

**The Creation of a Latin American Catholic Church. Vatican Authority and Political Imagination (1854–1899)**

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**ABSTRACT**

The principle aim of this essay is to analyse the rise of a Latin American Catholic identity during the mid- to late nineteenth century. This article examines the institutionalisation of this collective project via the foundation of the Latin American College in Rome in 1858 and the number of initiatives that led to the Latin American Plenary Council in 1899. This paper also explores how this religious collective identity was imagined and how its limits were drawn. In doing so we expect to offer new insights on how religions contributed to the imagining and defining of geographical spaces.

Why speak of a Latin American Catholic Church? Why gather Churches with traditions, economic resources, peoples and histories as diverse as those of Peru, Mexico, and Argentina, under the one umbrella? Why was the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM, 1955) the first multi-national Catholic conference? When was the concept of a Latin American Catholic Church first deployed? How did such an idea evolve, and what were the social, political, cultural, and institutional consequences? In essence these questions can be summed up by asking why do we take the socially constructed idea of a Latin American Catholic Church as a given?

The principle aim of this article is an analysis of the rise of this collective enterprise during the mid- to late nineteenth century. To this end the focus will be on the discourse and projects and projects which sought to create and strengthen the bonds between Latin American Catholics. That is, how this Latin American Catholic community was imagined. At the same time, we will see how these projects were materialised and institutionalised, simultaneously contributing to the formation of this Latin American consciousness. In this regard two aspects are of particular interest: the creation of the Pontifical Latin American College in Rome in 1858, and the first Latin American Plenary Council in Rome in 1899.

That said, this article seeks a more ambitious aim: to demonstrate how diverse religions contributed to the imagining and defining of geographical spaces. Recent studies had pointed out ‘the conventional and constructed nature of the fundamental ideas of global geography, while yet denying that they are *nothing but* social constructs.’<sup>1</sup> Grand territorial classifications do not correspond with a geographical base, rather that they are the product of histories. In the configuration of such cultural constructs religion

has played a key role. As such, for example, and despite that it turns out to be highly problematic from an historical viewpoint, Christianity has been seen to be a central element when it comes to defining the West against the East. As such, these geographical constructions were not borne of innocence. They had political connotations and served to justify political and imperial projects. Even cartographic practices themselves weren't objective as they responded to the legitimisation of Western domination, its practice being reserved for the Europeans and North Americans who mapped the regions inhabited by 'irrational' and 'despotic' peoples.<sup>2</sup>

In line with this, Latin America does not, in essence, correspond with any geographical reality, rather, it bears the definition of a space which accords with its cultural criteria and an opposition to the other 'Anglo-Saxon' America. Religion played a central role when it came to identifying these two Americas in denying the existence of other faiths and religious traditions. Latin American catholicity appeared unquestionable and defining. Nor did doubts about the religious attachment of this region exist within the Protestant sphere. Rather, discrepancies arose when it came to defining it as missionary territory. As such, in the preparations for the World Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1910, it was decided – not without controversy – to exclude Latin America from its missionary purview as it was considered already Catholic and therefore a part of Christianity.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Thinking Latin America***

The origins of the idea of Latin America are eminently political. Following the crisis of the Spanish monarchy there were calls in favour of a confederation of Latin American States, calls which culminated in the frustrated attempt by Bolivar at the

Panama Congress of 1826. At the same time a diffuse project arose in the essential manifestation of the recuperation of the Peninsular liberal tradition, and the defence, in so far as possible, of a constitutional community of Hispanic nations. However, this discourse was limited to, and only articulated by, a *criollo* liberal elite.<sup>4</sup>

Following a clear retreat between 1830 and 1840, this discourse re-emerged in the 1850s, articulated again around the idea of a 'Latin America'. There have been many debates regarding the origin and nature of said concept. While some theorists, the like of Walter Mignolo, have seen a colonial product within the concept, others such as Michel Gobat have shown that the central concept has its genesis more within the discourse of anti-U.S expansionism.<sup>5</sup> In both cases, nevertheless, the authors coincide when it comes to highlighting the elitist and *criollo* imprint of such a concept, deployed externally against the U.S and internally against the indigenous and African descent populations.

Another question which has generated an intense historiographical debate concerns the place where this concept was generated. Some authors place the birth of the term in the France of the 1860s as part of the imperialist project of Napoleon III who, in the face of the ascent of the British Empire and the 'Anglo-Saxon race', exalted the idea of Latin-ness which encompassed the countries of southern Europe and 'Ibero-America'. In fact, it appears that the first references to the 'Latin' character of America can be traced to the work of the French diplomat in the U.S and Mexico Michel Chevalier who, in his *Lettres sur l'Amerique du Nord* [Letters on North America] (1836) compared a 'Latin' race with an 'Anglo-Saxon' race.<sup>6</sup>

The first references to the concept of 'Latin America' come from the circle of American emigrants resident in Paris during the 1850s.<sup>7</sup> The filibustering campaigns of

William Walker in Nicaragua and Costa Rica between 1855 and 1857, which could count on the support and acknowledgement of the United States, gave rise to a wide ranging rejection from within Latin American public opinion. In this context in 1886 the Columbian Jose Maria Torres Caceido, one of the fathers of Americanism, deployed the phrase 'Latin America' in order to draw a comparison with 'Anglo-Saxon America'. The concept of a 'Latin America' was not only linked to an alliance against US and European expansionism, but also to an idea of republican democracy in the south American continent. In fact the driving forces behind this idea were dedicated to the cause of the radical democratization of south American societies and were manifestly against the conservative governments which controlled its respective countries.<sup>8</sup>

If the concept of 'Latin-ness' allowed for the incorporation of other 'Americas' such as the Portuguese and the French it also demonstrated its racial limitations by the exclusion of Haiti on account of its predominantly African ascendancy. The Brazilian empire remained at the limits of this project: for some Brazil itself was not to be included as it was not a part of the 'Spanish heritage' and, furthermore, a sizeable proportion of its population was also of African descent; for others the limits lay with respect to the monarchical character of the State. As such, a part of the elite which defended the Latin American project welcomed the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 and saluted the entry of Brazil into the imagined community while, in parallel, the Brazilian elites began to represent themselves as 'Latin Americans' as part of an attempt to 'whiten' their African origins.<sup>9</sup>

Although they would never materialize such proposals were evidence of the articulation of a sentiment of belonging to a supranational community which saw itself as

aggrieved by a threatening and increasing US presence in the region. In the nineteenth century the reach of this idea of 'Latin American' was fairly limited; reduced in essence to various intellectual circles which never managed to materialize any of their proposals. Despite these numerous setbacks both Latin American identity and its projects not only managed to perpetuate themselves throughout the period but also to broaden their bases.

