspaper Club	5 yr.
8-48	Frances of Rome	---		Religion II-III (10) English II-III (10) Stenog. I-II (10) Typing I-II (9)	Sport's Moderator Catholic Action	1½ yr.
Enrollment:						
Boys		Girls <u>475</u>		Total <u>475</u>		

Appendix C. 15 Nuestra Señora del Carmen, 1962 K-5

CONVENT <u>Nuestra Senora del Carmen</u> ✓							
Address <u>178 Francisco del Castillo (Apartado 5138)</u>						Phone <u>55636</u>	
						School: <u>54257</u>	
Superior <u>Sister M. Rosalina, M.A. - 1yr. 8 mo.</u>						Professed <u>8-26</u>	
Music Teacher <u>Sister Therese of Carmel 7 mo.</u>						Professed <u>1-61</u>	
Housekeeper _____						Professed _____	
Number of Sisters <u>7</u>							
Number of Teachers <u>12 (Inc. Spanish Teachers)</u>							
Music Lessons per week <u>77</u>							
Charge per lesson <u>35 soles</u>							
Total income from Music, 1962: <u>34,955.00</u>							
Total Income from Sheet Music, 19____: _____							

Professed	Sister M.	Grade	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
4-53	Jane Dolores	5	89		89	--	2½
(Sp. half-day)	Sylvia Basulto	5					
	M. Valdivieso	5					
8-50	Regina Helen	4	42		42		1½
	Elena Chueca	4	42		42		
8-26	Rosalina (A.M.)	3	46		46		1½
	A. B ellatin (P.M.)						
	G. Santillana	3	47		46		
8-57	Maria Graciela (Jr)	2	45		45	--	3½
	Cecilia Canny	2	46		46		
8-61	Maria Jose	1	51		51	--	7 mo.
	Sylvia Castro	1 ^{mo.}	52		52		
1-61	Therese of Car.	Trans.	47		47	--	7 mo.
	Beatriz Canny	Trans.	47		47	--	
8-43-	Rose Julie	Kind.	49		49	--	1½
	Rosario Mesa	Kind.	49		49		

TOTAL REGISTRATION 652
 LAST YEAR'S TOTALS 635

Appendix C.16 Escuela Inmaculado Corazón, 1962 (K-3)

CONVENT <u>Inmaculado Corazon</u> ✓	
Address <u>Avenida Angamos 950, Miraflores, Lima, Peru</u>	School: <u>58440</u> Phone <u>Convent: 58440</u>
Superior <u>Mother M. St. Walter, A.B., (1½ years)</u>	Professed <u>August, 1941</u>
Music Teacher <u>Sister Mary Carmel (7 months)</u>	Professed <u>August, 1958</u>
Housekeeper <u>---</u>	Professed <u>---</u>

Number of Sisters <u>9</u>	
Number of Teachers <u>Elem. Srs. (9) Lay T. (9)</u>	
Music Lessons per week <u>20 (45 pupils)</u>	
Charge per lesson <u>Piano & Accordion S/800.00; Drum S/400.00</u>	
Total income from Music, 19 <u>62</u> - : <u>S/29,200.00</u>	Per year
Total Income from Sheet Music, 19 <u>---</u> :	

Professed	Sister M.	Grade	Boys	Girls	Total	Cert.	Time
8-41	St. Walter, A.B.	3	38		38	Col.Prov. A.B.	1½ yrs
3-55	Alice Maureen	3(B) (C)	35 36		35 36		2½ yrs
8-33	Bernetta	2	51		51		3½ yrs
8-58	Carmel	2	53		53		7 mo.
8-41	Genevieve	1(A) 1(C)	49 45		49 45		5½ yrs
3-54	Miriam Irene	1	44		44		2½ yrs
3-54	Marian Anne-Transition	(A) (B) (C)	48 43 42		48 43 42		1½ yrs
4-53	Helen Marita-Kinder- garten	(A) (C)	40 40		40 40		5½ yrs
3-55	Kevin Kindergarten	(B)	39		39		7 mos.
			<u>603</u>		<u>603</u>		

TOTAL REGISTRATION 603
 LAST YEAR'S TOTALS 600

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