As Roberto Di Stefano has recently noted the term 'Latino' returned not only a cultural construction, but also a religious construction in which Catholicism reigned without opposition, or ruled in an almost absolute manner.<sup>10</sup> Despite the extraordinary academic attention dedicated to the origins of Latin America the Catholic contribution to these projects has scarcely been approached.<sup>11</sup> The articulation of a Catholic Latin American project ran in parallel with the previous projects although, in its formulation, the seeking alliances in the face of Regalism, Protestantism and Laicism. If this Latin American Catholic project nevertheless also had a limited reach it managed to translate itself into the first Latin American institution in history: The Pontifical Latin American College in Rome.

### ***The Latin American College in Rome***

In November 1855 Pope Pius IX called a private audience with a young and promising Chilean clergyman named José Ignacio Victor Eyzaguirre to welcome his essay *El catolicismo en presencia de sus disidentes*, saluted amongst Catholics of both sides of the Atlantic as the perfect complement to the 'apologetic' works of Jaime Balmes against Protestantism. In addition, Pius IX called for him to propose a project he had long held in mind within the curia: the creation of a college in Rome in order to shape the

future Latin American ecclesiastical elite.<sup>12</sup> The idea of creating an educative institute in Rome had already been put forward by the Mexican Jesuit and confessor to Gregory XVI, José Ildefonso Peña in 1825. His project was, however, thwarted by lack of resources. In 1853 Mexican Father José Villaredo went to Rome with aim of founding a college for the clergy but it too failed to eventuate.<sup>13</sup> We nevertheless do not know of the details of these projects nor their reach: whether they were destined for Mexico or for the whole continent.

With his mind on these projects Pius IX asked Eyzaguirre that he travel the whole of Latin America to try to convince the Prelates to support such a measure. In order for the mission to have the greatest possible success the Secretary of State provided Eyzaguirre with Papal accreditation alongside official letters for the apostolic delegates in Mexico and Columbia.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Eyzaguirre carried a printed letter in which they were informed as to how they should act towards the youth they would send, and another firmly stating that the Holy Father wished to establish a seminary to make uniform the opinions and discipline of the clergy in America.<sup>15</sup>

Before departing the Holy City Eyzaguirre met with cardinal Antonelli and Francesco Gaude, cardinal of Santa Maria, in Aracoeli.<sup>16</sup> The advice of the latter was of great value given that in 1853 he had been First rector of the Pontifical College in Rome, the institution charged with educating the most brilliant of the young students of the Pontifical States. In this light it is worth remembering that the foundation of the Latin American college formed part of an educative strategy by the Vatican for the education of the national ecclesiastical elites in Rome, with aim of the homogenisation and romanisation of their respective Churches. In this period, for example, the National

Colleges of Belgium (1844), France (1853), and the United States (1859) were created. However, it was only the Latin American College which had a supranational reach – a fact which, in turn, revealed that the Holy See also considered Latin America as a single unity.<sup>17</sup>

Eyzaguirre's journey became a veritable odyssey. Aside from deficient communications and geographical accidents there was political instability and armed confrontation, which placed the traveller's life in danger. In fact, his mission became further complicated given that in some countries the Republican authorities refused to recognise his credentials as Pontifical envoy, understanding the free circulation of an agent of Rome to be an act of aggression against their sovereignty. These hindrances not only considerably delayed his voyage, they also limited its success. Despite all, he came into contact with thirty-one prelates from Brazil to Mexico, along with other different political and religious players, and in doing so managed to gather close to 30.000 *pesos*.<sup>18</sup> On this trip Eyzaguirre became the centre of a trans-Atlantic web between Rome and Latin America, all the while contributing to the density of networks already as extant between the different American countries as with Europe.<sup>19</sup>

Almost four years after Eyzaguirre's meeting with Pius IX, on 21 November 1858 the college opened its doors with eighteen students. Despite difficulties experienced during the first decades it played a central role in the education of the Continental ecclesiastical elite, bringing it closer to a more highly Romanised Catholicism whilst fomenting a certain collegiate feeling within the Latin American hierarchy. Between 1858 and 1950 the college educated 1,500 priests, 173 of whom gained the episcopal chair, and seven came to be appointed cardinals. It is not by chance that many ex-alumni



were behind demonstrations of loyalty to the Holy See and ardently defended Papal infallibility.<sup>20</sup> At the outset the institution was called the ‘American Seminary’ or the ‘College of South America’. However, by a petition by the college’s students in 1867 the Pope bestowed upon it its current name: Pius Pontifical Latin American College.<sup>21</sup>

### ***Catholic interests in America***

Shortly after the college opened its doors, in 1859 the observations of Eyzaguirre on the religious situation Latin America appeared in print in Paris. *Los intereses católicos en America* [The Catholic interests in America] became a reference work for American Catholics in the nineteenth century. The book opens with the evocative image of the powerful river Amazon which unite numerous Latin American countries and which is ‘showing us the realisation of a vast thought which would give the States of America the respectability and influence which today they do not have’ because

The interests of all are one, one, too their origin and the beliefs of its individuals, these people are called to live intimately united, to form a league which, sheltering them from any external aggression, assures their independence and their nationality.<sup>22</sup>

*Los intereses católicos en America* had a great impact within the continent as it was one of the first attempts to offer Latin American Catholics an interpretive framework for their recent history. In this book Eyzaguirre analysed the social situation of each country he visited. For the Chilean ecclesiastic the problems that beset Latin America were the same: anarchy, despotism, lack or excess of liberty, etc. The Americans had forgotten religion and

half a century of bloody revolutions is the terrible teaching that Providence gives to America, that America which seeks to wither the faith it received from its elders, and emancipate itself from the Church which gave it all the gifts of civilisation.<sup>23</sup>

Although it does not contain the expression 'Latin America', *Los intereses católicos en America* covered all the countries of the region and was the seed of a Latin American Catholic identity. Eyzaguirre's book contains a clear condemnation of United States expansionism, the triumph of which was based on the lack of Latin American unity. Eyzaguirre yearns for the project which will 'unite all these great territories that independence has titled 'Republics' within a confederation which would place them in a state to be able to defend themselves mutually.'<sup>24</sup> Clearly for the Chilean Ecclesiastic the said union of the Republics would occur through their drawing close to Rome. Moreover, Eyzaguirre called for Catholics to be protagonists within a joint religious reaction in order to stem the excesses brought on by independence:

With history in view we have said a thousand times that no State can be solidly established except on the basis of religion, and now we wish to repeat that only religion can save Spanish America from the abyss toward which it is being driven by the excesses of its sons. A religious reaction is today the great need of Hispano-Americans. And yet, in order for this reaction to be fruitful it is necessary that it begin by making itself felt in the course of political authority, and in its relationship with the Church.<sup>25</sup>

Eyzaguirre's idea of a religious reaction was probably inspired by the famous speech by Juan Donoso y Cortés from 1849 on the revolutionary wave which had shaken

Europe and obliged Pius IX to take refuge in Gaeta. A supporter of the Spanish military intervention in Rome, Donoso y Cortés maintained the need for a ‘religious reaction’ which would allow the re-establishment of social and political order after a half century of revolutions.<sup>26</sup> According to Eyzaguirre, in order that this religious response could take place in Latin America, the Church had to have its freedom, and herein lies one of the central tenets of his thought; his critique of patronage and, in particular, one of his most polemic positions – that of the appointment of bishops by the State.

In fact, the very title of Eyzaguirre’s work refers to the famous critique by Charles Montalambert in *Les Intérêts catholiques au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1852) of the negative effects of the adherence of the Catholic Church to the cause of an interventionist monarchy such that of Napoleon III. The critique of Gallicanism in all its forms entailed a defence of direct contact with the Pope and, as such, a reaffirmation of Ultramontanism as the only way of achieving the independence and the development of the Catholic Church. Catholics need ‘to receive directly and without hindrance the orders of the universal Pastor of Catholicism, and be guided by the pastoral crozier without that any foreign power should regulate, nor intervene in, its movements.’<sup>27</sup> Eyzaguirre was, again, paraphrasing Montalembert in order to assert that ‘there is no regal patronage, nor Gallican liberties, nor is there a Hispanic Church; all Governments and all peoples are Catholic and the children of the same Catholic Church.’<sup>28</sup>

The second most important threat, after that of the chains of republican patronage, was that of the democratic movements which arose in the heat of the events of 1848. Eyzaguirre states that it is not religious intolerance which is averting progress and the arrival of Protestant immigrants, but revolutions and political instability. To this end he

draws comparisons with the case of Paraguay where, despite having freedom of worship there are no immigrants from other countries, and the case of Chile where there is no freedom of worship yet the Germans have installed themselves in Valdivia due to the security granted by the Government.<sup>29</sup> Thus, Eyzaguirre shows himself to be a supporter of a moderated liberal political solution for Latin America: ‘we have never advocated dictatorship, nor have we ever defended despotism. On the contrary, out of conscience and character we have always been on the side of liberty.’<sup>30</sup> His work was ultimately an attempt to reconcile Catholicism and modern liberty within a Catholic republican project. In this attempt to reconcile the modern world with Catholicism he takes as a reference point Balmes and his demonstration that ‘liberty was not a new doctrine and the glory of the Gospel and its propagation of liberty could not be disputed, as modern socialists have sought to deny.’<sup>31</sup>

In Eyzaguirre’s work *New Granada* appears as a model of development for Catholicism following the revolutionary storm. There, the Church was ‘emancipated from the oppression in which it been held’ by patronage, but also emancipated from the restraints of the material wealth it possessed, and from the support of the State. From this critical situation, the Church ‘saw its means of action multiply as it became more free, and an increase also in the faith of its believers in proportion to the greater independence from the earthly power with which it was able to carry out its august ministry.’<sup>32</sup>

Despite that we can deduce a certain sympathy toward separation – or at least to an evaluation of its positive effects – Eyzaguirre never publicly declared his support for this cause. In this light the apostolic delegate Ledochowski’s confessions to Eyzaguirre – in which he put forward, for the first time, the idea of accepting separation of the Church

from the State as a valid solution for Latin America – gain in importance. In a letter of 25 March 1860 he complained bitterly about the ‘excessive and daily growing dependence of the spiritual authority in this republic [Peru] on the introduced and daily increasing abuses within ecclesiastical discipline motivated by the excessive, and I will say, almost unlimited interventions on the part of the political authorities’ and considered whether separation, such as in New Granada and the United States, would not be better. Although the apostolic delegate was fully aware that ‘the Church has always condemned and detested such irreligious divorce within Catholic nations’, he points out that ‘it is not my intention to directly promote and favour separation, but to not be hostile toward if should it be suggested by others, to receive and accept it without resistance should it be offered to us.’<sup>33</sup> Following his expulsion from Colombia in 1861 Ledochowski wrote a lucid report to the secretary of State cardinal Antonelli in which he again highlighted the positive experience of separation in Colombia and the possibilities it had opened up for the development of Catholicism in the region.<sup>34</sup>

### ***The union of the Latin American episcopate***

In the above mentioned Papal audience Pius IX showed Eyzaguirre ‘several files (which) existed and initiatives on the subject’ the likes of ‘private communications from several nuncios of America.’<sup>35</sup> Amongst the reports probably mentioned was the communication by the archbishop of Santiago de Chile, Rafael Valentín Valdivieso sent to the papal diplomat in New Granada Sebastiano Buscioni in August 1850. In the letter the archbishop points out that gains achieved by the Austrian and German episcopate alliances have given him the idea that ‘the united American episcopate, a united and

corporate body, would be no less happy than to break the chains which Spanish Regalism has bequeathed our democratic governments.’<sup>36</sup>

If Valdivieso’s project remained unfulfilled the contacts he established during those years contributed to the nurturing of the union within the Latin American episcopate. Moreover, although there is no explicit reference to the proposal, it might well have an echo in Mariano Casanova, then a brilliant young seminarian in Santiago de Chile under the wing of Valdivieso himself. As the archbishop of Santiago, Mariano Casanova would be the force behind the celebration of a Plenary Latin American council which would, almost fifty years after Valdivieso’s proposal, gather the Latin American episcopate in Rome.

Via Valdivieso’s correspondence itself we can appreciate the nature and evolution of the project; their reasons for being like the models that inspired them. Two years after writing to Buscioni the archbishop of Santiago de Chile deployed the travels of the Chilean priest Joaquín Larraín Gandarillas throughout Europe to gather information regarding contacts between prelates and what means they were employing in order to fight against their enemies.<sup>37</sup> In addition to the reports they could send from Europe, Larraín Gandarillas was a direct witness to one of the most important events within the US Catholic Church: the celebration in Baltimore of the first National council in May 1852 which he attended as theologian to the bishop of Richmond, John McGill.<sup>38</sup> The presentation at the National council of Baltimore was not only influential in the articulation of the program of the meeting of the Latin American episcopate designed by Valdivieso but also a reference to the Plenary council of 1899.

Between 1856 and 1869, in addition to contacting other Latin American prelates in order to gather reports as to the situation of the Church within their dioceses, Valdivieso informed them of the need to unite in order to front up to their enemies. Particularly clarifying of the motives of such a union would be the letter sent to the auxiliary bishop of Lima, Francisco Orueta, in 1856. The prelate pointed out that 'it is convenient above all to the interests of the Church not only that we are related but that we, the bishops of Latin America, should be united in our march'. This union responds, furthermore, to a trans-national threat, given that 'as the enemies of the Church are joined by hand in their perverse plans, the defence against them should be carried out with the same concert, moreover, inasmuch as in all the countries of our Race the quality of the adversaries and their tactics are the same.'<sup>39</sup>

In a letter to the recently appointed bishop of Panama, Francisco Vázquez, Valdivieso was insistent concerning the perverse effects of republican Regalism and underlined how the need for union amongst the Churches of Latin America ran in parallel with the political projects put forward since independence: 'If America, since her emancipation, yearns for a close alliance in order to promote her temporal interests, why should the Church not do the same for the spiritual interests which are of such greater importance?'<sup>40</sup>

In 1858 Valdivieso took the opportunity of the opening of the Latin American College in Rome to try to get Eyzaguirre to transmit his idea to the Holy See. Valdivieso's project was much more defined and, in fact, for the first time in the history of the Latin American Church explicitly put forward

...the meeting of a national council of America, at least of South America, presided over and directed by a delegation of the Holy See with detailed instructions and which would contribute to making uniform the march of the episcopate and to systematising the defence of the rights of the Church. As the causes of evils are substantially the same in all these countries the remedy ought to be uniform, and nobody can doubt that uniformity strengthens action.<sup>41</sup>

In the project of an American council Valdivieso implicitly put forward the existence of a supranational entity, a community which shares ‘a single origin, language, habits, interests and propensities.’<sup>42</sup> As mentioned, Valdivieso’s project also took inspiration from the example of the German episcopate which had met at Würzburg in 1848 and which, from then until German unification in 1871, maintained fluid contacts despite not forming part of the same state. This German community could also have contributed to shaping the idea of a supranational episcopal meeting based on a cultural community, such as would be a community of countries which once formed part of the Spanish monarchy. Although in Valdivieso’s mind this episcopal meeting did not imply a Latin American political union, the project of a Latin American Catholic Church revealed a certain nostalgia for a religious unity lost with the gaining of political independence.

Furthermore, such a union of the Latin American episcopate was strategic, given that it would allow the granting of a new voice to the diverse national demands. As such, for Valdivieso the protests ‘of one or several bishops, subjects of a State, directed to their government, lose something of their force’, while defended by ‘a body comprising numerous bishops from different States’ such protests would acquire ‘another character of respectability and strength’. At the same time



The vexations which we now have to bear in secret would acquire an outstanding publicity and would form the character of a general accusation by the Catholic body and would figure in the programs of liberties which are proclaimed with more or less efficiency by the organs of American Catholicism.<sup>43</sup>

During his stay in Rome in 1860 Valdivieso tried to put this idea to Pope Pius IX. We do not know if he manages to effectively achieve this or whether he was rejected. In either case the project continued counting on the backing of prominent Latin American prelates such as the bishop of Arequipa, Bartolomé Herrera who agreed with Valdivieso's diagnostic and with

the necessity of forming a true Episcopal body which would inspire respect for governments and would employ prudent and well concerted measures for the defence of the violated rights of the Church, and for the conservation of the faith which daily weakens further in the populations of our race.<sup>44</sup>

As such, for Valdivieso, the idea of a council or an assembly in which the American Episcopate would meet was nothing but the outcome of a struggle against the limitations imposed on the development of the Church by royal patronage. It was, then, necessary to create networks of solidarity between Catholics, from the diocesan synods to the national synods, passing by the Latin American Episcopal assembly.

### *In Search of the Origins of Latin America*

A brilliant Uruguayan student at the Latin American College, Mariano Soler, contributed through his works to the further definition of this Latin American Catholic identity. Soler arrived in Rome to study in the eve of the First Vatican Council. Soler's

stay in Rome coincided with the return in May 1874 of the College's founder Eyzaguirre. Before he would leave on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem the students of the College offered him a poetic homage, including a number of students who had just been ordained and/or had just received doctorates from the Gregorian University and who were to go on to play central roles in Latin American Catholicism at the end of the nineteenth century, such as the Brazilians Eduardo Duarte e Silva, future bishop of Goiás, and Joaquim Arcoverde, future archbishop of Rio de Janeiro and first Latin American cardinal.

Mariano Soler was chosen to open both the book and the homage offered by the students. In his speech 'Rome and America', in addition to praising the figure of Eyzaguirre, the young Uruguayan Priest highlighted the civilising dimension of Catholicism emanating from its centre to the rest of the world. After having distanced themselves from Rome through revolution, the American Republics had returned to their path of civilisation thanks to Eyzaguirre who 'saw the necessity of placing America in intimate relation with the Cathedral of St Peter, the civiliser of the world.'<sup>45</sup>

On his return to Montevideo Mariano Soler became a driver of local Catholicism with a particular emphasis on the promotion of the activities of the laity and the press.<sup>46</sup> The bishop of Montevideo, Jacinto Vera, soon granted him numerous ecclesiastical responsibilities within the diocese. With the rise of political tensions due to the implementation of secularising measures on the part of the government of Máximo Santos, Mariano Soler was sent to Rome to gather opinion as to how to act in the face of the application of civil matrimony.<sup>47</sup>

There, faced with the delicate economic situation of the Latin American College, Pope Leo XIII proposed him to travel through Latin America in order to gather funds and

to report on the situation to Rome. Shortly before his departure Soler prepared a *Memorial sobre el gran instituto eclesiástico de la América Latina* [Report on the Great Ecclesiastical Institute of Latin America (1887)] where he pointed out that the College 'is the most beneficial and glorious that the Pontiff has erected in Rome, the centre of Catholicism, supportive of the Latin American Church.'<sup>48</sup> Soler pointed out that the seminary would contribute to tightening 'the communion of the American prelates with the Holy See in the matter, so important and transcendental, of the education of the clergy; as such, secondarily, this will be highly effective in achieving the cherished ideal of union between the Latin American peoples.'<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to note how Soler put forward the college as an instrument to unite Latin American Catholics both with each other and also with the Pope.

On February 1886 Soler disembarked at New York and after a brief tour of the US he travelled through Mexico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina.<sup>50</sup> In December 1887 Soler departed once again for Rome to present the reports of his travels and to preside over the commission which would represent Uruguay at the sacerdotal jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. Shortly after his arrival in Rome, in February 1888, Soler submitted a report to cardinal Carlos Laurenzi concerning the wholly decadent state of Catholicism in Latin America. From his largely pessimistic diagnosis Soler only redeemed Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay and, partially, Ecuador and Colombia; countries in which there was a palpable Catholic reaction. Amongst the principle problems, Soler highlighted the lack of seminaries, priests of slight education and doubtful morals, the decadent old religious orders (in the face of the new orders he considered the cutting edge of re-christianisation), and an episcopate not up to

the task given that its election was dependent on Regalist, Liberal, and Masonic governments.<sup>51</sup>

After his travels Mariano Soler published an extensive ethnological work on pre-Columbian America which began with a eulogy on the discovery of America and especially of Christopher Columbus who, ‘through his genius, his religiosity and invincible constancy, brought the light of Christianity, and with it civilisation, to the beautiful America.’<sup>52</sup> This eulogy is circumscribed by the campaign for the canonisation of Columbus and, more generally, by the exaltation of the Catholic contribution to the development of human civilisation via the discovery of America.<sup>53</sup> For Mariano Soler the discovery of America supposed one of the greatest contributions to progress in that it ‘profoundly moved the human spirit’ and inaugurated ‘that cosmopolitan character of all the modern institutions which today move around the world in the footsteps of Magallanes and Sebastián Elcano.’<sup>54</sup> This led him to hope for a promising future for Latin American Catholicism given that

Asia lies prostrate by its fatalism and Europe is rotten; only America is young, and only the virgin and lush peoples, despite that they be barbarous, are those destined by Providence to carry with glory the standard of human regeneration and civilisation. May Christianity continue to inspire the American institutions, religion of progress and essentially civilising, with a perpetual moral base of regeneration. And there will be perhaps not a century before America is seen to be adored by the entire world.<sup>55</sup>

Yet, above all, the work of Mariano Soler comprises an attempt to insert America into biblical history. In this light it is appropriate to recall that the Mormons had tried to

resolve the absence of biblical references to America via the publication of texts revealed to its founder, Joseph Smith, in which it was said that America had been populated by two great civilisations originating in the Holy Land. Similarly, in his book Soler had tried to make connection between American and biblical populations. In fact, the future bishop of Montevideo travelled many times to Palestine and developed numerous projects in Jerusalem in the name of the foundation of the sanctuary of *Hortus Conclusus*. During his journey of 1893 from Baghdad he asked of his right-hand man in Montevideo, Nicolás Luquese ‘you know why I take full pleasure in visiting Caldea. It is because according to highly authorised opinion amongst Americanists the early American civilization comes from these regions, from the ancient Accades and Sumites, from the Low Caldea.’<sup>56</sup>

### ***The Plenary Latin American Council (1899)***

Historiography has often viewed the Plenary Latin American Council as the rise of a ‘consciousness of union within the American episcopate.’<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, as we have seen, not only was the idea of bringing together the episcopate an altogether anterior idea, but that following the 1850s the Latin American Catholic hierarchy maintained intense contacts, exchanged ideas and references, travelled the world, and gathered in Rome and other places. This process of the internationalisation of the Latin American clergy had lead toward a certain feeling of collegiality which translated into communal initiatives.

Again, the promotion of this Latin American consciousness was driven from both sides of the Atlantic. The idea of a council was proposed by the archbishop of Santiago de Chile, Mariano Casanova, in October 1888 in a letter sent to the Pope containing a lucid analysis of the state of the Catholic Church in the region, proposing as a solution

the gathering of a council. Casanova was putting forward the council as a means to unify the efforts of the Latin American episcopate in the face of its common enemies: Regalism; Protestantism; masonry; liberalism.<sup>58</sup>

As a symbol of Latin American episcopal unity the council also serves us in studying the limits of this identity. Over the period of its organisation two elements turn out to be particularly polemic: its geographical reach and its place of occurrence. The first question revolved around what was understood by 'Latin America' - if this was circumscribed by 'South America' to the exclusion of Mexico, or whether it incorporated Spanish-speaking territory, to the exclusion of Portuguese Brazil. The choice of site would make clear the tensions between Latin American countries, especially between Chile and Peru.

From the Vatican Latin America was thought of as a more or less homogeneous bloc and designed both its diplomatic and political representation on the Continent in a like manner.<sup>59</sup> In a letter to cardinal Rampolla, recently appointed Secretary of State, Pope Leo XIII invited him to not distinguish between Spain and (Latin) America on account of the 'close relations of origin, language, and religion.'<sup>60</sup> Leo XIII referenced Latin America in a range of pontifical documents such as the encyclical *Quarto abeunte saeculo* (1892) commemorating the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the discovery of America, or the apostolic letter *Trans oceanum* (1897) in which is underlined the importance which Popes had conceded to the Christianisation of the continent. Leo XIII notes that the region 'in relation to the religion inherited from the new inhabitants and to the origin of their language, is known by the name of Latin America.'<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, there were different versions of what was considered 'Latin America'. As such, if the initial project of Mariano Casanova encompassed South America and Mexico then the question was not so clear neither in the previous episcopal consultations nor within the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. In the responses to the Vatican the opposition of the episcopate of Haiti stands out, highlighting the differences of origin, language, and tradition. Brazil claimed differences between nations and a lack of means while, finally, Mexico argued that it was not the best political moment for its realisation.<sup>62</sup>

Nor was there unanimity within the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs wherein the resistance of Brazil, Haiti, and Mexico toward incorporation with the council was dealt with and wherein they proposed diverse solutions – from regional councils to a plenary council in which said countries would not be represented. In the end the criterion of cardinal Rampolla was imposed; recognising the common origin of the republics and putting forward, as a principle objective, the establishment of a common discipline for all.<sup>63</sup> The final call to the conference was aimed at 'the bishops of the Republics of Latin America', leaving excluded both the French and English colonies alongside both Cuba and Puerto Rico which, after the war of 1898, were under the control of the United States.<sup>64</sup>

The election of the See created problems from the outset. In the project Casanova presented to cardinal Rampolla it was proposed that the council would have a Latin American base. If indeed the idea had been received favourably, its siting created problems. In the responses to Rampolla's circular of 1889 the prelates were largely inclined towards Santiago de Chile, Lima, and Bogotá, although both Caracas and

Panamá were in contention.<sup>65</sup> In December 1894 it emerged unofficially that the chosen site was to be Santiago de Chile, which generated no slight tensions. On the Peruvian side there were still a number of open wounds due to its defeat in the Pacific War. Moreover, both the archbishop of Lima and the apostolic delegate of Peru defended the historical primacy of Lima. Faced with the possibility that it would be sited in Santiago, the Peruvians finally accepted Rome.<sup>66</sup> In spite of the attempts by Mariano Casanova, on December 1898 it was resolved that the Latin American College in Rome would host the said council.

Nevertheless, such discrepancies should not obscure the fact that the council served to consolidate the links between the Latin American episcopate and to secure said Latin American Catholic identity. Beyond the resolutions themselves, the experience of the council served to create still closer bonds amongst an episcopate which shared both residential and travel experiences within the Latin American College. Throughout this time, they shared routines, meals, down-times, and more solemn moments, all of which might well have contributed to the awakening of a feeling of collegiality amongst the prelates.

There is little known as to the development of the congress as its sessions were held behind closed doors and its proceedings were treated as secret. As such, little appeared in the media, with the exception of the public sessions. On 29 May 1899, the time of the inauguration of the Council, a letter of support of the conciliar fathers was sent to the Vatican to which Leo XIII responded eulogising their efforts towards overcoming the situation given that



although from such disparate regions, each one of you came to Rome out of joy: and we have admired your collective concordance, leaving aside the diversity of nations you unanimously dedicate your complete solicitude and eagerness to the greater wisdom of the deliberations of the council.<sup>67</sup>

With the council ended, the prelates were received back into their dioceses with manifestations of joy. In the festivities organised in Santiago de Chile for the return of its prelate Mariano Casanova, canon Rafael Prado gave a speech in which he eulogised the council and the beneficial effects he expected for the entire continent, amongst which stood out the tightening of ties between the Latin American episcopate:

There is yet another factor which completes the importance of this work. You have strengthened relations with your brothers within the episcopate of the different Republics and, as experts generals, strategically placed along the line, you will not only know how to conserve the precious unity of the faith which aggrandises nations, but also that Latin America will comprise one soul, one heart, one arm capable of deceiving the ambitious plans of the powerful who, at their worst, would attempt to wrest from them their political autonomy.<sup>68</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Throughout the twentieth century this project of a Latin American Catholic Church was institutionally consolidating and generating a group identity. Despite differences Latin American ecclesiastics managed to create a permanent structure of dialogue and action. The creation of CELAM (Episcopal Council of Latin America) in 1955, as with the Pontifical Commission for Latin America in 1958 would confirm the

ruddy health which this project enjoyed, and the support it enjoyed from both the Vatican and in America. At the same time both institutions came to confirm the thesis expressed here that the project of a Latin American Catholic Church was the result of interaction between Latin American Catholics themselves and with the Vatican.

In its origin this ran in parallel with other projects concerning political union amongst Latin American Republics. Nevertheless, in contrast, this was a double-jointed project: between Latin Americans themselves, and between Latin Americans and Rome. The aim of such a union was liberation from republican control over matters ecclesiastical and the proposal of conjoined responses to the challenges brought forth by the developments on the continent of secularisation, Masonry, and Protestantism. In addition to its reactive character this project of ecclesiastical alliance contributed to the configuration and strengthening of the 'imagined community' of Latin America by naturalising the cultural and historical traits upon which it was founded.<sup>69</sup>

However, as we have seen, this Latin American ecclesial structure was not exempt from tensions and there were communities which did not feel themselves completely integrated, or did not participate so actively in its development although they never came to abandoning it completely. As such, for example, although Brazil and Mexico continued to form an active part of CELAM's Latin American conferences they found it necessary to create their own educative institutions in Rome alongside the Pontifical Latin American College; the Brazilian College (1934), and the Mexican College (1967).

Similarly, there were countries such as Chile, Argentina and Uruguay which were more committed to the development of this Latin American project. As an explanation for this interest it can be pointed out that the colonial ecclesial structures of these regions

were somewhat weaker and had fewer traditions and habits from the colonial period, all of which facilitated the reception of ultramontane currents and its internationalisation. At the same time, this structural weakness and lesser economic power compared with the wealthier Churches of Peru, Colombia and Mexico meant that they were less attractive objects for liberal authorities in need of resources for the construction of the new republics and, as such, they underwent less aggressive and traumatic processes of secularisation than elsewhere.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, this project of a Latin American Catholic Church brought with it a re-statement of the dynamics between the centre and the periphery within global Catholicism. After having achieved political independence, the diverse Latin American churches reintegrated themselves into to the global Catholic Church by means of this approach to, and union with, Rome. At the same time this Romanised and Latin American project would bring with it a re-evaluation of the Latin American contribution to the centre of Catholicism. As such, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries not only did Vatican interest in Latin America increase, but so did Latin American representation within the global structures of Catholicism; a presence which would be seen to be confirmed with the election of the first American Pope in history in 2013, Pope Francisco.

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<sup>1</sup> M.W Lewis and K. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents. A Critique of Metageography*, Berkeley 1997, 17.

<sup>2</sup> M. H. Edney, *Cartography : the ideal and its history*, Chicago 2019, 121. See also *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. , James R. Akerman,

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Chicago 2009, and *Decolonizing the map : cartography from colony to nation*, ed. , James R. Akerman, Chicago 2017.

<sup>3</sup> J.-P. Bastian, *Protestantismos y modernidad latinoamericana: historia de unas minorías religiosas activas en América Latina*, Mexico 2013 and B. Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference: Edinburgh 1910*, Grand Rapids 2009, 49–72 and 303–307.

<sup>4</sup> J.E. Rodríguez O., *El nacimiento de Hispanoamérica. Vicente Rocafuerte y el hispanoamericanismo, 1808–1832*, Mexico 1980.

<sup>5</sup> W. D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*, Malden 2005, 59–89 and Michel Gobat; ‘The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race’, *The American Historical Review* 118 (2013), 1345–1375.

<sup>6</sup> Enrique Ayala Mora, ‘El origen del nombre América Latina y la tradición católica del siglo XIX’, *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social* 40–1 (2013), 213–241

<sup>7</sup> M. Quijada, ‘Sobre el origen y difusión del nombre “América Latina” (o una variación heterodoxa en torno al tema de la construcción social de la verdad)’, *Revista de Indias* LVIII–214 (1998), 596–615 and P. Estrade, ‘Del invento de “América Latina” en París por Latinoamericanos (1856–1889)’, in Jacques Maurice and Marie-Claire Zimmerman (eds), *Paris y el mundo ibérico e iberoamericano*, Paris 1998, 179–188.

<sup>8</sup> Gobat, ‘The Invention’, 1345–1375.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> R. Di Stefano, ‘Le processus historique de sécularisation et de laïcité en Amérique latine’, in Arnaud Martin (ed), *La laïcité en Amérique latine*, Paris 2015, 11.

<sup>11</sup> Ayala Mora, ‘El origen del nombre’ and M. Tenorio-Trillo, *Latin America. The Allure and Power of an Idea*, Chicago 2017, 51–52.

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<sup>12</sup> Archivo Nacional de Chile (hereinafter cited as ANC), Colecciones Privadas, Fondo Jaime Eyzaguirre, XXX, fo. 156.

<sup>13</sup> G. Decorme, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República mexicana durante el siglo XIX. Tomo I Restauración y vida de secularización, 1816–1848*, Guadalajara 1914, 301–302 and 356–359; M.E. García Ugarte, ‘Proyectos de formación eclesiástica en México (1833–1899)’, *Lusitania Sacra* 26 (2012), 25–54; and L. Medina Ascensio, *Historia del Colegio Pío Latino Americano (Roma: 1858–1978)*, Mexico 1979, 28–29.

<sup>14</sup> Medina Ascensio, *Historia del Colegio*, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Archivo del Arzobispado de Santiago de Chile (hereinafter cited as AASC), Fondo General, Correspondencia, vol. 158 Cartas al S. Arzobispo, 1857–1858, fos 29–30.

<sup>16</sup> ANC, Colecciones privadas, Fondo Jaime Eyzaguirre, XX, fo. 150.

<sup>17</sup> J.D. Durand, ‘Les Papes et le Séminaire pontifical français de Rome, 1878–2003’, in Philippe Levillain, Philippe Boutry and Yves-Marie Fradet (eds), *150 ans au coeur de Rome. Le Séminaire français, 1853–2003* Paris, 2004, 69–71 and L. M. Edwards, *Roman Virtues. The Education of Latin American Clergy in Rome, 1858–1962*, New York 2011, 23–38.

<sup>18</sup> Medina Ascensio, *Historia del Colegio*, 35.

<sup>19</sup> F. J. Ramón Solans, ‘Bis ans Ende der Welt: Transatlantische ultramontane Netzwerke zwischen Lateinamerika und Europa’, in Olaf Blaschke and Javier Ramón Solans (eds), *Weltreligion im Umbruch. Transnationale Perspektiven auf das Christentum in der Globalisierung*, Frankfurt 2019, 308–337.

<sup>20</sup> K. P. Serbin, *Needs of the Heart. A Social and Cultural History of Brazil’s Clergy and Seminaries*, Notre Dame 2006, 92–94 and Edwards, *Roman Virtues*, 1.

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<sup>21</sup> Medina Asensio, *Historia del Colegio*, 51–52 and Pietro Galletti, *Memorie storiche intorno alla provincia romana della compagnia di gesù*, vol. II (1849–1870), Roma, 1939, 610–611.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Nos está indicando la realización de un pensamiento vastísimo que daría a los Estados de América la respetabilidad e influencia que hoy no tienen [...] siendo unos mismos los intereses de todos, uno también el origen y unas las creencias de sus individuos, están estos llamados a vivir íntimamente unidos, formando una liga que poniéndoles a cubierto de cualquier agresión extranjera, les asegure su independencia y su nacionalidad’. José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre, *Los intereses católicos en América*, vol. 1, Paris, 1859, 5–6.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Medio siglo de sangrientas revoluciones es la terrible enseñanza que la Providencia da a la América, a esa América que pretende ajar la fe que recibió de sus mayores y emanciparse de la Iglesia que le dio todos los bienes de la civilización’. Eyzaguirre, *Los intereses*, vol. 1, IV.

<sup>24</sup> ‘De unir todos esos grandes territorios que la independencia llamó “repúblicas” en una confederación que las pusiese en estado de defenderse mutuamente’. Eyzaguirre, *Los intereses*, vol. 2, 328.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Mil veces hemos dicho con la historia a la vista que ningún Estado puede afianzarse sólidamente sino sobre la base de la religión, y ahora queremos repetir que sólo la religión puede salvar a la América española de ese abismo dónde la condujeron los excesos de sus hijos. Una reacción religiosa es pues hoy la gran necesidad de los hispanoamericanos; pero para que esa reacción sea fructuosa, es preciso que comience por hacerse sentir en la marcha de la autoridad política y en sus relaciones con la iglesia’. Ibid. 443.

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<sup>26</sup> *Discours de M. Donoso Cortès, marquis de Valdegamas, prononcé le 4 janvier 1849, dans la chambre des députés d'Espagne*, Brussels, 1850.

<sup>27</sup> ‘Recibir directamente y sin trabas de alguna especie las disposiciones del Pastor universal del catolicismo y ser dirigido por el báculo pastoral, sin que ningún poder extraño regle o intervenga en los movimientos de aquel’, *Ibidem*, pp. 445-6.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Ya no hay patronato regio, ni libertades galicanas [...] ni hay ya Iglesia hispana; todos los gobiernos y los pueblos son católicos, e hijos todos de una misma Iglesia católica’, José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre, *Los intereses católicos en América*, vol. I, 287–288.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 236–237.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Jamás hemos abogado por la dictadura, ni hemos defendido jamás el despotismo; al contrario, por conciencia y por carácter hemos estado siempre al lado de la libertad’. *Ibid.* 239.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Que la libertad no era una doctrina nueva y que no podía disputarse al Evangelio la gloria de haberla propagado, como pretendían negar los socialistas modernos’. José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre, *Los intereses católicos en América*, vol. 2, 454.

<sup>32</sup> ‘Vio multiplicarse sus medios de acción a medida que era más libre, y aumentarse también la fe de sus creyentes en proporción de la mayor independencia del poder de la tierra con que podía desempeñar su augusto ministerio’. *Ibid.* 196–197.

<sup>33</sup> ‘Excesiva y cada día creciente dependencia de la autoridad espiritual en esa república, de los abusos que se han introducido y que cada día aumentan en la disciplina eclesiástica, por motivo de las intervenciones excesivas y diré casi ilimitadas de las autoridades políticas’; ‘la Iglesia ha siempre condenado y detestado tal irreligioso divorcio en naciones católicas’ and ‘no es mi idea promover directamente y favorecer la

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separación, más tan solo no hostilizarla si ella fuese sugerida por otros, y acogerla o aceptarla sin resistencia cuando nos fuese ofrecida’. ANC, Colecciones privadas, Fondo José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre, vol. 13, fo. 668.

<sup>34</sup> E. Luque Alcaide, ‘Libertad eclesial y separación Iglesia-Estado en Colombia. Opción del Delegado Apostólico Mons. Mieczyslaw Ledochowski’, *Boletín de historia y antigüedades* 828 (2005), 23–44.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Varios expedientes que existen e iniciados sobre la materia [...] comunicaciones reservadas de diversos nuncios de América’. ANC, Colecciones particulares, Fondo Jaime Eyzaguirre, XX, fo. 156.

<sup>36</sup> ‘El episcopado americano unido y formando cuerpo, no sería menos feliz para romper las cadenas que el regalismo español ha dejado por herencia a nuestros gobiernos democráticos’. AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 283 (1850–1851), fo. 50.

<sup>37</sup> AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 284 (1851–1854), fos 30–31.

<sup>38</sup> AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del obispo Larraín Gandarillas al Obispo Salas, vol. 150, fo. 32.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Conviene sobre manera a los intereses de la Iglesia, no solo el que estemos relacionados sino que combináramos nuestra marcha los obispos de la América Española [...] así como los enemigos de la Iglesia se dan la mano en sus perversos planes, la defensa debía hacerse con el mismo concierto, tanto más, cuanto que en todos los países de nuestra raza la calidad de los adversarios y sus tácticas son idénticas’. AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 286 (1855–1860), fol. 112.



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<sup>40</sup> ‘La Iglesia ha sufrido más de sus protectores coronados que de sus perseguidores [...] ¿si la América desde su emancipación suspira por una alianza estrecha para promover sus intereses temporales; porque la iglesia no ha de hacer otro tanto por los espirituales que son de tanto mayor importancia?’, AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 286 (1855–1860), fo. 192.

<sup>41</sup> ‘La reunión de un Concilio nacional de la América, por lo menos del Sur, presidido y dirigido por un delegado de la Santa Sede con instrucciones detalladas, contribuiría a uniformar la marcha del episcopado y a sistematizar la defensa de los derechos de la Iglesia. Como las causas de los males son sustancialmente en estos países las mismas, el remedio debía ser uniforme y nadie puede dudar que la uniformidad robustece la acción’. AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 286 (1855–1860), fos 308–311.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Un mismo origen, idioma, usos, intereses y propensiones’. AASC, FG, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 289 (1866–1872), fo. 253.

<sup>43</sup> ‘De uno o varios obispos súbditos de un Estado a su gobierno pierden algo de su fuerza [...] un cuerpo numerosos de obispos de distintos estados [...] otro carácter de respetabilidad y fuerza [...] las vejaciones que ahora tenemos que soportar en secreto adquirirían una publicidad resaltante y formarían el carácter de una acusación general del cuerpo católico y figurarían en los programas de libertades que se proclaman con más o menos eficacia por los órganos del catolicismo americano’. AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas del Prelado Valdivieso, vol. 286 (1855–1860), fos 308–311.

<sup>44</sup> ‘La necesidad de que formen un verdadero cuerpo episcopal, que inspire respeto a los gobiernos y emplee medios prudentes y bien concertados para la defensa de los derechos

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vulnerados de la Iglesia, y para la conservación de la fe, que cada día se va debilitando más en los pueblos de nuestra raza'. AASC, Fondo General, Correspondencia, Cartas al arzobispo Valdivieso, vol. 159 (1859–1863), fo. 170.

<sup>45</sup> 'Vio la necesidad de poner la América en relación íntima con la Cátedra de Pedro, la civilizadora del mundo' *Roma y América. Ensayo poético que en prenda de gratitud ofrecen y dedican a su benemérito fundador monseñor José Ignacio Víctor Eyzaguirre protonotario apostólico y prelado de SS. Los alumnos del colegio Pío Latino Americano*, Roma 1874, 18.

<sup>46</sup> S. Monreal, 'El club católico de Montevideo (1875–1890). Presencia de Mariano Soler', in María del Rosario Griego, Susana Monreal, Ana María Scala, Juan Villegas and Carlos Yelpeo, *Monseñor Soler. Acción y Obras*, Montevideo, 1991, 241–370.

<sup>47</sup> P. Gaudiano, 'Mons. Mariano Soler, Primer Arzobispo de Montevideo y el Concilio Plenario Latino-Americano', unpubl. PhD diss., Pamplona 1997, 147–156

<sup>48</sup> 'Es el monumento más benéfico y glorioso que el Pontificado ha erigido en Roma, centro del catolicismo, en pro de la Iglesia latinoamericana' *Memorial sobre el gran instituto eclesiástico de la América Latina dedicado al venerable clero de la Iglesia latinoamericana*, Montevideo 1887, 5.

<sup>49</sup> 'La comunión de los preladados americanos con la Santa Sede en el asunto tan importante y trascendental de la formación del Clero; así como lo segundo será sumamente eficaz para lograr el acariciado ideal de unión entre los pueblos latino-americanos' *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>50</sup> Medina Asensio, *Historia del Colegio*, 65–69; and Ana María Scala, 'Viajes de Soler', in María del Rosario Griego, Susana Monreal, Ana María Scala, Juan Villgas y Carlos Yelpeo, *Monseñor Soler. Acción y Obras*, Montevideo 1991, 199–239.

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<sup>51</sup> Gaudio, ‘Mons. Mariano Soler’, 410–424.

<sup>52</sup> ‘Por su genio, su religiosidad e invencible constancia, trajo la luz del cristianismo y con ella la civilización a la América hermosa’. Mariano Soler, *América precolombina. Ensayo etnológico basado en las investigaciones arqueológicas y etnográficas de las tradiciones, monumentos y antigüedades de América indígena*, Montevideo 1887, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Francisco Javier Ramón Solans, ‘La fiesta de las Banderas. Hispanoamericanismo católico en Santiago de Chile, Zaragoza y Buenos Aires (1887–1910)’, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 47:2 (2017), 229–247.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Profundamente el espíritu humano’ e inaugurar ‘ese carácter cosmopolita de todas las instituciones modernas que hoy se pasean dando la vuelta al mundo tras las huellas de Magallanes y de Sebastián Elcano’ Soler, *América precolombina*, 317.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Asia yace postrada por su fatalismo y Europa está carcomida; solo es joven América, y solo los pueblos vírgenes y lozanos, aunque sean bárbaros, son los destinados por la Providencia para conducir con gloria el estandarte de la regeneración y civilización humanas. Que siga el cristianismo inspirando las instituciones americanas, religión de progreso y esencialmente civilizadora con base moral de perpetua regeneración, y no pasará quizás una centuria sin que se vea América adorada por el mundo entero’ *Ibid.* 334.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Sabes por qué tengo sumo placer de visitar Caldea. Porque según opinión muy autorizada entre los americanistas la civilización primitiva de América proviene de estas regiones, de los antiguos Accades y Sumitas de la Baja Caldea’. Archivo de la Curia de Montevideo, Vicaría General, carpeta 7, correspondencia Soler-Luquese 1888 and 1893–94.

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<sup>57</sup> A. Pazos and D. Piccardo, *El Concilio Plenario de América Latina. Roma 1899*, Madrid/Frankfurt 2002, 12.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. 54–64.

<sup>59</sup> E. Cárdenas Ayala, ‘La construcción de un orden laico en América Hispánica. Ensayo de interpretación sobre el siglo XIX’, in Roberto J. Blancarte (ed), *Los retos de la laicidad y la secularización en el mundo contemporáneo*, Mexico 2008, 92 and Ayala Mora, ‘El origen del nombre’, 213–241.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Las estrechas relaciones de origen, lengua y religión’. *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. XX, 1887, 8.

<sup>61</sup> ‘En relación a la religión heredada de los nuevos habitantes y al origen de su lengua, es conocida con el nombre de América latina’. ‘Lettera apostolica in forma brevis *Trans oceanum*, su alcuni privilegi all’America Latina’ at <[https://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/it/apost\\_letters/documents/hf\\_l-xiii\\_apl\\_18970418\\_trans-oceanum.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/it/apost_letters/documents/hf_l-xiii_apl_18970418_trans-oceanum.html) > .

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 70–75.

<sup>64</sup> Citado en Ibid. 91.

<sup>65</sup> Gaudio, ‘Mons. Mariano Soler’, 287–292.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. and M. Camus Ibacache, ‘La préparation et convocation du concile plènier de l’Amérique latine célébré à Rome en 1899’, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 93 (1998), 66–82.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Aunque de regiones tan apartadas, cada uno de vosotros vino a Roma gustoso; y hemos admirado vuestra suma concordia, mediante la cual, dejadas a un lado la

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diversidad de naciones dedicáis unánimes toda vuestra solicitud y afán al mayor acierto en las deliberaciones del Concilio'. *La Voz de la Iglesia*, 4 August 1899.

<sup>68</sup> 'Hay todavía otro factor que viene a completar la importancia de esta obra. Habéis estrechado relaciones con vuestros hermanos en el episcopado de las diferentes Repúblicas, y, cuál expertos generales, colocados estratégicamente en toda la extensión de la línea, no sólo sabréis conservar la preciosa unidad de la fe, que engrandece a las naciones, sino que también la América Latina será una sola alma, un solo corazón y un solo brazo capaz de burlar los ambiciosos planes de los poderosos que en mala hora pretendieran arrebatarles su autonomía política' *Manifestaciones de bienvenida al Ilmo. Y Rmo. Sr. Dr. Don Mariano Casanova, arzobispo de Santiago de Chile a su vuelta del Concilio Plenario Latinoamericano, celebrado en el presente año, Santiago de Chile* 1899, 37.

<sup>69</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London 2006

<sup>70</sup> Di Stefano, Roberto, 'Vino viejo en odres nuevos. Las vías de la secularización en la Argentina decimonónica', in Pedro Rújula u. Javier Ramón Solans (ed.), *El desafío de la Revolución*, Granada 2017, 319–334.